UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN ANCIENT GREECE: REFLECTIONS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 2500TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF PLATAIAI

EDITED BY

Kostas Buraselis, Christel Müller & Thomas Heine Nielsen

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FOREWORD

Plataia is a place-name of basic symbolic importance in Greek history. It has an indubitable paradigmatic value for the occasional political and military unity but also for the strong tendency to diversity or disunion in many fields of relations among the Greeks. Therefore, to celebrate in a proper scholarly sense the ca. 2500th anniversary of the Battle of Plataia (479 BC), the conclusion of the successful defence of Greek *poleis* against the Persian invasion of the Great King Xerxes, the European Cultural Centre of Delphi (E.C.C.D.) organised on 26-29 May 2022 in its premises a Symposium on the wider subject "Unity and diversity in ancient Greece: thoughts on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the Battle of Plataiai". There a team of international scholars, members of the European Network for the Study of Ancient Greek History (ENSAGH) and further invited colleagues with similar interests, undertook to treat in common various aspects of that characteristic viewpoint on the data of ancient Greek history.

Of course, the chosen theme is inexhaustible as it touches on almost every separate sphere and category of social life in ancient Greece. However, what we have managed to assemble here are, as we think, essential re-worked papers covering crucial dimensions of the general subject connected not only with Plataia itself, its monuments and its double-sided symbolic meaning in Greek history but also with selected other studies illustrating how the double-faced trait of unity and diversity permeated many other areas of Hellenic history.

Thus the problem of the unity versus diversity of Greek religion, the Greek law systems, the Greek coinage, the systems of relations between *metropoleis* and *apoikiai*, Greek athletics and even the practice of sortition as an administrative mechanism have also profitably come under the main lens of our fundamental scrutiny. Similarities and differences fascinatingly alternate in the structure and work of many Greek *poleis* and their common/communal expression. In the articles here published that diversity is also reflected in the different forms of ancient Greek names and toponyms chosen by each contributor.

Kostas Buraselis, Christel Müller & Thomas Heine Nielsen: 'Foreword' C&M Supplementum 1 (2024) 1-2.

We may even wish to hope that in an age where unity and diversity remain sensitive characteristics of European understanding and sometimes painfully alternating systematic/unsystematic collaboration, the thoughts here presented and analyzed might possess further utility as precious historical parallels. Let us recall that one of the mottos of the ideal framework on which the United States of America have been built is exactly: *E pluribus unum.* Ancient Greece may, also thus, always claim a position of paradigm, positive or negative, for our present occupations and concerns.

Kostas Buraselis, Christel Müller wish to thank expressly Thomas Heine Nielsen who, apart from contributing a valuable study to the whole set, joined in as co-editor and offered the possibility of housing our collective intellectual product in the Supplements of *Classica & Mediaevalia*, thus kindly sheltering the *theoroi* of Delphi at Copenhagen.

Kostas Buraselis, Christel Müller & Thomas Heine Nielsen
(Athens, Paris/Nanterre, Copenhagen in February 2024)

PLATAIA BETWEEN LIGHT AND DARKNESS: THOUGHTS ON THE SMALL BOIOTIAN POLIS AS A SYMBOL OF UNITY AND AS A PARADIGM OF DISUNITY IN ANCIENT GREECE

By Kostas Buraselis

Summary: The special significance of Plataia already before the famous battle of 479 BC (in the mythical tradition connected with its site) and afterwards in the vicissitudes of the inter-Greek developments after the Persian Wars is analyzed to illustrate the bipolar importance of site and city as both a celebrated, dexterously manipulated symbol of unity and a bitter paradigm of practical disunity in Greek history.

The small settlement of Plataia, the ancient *polis* between the northern slopes of Kithairon and the river Asopos in southwest Boiotia, is a big name in Greek history.[1] Since the decisive epilogue of the Persian invaders' defeat on Plataian land in 479 BC, the city almost naturally acquired and the Greek victors, with Sparta and Athens as protagonists, unanimously sanctioned its halo of a sacred and inviolable place: It was forever dedicated to the memory of and entrusted with the periodic realization of the proper honours for the Greeks fallen there as defenders of Greek freedom, while the Plataians were recognized as permanent custodians of a specific new cult of Zeus Eleutherios, the Panhellenic god who favoured and in a sense sealed Greek freedom. Apart from yearly

1 On the history of ancient Plataia the synthetic treatments by Kirsten 1950 and Prandi 1988 remain valuable. Badian 1993 has insightfully treated the history of the city up to its extinction in the Peloponnesian War. A recent set of relevant contributions focusing on aspects of the battle of 479 BC (and its topography) has been edited by Konecny & Sekunda 2022.

Kostas Buraselis: 'Plataia between Light and Darkness: Thoughts on the Small Boiotian Polis as a Symbol of Unity and as a Paradigm of Disunity in Ancient Greece' C&M Supplementum 1 (2024) 3-16.

memorial celebrations, still conducted by the Plataians alone in Plutarch's times (ca. beginning 2nd century AD), a penteteric festival – that is, programmatically conceived as corresponding to a Panhellenic festival – named *Eleutheria* should also take place at Plataia (Plut. *Arist*. 21. 1).

The historical context of those common decisions of the Greek victors, attributed by Plutarch to a proposal of Aristeides, was unique as Greece had just left behind an extreme phase of danger, having safely surmounted the 'razor's edge' (ξυροῦ ἀκμή) as contemporary poetry (Simonides in *Anth. Pal.* 7. 250) epitomized Xerxes' invasion. Plataia should then symbolize what Greek unity and co-operation had been and would ever be able to achieve. Let us be more precise: the shining light of Greek victorious collaboration on the battleground of Plataia against the Persian land forces in Greece managed first to impose itself, as the decisive result and impression, on the dark aspects of other Greeks' having chosen/been forced to collaborate with Xerxes' (and after his departure, Mardonios') numerically far superior army. Plataia was thus right from the beginning of its glory characterized by an underlying crude antithesis of light and shadow, presence and absence of a spirit of Greek unity, which would often reappear and influence the city's chequered classical history.

I. Now, it seems to have escaped scholarly comment so far that Plataia already satisfied crucial conditions of being invested with such a symbolic role of unity due to its apparently older cultic peculiarity inside Greek myth and religious practice. This emerges from the essence of its main and distinct local festival of *Daidala*.

We owe the knowledge of sense and content of this Plataian festival to Pausanias (9.3). The *Daidala* should commemorate, according to the local tradition reported by that *periegetes* of the 2nd century AD, a central divine reconciliation, between Zeus and Hera. As Pausanias relates the local story, during one of the periods of tension between Zeus and his divine consort, the supreme pair was separated and Hera preferred to stay alone on Euboea.[2] Then the local king of Plataia Kithairon, whose name should have been later given to the adjacent mountain, advised

2 On the difficult relationship between Hera and Zeus, see Pirenne-Delforge & Pironti 2016: esp. 109-19.

Zeus to construe a clever trick in order to regain his wife's favour: The supreme god had the fame spread that he would marry another woman. The news on the preparations reached Hera and roused her jealousy and anger but then, on the day of the supposed wedding, when Hera came to stop it and tore in indignation the dress of the (fake) new wife, she discovered that a wooden substitute, a female *xoanon* or *daidalon* (hence the name of the later festival), was borne in the wedding carriage. The goddess was thus pleased and reconciliated with her astute consort. The Plataians should have commemorated exactly that restitution of divine harmony and family peace on the highest level through their periodic (possibly septennial) festival of *Daidala*.[3] This limited, small festival, *mikra Daidala*, the local story ran on, should have also later assumed a pan-Boiotian character, where all main Boiotian *poleis* participated, even Thebes after its re-foundation by Kassandros' initiative (since 316 BC, cf. below). In any case, Plataia was forever linked as a place with the memory of an effective divine reconciliation. It was established as the site where it had proved possible to end a feud of the highest order, an event that had also been judged worthy of periodic celebration.

One should consider here that controversies and confrontations of gods and humans followed parallel lines in the Greek world, at least since the Homeric poems. We may recall Achaeans and Trojans building opposite camps with corresponding divine favour and disfavour of the divided Olympian gods as their supporters: among them Hera had a high relevant record, often vying on such issues with Zeus (as in the beginning of rhapsody Δ of the Iliad). It was thus quite appropriate for the place where mutual divine understanding and peace had been achieved to symbolize also a similar choice of behaviour among men. Already Plataia's mythical-religious identity seems to have prefigured it for the role of a symbol of appeasement and unity in the Greek world. This may have then assumed a specific historical content due to the united Greek land forces' victory there, with the participation of the Plataians themselves, at the

3 On the content and periodic celebration of *Daidala*, *mikra/megala*, the basic data have been collected and discussed already by Kirsten 1950: 2319-21. On the development of the festival in Hellenistic times and its Boiotian context Knoepfler 2001a & 2001b are now basic. Cf. also Chaniotis 2002 on the various strains of interpretation of this festival and their possible synthesis.

end of the Persian invasion of Greece. That victory further resulted in the unanimously conferred task to the small Boiotian *polis* and its citizens of preserving that tradition of Greek unity and its festive expressions, as best as they could (and, indeed, as the original community of the deciding Greek victors would allow them to).

II. Of course, symbolic images are not always easily congruous with the data of the real world. Plataia was a difficult case in this respect. For geography predestined it otherwise to be a site on a delicate border. Its citizens' apparent claim in Pausanias' times (and probably well before), mirrored in his own persuasion, was that they were indigenous (*autochthones*, Paus. 9.1.1) – *nota bene*, like the Athenians, their closest friends nearby, as we shall see. Nevertheless, they were certainly and consciously part of the Boiotian *ethnos*: they lay at the extreme southwest corner of the land taken by their tribal fellows, the rest Boiotians. One could view them within a pastoral simile as the last sheep of the Boiotian herd in a southern direction. Unfortunately, however, there was a much stronger fellow animal with shepherd ambitions in Boiotia: Thebes. Plataia meant to remain Boiotian but resisting any Theban authority over itself, even in federal (pan-Boiotian) function or disguise. To attain this, in other words: to evade Theban control from their north, the Plataians could best face further south, to Attica, and they decided to do that persistently. Thus, well before the Persians' interventions in Greece, the Plataians had looked for a patron outside Boiotia and willing to support them in the face of the Theban menace. According to Herodotos (6.108.2-3),[4] their initial thought was to address for help the established land power of archaic Greece, Sparta. It was then the Spartan king Kleomenes (I) around 510 BC (519 if one accepts Thucydides' dating [3.68.5]) who should have directed them to Athens as a near and more practical solution of alliance. Herodotos' judgment, probably echoing Athenian views, was that this advice to Plataia mainly aimed at causing Boiotian difficulties for Athens. However, Sparta may have been simply unwilling to involve itself in inter-Boiotian affairs, so far outside the Peloponnese, its

4 Cf. How & Wells 1928.II: 109-10; Kirsten 1950: 2284-86. Badian 1993: esp. 116-22 rather over-emphasizes the Plataians' ensuing dependence on Athens in Herodotos as a sort of 'political slavery'.

primary sphere of influence and control. In any case, by thus acting, Sparta donated to its still nascent rival Athens a satellite of faith and duration: the Boiotian Plataia entered a long-standing political allegiance to Athens. The small Boiotian *polis* based its hopes of independent survival in its natural/ethnic context on becoming dependent on Athenian aid. As a periegete of Boiotia in Hellenistic times (3rd century BC), Herakleides Kritikos, formulated it retrospectively and succinctly, the citizens of Plataia became "Athenians-Boiotians".[5]

The Plataians' loyalty to Athens was singularly proved at Marathon (490 BC), and since then also combined with a clear anti-Persian dimension. Exactly this dimension found an ideal ground for further development during Xerxes' invasion. Now Thebes became and remained until the end a collaborator of the barbarians while Plataia remained on the Athenian-Spartan and Panhellenic side and proved not only an active combatant but also the favourable setting for the final Greek victory.[6] As long as the anti-barbaric front was solid and Thebes did not belong to it, Plataia was best served and able to flourish as a permanent servant of Athenian strategy being – very comfortably for Plataia – an aspect of a common Hellenic one. The subsequent role of the custodian of Panhellenic memories suited also best the small city's local context of interests.

III. The key to Plataia's happy honorary guardianship at its finely constituted '*lieux de mémoire* of Hellenic victory over the barbarians', as one may name it, was exactly its identification with a Panhellenic freedom where Athens should be at least co-dominant and Thebes as far as possibly absent. This condition was best fulfilled in the direct aftermath of the great battle on Plataian soil. However, neither the content of *eleutheria*, applicable not only towards the barbarians but also in inter-Greek sense,[7]

5 ...Οἱ δὲ πολῖται οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔχουσι λέγειν ἢ ὅτι Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἄποικοι καὶ ὅτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Περσῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο. Εἰσὶ δε Ἀθηναῖοι Βοιωτοί (Frg. I, §11: Arenz 2006: 106). Cf. further on the interpretation of this whole passage on Plataia, Arenz 2006: 75-77, 157-58.

6 The importance of exactly where the final battle of the Persian invasion was fought for Plataia itself has been correctly stressed by Badian 1993: 121.

7 On the semantic political content of Greek *eleutheria* Raaflaub 1985 is always basic.

nor the positions of the big Greek cities, and the context of their interplay of power, were to remain stable. Poor Plataia should then repeatedly suffer bound on the turning wheel of history. Its devotion to Athens, ever mutual, would not easily change but almost all other factors did, and the victorious Panhellenic site and *polis* par excellence had to bear the results especially of the rehabilitation of Thebes, first as ally of Sparta against Athens, already before but especially during the big Peloponnesian War, and then as rising independent power and pan-Boiotian leader against Sparta in the fourth century BC. Both these crucial changes of interstate relations in Greece cost not only the freedom but also the bare existence of Plataia as a *polis*. The settlement-monument of Greek *eleutheria* against the barbarians had to sustain the internal, in each case opportune interpretations and abuses of Greek freedom as strife for power and domination. It was then a fully cognate irony of history that the symbol of Greek anti-barbaric unity could only survive if the champions of hegemony and practical disunity in classical Greece would allow it in the context of their fierce antagonisms.

An eloquent and grave – in more than one sense ! – presage of relevant developments after the Persian Wars lay already in a detail of the burial monuments of the Greeks fallen at Plataia. There has never been a common grave monument for the latter (a sort of Panhellenic *polyandrion*). According to Herodotos (9.85) the Athenian dead were buried together, the Spartans – more impressively and finely emphasizing the strength of their participation – in three separate burials: one for the younger Spartans [ἰρένες], one for the rest, and one for the helots. All other Greeks were buried in separate grave monuments of their various cities on the area of Plataiai.[8] Until Pausanias' (9.2.5) time this separate practice had been retained as a simple tripartite burying arrangement: one grave for the Spartans, one for the Athenians, one for all the other Greeks. Anyway, a common burial solution had never been realized. The fellow warriors of the common struggle against the barbarians returned to their civic groups upon leaving to Hades, the individual policies of their cities fully revived in and through their burial arrangements. They had died

8 "At the entrance of the city" according to Paus. 9.2.5. Jung 2006: 259 n. 115 supposes a common burying ground ('Gesamtkomplex') for all Greek burials but the evidence seems insufficient for such a conclusion.

for a common cause but separate habits and identities persisted, as -outstandingly – those of the two big protagonists, Sparta and Athens. These protagonists insisted thus on their proudly distinct accommodation even in glorious memory beyond death, and, no wonder, in further political action. The clear burial dividends of the victory prepared it.

IV. Thus it is no big surprise that in the first years of the Peloponnesian War (430-427 BC) Sparta as ally of and dependent on Thebes and its interests did not refrain from brutally abolishing the *polis*-statehood of Plataia. Thucydides' picture of the preceding dialogue between Plataians and Thebans in front of Spartan judges (3.52-68), against the background of Plataian loyalty to Athens, is justly monumental. The Plataians caught in the city after the long siege were executed, the women sold into slavery, and the city finally razed to the ground. Any surviving citizens – who had previously and mainly fled from the besieged city (Thuc. 3.24) – became homeless and entered a longer 'smooth exile' in Athens, which housed and provided them with the rare honour of Athenian citizenship, with some limitations.[9] Athens settled then apparently at least a part of this useful human potential at Skione in Chalkidike, after the expulsion of the disloyal Skionians, during the further course of the Peloponnesian War (421 BC [Thuc. 5.32.1]). Thus, the ex-guardians of Panhellenic glorious memory were used to fill gaps in the larger kleruchic policy of the Athenian Empire. They had now expressly to guard only Athenian interests.

In an annex of superb historical irony, it was then the old executioner of Plataia in the big inter-Greek war who was to play the role of the city's saviour after its end. Sparta's alienation with Thebes in the Corinthian War of the beginning fourth century BC instigated the now severely disputed, essentially ex-hegemon of Greece to restore Plataia after the King's Peace (387 BC) as a city (Paus. 9.1.4-8), by then urgently appreciated as a valuable counterweight with a useful re-directed loyalty to Sparta against a more and more uncontrollable Thebes. It was characteristic that a small contingent of Plataians came to aid the Spartan garrison when still mastering Thebes in 379 BC. (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.10). However, the

9 The evidence has been collected and analytically discussed by Prandi 1988: 111-20; and most recently by Blok 2017: 257-59.

old Boiotian master was soon freed from the Spartans and their control, and Theban – now independently risen – power and ambitions remained too near and too strong for Plataia to secure its own freshly restored civic existence. The city's Panhellenic glory was ever an indirect but eloquent stain on the historical record of Thebes, which judged the small neighbour again unbearable as a real political entity and community. Thus the Plataians were expelled again (in 373 BC), this time at least without a preceding blood-bath (a simple evacuation stratagem sufficed), and sought for a second time refuge in Athens, where they were re-offered some form of citizen rights (Diod. 15.46.4-6 [*isopoliteia*]; Paus. *loc. cit.*). The emblematic city of Panhellenic memories experienced a second extinction and its citizens a renewed exile, its place was secure in history and Panhellenic symbolism but not in current and hard political realities. Thus also its function as permanent servant of that symbolism was frigidly co-extinguished.

V. It is highly interesting that the Plataians' claim of existence on the map of Greek cities after this new misfortune was fully endorsed and presented in Athens by the greatest publicist and representative of the Panhellenic ideal in fourth-century Greece, Isokrates, the Athenian of wide Hellenic horizons in his times par excellence. He adopted as a writer the unfortunate Plataians' cause and published a preserved treatise (*Plataikos*) on their fate trying to remind his fellow Athenians of the small city's highly symbolic role in Greek history, despite and irrespective of the fact of its still recent restitution by the Athenians' traditional antagonist, Sparta. In his view, the miserable Plataians were too connected with Athens and Panhellenic tradition to remain the victims of inner Greek tensions. Recent favour and disfavour for the Plataians inside the problematic hegemonic triangle Sparta-Athens-Thebes should not override the permanent value of what the city symbolized and guarded for Greek history. Plataia should stay on its traditional throne of Panhellenic memories, surpassing the usual *polis* horizon of ambitions and inter-Greek victories (*Plat.* 59). Its prime function should remain to keep that tradition alive and guarantee a continuous service to it. Those cherished Panhellenic deeds and their memorialization at Plataia, Isokrates emphasized, were exactly the basis of later Athenian hegemonic growth itself

(ib.). Of course, Athenian uneasiness in regard to Theban now also grown ambitions was no less an aid of Isokrates' rhetoric argumentation. The old role of a small Boiotian counter-Thebes, topographically opportune and allied with Athens, had not become redundant. It is no accident that Isokrates' fiery fellow Athenian patriot, the great Demosthenes, later (353 BC) also alluded to the obligation of Athenian support for the re-establishment of Plataia as an old glorious city.[10]

However, the specific historical context itself of Isokrates' speech favouring the restitution of Plataia proved not favourable enough. His pamphlet was published between 373 and 371 BC,[11] that is between the new expulsion of the Plataians and the congress at Sparta, where the latter and Athens tried to find a compromise of their claims of Greek hegemony in view of the rising Theban Boiotia. However, the Battle at Leuktra took place soon (twenty days!) after that compromise, and proved now beyond any doubt the new military power of Thebes, opening the way for the further establishment of its hegemonic ambitions in Greek politics. The Athenians, with or without Isokrates' advocacy and despite their disagreement with Theban harsh policy,[12] were objectively unable to help the Plataians regain their land and *polis*.

Nevertheless, the importance of Plataia as a potential showcase of a Panhellenic political memory and programme was thus highlighted again. Any future adoption of a similar project would naturally tend to incorporate the ideological asset of Plataia and its useful guardian role, should only be that Thebes would not stay in the way of its realization.

In the meantime, Plataia's grand position was further indelible only in memory and utopia. It is probably exactly this aspect that we find reflected in the famous 'Oath of Plataia' as preserved on a long-debated inscription from Acharnai in Attica, datable around the middle of the

10 Dem. 16.25: τὰς μὲν Θεσπιὰς καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς κατοικίζεσθαι φῶμεν δεῖν καὶ συμπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιῶμεν (ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια, μὴ περιορᾶν πόλεις ἀρχαίας ἐξανεστώσας).

11 See Kirsten 1950: 2310 with lit.; Prandi 1988: 130.

12 See esp. Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1 on Athenian feelings and considerations already before the congress at Sparta. See on this whole phase of Greek history the penetrating analysis by Carlier 1995: 52-55.

fourth century BC. A betraying passage of that text,[13] purportedly the oath sworn by the Greek combatants of 479 BC before the battle, includes the promise not only to punish the land of the Thebans (inflicting on it an indemnity of one-tenth) but also 'to preserve untouched Athens, Sparta and Plataia'. It is not to exclude that some Plataian refugees had been settled in the deme of Acharnai after the new expatriation, which would even better explain the erection of the stele at this place.[14] In any case, the triangle of political reality (and realism), Sparta-Athens-Thebes, is turned here into an utopian one, Athens-Sparta-Plataia, absolutely matching the pious wishes of contemporary Plataians and Athenians.

VI. The conditions necessary for the fulfillment of the Plataians' dream of *polis* rebirth appeared when Isokrates' final favourite champion of a Panhellenic policy, Philip of Macedonia, established his own version of hegemony in Greece and proved stronger than both Thebes and Athens united at Chaironeia in 338 BC. The Plataians were now best-qualified to be integrated as a living community into a new political order where Panhellenic memories could find a place not impaired by Theban influence or inclusion. It was then quite natural that Philip allowed them after Chaironeia to regain both the home and status they had repeatedly lost before (Paus. 9.1.8).[15] Alexander's later destruction of Thebes (autumn 335 BC) made things even easier for the Plataians: their local big brother and menace had been extinguished, which further secured their own preservation.

After Kassandros initiated the re-foundation of Thebes in 316 BC, breaking also in this point with Alexander's policy, a peaceful co-existence of the two Boiotian cities seems to have been gradually and finally

13 Rhodes & Osborne 2003: no. 88 (with detailed discussion of all relevant problems and lit.), § II, 32-35: δεκ/ατεύσω τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνασ/τήσω Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ Σπάρτην οὐδὲ Πλαται/ὰς (cf. the comm. ib.). See also more recently on the fourth-century context of the oath Kellogg 2008.

14 One may correlate here the appearance of the cult of Athena Areia, also typical of Plataia, in the same deme and times. Cf. Kirsten 1950: 2310.

15 According to Dem. 19.112 Philip had already presented the re-foundation (i.e. fortification) of Plataia as a plan before the Peace of Philokrates (346 BC). Cf. Dem. 6.30.

achieved, as signalized exactly by the Theban participation in the Boiotian *Daidala* as a pan-Boiotian festival (Paus. 9.3.6), already mentioned before. Now that a pan-Boiotian understanding was assured, Plataia was able to play on unharmed its Panhellenic role further into the Roman imperial period as Plutarch experienced and reported. Bitter inter-Greek experiences had ultimately helped the Panhellenic character of Plataia and its local activities and role mount a safe pedestal. Martyrdom counted, in the long run.[16]

An expression of this ripe political wisdom seems to have been also the testimony in the Hellenistic period of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia in a new specific conjunction with that of the Concord of the Greeks (Ὁμόνοια τῶν Ἑλλήνων). This meaningful addition, attested first in the famous decree of a common synedrion of the Greeks at Plataia for Chremonides' brother Glaukon (ca. middle of the 3rd century BC),[17] may date back from Philip's and Alexander's times, when the two kings' Greek Alliance must have been very well served by it, but it seems to have certainly remained fully relevant also for later periods.[18] At least it may have helped appeals to and activations of a common Greek front (again appearing as a Greek Alliance or *Koinon* of the Greeks) under some Macedonian king or against him (e.g. an Antigonid). However, the symbolism of Greek unity and common action of the Greeks remained Plataia's political capital, which had to be adjusted to successive political contexts exactly like the idea of Greek freedom. The past of the Persian Wars survived together with Plataia as an abiding ideal of unity conveniently labelled on ever changing realities of disunity.[19] The Roman Empire – understandably and especially Hadrian's[20] times, when also the Athenian

16 It is a fine remark by Knoepfler 2001b: 18 that the similar Theban vicissitudes since Alexander decisively prepared this appeasement with Plataia.

17 Étienne & Piérart 1975; cf. Buraselis 1984 on the date of the decree.

18 On the addition of the cult of Homonoia to that of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia as a development to integrate into the policy of Philip II and Alexander: West 1977. On various later datings of it (Lamian War, Galatian Invasion, Chremonidean War) see the lengthy discussion by Jung 2006: 325-40, favouring, on a weak source basis, the first alternative.

19 On the Hellenistic context of this reality concerning Plataia, see also Wallace 2011.

20 One may note that Hadrian is given the title *ktistes* in inscriptions of Plataia: *EA* 1917: 162 no. 11; ib. 1934/5, παρ. 15, 180. Cf. Hadrian's statue erected at Delphi by οἱ ἰς

Panhellenion of similar (and possibly borrowed) conception was founded – seems then to have been the final favourable historical context for the Plataian *Koinon ton Hellenon*, its *Eleutheria*, widely esteemed in the whole Greek world, and the parallel Panhellenic celebrity of the city.[21] The idea of a unity of the Greeks, long lost on the level of a real political/military collaboration, was preserved on a cultural-athletic one. It was a phantom of the past but an ever symbolic and vividly respectable one.

VII. One may finally and soberly conclude, (also) on the basis of the Plataian example, that the paradigm of disunity, in other words: the diversity of political interests and identities, ran a parallel course with any symbol of unity among the ancient Greeks, as that paradigm was deeply embedded in fundamental characteristics of the Greek *polis* world, especially the tenacity of the idea of *polis* autonomy. The value of political unity and Greek freedom versus the barbarians were ever historically appreciated and specifically honoured at Plataia. However, they always tended to be overshadowed by actions dictated by inter-Greek confrontations as appropriately and amply testified/illustrated in the course of the ancient history of the inner-frontier-city of Boiotia.[22] Light and darkness alternated in the life of the small *polis* as in the real essence of what it was supposed to symbolize for Greek history.

In the third century BC the comic poet Poseidippos acidly remarked that Plataia was a real *polis* only during the Panhellenic festival of the *Eleutheria*, otherwise having only a shadowy life (verbally "being an

Πλαταιὰς συνιόντες Ἕλληνες: *Syll.*³ 835A. A statue of Herodes Atticus has been erected by the same Koinon (τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν εἰς Πλατηὰς συνιόντων) according to an inscription preserved in Thebes, possibly initially also from Plataia: *IG* VII 2509.

21 On Plataia in Roman times the substantial sketch by Kirsten 1950: 2314-16 and the detailed synthesis by Jung 2006: 344-83 remain useful. Of fundamental value for the continuation of the *Eleutheria* in this period and the victors' title πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων: Robert 1929. See further C. Müller's contribution in this volume (17-42).

22 Cf. Prandi 1988: 183-84, who concludes correctly: "La strategia di Platea per difendere o recuperare il proprio territorio fu sempre il ricorso ad un'autorità esterna: Sparta, Atene o la Macedonia...".

ἀκτή", that is, an empty place).[23] One could add that the city was permanently identified with an ideal of Greek unity remembered by all as a respectable achievement of common struggle against the Persian invaders but not necessarily as a paradigm of actual practice in inter-Greek affairs. Unity shone in memory but it was often eclipsed, like Plataia itself, by individual *polis* interests and antagonistic ambitions, developed on a grand scale by the big cities. Unity and disunity co-existed as the twin faces of the ancient Greek political mindset and its historical course.[24]

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23 Poseidippos fr. 29 (Kock): ναοὶ δύ' εἰσὶ καὶ στοά, καὶ τοὔνομα,/ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον, καὶ τὸ Σαράβου κλέος,/ τὸ πολὺ μὲν ἀκτή, τοῖς δ' Ἐλευθερίοις πόλις.

24 Cf. Prandi 1988: 189. – I owe warm thanks to Rosalind Thomas for revising my English, to Christel Muller for various suggestions of improvement and to all other *synthiasotai* of the ENSAGH for the discussion of my original paper at Delphi. Of course, all remaining faults are mine.

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PLATAEAN REMEMBRANCES: THE MONUMENTS OF THE BATTLE FROM THE IMPERIAL PERIOD [AND] BACKWARDS*

By Christel Müller

Summary: This article focuses, in a regressive approach going back in time from the Imperial to the Classical period, on the physical markers which became places of commemoration on the territory of Plataea after 479, and their significance in terms of the memory of the battle and the persistence (or otherwise) of a Panhellenic landscape. These markers fall into three categories: trophies, the altar of Zeus Eleutherios, and the graves of fallen soldiers. Trophies, initially ephemeral monuments celebrating a victory, were monumentalised before 380 BC to become concrete manifestations of Panhellenic values. The punctual sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios on the agora was perpetuated by the construction of a marble altar and was enriched by the addition of a goddess, Homonoia, at least in the Hellenistic period, but perhaps as early as the end of the 5th century BC. Finally, the tombs of dead soldiers were the object of sacrifices that seemed to change in nature between the Classical and Imperial periods, with the *enagismos* ritual so well described by Plutarch. Two ceremonies are also discussed, the *Eleutheria* and the *dialogos*, which further encapsulate the memorial importance of the battle, perhaps as early as the end of the 4th century BC for the contest and the end of the 2nd century BC for the *dialogos*.

The battle of Plataea, in September 479, is a historical event that can be readily reconstructed and has brought with it an endless stream of commentaries, especially military or historical.[1] But it has the particularity

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1 The latest volume published is the one edited by A. Konecny & N. Sekunda in 2022, precisely on the anniversary of a battle “that shaped history” (p. 7). On the battle itself, see Shepherd 2019: 388-460.

Christel Müller: ‘Plataean Remembrances: The Monuments of the Battle from the Imperial Period [and] Backwards’ C&M Supplementum 1 (2024) 17-42.

of having also aroused, certainly more than other events of the same nature, a memorial will of which the present volume, 2500 years later, still bears the trace because of the two flagship ideals to which it contributed: those of *eleutheria* and *homonoia*, freedom and concord. The memory of Plataea occupied the Greeks from the day after the event: as Herodotus writes, they buried their fallen, and some cities even built cenotaphs τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, "for the men who would come after" (9.85), while the Plataeans every year honoured the graves of these men, as Thucydides recalls (3.58.4). But it increased from the 380s onwards, with the gradual invention of the Persian Wars as a moment of Panhellenic unity despite the deep disagreements of Greek cities both during and after the battle: the memorialization of the event itself "became a focal point of contention among eternally rivalrous Greeks and their cities",[2] making Plataea a major stake in the perpetual tension between unity and disunity among *poleis*.[3]

Plataea is thus exactly what Pierre Nora called a *lieu de mémoire*. This is what Michael Jung rightly states in his thesis on the two battles of Marathon and Plataea.[4] But what is a *lieu de mémoire*? First of all, it is a place of which there is a will to remember, and this is indeed the case here: this event has become a Panhellenic *mnemeion*. Moreover, places of memory "are places (...) in the three senses of the word: material, symbolic and functional, but simultaneously, only to varying degrees".[5] Finally, a place of memory is both "closed in on its identity and closed in on its name", and "constantly open to the range of its meanings".[6] In other words, a *lieu de mémoire* is a kind of niche or spatio-temporal bubble taken from

2 Cartledge 2013: 124. – In this work, the author analyses in detail the Oath of Plataea, supposedly pronounced just before the battle, but in fact engraved around the 3rd quarter of the 4th c. BC from a text set in the political context of the middle of the 4th c. BC (see *RO* 88). Already Jung 2006: 282-95 uses the expression "Kampf um die Erinnerung an Plataiai".

3 For this haunting theme about Plataea, see Buraselis' contribution in this volume (p. 4).

4 Jung 2006, who nevertheless emphasises memory, *Erinnerung*, more than places. The expression is also used by Knoepfler 2004-2005: 609. See also Buraselis' contribution to this volume (pp. 3, 11 and 15).

5 Nora 1997: 37.

6 Nora 1997: 43.

historical time, on which subsequent generations carry out two operations: commemoration on the one hand, and re-semanticisation on the other. A *lieu de mémoire* is a place where an event is replayed tirelessly, almost obsessively, and where the event is constantly enriched with new, more or less stratified meanings.

This is exactly what happened to the 'Plataean event' from the Classical period down to the Roman Empire, which is fully in line with what the editors of a recent volume devoted to war memorials call "cultures of commemoration".[7] I will start precisely from the imperial period in a regressive approach, by going back in time, in a way that is undoubtedly iconoclastic for a historian, but with heuristic advantages. It allows us to place ourselves directly in the shoes of the authors of this period, notably Strabo, Plutarch and Pausanias. And it allows us to see how, in these texts, the past and its previous reactivations are negotiated both in the narrative itself and in the commemorative events they report. The commentaries so far have largely focused on the symbolic aspects, i.e. on the evolving re-semanticisation of the event: the meanings produced by this commemoration during the Hellenistic period and under the empire have already been partly analysed by Shane Wallace,[8] Anthony J.S. Spawforth,[9] or Onno van Nijf.[10] On the other hand, the two other dimensions identified by Nora, material and functional, have been much less emphasised. It is these that interest me here in a spatial perspective, such as that opened by Susan E. Alcock in 2002 in a very stimulating book, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past*: as she argues, "memories are (...) embedded and supported within a material framework. To examine that framework is to expand the range of commemorative practices and impulses we can actually recognize and study, giving back to peoples in the past – if only ever partially – some of the vigour of their remembrances", instead of doing as if dead populations "had no memories at all."[11]

7 Low & Oliver 2012.
8 Wallace 2011.
9 Spawforth 2012: 130-38.
10 Van Nijf 2005.
11 Alcock 2002: 2. See also Ma's 2008 approach to the monuments of the battle of Chaeronea in 338, with a much more topographical and archaeological orientation (the author speaks of "topographies of commemoration"), which can be explained by the

It is therefore a question of seeing what the physical markers of commemoration have to tell us about the memory of Plataea and the persistence (or not) of a Panhellenic landscape.[12] The most famous monument commemorating this victory is not Plataean: it is the so-called Serpent Column, consisting of a bronze column formed by the bodies of three snakes, which supported a golden tripod carrying a cauldron and on whose coils were inscribed the names of the 31 cities that had fought against the Persians.[13] But the Plataean monuments themselves did not enjoy the same celebrity despite their interest: not preserved or at least not exhumed, they are primarily monuments encapsulated in narratives. On a civic territory marked after 479 by its at least theoretical inviolability, these markers are three in number: the trophies raised following the victory, the altar of Zeus Eleutherios and, of course, the collective tombs of the warriors who died in battle.

I. The trophies

Let us begin with the trophies. Pausanias mentions one: τρόπαιον δέ, ὃ τῆς μάχης τῆς Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἕστηκεν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως, "the trophy which the Greeks set up for the battle at Plataea stands about fifteen stades from the city" (9. 2.6). It is now known with certainty that Pausanias himself visited Boeotia and in particular Plataea: he came from Eleusis and Eleutherae and thus arrived by the eastern route.[14] If he mentions a trophy, it is because he saw it, but the problem is that he mentions only one. In Plutarch, in fact, there are two trophies: the Athenians, the author explains, had refused the Spartans in 479 the *aristeion*, the collective *prize of excellence*, which went to the victorious city in a war (*Arist.* 20.1-2). After the Greeks

preservation of the two funerary monuments associated with the event: that of the Macedonians and that of the Thebans.

12 However, there is no question of analysing the topography of the battle here, which has been done many times, most recently by Jones 2019 and Konecny 2022.

13 On this monument and its inscription, see the excellent commentary by Jacquemin, Mulliez & Rougemont 2012: no. 17 and, most recently, Stephenson 2016 and Patay-Horváth 2022: 250-58.

14 Knoepfler 2019: 28.

had finally agreed to give this prize to the Plataeans, "then the Lacedaemonians set up a trophy (*tropaion*) on their own account, and the Athenians also separately", ἔστησαν δὲ τρόπαιον ἰδίᾳ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χωρὶς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι (*Arist*. 20.3). In the inscriptions, there is mention of a single trophy, from which the runners of the hoplite race set off. In a Milesian honorary inscription of ca. 20 BC, the exact phrase is ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου (*Milet* I 9, 369, l. 7).[15] Going back even further, there is also mention of Plataean trophies in the plural in Plato's *Menexenos* (245a)[16] and especially in Isocrates' *Plataikos* (14.59). In this imaginary speech by a citizen of Plataea to the Athenians after the third destruction of the city in 374/3 or 373/2 BC, the latter explains that the Thebans have every reason to destroy these trophies, "since memorials of the events of that time bring shame to them", τὰ γὰρ μνημεῖα τῶν τότε γενομένων αἰσχύνη τούτοις ἐστίν. These are certainly not in any case the original trophies, since no allusion to monuments of this kind is found in Thucydides, nor before him in Herodotus.

There are thus three problems to be solved here: how did the Greeks manifest victory at the time and during the century that followed 479? What is the value of the trophy or trophies erected in the 380s, at any rate before 373? What did Pausanias see? The answer to the first question remains a hypothesis, albeit a likely one: the Greeks might have erected temporary trophies at first, intended to signal their victory, without any particular notion of long-term commemoration, or any mention in the sources. These ephemeral trophies must, however, have been strong

15 *Milet* I 9, 369, ll. 5-9 (ca. 20 BC, for a victor whose name is lost): καὶ Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς | [τὰ τ]ιθέμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄνδρας [στά]διον καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου ἐνόπλιον δρόμον | [καὶ] ἀναγορευθέντα ἄριστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον | [καὶ] μόνον τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, "and at the *Eleutheria* of Plataea organized by the *koinon* of the Hellenes: (having won) the men's *stadion* as well as the race in arms from the trophy and having been proclaimed *aristos ton Hellenon* the first and only one among the competitors from Asia". For this inscription, see Mann in this volume (pp. 54; 56-60).

16 But this plural is distributed over three sites, Marathon, Salamis and Plataea: τὰ τρόπαια τά τε Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς (*Menex*. 245a). See also a contemporary of Plato, Eudoxos of Knidos, fr. 311 Lasserre (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Plataiai*), who mentions τάφους καὶ τρόπαια ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, "tombs and trophies of men of value".

enough to have lasted for some time after the battle. The Greeks were later able to build lasting trophies in stone, as the Athenians had done for Marathon and Salamis. It was then that these trophies acquired a clear memorial value: in Isocrates, they are properly called μνημεῖα τῶν τότε γενομένων, "memorials of the past".

The question remains as to why only one *tropaion* is mentioned afterwards. The inscriptions are unmistakable proof of the fact that the place from which the competitors in the hoplite race took off at the *Eleutheria* competition had only one *tropaion*: if there had been several there, it would have been easy to write in the plural ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων. On its location, the only certainty, mentioned by Pausanias, is that it was set up 15 stadia from the city, but the text does not specify in which direction. It is unlikely that it was located along the route taken by the Periegetes at the time he talks about it: the *tropaion* is mentioned at this point in the text not as a topographical marker of the journey itself ("I am at the foot of the trophy"), but as an implicit starting point for the arms race. He may therefore have seen it at another point when leaving Plataea to go north towards Thebes or on a possible excursion east towards Hysiai, in other words closer to the battlefield near the Asopos. But the use of the plural *tropaia* in Isocrates and Plutarch implies that there was at least another one, perhaps installed in connection with the battlefields.[17] The Athenians and the Spartans must thus have erected, each on their own, a monument on the place where their own troops were deployed.[18] The question is what Pausanias saw. William C. West has suggested that Pausanias' trophy was "a replacement for the original trophies"[19] and that it had been erected around the beginning of the 4th c. BC after the peace of Antalkidas under Spartan influence. He would therefore have seen the Spartan monument, although it is not clear what happened to the Athenian monument. At the time of the Periegetes perhaps only one trophy remained, considered as the general trophy of the battle without distinction of cities, a kind of trophy emblematic of the victory.

17 One will recall the much later case (86 BC) of the trophies erected after the battles of Chaeronea and Orchomenos won by Sylla against the troops of Mithridates: see Müller 2019: 167-72.

18 West 1969: 18; Rabe 2008: 106.

19 West 1969: 18.

The struggle for the *aristeion* and the splitting of the trophies show in any case that the division between Athens and Sparta undermined the union of the Hellenes from the Plataean moment onwards. But above all, they are in a way the matrix in which two other commemorative events are inscribed, which had the function of replaying the initial events and of which we have traces essentially in the imperial period. The first event is the ritualised staging of the conflict between Athens and Sparta in another type of contest, which took place every four years in the month of Metageitnion (August-September), in the middle of the interval between two sessions of the *Eleutheria*: the *dialogos*. It was a competition between the two cities for the *propompeia*, the 'leading of the procession'. The term *dialogos* is difficult to translate, as it refers both to the "oratorical joust" between the candidates, which was about the glorious events of the past and the question of who, of the Athenians or the Spartans, had fought better at Plataea,[20] but also, and above all, to the "arbitration" by the Council of Hellenes, modelled on that of 479. In Plutarch, when the Plataeans receive the *aristeion*, the Athenians and Spartans, thanks in particular to the efforts of Aristides, are then reconciled, οὕτω δὲ διαλλαγέντες (*Arist.* 20.3), with perhaps a pun (?) between the linguistic families of διαλλαγή and διάλογος. This event, known from the end of the 2nd c. BC,[21] could have been established after the Achaean War in 146, when the two cities started to reactivate their ancient traditions while being friends of Rome. In the second half of the 2nd c. AD, Athenian ephebes and, most probably, their Spartan equivalents, also attended.

The second event is directly related to the main trophy and how it was recognised as the starting point of the hoplite race. This event was part of the gymnastic competition of the *Eleutheria* and consisted of an armed race with the carrying of a shield for about three kilometres (15 stadia) from the trophy.[22] Philostratus in the 3rd c. AD gave an eloquent description of this event.[23] It was extremely difficult because of the length of the race, the wearing of an armour that covered the athlete

20 Robertson 1986. See also Jung 2006: 351-60 and Chaniotis 2012: 50.

21 *IG* II/III^2 3189a (*add.* vol. 3.1, p. 349: Peek's version).

22 On this competition, see Mann in this volume (pp. 57-61).

23 Philostr. *Gymn.* 8.

down to his feet and a rule instituted by the Plataeans, but highly implausible: if a competitor failed after having already won the race once, he was condemned to death and had to give pledges on his body, in order to avoid any temptation to flee, one must suppose!

Replaying Plataea thus had a potential impact on the bodies themselves. Victory gave the winner a specific title, directly linked to the question of *aristeion*. This title, here individual, was, indeed, during the *Eleutheria*, that of *aristos ton Hellenon*, "the best of the Greeks", as Louis Robert once showed.[24] It is attested from the 20s BC in the inscription of Miletus already quoted,[25] and we find it quite late under the Empire, until the 3rd c. AD.[26] We can see that this title, in principle reserved for victorious athletes as shown by the inscriptions, ended up acquiring an additional dimension, that of a devotion to the Roman Empire through athletics, as shown by Onno van Nijf.[27]

Regarding the *Eleutheria* more generally, Diodorus (11.29.1) explains that the Greeks had promised themselves, even before the battle, to hold them if they were victorious. Strabo (9.2.31) says that they were instituted the day after the victory as a "stephanitic gymnastic contest". As for Plutarch, he invokes a notorious forgery, the decree of Aristides, who proposed after the battle "to celebrate the *Eleutheria* contest every four years."[28] In reality, this contest is only attested from the 3rd c. BC, perhaps for the first time in the work of the epigrammatist Poseidippus, who

24 Robert 1929.

25 *Milet* I 9, 369, ll. 5-9, with the commentary of Robert 1949.

26 For attestations of the title *aristos*, see the list compiled by Schachter 1994: 141 n. 1. The title *pratos Achaion* in *SEG* 11.338 does not seem to me to be the ancestor of *aristos*. It is simply an allusion to the fact that the man was the first of the Achaeans to win this victory: Ἑλευθέρια ὁπλίτ[α]ν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου πρᾶτος Ἀχαιῶν ll. 6-7.

27 Van Nijf 2005. On the other hand, one cannot accept anymore that the contest took as a second name that of *Kaisarea*, since the mention of the Ἐλευ|[θέρ]ια τὰ καὶ Καισάρηα in the honorary inscription *IG* XII.4, 935 (Cos, late 1st c. BC) does not refer to Plataea, but to a local Coan contest founded around 30 BC, as Rigsby 2010 has well shown (against Robert 1969, 57 [*OMS* VII, 763]).

28 The supposed decree of Aristides, which organizes what modern historians have called the Covenant of Plataea, is, in the words of Cartledge 2013: 129, part of the Plataean *mythopoiesis*; far from belonging to the aftermath of the battle in the 470s, it rather finds its place, like the Oath, in the 4th c. BC and, more precisely, probably at the time of the third destruction of Plataea in 373 (this time by the Thebans).

writes that Plataea becomes a real city only during the *Eleutheria*, so extinct is it in ordinary times.[29] These *Eleutheria* are therefore the result of a "tradition invented"[30] during the Macedonian period, perhaps as early as the end of the 4th century BC at the time of Alexander's destruction of Thebes in Boedromion 335 as suggested by Shane Wallace, because it was also the 144th anniversary of the battle itself and Plataea had just been refounded in 337.[31] Denis Knoepfler, on the other hand, has proposed a date later than 287, presumably in connection with the establishment of the Hellenistic Boeotian *koinon*.[32] There are about thirty testimonies (notably catalogues of victories) for the *Eleutheria*, between the 3rd c. BC and the 3rd c. AD,[33] which is not negligible and confirms Pausanias' statement that, in his time, the Greeks still celebrated this penteteric competition (9.2.6). The fragments of winners' lists show classical athletic events such as *stadion*, *dolichos*, and *pankration*. But it was the armed race that made its success and its profound originality.

An essential question concerns the exact place where these games were performed. This question seems to be directly evoked, according to Roland Étienne and Marcel Piérart, in the famous decree of the *koinon* of the Hellenes at Plataea, passed between 262 and 246 BC in honour of the Athenian Glaukon son of Eteokles, who occupied a choice position at the Ptolemaic court.[34] It mentions in ll. 21-24 τὸν ἀγῶνα ὃν τιθέασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγωνισαμένοις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, which they translate "the contest which the Greeks celebrate on the grave of the heroes who died fighting against the barbarians for the freedom of the Greeks". But, the

29 Poseidippus fr. 31 (29 Kock = *PCG* VII [1989], 577-578): τὸ πολὺ μὲν ἀκτή, τοῖς δ' Ἐλευθερίοις πόλις, "generally a [deserted] promontory, and at the time of the *Eleutheria* a city". The text dates from the first half of the 3rd c. BC: Jung 2006: 318.

30 Van Nijf 2005: §9. On the *Eleutheria*, besides Mann in the present volume (passim), see already Prandi 1988: 161-79.

31 Wallace 2011: 153-54.

32 Knoepfler 2004-2005: 611. For the founding date, see in this volume Mann (pp. 46-47).

33 The attestations are listed in this volume by Mann (p. 49 n. 23).

34 *Ed. pr.* of the document in Etienne & Piérart 1975, also reproduced in *SEG* 61.352, Jung 2006: 299-320 and Bencivenni 2017. For the dating of the inscription in the middle of the 3rd c. BC, see Buraselis 1984.

translation of ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς by "on the grave of the dead heroes", instead of its classical meaning "in honour of the dead heroes", would imply that this *agōn* would have taken place directly on or near the graves: such a hypothesis seems complicated if one considers the very nature of the events, especially the different types of races, which could only take place in a stadium, even of a basic construction.[35] In fact, this topographical interpretation seems to have been dictated mainly by the passage in Pausanias where he writes that θέουσι δὲ ὡπλισμένοι πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ (9.2.6), "the competitors run in armour before the altar". Since the altar was not far from the tombs (9.2.5), the expression πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ was taken literally to show that the athletic events were held there.[36] In reality, Pausanias mentions in this passage only one event, the most famous one, the *hoplites* or *hoplitodromia*, and the altar is not to be confused with the tombs themselves either. Denis Knoepfler has therefore rightly deduced that the expression πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ was wrong and that the text here should be corrected to πρὸς τον βωμόν,[37] "towards the altar": this race started from the trophy and ended up in front of the altar of Zeus.

This race was emulated elsewhere in Boeotia. The exact same expression ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου is found in a winners' list of the *Sōteria* of Akraiphia dated 1st c. BC,[38] just after the Mithridatic War, to mark the starting point of two racing events: the double *stadion* called *diaulos* and the quadruple stadion called *hippios*. Insofar as it is a duplicate of the Plataean event, I have hypothesized that this race also ended before an altar placed on the agora, that of a Zeus similar to the Eleutherios of Plataea:

35 See in this volume, Mann (p. 53).

36 Étienne & Piérart 1975: 55: if we compare the decree with the text of Pausanias, "it is thus on the very place where the fighters of Plataea were buried that the contest took place, which is in keeping with our interpretation of the expression".

37 Knoepfler 2004-2005: 612.

38 See Müller 2019: 172-74, for this inscription *IG* VII 2727 (winners' list at the *Soteria* in Akraiphia, ca. 80 BC (ll. 32-34, end of the list): τὸν ὁπλίτην ἀ[π]ὸ τοῦ τροπαίου | [Ὀλ]ύμπιχος Ἀριστί[δ]ου Θηβαῖος, | [τὸν ἵ]ππ[ιον ἀπ]ὸ τ[οῦ τ]ροπαίου (the rest is missing). An example probably imitated from the Plataean race is that of the *Epitaphia* of Athens which, in the 2nd c. BC, starts "from the *polyandreion*" (*IG* II^2 1006, l. 22, honorary decree for Athenian ephebes in 122/1 BC), which was a cenotaph commemorating the dead of Marathon: see Chaniotis 2012, 48.

the Zeus Soter of Akraiphia. This evocation provides an excellent transition to the second place of memory of Plataea: the altar of Zeus.

II. The altar of Zeus Eleutherios

The altar of Zeus Eleutherios was located, again according to the Periegetes, οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (9.2.5), "not far from the common grave of the Greeks". Pausanias is then κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον μάλιστα τὴν ἐς Πλάταιαν (9.2.5), "roughly at the entrance into Plataea". This can only be one of the eastern entrances and we are obviously outside the walls.[39] Moreover, the stele bearing the decree in honour of Glaukon had been erected παρὰ τὸμ βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου καὶ τῆς Ὁμονοίας, "near the altar of Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia", as the penultimate clause of the text states.[40]

When the inscription was discovered in 1971, its inventor, the archaeologist Th.G. Spyropoulos, deduced that the altar must not have been very far from the *Fundort* of the stele.[41] He carried out excavations on the Dekkas field, "100 meters north of the modern road to Kokkla ('Plataea')",[42] not a very precise location. But this excavation did not reveal any Hellenistic altars, only late installations from the 5th c. AD. Spyropoulos concluded that the stele had been used as building material and had been moved from its *Standort*. Further excavations 200m further north in the Makris field, along the road crossing the site towards the modern village, probably close to the ancient road and not far from the eastern wall of the rampart, revealed various constructions: tombs, some of which were from the 5th c. AD, but above all the conglomerate foundations of a structure measuring 15m x 4m.[43] The archaeologist interpreted them, with caution, as those of the altar of Zeus, who would have had to undergo, in his words, a "*damnatio memoriae*",[44] a paradox for such

39 On the routes to Plataea from Eleutherae and Megara and on the route taken by the Periegetes, see Pritchett 1982.

40 *SEG* 61.352, ll. 39-40.

41 Spyropoulos 1973a: 375-79 and 1973b: 2-3.

42 Spyropoulos 1973b: 2.

43 Spyropoulos 1973a: 377-78.

44 Spyropoulos 1973b: 3.

a commemorative symbol. Why such a *damnatio*? The reasons are not clear, nor is the identification of the structure with the altar. To my knowledge, there has been no further investigation into the altar since then, including during the excavations carried out by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in collaboration with the Ephorate of Boeotia and the University of Minnesota, the results of which were published in 2013.[45] This Panhellenic object *par excellence* is therefore completely unknown today in the field, which does not prevent us from asking questions about it.

First question: when was it erected? If we are to believe Aelius Aristides in the *Panathenaic oration* (189-190) when he recounts the past deeds of the Athenians in the struggle against the barbarians, the altar of Zeus was erected in the wake of the victory ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόπου τῶν ἔργων, "on the very spot of the events". It would have had from the outset the two values that the Greeks of the imperial period undoubtedly recognised in it: that of being both a thanksgiving to the god and a memorial in honour of the victors: αὐτῷ τε τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον καὶ τοῖς κατορθώσασι μνημεῖον. Before him, Plutarch reports in the *Life of Aristides* that the erection of the altar of Zeus was a prescription of the Delphic oracle after the victory and that it had been necessary to obtain pure fire taken from the altar of Pythian Apollo for this purpose (20.4), but the anecdote told on this occasion has all the trappings of a forgery.[46] According to Strabo (9.2.31), the construction would have taken place at the same time as the institution of the *Eleutheria*, again after the victory. If we go back even further, in addition to the mention of it in the decree of the 3rd century BC in honour of Glaukon, one finds an interesting expression in Thucydides, when the Plataeans beg the Lacedaemonians in 427 not to hand them over to the Thebans: the former invoke the "gods at whose common altar all the Hellenes worship", θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων (3.59). This sentence has generally been interpreted as an invocation to the gods common to all Greeks wherever they are. Yet the invocation could be more precise and refer in particular to Zeus Eleutherios whose cult and altar the Hellenes shared

45 Konecny, Aravantinos & Marchese 2013. The latter research has focused on the wall and fortifications, which are indeed spectacular at Plataea.

46 Cartledge 2013: 130-31.

at Plataea. What might tip the balance in favour of a precise reference is the mention of the tombs of the forefathers in the following sentence, which undoubtedly alludes, as in the previous paragraph (3.58), to the funerary monuments of the local fallen soldiers at Plataea: ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα ὑμῶν τῶν πατρῴων τάφων, "we become supplicants before your ancestral tombs". In an earlier passage, Thucydides (2.71) refers not to the time of the siege of Plataea in 429-427, but to the time of the Lacedaemonian Pausanias who defeated the Persians in 479: he writes of him that, after liberating Greece, he offered ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῶν ἀγορᾷ ἱερὰ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ, "in the agora of Plataea a sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios". This mention shows, it seems to me, that the founding event of the later cult was a single sacrifice: it was performed not on an altar that did not yet exist, but in the very heart of the city in the public square,[47] either on an ephemeral altar, or on an altar, for example, dedicated "to the gods" as is known in many cities. It was only afterwards, between the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War, that the cult was really installed with a specific *bomos* included in a *hieron*, a "sanctuary" according to the term used by Strabo (9.2.31). In any case, there is nothing in Herodotus either about a possible altar or even about a sacrifice to Zeus, although the absence of mention is not necessarily significant. The historian of the Persian Wars was only interested, as we shall see, in the war dead and their tombs.

The question of a second deity remains, since Thucydides' expression *theoi homobomioi* is in the plural. From the Hellenistic period onwards, we see the Concord, Homonoia, associated with the cult of Zeus Eleutherios, as shown once again by the Glaukon decree, which mentions her three times in association with her *paredra*: there is a *hieron*, mainly of Zeus, with which Homonoia is associated, who also shares with him, as one would expect, both the sacrifice and the altar.[48] But can we specify the date of this association? G. Thériault, in his study on the Concord, agrees with Étienne and Piérart in attributing to it a relatively late emergence in Plataea. He insists on the fact that this cult was in any case not as old

47 Prandi 1988: 62, speaks of a "fundamentale sacrifizio".

48 Étienne & Piérart 1975 (*SEG* 61.352).

as the initial one.[49] But curiously he neither quotes nor analyses the somewhat enigmatic expression of Thucydides, *theoi homobomioi*. Yet the same Thériault shows very well, following Jacqueline de Romilly, that the very term *homonoia* (and the ideology that accompanies it) appears for the first time precisely with Thucydides in the context of the Peloponnesian War.[50] It is therefore not impossible, even if the hypothesis must be stated with great caution, that Homonoia was added to Zeus Eleutherios as early as before 427: this would give full meaning to the expression "gods sharing the same altar and common to the Hellenes" at the date of the Plataean siege. After the Hellenistic period, the association of the two deities continued to flourish in the imperial period, in the 2nd c. AD, with epigraphic attestations of the priesthood of "Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia", notably in Athenian inscriptions.[51] But we have an even more interesting honorary inscription: dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD, it comes from the city of Plataea and celebrates a *corrector* of Achaia, L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus.[52] Admittedly the stone was moved to Thebes, but it evokes the place where the statue was installed, παρὰ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ὁμονοίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, "near Zeus Eleutherios and the Homonoia of the Hellenes": according to Thériault, the phrase would mean that the statue of Lollianus had been installed in the sanctuary of the two deities,[53] but one cannot exclude that the expression refers to specific objects and not only to the sanctuary itself: but which ones?

49 Thériault 1996: 115. See, more recently, on the addition of the Concord from the Hellenistic period onwards, Chaniotis 2012: 58.

50 Thériault 1996: 7 and n. 18.

51 The documentation is collected by Thériault 1996: 118-29. An example is the dedication found in Sparta, which refers to Ti. Claudius Attalos Andragathos, an Athenian citizen from Synnada in Phrygia (*IG* V.1, 452, now *SEG* 45.280, with S. Follet's restitution; Hadrianic period): [Ὁ ἱερεὺς τ]ῆς Ὁμονοίας τῶν | [Ἑλλήνων] καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου [Διὸς] | [καὶ Διὸς Ὀλ]υμπίου Κλαύδιος Ἄ[ττ|αλος Ἀνδ]ράγαθος, "the priest of the Homonoia of the Hellenes and of Zeus Eleutherios as well as of Zeus Olympios, Klaudios Attalos Andragathos etc".

52 *IG* VII 2510. See *PIR*[2] Egnatius 36.

53 Thériault 1996: 123.

This point leads to the next, which concerns the appearance and arrangement of this sanctuary outside the walls and the objects it contained. It is again to Pausanias (9.2.5) that we must turn to understand this. On the altar was engraved, according to him a poem by Simonides preserved by Plutarch,[54] which would tend to lend credence to the idea of an early construction of the altar, even if the engraving need not be contemporary with the writing. But the text of the Periegetes is here partially corrupted. There is a gap in the manuscript after the location of the *bomos*: οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Διός ἐστιν Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸς ** τοῦτου μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ, τοῦ Διὸς δὲ τόν τε βωμὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαν λευκοῦ λίθου.[55] It is understood that the altar of Zeus and his statue are made of marble: the text thus confirms the presence of an *agalma* of the god, repeated a little further on (9.2.7) and of which a first mention was necessarily in the lacuna.[56] But one must wonder about the nature of the object placed, in the lacuna, just after the *agalma* of Zeus and which is said to have been made of bronze. Four reconstructions have been proposed so far:[57] a statue of Hermes Chthonios, a statue of Citheron, a statue of Nero himself who became Zeus Eleutherios after AD 67[58] and, finally, an altar of Homonoia. This last proposal is due to Denis Knoepfler, who suggests that such an altar was installed by Hadrian who wanted to embellish the sanctuary, "he who rightly advocated the concord of the Hellenes within the Panhellenion of Athens".[59] The main justification for this proposal is that restoring βωμὸς at the end of the gap

54 The text of the poem (*Arist*. 19. 6) is as follows: τόνδε ποθ' Ἕλληνες νίκας κράτει, ἔργῳ Ἄρηος, | Πέρσας ἐξελάσαντες ἐλευθέρᾳ Ἑλλάδι κοινὸν | ἱδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν ἐλευθερίου, "Here did the Hellenes, flushed with a victory granted by Ares over the routed Persians, together, for Hellas delivered, build an altar of Zeus known as Deliverer" (transl. slightly modified from B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 1914).

55 Text from the Italian edition by Moggi & Osanna 2010.

56 As Knoepfler 2004-2005: 610 rightly points out.

57 As the *apparatus criticus* of the Italian edition shows.

58 For Nero as Zeus Eleutherios, such a cult can be seen in Akraiphia, alongside Zeus Soter, in connection with the granting of freedom in AD 67 to the province of Achaia, as shown in *IG* VII 2713 (Müller 2014: 215). The assimilation is almost made already in AD 61/62 in Athens (*IG* II^2 1990, with the mention of a high priest of "Nero Klaudios Kaisar and Zeus Eleutherios, that of the Greeks" (Jung 2006: 360-68).

59 Knoepfler 2004-2005: 611.

causes a repetition and thus a potential jump “from the same to the same” which would explain the omission of an entire line by the copyist. Knoepfler adopts, on the other hand, the reading τοῦτον instead of τούτου for the pronoun, which would thus take up βωμὸς. His proposed restitution is the following: Διός ἐστιν Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸς <καὶ ἄγαλμα – ἔστιν δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τῆς Ὁμονοίας βωμός -> · τοῦτον μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ, τοῦ Διὸς δὲ τόν τε βωμὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαν λευκοῦ λίθου. Despite the syntactically satisfactory nature of the restitution, is it a likely conclusion to consider that there was a bronze altar in this shrine? The proposition seems rather difficult to accept, for lack of obvious parallels, and the most likely bronze object remains a statue representing Homonoia. But the hypothesis that it could be a statue clashes with the pronoun, τούτου or τοῦτον, which is difficult to understand, and which should then be corrected to τοῦτο in the neuter, even if the term is not found in the manuscripts. I would therefore propose to restore: Διός ἐστιν Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸς <καὶ ἄγαλμα – ἔστιν δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τῆς Ὁμονοίας ἄγαλμα -> τοῦτο μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ etc.[60]

Therefore, it seems to me that there might have been two statues, one of which was of Zeus (from what date we do not know), but only one altar that made Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia *homobomioi* gods, and this, perhaps as early as the time of Thucydides, even if one must remain very cautious about the introduction of the Concord. This altar received sacrifices, but it was Zeus who was their main recipient in the texts. Plutarch points out that “down to the present time (…) the Plataeans sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios for the victory”, ᾗ καὶ νῦν ἔτι (…) θύουσι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ Διῒ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης (*Arist.* 19.7). This passage incidentally tells us that not everyone sacrificed to Zeus, contrary to what the idea of a Panhellenic practice might suggest. One can speak of a delegation of the *thusia* to the Plataeans, which fits perfectly with the fact that the prize of excellence, the *aristeion*, was given up to them after the battle. In another passage, the author traces this attribution of the performance of the sacrifice to the Plataeans back to the (false) decree of Aristides. They were, so to speak, the representatives of the Greeks in the ceremony from the moment a *thusia* was performed. This sacrifice took place every year on

60 I am aware that restoring *agalma* instead of *bomos* makes the mistake less understandable without the “jump from the same to the same”.

the anniversary of the battle, that is to say on the 3rd (or 4th) Boedromion in the Attic calendar, the equivalent according to Plutarch of the Boeotian 25th Panamos (Plut. *Arist.* 19.8).[61] It was also on this anniversary that, according to the same text, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀθροίζεται συνέδριον, "the *synedrion* of the Hellenes met at Plataea". To reconcile all the data transmitted by the tradition and also include the *dialogos* in the proceedings, Wallace suggests that these festive events (annual sacrifice and meeting, *dialogos* every four years, *Eleutheria* every four years) took place from the end of Metageitnion and continued in Boedromion to culminate in the meeting of the *synedrion* on the 3rd (or 4th) of that month, the anniversary day.[62] In any case, judging from the regular holding of the *Eleutheria* organised by the Hellenes, this is a fascinating resurgence at regular intervals of an institution, the *synedrion*, which never seems to have really disappeared since the Congress of Corinth in the 5th c. BC, and then the League of Corinth of 337, when it was revived under the aegis of Philip of Macedon. But, given the evidence of the imperial period, the meeting itself may have been reactivated under Hadrian in connection with the creation of the Panhellenion, of which it may now have been a mere emanation.

In any case, the sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios is to be distinguished from the ceremonies and sacrifice that took place in honour of the heroes who died in battle.

III. The graves of the dead heroes

I now come to the memorials that were to arouse the most emotion in travellers and spectators: the graves of the warriors.

Before mentioning those of the Greeks, it is worth recalling that in the time of Pausanias the Periegetes (9.2.2), the supposed tomb of Mardonios, the defeated Persian general killed in 479, was still being shown.[63] It was situated on the right side of the road leading from Plataea to Thebes,

61 On the date of the battle and the correspondence between the Athenian and Boeotian calendars, see Roesch 1982: 37-39.

62 Wallace 2011: 154.

63 On Mardonios, see Wiesehöfer 2022.

which explains its location by Nikolaos Papachatzis to the north-west of the modern village of Kriekouki (act. Erythres).[64] Its location does not seem to have a direct relationship with the location of the Persian camp, since the latter was supposed to be located beyond the Asopos.[65] This monument, or rather the idea that it was in the vicinity, was still important in 1955-1956, when William K. Pritchett was told that the church of the Anargyroi, located west of Kriekouki, had been built some ten years earlier on ancient blocks and then moved because the elders of the community objected that "this was an ancient monument locally identified with the tomb of Mardonios",[66] which they probably considered ominous. In the case of Mardonios, as Herodotus explains (9.79), the Spartan general Pausanias had refused to dismember the body of his opponent, a totally barbaric practice. The result was that the body of Mardonios disappeared (9.84) and many people in different places claimed to have buried it. Only in Pausanias (9.2.2) does his tomb, *mnèma*, emerge on the Plataean ground, perhaps erected by his son Artontes with the help of Greeks paid for the occasion. As for the hero who had killed the Persian and who bore the name of Aeimnestos (Hdt 9.64), the memory of his deed was celebrated through another monument visible in the precincts of Plataea, the temple of Athena Areia, which in turn appears to be an offering intended to celebrate the victory and which was erected thanks to 80 talents taken from the booty (Plut. *Arist.* 20.3).[67] At the feet of the

64 Papachatzis 1981: 30 n. 2.

65 Konecny 2022: 205-8.

66 Pritchett 1957: 14-15. An Australian team conducted a quick surface survey in 2018 at this site, without identifying anything conclusive: Jones 2019: 175-82.

67 With commentary by Knoepfler 2004-2005: 612. This interpretation is only valid if one retains the ᾠκοδόμησαν reading, 'have erected', instead of the one retained by commentators in general ἀνῳκοδόμησαν. Jung 2006: 257 and n. 109 writes that it is not possible to decide.

statue of Athena, Pausanias (9.4) had seen an *eikon*, "portrait statue" according to Knoepfler's term,[68] of this Aeimnestos (rather than Arimnestos, a misreading of the Periegetes),[69] who was the commander of the Plataeans (rather than a Spartan) in the fight against Mardonios and had even killed the latter.

The tombs of the Greek fighters, on the other hand, were situated, as Pausanias reminds us (9.2.5), very close to the entrance of the city, just outside its walls, and the tomb "common to the Greeks" was more precisely located not far from the altar of Zeus. What Pausanias observes, however, corresponds only imperfectly with what Herodotus describes, as some tombs may have disappeared or been reorganised over time. It is clear that there were several collective graves, but the distribution differs according to the sources, as for the trophies. According to the Periegetes, there were three: one common to the Greeks, one for the Athenians, one for the Lacedaemonians. Strabo (9.2.31) notes without further elaboration that the ταφὴ δημοσία were still shown in his time. Isocrates (*Plat.* 61) refers, between 373 and 371, generally to the honours due to fellow Greeks who died on the battlefield. As for Thucydides (3.58), in the Plataean debate of 427, he of course only mentions the tombs of the Lacedaemonians since it is a speech addressed to them. But, according to Herodotus (9.85),[70] there were in fact many more: three for the Lacedaemonians who had buried their dead according to their personal status, the irenes or soldiers aged 20, the Spartans and the helots; one for the people of Tegea; one for the Athenians; two for the people of Megara and Phleious, that is to say, at least seven tombs full of remains, but some cities also erected cenotaphs, wishing to conceal the shame of not having taken part in the battle. The Aeginetans are said to have built a fictitious tomb ten years after Plataea! This passage from Herodotus, as we know, aroused the deep anger of Plutarch, who saw in it a sign of Herodotean

68 Knoepfler 2004-2005: 612.

69 Knoepfler 2004-2005: 612 has rightly made the comparison between Pausanias' text and that of Herodotus (9.64.2, which mentions Aeimnestos): he has thus rectified the name, but on the mistake the most probable hypothesis seems to me that Pausanias misread the name on the basis of the statue and took an E for a P which can be explained quite easily

70 About these graves as a symbol of disunity, see Buraselis in this volume (pp. 8-9).

'malignity', as the title of one of his treatises indicates.[71] The presence of the epigram of Simonides engraved on the altar, which celebrates the glory of the Hellenes as a whole, "flushed with a victory granted by Ares" (*Arist.* 19.7),[72] seems to him to show that it was indeed a Panhellenic victory and not that of only three cities, Athens, Sparta and Tegea. Plutarch is obviously not the first to retain from the experience of the Persian Wars the idea of a triumphant Panhellenism worthy of celebration: the revival of this idea is rooted precisely in the poems of Simonides himself, of which a series of fragments containing a Plataean elegy dating from 478 or 477 were published in 1992.[73] The Panhellenism intrinsic to the Persian Wars that Plutarch chooses to show rather than the enduring conflicts of the Greeks, especially at Plataea, fits perfectly with the Panhellenic ideology proper to imperial Greece under Roman rule. This epigram was not the only one, and Pausanias mentions, for his part, those that appeared on the two *taphe* of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, whose text has probably been preserved in the *Palatine Anthology*.[74] Archaeologically, the excavations carried out by Spyropoulos in 1972 revealed, in the Makris field already mentioned, not only a monument that could be identified with the altar, but also cist tombs: while most of them can be dated to the first centuries AD, another one is characterised by the presence of the remains of nine to ten skeletons placed there after the decomposition of the bodies. It could be interpreted, but without any certainty, as containing the bones of some of the dead of the battle transferred there from their initial burial.[75] The only thing that can be said for sure is that the place of discovery is compatible with the location given by Pausanias for the altar and the tombs.[76]

71 *De Herod. Mal.* 872f-873b.

72 A slightly different version is found in the *Palatine Anthology* (*Anth. Pal.* 6.50). See Jung 2006: 265-66.

73 *POxy* 3965: see Boedeker & Sider 2001, especially Rutherford's linear commentary 2001: 38-50, on fragments W2 10-18. See also Jung 2006: 225-41.

74 *Anth. Pal.* 7.251 and 253, with the commentary by Aloni 2001: 98-99.

75 Spyropoulos 1973a and 1973b; Papachatzis 1981, 33, n. 3.

76 On the other hand, the sarcophagi illustrated by Papachatzis 1981: 32-33 (figs. 15 and 16), scattered to the south-west in the vicinity of gate 5 (map p. 28), certainly have nothing to do with the tombs of the Plataean warriors.

These public graves were the object of exceptional celebrations, performed every year, again by the Plataeans. Deborah Boedeker has remarkably shown that the dead of Plataea were the object of a progressive heroization, the ground for which is present as early as the 5th c. BC, notably in Simonides.[77] These ceremonies are mentioned by several authors, starting with Thucydides (3.58.4): to the dead were offered, according to his testimony, clothes, ritual offerings and the first fruits of the harvests carried out on the Plataean territory: ἐσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὡραῖα, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέροντες. They were to be honoured, τιμᾶν, as befits dead heroes. The garments were to be burned or laid together somewhere in the sanctuary.[78] A little later, Isocrates refers to the “heroes and gods” who may no longer receive the traditional honours due to them if the Plataeans are subjected to Theban law (*Plat.* 61).

But the most eloquent description of the ceremony in honour of these heroes is found much later, in Plutarch, who certainly witnessed the event (*Arist.* 21). This ceremony took place not on the anniversary of the battle, as one might expect, but on the 16th of Maimakterion (equivalent to the month Alalkomenios among the Boeotians), in other words at the end of November-beginning of December. Why such a date? It is not impossible that the monuments themselves took some time to be erected, after the bodies had been collected and sorted, and that the date of commemoration was the date of their erection. The ceremony begins with a procession that is supposed to originate in the heart of the city near the *grammatophulakeion*, the archive building, from which the archon has taken a hydria. This procession crosses the city and ends with two very intense moments at the graves of the dead, which clearly appeal to the emotions of the spectators:[79] on the one hand, the purification of the grave markers by the archon, who “washes off with his own hands the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh”, αὐτὸς ἀπολούει τε τὰς στήλας καὶ μύρῳ χρίει; on the other hand, the sacrifice of a black bull by the same magistrate transformed into a sacrificer for the occasion, since

77 Boedeker 2001: 152-53.

78 Ekroth 2002: 179 and 202.

79 On emotions and ‘emotional communities’ that are connected through cults and tributes paid to the war dead, see Chaniotis 2012.

he slits the beast's throat on an *ad hoc* pyre, which cannot be the altar of Zeus even though one of the prayers is addressed to the latter. Two tones emerge from this spectacular description, the military tone,[80] with the trumpet sounding "the signal for battle" and the sword held by the archon, and the funerary tone, which is very marked thanks to two elements: the colours evoked (including the black of the sacrificed animal) and the use of the verb ἐναγίζειν. The two tones are joined in the purple colour of the archon's tunic which signals that the honoured dead were soldiers. The climax of the ritual consists in the bloodshed and drunk, at the banquet, by the dead heroes themselves during the αἱμακουρία, the blood offering. The spilled blood serves to invite the heroes to participate in the funeral banquet.[81] As Gunnel Ekroth has well demonstrated, the verb ἐναγίζειν, which is particularly prevalent in imperial writers, not only implies a sacrifice to the dead, but also the idea of an ancient cult for fallen soldiers in more remote periods.[82] This may have been a way to show the glory of a vanished past,[83] which fits perfectly with the Plutarchean discourse and the reactivation of the memory of Plataea under the empire. The interest of the comparison between Plutarch and Thucydides is that one perceives an evolution in the ritual itself: there is absolutely no question of bloody sacrifice in the classical period and there is no reason for Thucydides to have disguised the nature of the ritual. In other words, the *enagismos* is likely to be a later, perhaps imperial, addition.

Conclusion

To conclude: just as there is a progressive stratification of the meanings attributed to the battle of Plataea, so there are changes in the objects and ceremonies serving as concrete support to this memory of the event,

80 Ekroth 2002: 96 n. 310.

81 On the verb ἐναγίζειν, the αἱμακουρία and the banquet offered to the dead, see Ekroth 2002: 102 and 267.

82 Ekroth 2002: 96.

83 As Ekroth 2002: 124 writes, "the link between *enagizein* sacrifices and the war dead could be seen as an attempt to evoke the glorious past of the independent *poleis* that did not exist any longer"; also, see Ekroth 2002: 262 n. 229.

which I have deliberately focused on here. The trophies, which are probably at first ephemeral monuments celebrating a victory, are monumentalized before 380 BC to become material manifestations of Panhellenic values; the punctual sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios on the agora is perpetuated thanks to the construction of a marble altar and is enriched by the addition of a goddess, Homonoia, at least in the Hellenistic period but perhaps as early as the end of the 5th c. BC; two commemorations, the *Eleutheria* and the *dialogos*, further crystallize the memorial significance of the battle, perhaps as early as the end of the 4th c. BC for the contest and the end of the 2nd c. BC for the *dialogos*; finally, the tombs of the dead heroes are the object of sacrifices that seem to change in nature between the 5th c. BC and the imperial period, with the ceremony of the *enagismos* so well described by Plutarch. We can see here a clear division in this evolution: if the form of the monuments undergoes modifications during the classical period, the modes of commemoration change from the Hellenistic period onwards into the imperial period. In other words, after a while, the monuments themselves were left untouched and one of them, the trophy of Pausanias, may even have become a kind of generic monument celebrating victory without distinction between cities. As Susan E. Alcock points out in a more general reflection, "the Persian War battlefields (...) do not appear to become a subject for monumental embellishment. Existing memorials, not fresh elaborations, were taken to be the acceptable foci of attention".[84] The monuments were thus treated as relics, so to speak, around which an impressive number of commemorations were organised, serving to regularly renew the meaning to be given to *eleutheria* and *homonoia*.

ABBREVIATIONS

PCG: *Poetae Comici Graeci*, eds. R. Kassel & C. Austin, here vol. VII. Berlin 1989.

RO: P.J. Rhodes & R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*. Oxford 2003.

84 Alcock 2002: 79.

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RUNNING FOR REMEMBRANCE: THE *ELEUTHERIA* OF PLATAIAI*

By Christian Mann

Summary: Plataiai is a lieu de mémoire, and the *Eleutheria*, an athletic agon held every fourth year, played an important part in activating and reshaping the memory of the battle of 479 BC. According to Strabo, Plutarch and others, the *agon* had been founded directly after the battle, but this is an invention; the earliest reliable evidence dates back to the third century BC. From this time onwards, the *Eleutheria* formed an important event in the Greek agonistic system, the festival being attested in numerous agonistic inscriptions. In addition to the usual gymnic disciplines, a race *apo tou tropaiou* was held, in which the contestants had to run a long distance of 15 stadia with heavy armour. Such a race was unique in Greek athletics, and Philostratos writes about a very peculiar rule: athletes who had won this race and tried to repeat their victory were killed if they failed. The *Eleutheria* refer both to the battle of Plataiai and to the unity of the Greeks and are thus of crucial importance for the topic of this volume. This contribution collects the scattered evidence and discusses, first, the position of the *Eleutheria* in the system of Greek athletics and, second, the symbolic power of the peculiar hoplite race mentioned by Philostratos.

Introduction: A peculiar race and a strange rule

In his work *De Gymnastica,* Philostratos includes a brief discussion of every athletic discipline and its history. When he comes to the hoplite race (ὁπλίτης), he refers to an *agon* in Plataiai:

> The best of the hoplite races was thought to be the one in Plataiai in Boeotia because of the length of the race and because of the armour, which stretches down to the feet covering the athlete completely, as if he were actually fighting; also because it was founded to celebrate a distinguished deed, their victory against the Persians, and because the

* Earlier versions of this article have been read by Christel Müller and Janric van Rookhuijzen, to whom I am very grateful for their remarks and suggestions.

> Greeks devised it as a slight against the barbarians; and especially because of the rule concerning competitors that Plataiai long ago enacted: that any competitor who had already won victory there, if he competed again, had to provide guarantors for his body; for death had been decreed for anyone defeated in that circumstance.[1]

According to Philostratos, the special reputation of the Plataean hoplite race was based on four reasons: First, the course was longer than usual; second, the runners wore a special armour that reached down to the ground[2] and gave the athlete the appearance of a fighting soldier. Third, the race referred to the victory over the Persians, and fourth, there was a specific rule that imposed significant risk on winners who tried to repeat their triumph. Later in his work he returns to this rule by giving an example of an exemplary trainer who had complete confidence in the abilities of his protégé:

> Optatos (?) the Egyptian won the running race in Plataiai. Since there was a law among the Plataeans, as I said before, that anyone who was defeated, having previously won, should be publicly executed, and that a previous winner should not be allowed to train before providing guarantors for his body, and since no one was willing to provide a guarantee for something so serious, his trainer subjected himself to the law and thus gave his athlete the strength for a second victory.

[1] Philostr. *Gymn.* 8: ἄριστος δὲ ὁ κατὰ Βοιωτίαν καὶ Πλάταιαν ὁπλίτης ἐνομίζετο διά τε τὸ μῆκος τοῦ δρόμου διά τε τὴν ὅπλισιν ποδήρη οὖσαν καὶ σκεπάζουσαν τὸν ἀθλητήν, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ μάχοιτο, διά τε τὸ ἐπ’ ἔργῳ λαμπρῷ κεῖσθαι τῷ Μηδικῷ, διά τε τὸ νομίσαι ταῦτα Ἕλληνας κατὰ βαρβάρων, καὶ μὴν καὶ διὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγωνιουμένοις κείμενον, ὡς νενόμικεν ἡ Πλάταια· τὸν γὰρ ἤδη παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστεφανωμένον, εἰ ἀγωνίζοιτο αὖθις, ἐγγυητὰς ἔδει καταστῆσαι τοῦ σώματος, θάνατος γὰρ ἡττωμένῳ προσετέτακτο. (transl. J. König). For a commentary see Jüthner 1909: 200-1.

[2] The adjective ποδήρης is usually used for garments such as the *peplos* or the *chiton*, but also for shields (e.g. Xen. *An.* 1.8.9: ποδήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν). Philostratos refers here either to the shield or to the greaves of the runners (Jüthner 1909: 201).

> For those who intend to undertake a great deed, I believe, not being mistrusted is a source of optimism.[3]

It is questionable whether a rule like that ever existed, for it appears extremely brutal and no other source mentions it. The *agon* itself, however, is documented many times in the literary and epigraphic tradition: The *Eleutheria* refer both to the battle of Plataiai and to the unity of the Greeks and are thus of crucial importance for the topic of this volume. This contribution collects the scattered evidence and discusses, first, the position of the *Eleutheria* in the system of Greek athletics and, second, the symbolic power of the peculiar hoplite race mentioned by Philostratos.

The foundation of the *Eleutheria* and their place in the Greek agonistic system

Authors of the classical period mention various measures taken by the Greeks before and after the battle of Plataiai,[4] but the foundation of an *agon* is not among them. The earliest evidence for the festival comes from the third-century BC comedy-writer Poseidippos of Kassandreia, who makes fun of Plataiai: this place, he says, was not more than an elevation in the landscape, only during the *Eleutheria* could one speak of a *polis*.[5] This fragment proves not only the existence of the festival, but also its importance, as it obviously filled the sleepy provincial town with life. Later sources report on the founding of the *agon* and relate it directly to the great battle of 479 BC: according to Diodoros, the Greeks swore an oath before the battle, which included the establishment of an *agon*.[6]

[3] Philostr. *Gymn.* 24: Ὀπιατος δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνίκησεν ἐν Πλαταίᾳ ἐς δεύτερον ἆθλον τοῦ γυμναστοῦ ἐπιῤῥώσαντος, κειμένου παρ’ αὐτοῖς νόμου δημοσίᾳ ἀποθνήσκειν τὸν μετὰ νίκην ἡττώμενον ἔκκριτόν τε νομίζεσθαι πρότερον ἢ ἐγγυητὰς καταστῆσαι τοῦ σώματος. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἐγγυωμένου τὸ οὕτω μέγα ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ γυμναστὴς τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἐπέῤῥωσεν ἐς νίκην δευτέραν· τοῖς γὰρ ἅπτεσθαι διανοουμένοις ἔργου μείζονος εὔελπι, οἶμαι, τὸ μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι. (transl. J. König).

[4] For a recent discussion see Patay-Horváth 2022.

[5] Fr. 31 (Kassel): τοῖς δ’ Ἐλευθερίοις πόλις. Poseidippos began writing comedies around 290 BC (Suda s.v. Ποσίδιππος).

[6] Diod. 11.29.1: καὶ τὸν ἐλευθέριον ἀγῶνα συντελεῖν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς.

Strabo gives more nuances, speaking of the establishment of a gymnic and crown-bringing festival called *Eleutheria* after the victory.[7] Plutarch, in contrast to Diodoros, attributes the initiative in founding the *agon* to Aristeides and the Athenians,[8] calling the *Eleutheria* a penteteric festival. And finally, Pausanias, in his description of Plataiai, mentions the *Eleutheria* in general and the hoplite race in particular:

> Not far from the common tomb of the Greeks is an altar of Zeus, God of Freedom. (...) Even at the present day they hold every four years games called *Eleutheria*, in which great prizes are offered for running. The competitors run in armour in the direction of the altar. The trophy which the Greeks set up for the battle at Plataiai stands about fifteen stades from the city.[9]

The later literary tradition, thus, unanimously assumes an installation of the *Eleutheria* immediately after the battle, but this seems to be a founding legend that was invented later. There is no reference to the festival in Herodotos, no reference in Thucydides, in whose defence speech of the Plataeans to the Spartans[10] a Panhellenic contest would have formed a good argument, and no reference in Pindar, who mentions numerous other *agones* in his epinician odes. The *argumentum e silentio* is, in this case, a strong one. And since none of the numerous epigraphic testimonies can be dated to the pre-Hellenistic period, a foundation of the *Eleutheria* immediately after the battle of 479 BC cannot be completely ruled

7 Strab. 9.2.31: καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν στεφανίτην ἀπέδειξαν, Ἐλευθέρια προσαγορεύσαντες.

8 Plut. *Arist.* 21.1: ἄγεσθαι δὲ πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἐλευθερίων. On the difference between Diodorus' and Plutarch's versions, see Piérart & Étienne 1975: 65-66; Jung 2006: 332- 33 n. 122.

9 Paus. 9.2.5-6: οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Διός ἐστιν Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸς (...) ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀγῶνα διὰ ἔτους πέμπτου τὰ δὲ Ἐλευθέρια, ἐν ᾧ μέγιστα γέρα πρόκειται δρόμου· θέουσι δὲ ὡπλισμένοι πρὸς τὸν βωμόν. τρόπαιον δέ, ὃ τῆς μάχης Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἕστηκεν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως. (transl. W.H.S. Jones, but adapted according to the emendation πρὸς τὸν βωμόν instead of πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ: Knoepfler 2006: 612).

10 Thuc. 3.53-59.

out, but is, for good reason, hardly to be advocated.[11] The majority of scholars assume a later foundation, but disagree about the exact chronology: various proposals have been made, all with regard to the political developments in Greek politics and the eventful history of Plataiai.

If one assumes that Diodoros relied solely on Ephoros in his account of the battle of Plataiai, the *Eleutheria* must have already existed in the middle of the fourth century BC, an approach taken by Luisa Prandi. Michael Jung also searched for a plausible context on this basis and found it in the destruction of Plataiai by the Spartans in 427 BC: The Spartans, he suggests, established the *Eleutheria* in order to reshape the memory of the victory against the Persians. However, these considerations are formulated very cautiously, for they cannot be proven.[12] Most scholars do not regard Diodoros' testimony a powerful argument for the mid-fourth century existence of the *agon* and argue for a later foundation.[13]

The decree for Glaukon is the earliest epigraphic testimony for the *Eleutheria* and therefore of central importance in the debate about the foundation. The inscription, which can be dated to the period 262-246 BC,[14] lists services of, and honours for, the Athenian Glaukon, son of Eteokles, who is well known from other texts: one of the merits mentioned in the inscription is the care Glaukon had taken of the sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios and *Homonoia*, and also of the competition the Greeks had established in honour of the Greek freedom fighters against the Persians.[15] Among the honours determined by the *koinon synedrion* of the Greeks, we find the *prohedria* for Glaukon and his descendants at the *gymnikos agon*

[11] Larmour 1999: 187: The *Eleutheria* "may have been in existence in Pindar's time". Amandry 1971: 621, discusses the possibility that some fifth-century vessels may have been victory prizes at the *Eleutheria*, but is aware that there is no clear evidence for this. Sansone 1988: 115-17 places the hoplite race mentioned by Philostratos into a tradition that goes back even before 479 BC. He sees in the threat of death a manifestation of a general intertwining of Greek athletics and human sacrifice.

[12] Prandi 1988: 162; Jung 2006: 332-34, 340.

[13] For an overview see Schachter 1994: 138-43; Konecny & Marchese 2013: 37 note 172; Nielsen 2018: 33.

[14] Authoritative edition: Piérart & Étienne 1975. On content and dating see Buraselis 1982; Prandi 1988: 164-68; Jung 2006: 299-320.

[15] Ll. 20-24: καὶ τὸν | ἀγῶνα ὃ τιθέασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ | τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγω|νισαμένοις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους | ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ...

in Plataiai.[16] The inscription confirms the literary tradition that the *agon* was held in memory of the battle of Plataiai and that it had a strong Panhellenic impact. An honorary decree from Megalopolis from the beginning of the second century BC mentions an "*agon* hosted by the Greeks"; the editor of the inscription has shown that this is a reference to the *Eleutheria* of Plataiai.[17] From the reference to King Ptolemy in the Glaukon decree, we can deduce a pro-Ptolemaic and plausibly anti-Antigonid thrust of the *Eleutheria* in the period in question.

The background of the foundation, however, might have been different. Usually, scholars connect the establishment of the festival to Macedonian kings: After the victory at Chaironeia in 338 BC and the establishment of the League of Corinth, Philip II might have intended to create an athletic festival at Plataiai as a common reference point for all Greeks. The cult of *Homonoia*, which is otherwise not attested in the fourth century BC, is usually considered a later addition,[18] while Martin West assumes a simultaneous installation of the cults of Zeus Eleutherios and *Homonoia* and argues for Alexander the Great as the originator; he refers to the importance of *eleutheria* and *homonoia* in Alexander's communication with the Greeks and to Alexander's concern for Plataiai as a symbolic place.[19] Shane Wallace elaborated this idea and proposed a precise date for the foundation, the Boedromion of 335 BC: If Alexander founded the *Eleutheria* at this time immediately after the destruction of Thebes, he could have celebrated the 144th anniversary of the battle of Plataiai in a symbolically powerful way.[20] Jung, on the other hand, rejects a connection of the *Eleutheria* with the Macedonian kings; in his view, the *agon* was

[16] Ll. 32-34: καλεῖν εἰς προεδρίαν αὐτὸν | καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἅπα[ν]|τα χρόνον ὅταν οἱ ἀγῶνες οἱ γυμνικοὶ | [σ]υντελῶνται ἐμ Πλαταιαῖς (...).

[17] SEG 52.447, l. 21: [ἐν τῶι] ἀγῶνι̣, ὃν τίθεν̣σι οἱ Ἕλλανες (...). The inscription can be dated to 190-180 BC, it was published by Stavrianopoulou 2002, with detailed commentary.

[18] E.g. Piérart & Étienne 1975: 68-75, who prefer a foundation of the *Eleutheria* soon after Chaironeia, but do not exclude a later date, with Demetrios Poliorketes as initiator; the cult of *Homonoia*, in their opinion, was added after 267 BC. Dreyer 1999: 250 agrees with this reconstruction in principle, but connects the introduction of the cult of *Homonoia* with the Galatian invasion of 279 BC.

[19] West 1977: 314-17 with Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10.

[20] Wallace 2011: 153-55.

first founded by the Spartans and later lifted in importance in an anti-Macedonian context, either during the Chremonidean War or in the period 250-245 BC.[21]

The question of the date and the precise context of the foundation cannot, on current knowledge, be answered with certainty. What is certain, however, is that the *Eleutheria* were a well-known and prestigious event in Greek athletics from the third century BC onwards. Many inscriptions attest the existence of the *agon* until the third century AD. First of all, some lists of victors of the *Eleutheria* have survived,[22] but much more numerous are the catalogues of victories set by or for athletic champions, which, among other successes, also mention one or more victories in Plataiai.[23] With these sources we can grasp the essential charac-

[21] Jung 2006: 339-41.

[22] The victory catalogues *IG* VII 1666 (early first century BC) and *IG* VII 1667 (early imperial period) were found in Plataiai; in the latter the priest of Zeus Eleutherios is named. The attribution of *IG* VII 1765 (second/first century BC), which comes from the border area between Plataiai and Thespiai, to the *Eleutheria* is not entirely certain.

[23] An overview over the epigraphic material (with some variations) can be found in Robert 1929: 760 note 1; Pritchett 1979: 181; Schachter 1994: 138-41; Jung 2006: 345-49. Since the material is constantly growing – most recently through the new finds from Messene (see Makres 2021) – any inventory can only be provisional. The following inscriptions clearly refer to the *Eleutheria* of Plataiai: *IG* II/III³ 4, 599 (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 51), ca. 150 BC; *IG* II/III³ 4, 607 (Strasser 2021: no. 179), early imperial period; *IG* II/III³ 4, 613 (Strasser 2021: no. 158), 230-260 AD (Strasser) and 170 AD (Hallof) respectively; *IG* II/III³ 4, 630 (Strasser 2021: no. 165), 240-260 AD; *IG* IV² 1, 629 (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 53), from Epidauros, ca. 100 BC.; *SEG* 11.338 (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 45), from Argos, early second century BC; *SEG* 59.411, from Messene; *IG* VII 49 (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 88; Strasser 2021: no. 169), from Megara, 250-265 AD.; *IG* VII 1856 (Strasser 2021: no. 28; *I.Thesp*. 210), Augustan, *F.Delphes* III 1, 555 (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 87; Strasser 2021: no. 159), ca. 230-250 AD; *I.Milet* 369 + *I.Didyma* 201 (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 59; Strasser 2021: nos. 4-5), after 20 BC; *I.Milet* 1365 (Strasser 2021: no. 185), first half of the first century AD; *BCH* 1913, pp. 240-41, no. 47, from Notion; *I.Magnesia* 149b (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 62; Strasser 2021: no. 14), early imperial period; *I.Nysa* 469 (Strasser (2021) no. 164), 240-260 AD; *Syll.*³ 1064 (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 56; Strasser 2021: no. 247), from Halicarnassus, second/first century BC; *I.Perge* 272 (Strasser 2021:, no. 186), 40 BC-20 AD. In addition, there are those texts which designate an athlete with the attribute ἄριστος (τῶν) Ἑλλήνων and thus also refer to this

teristics of the *agon*: the name, the disciplines and age groups, the regional background of the participants and the rank of the *Eleutheria* in the Greek athletic system.

The name of the *agon* was Ἐλευθέρια ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, with some variations that are not surprising given the wide chronological and geographical spread of the inscriptions: Thus, one also finds Ἐλευθέρεια instead of Ἐλευθέρια, ἐμ instead of ἐν and Πλατεαῖς instead of Πλαταιαῖς, often also a τά before the preposition. When we find in inscriptions an *agon* called only Ἐλευθέρια,[24] leaving out the name of the place, the identification of the festival is not entirely sure, since there were other festivals of the same name: in particular the *Eleutheria* of Larisa in Thessaly, which had been established after the Roman victory over Philip V and the resulting independence.[25] The *agon* at Plataiai, however, remained the most prominent one, which means that, when a contest is called Ἐλευθέρια without any specifying addition, it is the most plausible option to assign it to Plataiai. Festivals referring to a military victory were not uncommon, the best-known example are the *Soteria* at Delphi in commemoration of the victory over the Galatians.[26] The Panhellenic dimension of the *Eleutheria*, known from literary sources, also appears in some inscriptions, when the *agon* is said to be administered by the *koinon* of the Greeks or when we read of Greeks celebrating the *Eleutheria* together.[27]

The catchment area of the *agon* changed over the centuries; Michael Jung has conclusively traced the development.[28] In the early Hellenistic

agon (for a previous list see the appendix in van Nijf (2005)): three Spartan inscriptions (*IG* V.1, 553; *IG* V.1, 628; *IG* V.1, 641; *IG* V.1, 655); *IG* II² 1990, first century AD; *IG* IX.1, 146, second century AD, from Elateia; *I.Smyrna* 663, around 200 AD; *SEG* 34.1314-1317 (Strasser 2021: no. 34), from Xanthos, late first century AD; P.Lond. 3 1178, ll. 72-74, late second century AD. Most important for the analysis of the imperial-period victor inscriptions is now Strasser 2021.

24 E.g. *IG* V.1, 656 + 657 (from Sparta, third century BC); *IG* XII.1, 78 (from Rhodes, second century BC).

25 For the Thessalian *Eleutheria*, see Helly 2010 and Graninger 2011: 74-85. An explicit distinction between the two competitions is found, for example, in *SEG* 59.411 (col. 1, l. 13: Ἐλευθέρεια τὰ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, versus col. 2, l. 2: Ἐλευθέρεια τὰ ἐν Λαρίσαι).

26 For further examples, see Chaniotis 1991: 124.

27 *I.Didyma* 201, l. 13: τὰ τιθέμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑ[λλήνων]; *BCH* 1913: 240-41, no. 47, l. 4: Ἐλευθέρια | [ἃ συ]ντελοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες.

28 Jung 2006: 346-47.

period, participants seem to have been limited to Boeotia, Attica and the Peloponnese. Towards the end of the second century BC, the *Eleutheria* began to attract athletes from Chios and Rhodes, and in the following centuries, athletes from different regions of Asia Minor (the cities are Miletus, Magnesia, Halicarnassus, Xanthos and Perge) are attested to have competed in Plataiai. In the course of the second century AD, however, the catchment area narrowed down again to the Greek motherland; the *Eleutheria* seem to have lost ground within the agonistic system, for in general the epigraphic evidence does not point to a decline of athletic activity in this period. The impact of political developments, in particular the Roman conquest of Greece, is hard to estimate: Spawforth has put forward the idea of a caesura in Augustan times, with a Roman turn towards Greek athletics in general and a peculiar promotion of the *Eleutheria*,[29] but the epigraphic evidence does not reveal any such caesura. The victory list of a pentathlete from Kos[30] mentions a victory at the Ἐλευ[θέρ]ια τὰ καὶ Καισάρηα, and thus the *Eleutheria* of Plataiai may have included a reference to the emperor in the name; but a restauration of Ἐλευ[σίν]ια or a reference to other *Eleutheria* is also possible.[31] In any case, no lasting connection of the *Eleutheria* of Plataiai with the imperial house can be proven.[32]

With regard to the disciplines, a fragmentary list of winners from Plataiai[33] attests the *stadion*, the *dolichos* and the *pankration*, and as age groups *paides*, *ageneioi* and *andres*. Other inscriptions prove the existence of boxing,[34] wrestling,[35] and *pentathlon*[36] as well as the whole canon of running disciplines including the *hippios*,[37] the race over a distance of

29 Spawforth 2011: 130-38.

30 *IG* XII.4, 2, 935 (= *Syll.*³ 1066), late first century BC.

31 Cfr. Rigsby 2010.

32 Camia 2016: 273-74.

33 *IG* VII 1666.

34 *I.Magnesia* 149b (as successes in pankration and wrestling are explicitly named as such in this inscription, the victory in Plataiai plausibly refers to boxing). A further testimony for boxing in Plataiai is *Anth. Graec.* 11.81.

35 *SEG* 59.411.

36 *BCH* 1913: 240-41 no. 47.

37 *Syll.*³ 1064; *IG* IV² 1, 629. The *diaulos*, the run over the double stadium distance, is attested in *SEG* 17.628.

four *stadia*, which was not held at the Olympic or Pythian Games, but at some other competitions. Thus, the entire catalogue of gymnic disciplines common in Greek *stadia* was performed in Plataiai.[38] An inscription from Didyma is particularly informative about the running disciplines:[39] καὶ Ἐλευθ[έρια τ]ὰ ἐν Πλα|ταιαῖς τὰ τιθέμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑ[λλήνων τ]ὸ δεύτερο[ν] | στάδιον, δίαυλον, ὁπλίτην καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ [τροπαίο]υ ἐνόπλι|ον δρόμον. This passage proves that besides the regular hoplite race, which was run over a length of two *stadia*, there was another race in arms, which was started at the *tropaion* of the battle. This is the discipline mentioned by Philostratos and Pausanias; it constitutes the peculiar character of the *agon*, discussed below in more detail.

The gymnic disciplines dominated the *agon* in Plataiai, which is explicitly called *gymnikos agon* both in Strabo and in the decree for Glaukon.[40] The fact that contests for trumpeters (σαλπιστής) and for heralds (κῆρυξ) are also attested in a list of winners[41] is not a contradiction to this gymnic dominance, for these two disciplines also took place in Olympia to round off the competitions. There is no evidence for hippic disciplines; it has sometimes been postulated that hippic contests were part of the program,[42] but this idea is based on the – understandable and widespread – misunderstanding of the *hippios* as a horse race. In fact, however, it was a foot race.[43] Whether there were other musical disciplines besides the competitions for trumpeters and heralds remains unclear: in a catalogue of victories by an *auletes* from Delphi, a victory in the κοινὸν

38 The aforementioned inscription from the border area of Plataiai and Thespiai (*IG* VII 1765), which possibly refers to the *Eleutheria* of Plataiai, also shows this canon of disciplines. For the age classes, it also attests a division of the boys into a younger and an older group. – On Greek athletic disciplines, see also Nielsen in this volume (77-81).

39 *I.Didyma* 201.12-15.

40 See also Eust. *Hom. ad Il.* 2.504 (1.411 van der Valk).

41 *IG* VII 1667.

42 Alcock 2002: 80; Jung 2006: 345.

43 See Paus. 6.16.4; Philostr. *Gymn.* 7; moreover, there are inscriptions of runners who won the *stadion*, the *diaulos*, and the *hippios* (cfr. the entry in Golden 2004: 83).

Ἑλλήνων is mentioned, and one may think here of the *Eleutheria* of Plataiai, but Strasser has given the counter-argument.[44] The discipline is unclear in an early imperial victory epigram from Athens, which is only fragmentarily preserved: the word εὐεπίης (l. 2) provides an indication for a herald or poet, but other passages rather point to combat sport.[45] A very interesting contest was the *dialogos*, a ritualised rhetorical contest in which Athenians and Spartans competed for the *propompeia,* i.e. for the right to lead the procession.[46] This competition referred to the *Eleutheria*, because it was about the procession of this festival, but it did not take place within its framework; Noel Robertson assumes that the *dialogos* was always held two years earlier.[47]

The structures of a theatre are visible in Plataiai,[48] where the musical disciplines, if they existed, will have been held. The search for a hippodrome is superfluous, since the *Eleutheria* had no horse or chariot races in their program. Traces of a stadium have not yet been discovered;[49] one does not necessarily have to assume that there was one in antiquity: gymnic competitions could certainly be held without elaborate architectural structures. Especially in the case of campaign *agones*, one simply used the existing terrain with some rapid preparations.[50] In the case of the *Eleutheria*, which had a particularly strong connection to a battle and which, in addition, were not administered by a financially strong *polis* or sanctuary that could take care of the construction and maintenance of the sites, it is quite conceivable that one refrained from building a stadium; the peculiar and most important discipline, the race *apo tou tropaiou*, did not take place in a stadium anyway.

The topography of the battlefield is discussed in detail by Christel Müller in this volume. With regard to the *Eleutheria*, it is striking that the sources do not indicate any specific references of the contests to the

[44] *SEG* 52.528 (= Strasser 2021: no. 46), time of Trajan.

[45] *IG* II³ 4, 607 (= Strasser 2021: no. 179, see there for a detailed discussion).

[46] Fundamental is Robertson 1986. A fragment of an Athenian speech is preserved (Chaniotis 1988: 42-48, T 10); see also Jung 2006: 351-60, with further bibliography.

[47] Robertson 1986: 90-91.

[48] Konecny 2013: 144-46.

[49] Konecny *et al.* 2013 give no hint to a stadium.

[50] See the description in Xen. *An.* 4.8.26-28. For a discussion of campaign *agones* see Mann 2020.

course of the battle: There is no mention of the javelin throw, held as part of the *pentathlon*, as a reenactment of a javelin fight in the battle, no mention of a foot race remembering an attack in the battle of 479 BC, and horse races, which could have referred to cavalry attacks during the fight, were omitted altogether. The topographical connection between the battle and the *agon* is made solely by the *tropaion*, albeit in a very massive form. The *Eleutheria* contained a symbolic reference to the battle, not a concrete re-enactment of the fight.

The poverty of Plataiai should not be exaggerated. Albert Schachter points out that the Plataeans were able to maintain two larger sanctuaries (for Hera and for Athena Areia) in the city.[51] What is decisive is that the *Eleutheria* were not administered by the *polis*, but by a Panhellenic council. In the Glaukon decree this is called τὸ κοι|νὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων (ll. 25-26), while a victory inscription names the κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων as the organising body.[52] This Panhellenic institution, which refers to the Hellenic League of 480 BC, also hosted the annual sacrifices commemorating the battle against the Persians.[53] There is a lack of evidence about the actual organisation of the *Eleutheria*, but the Glaukon decree (lines 2 and 37f.) indicates that *agonothetai* were involved as early as the third century BC. The *agonothetes* Archelaos, son of Athenaios, as well as the priest of Zeus Eleutherios are mentioned without their ethnic attribution, which indicates that they were Plataeans. An inscription from the imperial period points in the same direction, listing an *agonothetes* alongside the priest of Zeus and the *pyrphoros*, all three belonging to the same family. It is not impossible that the institutions of Plataiai appointed the *agonothetai*, but with regard to the Panhellenic thrust of the *agon*, it seems more likely that the *koinon* did this.[54]

There is more certainty about the prizes for the winners of the competitions. According to Strabo and Eustathios the *agon* was *stephanites*,[55]

51 Schachter 2016: 135.
52 *I.Didyma* 201, ll. 16-17. *I.Milet* 369, A, l. 6. B, l. 7.
53 See Müller in this volume (25-33).
54 Jung 2006: 309.
55 Strab. 9.2.31 (412C); Eust. *Hom. ad Il.* 2.504 (1.411 van der Valk). The wreath assigned to the *Eleutheria* on Menodoros' monument in Athens (*IG* II/III³ 4, 599) seems to be made with olive branches, but that is not necessarily a valid indication for the real prize (see Strasser 2021: 593-94).

i.e. a crown contest; in Greek terminology, this category is contrasted with *agones thematikoi,* in which valuable prizes or cash were to be won.[56] But also in *agones stephanitai* additional prizes of economic worth could be won,[57] and that was the case in the hoplite race *apo tou tropaiou* in Plataiai: Pausanias characterises the *agon* with the words "in which great prizes are offered for running",[58] which does not refer to the running disciplines in general, but to the peculiar discipline. A runner from Miletos won the *stadion*, the *diaulos* and the normal *hoplites* at the *Eleutheria*, but explicitly states that for his second victory in the race *apo tou tropaiou* he was awarded "a golden wreath as a victory prize".[59] This was not only about economic gain; the word *geras* used by Pausanias generally refers to objects that had both material *and* symbolic value. Here, as in Greek sport in general, economic gain and honour were closely intertwined.[60]

As *agon stephanites,* the *Eleutheria* were counted among the most prestigious festivals.[61] The best way to assess their ranking in the competitive system of Greek athletics, in which not only athletes but also *agones* competed with each other, is to look at the victory catalogues in which the ancient sports stars listed a wide number of festivals. However, we face methodological problems because the prestige of an *agon* is one criterion for its position in a list, but not the only one: the chronological order in which the victories were achieved and a geographical sorting also played a role.[62] An inscription in which, to all appearances, the order was based solely on the rank of the *agones* comes from Delphi: here, the festivals of the *periodos* are listed first, followed by five other important competitions and then by the *Eleutheria* of Plataiai; twelve more victories follow.[63] Other inscriptions confirm this picture: the *Eleutheria* could of course not

[56] On problems of definition see Remijsen 2011; Slater 2012.

[57] On the variety of prizes in Greek athletics see Kyle 1996; Mann 2018.

[58] Paus. 9.2.6: ἐν ᾧ μέγιστα γέρα πρόκειται δρόμου.

[59] *I.Didyma* 201, l. 17: χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀριστήωι. See below p. 60.

[60] For this phenomenon see now Begass *et al.* 2024.

[61] Very instructive is the huge effort the Magnesians made to upgrade the festival of Artemis Leukophryene to a stephanitic *agon* (*I.Magnesia* 16 with Slater & Summa 2006; Thonemann 2007; van Nijf & Williamson 2016).

[62] For a detailed account of the ranking of *agones* in the Roman imperial period see now Strasser 2021: 562-80.

[63] *F.Delphes* III 1, 555 (= Strasser 2021: no. 159; Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 87); 230-250 AD.

compete in prestige with the competitions of the *periodos* in Olympia, Delphi and, in the imperial period, Rome or Nicopolis, and even besides these there were a few others that had greater prestige. But based on the evidence, the *Eleutheria* seem to have been among the most important of the hundreds of *agones* that were held in the Greek world.[64]

The *Eleutheria*, thus, occupied a prominent place in Greek athletics. They were fully integrated into the agonistic system, but, on the other side, they had some features that made them a very peculiar event. The organisation of the competitions was not carried out by a *polis* or a sanctuary, as it was the case in most other recurrent competitions in ancient Greece, but lay in the hands of a council that represented the unity of the Greeks. Other *agones* were 'Panhellenic', too – the term is used very early, in fifth-century victory odes, for the competitions in Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and Isthmia[65] – but in this sense it referred to participants and spectators. In Plataiai, on the contrary, it was also the organization that was Panhellenic. The background is obvious: Plataiai was a *lieu de mémoire*,[66] a place where memories came alive and were reshaped. The battle of 479 BC was the reference point for the *Eleutheria*: All our sources agree that the *Eleutheria* were established after the battle of 479 BC and in the very place where the battle had taken place.

Other *agones* had their founding narratives, too, but usually more than one, and that makes a difference. At Olympia, for example, different stories connect the beginnings of competitions to Heracles, to Pelops, and to other gods and heroes.[67] The aforementioned Hellenistic foundations of the *Soteria* at Delphi and the *Eleutheria* at Larisa were traced back to historical events, but they were not staged on a battlefield as it was the case with the *Eleutheria* and the battle of Plataiai. This festival had a most important symbolic content: it commemorated the military victory of Greeks over barbarians and the warriors who had fallen in this great battle. Its very name referred to freedom as the goal of the battle, and it implicitly documented the unity of the Greeks as the precondition with

[64] In the Roman imperial period, more than 500 *agones* are attested by inscriptions or coins (Leschhorn 1998: 31).

[65] Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.47; Bacchyl. 13.161.

[66] Cfr. Jung 2006 and Müller in this volume (17-42).

[67] Cfr. Ulf 1997.

which this victory could have been achieved. These aspects are strikingly found in the literary sources, especially in the resolution of the Greeks to unite in celebration of liberty and to hold the competitions, as reported by Diodoros: "the Greeks would unite in celebrating the Festival of Liberty and would hold the games of the Festival in Plataiai."[68] The inscriptions follow the same pattern, for example when the decree for Glaukon states that the Greeks held the *agon* in honour of the men who had fought against the barbarians for the freedom of the Greeks.[69] And an epigram of the early imperial period mentions a victory in "Persian-killing Plataiai".[70] The idea that the contests were founded immediately after the battle was firmly anchored in the minds of the Greeks in Hellenistic and Roman times; it was an invented tradition, but the fact that it was invented had no impact on the history of the *agon*.

The race *apo tou tropaiou*

The third peculiar feature was the very special running event.[71] Philostratos and Pausanias as well as the inscriptions highlight the race *apo tou tropaiou* as what was most remarkable about the *Eleutheria*, and all sources agree in connecting the race to the events of 479 BC. The run of Euchidas, who is said to have hurried from Plataiai to Delphi after the battle with the sacred fire and to have died of exhaustion there, is probably a founding legend of the discipline.[72] As we have seen, Philostratos recognised four specifics of the run at Plataiai: First, the battle against the Persians as reference point; secondly, the length of the running course; thirdly, the armour that had to be worn, which reached down to

[68] Diod. 11.29.1: ἄγειν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρια κοινῇ, καὶ τὸν ἐλευθέριον ἀγῶνα συντελεῖν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς (transl. C.H. Oldfather).

[69] Ll. 20-24: καὶ τὸν | ἀγῶνα ὃ τιθέασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ | τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγω|νισαμένοις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους | ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

[70] *IG* II^3 4, 607, A, l. 4: μηδοφόνος τε Πλάται' ἠγλά[ισαν στεφάνοις].

[71] There were other footraces with unique features, e.g. the run with a vine tendril at the Oschophoria; cfr. *ThesCRA* VII, 25 (A. Chaniotis). But these were local events, while the run in Plataiai achieved a far greater outreach.

[72] Plut. *Arist.* 20.4-6; cfr. Jung 2006: 349.

the feet; and fourthly, the rule that provided the death penalty for former victors who competed again and were defeated.

The very special connection of the race to the battle was made obvious by installing the *tropaion*[73] as starting point. This physical setting was so important that it gave the name to the discipline: the run is called *apo tou tropaiou*, mostly with the addition of *dromos* or *hoplites*, but sometimes without.[74] The finish was at the altar of Zeus Eleutherios, located near the walls of Plataiai, the exact location is still unclear.[75] From Pausanias' description of the run[76] it becomes obvious that the distance was about 15 *stadia*[77] and thus far longer than the two *stadia* that had to be covered in the usual Greek hoplite race. With the "armour, which stretches down to the feet covering the athlete completely", Philostratos marks another difference to the regular *hoplites* that had been common in Greek athletics since the Archaic period. Introduced at Olympia in 520 BC, the *hoplites* was initially performed with shield, helmet and greaves, but the armament to be worn by the runners was soon limited to only the shield.[78] As far as the shield in Plataiai is concerned, Jüthner considered the oval, cutout Boeotian type to be the most likely,[79] but this remains unclear, as does the rest of the armament. Defining the Plataean race as a "quasi-military discipline“,[80] i.e. as training for battle, misses the point: the heavy armament and the run were referring to warfare in the past, not to the current demands of war. Competitions in military disciplines, which served as training for war, were certainly held in the Greek gymnasia, but they were primarily concerned with archery and artillery.[81] At

[73] For details on the *tropaion* see Müller in this volume (20-27).

[74] *I.Milet* 369, l. 7 = *I.Didyma* 201, ll. 14-15 : τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου ἐνόπλιον δρόμον; *SEG* 11.338 (Moretti, *I.agonistiche* 45), ll. 6-7: Ἐλευθέρια ὁπλίτ[α]ν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου; *SEG* 34.1314-17: τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου; *IG* V.1, 655, ll. 7-8: τὸν ἀπὸ [τροπαί]|ου ἀνδρῶ̣ν.

[75] Konecny & Marchese 2013: 28 with note 100.

[76] Paus. 9.2.5-6: θέουσι δὲ ὡπλισμένοι πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. τρόπαιον δέ, ὃ τῆς μάχης Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἕστηκεν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως. (transl. W.H.S. Jones).

[77] First recognised by Robert 1929: 760.

[78] Paus. 6.10.4; for further literary sources and vase illustrations see Gardiner 1903.

[79] Jüthner 1909: 201.

[80] Spawforth 2011: 131.

[81] Chankowski 2004; Kah 2004.

Plataiai, the weapons were chosen according to the logic of memory, not for practical reasons.

It was certainly an enormous physical challenge to run cross-country over a long distance with heavy armament. Plato thought about even tougher runs – 60 *stadia* for the hoplites on level paths, 100 *stadia* for the lighter-armed archers through difficult terrain -,[82] but these were theoretical considerations that did not find their way into athletic practice. The only other race *apo tou tropaiou* is documented in a victor list concerning the *Soteria* in Akraiphia.[83] This is probably an imitation of the run at Plataiai,[84] perhaps also due to the circumstances. The inscription indicates that these were the first *Soteria* after the (Mithridatic) wars, i.e. at a time when Greek *agones* were going through a severe crisis. It is possible that the *Eleutheria* were not celebrated in the year in question and the race was relocated for this one occasion. But this remains speculation.

The elevated status of the race *apo tou tropaiou* becomes clear not only from the prize of the golden wreath, but above all from a title that is unique in Greek athletics: best of the Greeks. The first to recognise that this title referred to a victory at Plataiai was Louis Robert, the key to the solution was provided by inscriptions for a successful runner from Miletus, who, among numerous other victories including the Olympics, was also successful at the *Eleutheria*: A fragment of the inscription reports victories in the *stadion* and in the run *apo tou tropaiou*, after which he was the first athlete from Asia to be awarded the title ἄριστος τῶν

[82] Plat. *Leg*. 833a-b.

[83] *IG* VII 2727, ll. 30-33: Πρώταρχος Πρωτογένους Θεσπιεύς | τὸν ὁπλίτην ἀ[π]ὸ τοῦ τροπαίου | [Ὀλ]ύμπιχος Ἀριστί[δ]ου Θηβαῖος | [- – ἀπὸ τοῦ τρο]παίου. See the recent commentary by Müller 2019: 172-74.

[84] Robert 1929: 760 note 2.

Ἑλλήνων.[85] The inscription goes on to mention more successes in another staging of the *Eleutheria*.[86] This time our runner also won the *diaulos* and the regular *hoplites*, and he repeated his victories in the *stadion* and the race *apo tou tropaiou*. For the latter triumph, according to the text of the inscription, he was proclaimed ἄριστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων for the second time, the first and only one ever, and was presented with a golden wreath by the *koinon* of the Greeks.[87] This is epigraphic evidence that there were in fact athletes who, after winning the race *apo tou tropaiou,* competed once more in that discipline. But it was a rare phenomenon, such a double success had obviously not been achieved by anyone before, and therefore the *koinon* honoured him with a special prize. How many athletes succeeded in repeating a victory in the race *apo tou tropaiou*? Two centuries later we find an athlete from Ephesos who claims to have been *aristos Hellenon* twice,[88] and if one gives credit to Philostratos' anecdote about the coach who offered himself as a guarantor for his protégé, a third runner repeated this victory.[89]

The runners who held the title 'best of the Greeks' referred to it with pride, but the title does not seem to have been as important as it sounds. An inscription for a Spartan runner first calls him a πλειστονείκην πα[ράδο]|ξον, which was evidently considered a more important title; accordingly, Mnasiboulos from Elateia put his double title περιοδονίκης

[85] *I.Milet* 369, A, ll. 5-9: καὶ Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς | [τὰ τ]ιθέμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄνδρας | [στά]διον καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου ἐνόπλιον δρόμον | [καὶ] ἀναγορευθέντα ἄριστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον | [καὶ] μόνον τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας. Philostratos does not mention the title, but it echoes in his praise for the race in Plataiai as ἄριστος ... ὁπλίτης.

[86] The Olympic victory of this anonymous runner (the beginning of the inscription is badly damaged) dates to the year 20 BC, the successes at the *Eleutheria* probably belong to the years 25/24 BC and 21/20 BC (Strasser 2021: 48).

[87] *I.Didyma* 201, 12-17: καὶ Ἐλευθ[έρια τ]ὰ ἐν Πλα|ταιαῖς τὰ τιθέμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑ[λλήνων τ]ὸ δεύτερο[ν] | στάδιον, δίαυλον, ὁπλίτην καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ [τροπαίο]υ ἐνόπλι|ον δρόμον καὶ ἀναγορευθέντα τὸ δεύτερọ [ἄριστο]ν τῶν Ἑλλή|νων πρῶτον καὶ μόνον καὶ τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ τ[οῦ κοινο]ῦ τῶν Ἑλ[λή]|νων χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀριστήωι. Cf. *I.Milet* 369, B, ll. 3-8.

[88] P.Lond. 3 1178, ll. 72-74. The papyrus is dated to 194 AD, but the victories must have been much earlier.

[89] Jung 2006: 349 note 326 gives two other examples, but these were winners in other disciplines.

first.[90] Mnasiboulos belonged, and this is another relevant fact, to a leading family, and this is also true of other bearers of the title ἄριστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων.[91] The race *apo tou tropaiou* thus seems to have been popular among the elites of Roman Greece. However, it was by no means a race for notables, for the best runners in the Greek world also competed.

The meaning of the strange rule with the threat of death, if it is historical at all, is hard to explain.[92] It is possible that the winner of the race *apo tou tropaiou* was so closely associated with the Greek victory of Plataiai, equating the latter's *aristeia* with the *aristeia* in battle, that a defeat of this symbolic figure would have been considered a bad omen.

Conclusion

Sporting competitions create both difference and unity: they produce winners and losers, but beforehand all participants recognise their fellow competitors as equals in the sense that they strive for the same goal according to the same rules. The Greeks were well aware that their way of doing sport formed a specific feature of their culture; the Panhellenic *agones* reproduced Greek identity.[93] In a very special way, the *Eleutheria* of Plataiai referred to the unity of the Greeks: by referring to the great joint success of beating the Persians, by means of the organisation by a Panhellenic council, and by the staging of a discipline that was unique in performance and in the title for the winners: the race *apo tou tropaiou* was not a mere curiosity of ancient athletics, but a contest whose symbolic power was based on the function of Plataiai as a place of remembrance for all Greeks.

[90] *IG* V.1, 553, ll. 8-9; *IG* IX.1, 146, ll. 3-5.

[91] Alcock 2002: 80; Jung 2006: 350 note 31; Spawforth 2011: 131-32; Camia 2016: 273.

[92] According to Yiannakis 1994, the rule was aimed to protect the victorious runner as a spiritual symbol against the dark forces, an idea that must remain speculation.

[93] See Nielsen 2007: 12-21, with sources.

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A BRIEF ESSAY ON SPORT AND GREEK UNITY IN THE LATE ARCHAIC AND EARLY CLASSICAL PERIOD

By Thomas Heine Nielsen

In memory of Rune Frederiksen (1971-2023)

Summary: This essay argues that athletics contributed significantly to whatever unity there was in the Greek world in the late archaic and early classical period. It does so by considering the significance of the so-called Panhellenic sanctuaries as one of the few contexts in which the collective appellation 'the Greeks' was appropriate and by emphasizing that what the four great sanctuaries of the *periodos* had in common was athletic competitions of great prestige. The crowds which assembled for the contests at the Panhellenic sanctuaries were discursively constructed as 'the Greeks' by contemporary sources. The athletic centrality of the four Panhellenic sanctuaries was a reflection of the fact that the festivals here were the ones that the athletes of the leisured elites valued most highly. By the classical period the *agon gymnikos* on the model of the Olympics had, by peer polity interaction, become a Panhellenic phenomenon and this allowed athletes to travel from festival to festival and compete in their chosen speciality.

Prolegomenon

Athletics ought to appear in any discussion of early Greek unity: Athletics had a profound significance for whatever reality Greek unity had in the late archaic and early classical period, as the following pages are intended to make clear. Similar topics have, of course, been discussed before, also by the present writer,[1] but the significance of athletics is, in fact, larger than usually acknowledged and so another discussion is not entirely out of place.

1 See Nielsen 2007, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; the present essay, inevitably, repeats some of the points made in these studies.

Thomas Heine Nielsen: 'A Brief Essay on Sport and Greek Unity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Period' C&M Supplementum 1 (2024) 67-90.

Whereas diversity among the Greek *poleis* in numerous spheres of life was a plain fact in late archaic and early classical Greece,[2] Greek *unity* was almost non-existent, except at a few major sanctuaries. It is almost a cliché that the great sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia were of crucial importance for the creation, maintenance and cohesion of Greek as opposed to, e.g., Athenian or Theban identity.[3] It is, however, a cliché because it is a view which does have some merit. It is at such sites, where Greeks from numerous regions and city-states met to worship and honour the gods, that the collective label 'the Greeks' made sense, whereas it would be strange to claim that, for instance, the festival of Athena Alea at Arkadian Tegea was celebrated by 'the Greeks': It was not, it was celebrated by the *Tegeatai*, though a few foreigners may perhaps have attended or competed in the associated *agones gymnikoi*.[4] But to describe the festive gatherings which assembled every four years to worship, e.g., Zeus at Olympia by any other label than 'the Greeks' would be equally strange, since the crowds which met at Olympia were in fact of such diverse origins that no other term would be fitting. Even to say that the Olympics were celebrated by the *Eleioi* would be a little odd, though Elis was in fact the official host of the festival;[5] and, as we shall see, our sources do in fact quite often say that it was 'the Greeks' who assembled at, e.g., Olympia.

The significance of the Panhellenic sanctuaries

To find Greek unity in the late archaic and early classical period we should look for contexts in which Greeks of diverse origins met in numbers to do things in collaboration, and these contexts are in this early period almost exclusively the major sanctuaries. By the end of the sixth century, that group of major festivals of Panhellenic appeal which was

2 See, e.g., Starr 1961: 98, 108, 171, 239, 297, 375; Dougherty & Kurke 2003: 1; Hall 2003; Nielsen 2007: 6-8; Parker & Steele 2021; Whitley 2021: 241.

3 Starr 1961: 308; Sealey 1976: 34-35; Hansen 2000: 144; Sansone 2004: 31-32; Mitchell 2007: 8, 62.

4 Nielsen 2014c: 119.

5 On Elis as the host of the Olympic festival, see Crowther 2003; Nielsen 2007: 29-54 and 2014b: 136-39.

later referred to by the term *periodos*[6] and which are commonly called ‘the Panhellenic festivals’[7] by modern scholars – the Olympics at Olympia, the *Pythia* at Delphi, the *Nemea* at Nemea and the *Isthmia* at the Isthmos of Corinth – had been established as beyond comparison the most important shared festivals of the Greek world. Exactly how this situation came about is not my main topic here, though I shall have a cautious suggestion to make at the end of the essay.

That the great shared sanctuaries were crucial to the definition and maintenance of Greek identity is, importantly, not simply a modern point of view. It was first and most influentially stated by none other than Herodotos. In a famous passage (8.144) he lets the Athenians lecture the Spartans on why they – the Athenians – would never betray the Greek cause and join the Persians. They are made to say this:

> Τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ κάρτα ἀνθρωπήιον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε ἐοίκατε, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα, ἀρρωδῆσαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσός ἐστι γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρη <οὕτω> κάλλεϊ καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοιμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν μηδ’ ἢν ἐθέλωμεν· πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἤ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ· αὖτις δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι.[8]

6 The use of this term in reference to the festivals of the four famous ‘Panhellenic’ sanctuaries is a Hellenistic innovation, but the reality to which the term refers is a fact by the late archaic period: see Nielsen 2018: 13; on the formation of the *periodos*, see Funke 2005.

7 Nielsen 2014b: 134-36.

8 “It was most human that the Lacedaimonians should fear our making an agreement with the foreigner; but we think you do basely to be afraid, knowing the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Greece. For there are many great reasons why we

In other words, according to the Athenian speakers of Herodotus, Greek identity (τὸ Ἑλληνικόν) was based on shared blood (ὅμαιμον), that is: a myth of common ancestry; shared language (ὁμόγλωσσον); shared sanctuaries (θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι); and a common way of life, i.e. shared customs (ἤθεα ὁμότροπα). As has often been pointed out, here are "all the usual markers"[9] of ethnic identity, and Herodotos' rather emphatic repetition of the prefix ὁμο- ('same'), coupled with κοινά ('shared'), is worth emphasizing since it is certainly meant to highlight the "notion of common essence"[10] of the Greeks. By 'shared blood' is, as already indicated, implied a myth of common origin, the *sine qua non* of an ethnic group[11] and an obvious ideological construct.[12] By 'shared language' it is implied that the Greeks all spoke a common language. In actual fact, the linguistic situation in late archaic and classical Greece was characterised by a multiplicity of linguistic forms;[13] however, by the fifth century the different dialects were all subsumed under the abstract notion 'the Greek language' (ἡ Ἑλλὰς γλῶσσα, 2.56) which, accordingly, is also a sort of ideological construct.[14] As to ἱδρύματα κοινά, "the great national centres of religion, with their cults, oracles, and festivals – Olympia, Delphi, Dodona (perhaps Delos), Eleusis – must be chiefly in the speaker's (or writer's) mind", as Macan noted,[15] and as is commonly acknowledged.[16]

should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all of which it would ill beseem Athenians to be false" (translation from Godley 1925). – The passage has been intensively studied by modern scholars, see (e.g.) Konstan 2001; Hall 2002: 172-94; Nielsen 2007: 8-10; Zacharia 2008; Polinskaya 2010.

9 Konstan 2001: 33.

10 Konstan 2001: 30.

11 Hall 1997: 25.

12 Cartledge 1993: 3 calls it "the fiction of genetic homogeneity".

13 Hall (2002) 116.

14 Morpurgo Davies 1987; Mickey 1981; Hall 2002: 115; Nielsen 2007: 9 n. 24.

15 Macan 1908: *ad loc.*

16 See, e.g., Hansen 2000: 144 and Funke 2004: 161.

That the idea of 'shared sanctuaries' was well-developed in the classical period is clear also from the Peace of Nikias. The text of the Peace, in fact, begins with a stipulation concerning the shared sanctuaries (Thuc. 5.18.):

> Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν κοινῶν, θύειν καὶ ἰέναι καὶ μαντεύεσθαι καὶ θεωρεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀδεῶς.[17]

The treaty gives a guarantee of free access to the 'shared sanctuaries' (τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν κοινῶν). That the sanctuaries referred to here were, in fact, the well-known Panhellenic sanctuaries of modern scholarship is a safe inference from the treaty itself which stipulates that copies of the text were to be set up at Olympia, at Delphi and on the Isthmos (as well as on the Athenian Acropolis and the Amyklaion in Lakedaimon).[18] Shared ritual activity at such sites is compared by the Aristophanic Lysistrate to kinship activity,[19] and so worship at such shared sanctuaries could be thought of as based on shared blood. 'Shared customs', i.e. a shared (male) lifestyle, can cover anything from listening to recitals of the Homeric poems to the drinking of wine, going to the *ekklesia* or fighting as a hoplite.[20] Another ingredient of shared Greek male lifestyle was athletics, which may well be thought of as belonging to ἤθεα ὁμότροπα and was much more important than usually recognized.

It is, clearly, very probable that the contents of this Herodotean explication of shared Greek identity is a product of the period *following* the invasion of Xerxes which seems to have opened Greek eyes to the idea of

17 "Concerning the shared sanctuaries, anyone who wishes may sacrifice, travel there, consult the oracles and attend the games in accordance with ancestral tradition, in safety by land and by sea" (translation by author).

18 Thuc. 5.18.10: στήλας δὲ στῆσαι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ. On the absence of Nemea from this list, see Nielsen 2018: 215-29.

19 Ar. *Lys.* 1130-1131: ὥσπερ ξυγγενεῖς | Ὀλυμπίασι, ἐν Πύλαις, Πυθοῖ.

20 Hansen 2000: 144; Nielsen & Schwartz 2013: 143.

a shared Greek identity[21] and, perhaps, unity – an idea, which was probably not very significant if it existed at all in the archaic period. But, some of the items subsumed under τὸ Ἑλληνικόν did exist in the archaic period, in particular sanctuaries of Panhellenic appeal, i.e., such sanctuaries as Olympia and Delphi[22] and a few others of similar appeal. As already mentioned, at the end of the sixth century at the latest the four famous Panhellenic sanctuaries of the *periodos* stood out as the most important of the shared sanctuaries. The festivals at these four sanctuaries came to be scheduled with an eye to each other in such a way that they were staged in a continuous rhythm on the basis of a four-year period, an Olympiad in Greek parlance:

The Periodos of the 75th Olympiad
(after Golden 1998: 10-11)

Olympiad year	*Festival*	*Date*
75.1	Olympic	480
75.2	Nemean	479
75.2	Isthmian	478
75.3	Pythian	478
75.4	Nemean	477
75.4	Isthmian	476
76.1	Olympic	476

In the first year of an Olympiad the Olympics were celebrated at Olympia; the second year saw celebrations of the festivals both at Nemea and at the Isthmos, whereas the third year, like the first, was devoted to a single festival, the *Pythia* at Delphi; the fourth and final year of an Olympiad copied the second year and saw celebrations of festivals at both Nemea and at the Isthmos. After these six celebrations, a new Olympiad began, with a new celebration of the Olympics – and the four big festivals unrolled in this regular rhythm throughout antiquity. It seems rather clear

21 Murray 1988: 461; Hornblower 1991: 10; Cartledge 1993: 39; Mitchell 2007: 15; Zacharia 2008: 26.

22 On Olympia and Delphi prior to the classical period, see e.g. Morgan 1990.

that this structure is built around the Olympics, probably because this was the first festival to rise above mere local prominence and attain international fame. By the sixth century when most of the Greek city-states adorned their religious festivals with *agones gymnikoi*[23] the Olympics were already famous and influential and provided a handy model from which, it seems reasonable to assume, even Delphi took inspiration (more below).

Sport at the Panhellenic sanctuaries

What did the big four Panhellenic festivals have in common which set them apart as such a prestigious group? They were not all dedicated to the same divinity. Two, the Olympics and the *Nemea*, were, admittedly, dedicated to Zeus, but the *Pythia* were dedicated to Apollo and the *Isthmia* to Poseidon. These are all male divinities, but this was hardly the reason for their great fame. Famous festivals were dedicated to goddesses, the Athenian *Panathenaia* to Athena and the Argive *Hekatomboia* to Hera, to mention just two obviously major festivals for goddesses which, incidentally, also featured famous *agones gymnikoi.*[24] Nor were the patron city-states of the Panhellenic sanctuaries large and powerful and the festivals in question, accordingly, probably did not owe their importance to their host cities. Admittedly, Corinth, the host of the Isthmian Festival, was by all counts a major city-state, but Kleonai, the host of the Nemean Festival,[25] and the *polis* of Delphi itself, were not large and important players on the stage of Greek city-states. Elis, the host city of the Olympic Festival, was clearly a larger city-state than Kleonai and Delphi, but it did not quite compare to Corinth, and it seems reasonable to assume that there was no simple correlation between the power and renown of a *polis* and the fame and prestige of its festivals. In fact, big and powerful cities such as Athens, Argos and Thebes hosted athletic festivals which, though

23 Bell 1989: 168; Pleket 2000: 642; Mann 2001: 19, 27; Young 2004: 23; Christesen 2007a, 2007b: 143, 2014: 217; Crowther 2007: 6; Kyle 2009: 188, 2014: 22; Scott 2010: 160-61; Neumann-Hartmann 2014: 31. See also Funke 2005: ii.

24 *Panathenaia*: Nielsen 2018: 132-33; *Hekatomboia*: Nielsen 2018: 129.

25 Nielsen 2018: 224-27.

they certainly did enjoy some international prestige,[26] could not compete with, for instance, the Nemean Festival hosted by tiny Kleonai.[27]

What the so-called Panhellenic festivals did have in common was famous athletic competitions, and it was on the basis of their athletic fame that they were singled out as the *periodos*. The competitions at the festivals of the *periodos* could be entered by ὁ βουλόμενος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ("any Greek who wants") but this, in fact, was a characteristic of almost all athletic festivals in late archaic and classical Greece.[28] The crucial difference between the athletic festivals of the *periodos* and the numerous lesser festivals which existed already in the late archaic and early classical period was that the entrants in the *periodos* did in fact come from all over the Greek world and in large numbers as well. So the athletes and crowds assembling at the Panhellenic sanctuaries, and at Olympia and Delphi in particular, were of very diverse origins, as even the victor lists compiled by modern scholars show: Archaic and classical Olympic victors hail from more than 90 different *poleis*; Pythian victors hail from more than 50 different *poleis*; Nemean victors from 40; and Isthmian victors from at least 37.[29]

'The Greeks' at the Panhellenic sanctuaries

The best and perhaps only way to adequately describe such crowds is by calling them *Greek* and not Athenian, or Arkadian, or Peloponnesian etc. And – this is what our sources often do. I give a few examples. The first is the epigram from a statue erected at Olympia to celebrate the career of the long-distance runner Ergoteles, a citizen of Sicilian Himera and active in the 470s and 460s BC. It reads:[30]

Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε Φιλάνορος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς],

26 The *Panathenaia* at Athens: Nielsen 2018: 132-33; the *Hekatomboia* at Argos: Nielsen 2018: 129; the *Herakleia* at Thebes: Nielsen 2018: 118.

27 Nielsen 2018: 169-14.

28 Nielsen 2014c.

29 Nielsen 2014c: 91.

30 Text after *Neue IvO* no. 23.

Ἕλλανας νικῶν Πύθι[α δὶς δόλιχον]
καὶ δύ' Ὀλυμπιάδας, δ[ύο δ' Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέαι δὶς],
Ἱμέραι ἄθάνατον μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἔμεναι].

Here the athletes of no less than eight Panhellenic celebrations of athletic festivals are subsumed under the collective label "the Greeks" (Ἕλλανας).

The next example is a rather remarkable passage from Herodotos (8.26), an anecdote placed right after the depiction of the battle of Thermopylai in 480 BC. It relates how some Arkadians went to see the Persians to apply for service as mercenaries. The Persians, Herodotos goes on, led the Arkadians into the presence of the Great King and inquired of them *what the Greeks were doing* (περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ποιέοιεν). This remarkable question is, evidently, a literary device designed to allow the answer to it – which was that the Greeks were celebrating the Olympic festival and would be watching an athletic and an equestrian contest (Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωρέοιεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικόν). Here those present at Olympia (i.e. not only the athletes) are taken to constitute the Greeks as such, a rather remarkable phenomenon, though not without parallels. The next example is from Bacchylides 9.30 where the spectators who witnessed the victory of the honorandus, Automedes of Phleious, at Nemea are described as Ἑλλάνων ... ἀπ[εί]ρονα κύκλον, "the endless sea of Greeks" in McDevitt's translation;[31] here the spectators at Nemea are described as Greeks. At *Isthm*. 4.28-29, moreover, Pindar calls the equestrian entrants at the "common festivals" (παναγυρίων ξυνᾶν), by which he probably means the four Panhellenic sanctuaries, [32] "all Greeks" (Πανελλάνεσσι), thus testifying to the diverse origins of even the equestrian entrants at these festivals.

In Thucydides' interesting description of the Olympics of 420 BC the phenomenon of calling the crowd at Olympia 'the Greeks' may also be observed. The Eleians had fined the Spartans 2.000 mines for what they took to be a breach of the Olympic truce.[33] The Spartans refused to pay and the Eleians instead suggested that, as Thucydides says (5.50.1-2):

31 McDevitt 2009: 51.

32 Bury 1892: *ad* v. 28; Willcock 1995: *ad* vv. 28-29.

33 On this incident, see Roy 1998 and 2022: 117-19 and Nielsen 2005: 67-74.

> ἀναβάντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, ἐπειδὴ προθυμοῦνται χρῆσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐπομόσαι ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦ μὴν ἀποδώσειν ὕστερον τὴν καταδίκην. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἤθελον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἴργοντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ [θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων] καὶ οἴκοι ἔθυον.[34]

Thucydides ends his description by saying οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐθεώρουν πλὴν Λεπρεατῶν.[35] Twice in this short passage, then, the festive crowd at Olympia is described as 'the Greeks' pure and simple. No wonder that Plato could describe the Olympics as "the *panegyris* of the Greeks"[36] and that Aristophanes in *Ploutos* could make Penia (Poverty) declare that Zeus gathers "all the Greeks" at Olympia.[37]

Even a few Eleian sources show a similar usage. Thus, sometime in the early fifth century Elis gave their umpires at the Olympics the new official title of *Hellanodikai*, 'Judges of the Greeks', though strictly speaking they were officials appointed by the *polis* of Elis itself. But the designation clearly highlighted the fact that Olympia was so prestigious as to attract athletes from all corners of the Greek world.[38] An even clearer case is provided by *IvO* 166 of the mid-fourth century. It is an epigram which accompanied a sculptural victory dedication by an Eleian equestrian victor, Troilos the son of Alkinoos. Its first distich reads:

> Ἑλλήνων ἦρχον τότε Ὀλυμπίαι, ἡνίκα μοι Ζεὺς
> δῶκεν νικῆσαι πρῶτον Ὀλυμπιάδα.

34 "... the Spartans should ascend the altar of the Olympian Zeus, as they were so anxious to have access to the temple, and swear before the Greeks (ἐπομόσαι ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων) that they would surely pay the fine at a later day. This also being refused, the Spartans were excluded from the temple, the sacrifice, and the games, and sacrificed at home" (translation from Strassler 1996).

35 "... the other Greeks attended the festival except for the *Lepreatai*" (translation by author).

36 Pl. *Hp. mi.* 363c: τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πανήγυριν.

37 Ar. *Plut.* 584: τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἀεὶ δι' ἔτους πέμπτου ξυναγείρει.

38 Nielsen 2007: 20-21.

Troilos had been officiating as *Hellanodikas* in 372 BC when he achieved his victory, and "I was ruling the Greeks at Olympia" is a stately poetic circumlocution of this fact (known from Paus. 6.1.4). The epigram, then, uses the same designation – 'the Greeks' – for the competitors and crowds at Olympia as the passages discussed above and, incidentally, confirms that the title *Hellanodikas* means 'Judge of the Greeks'.

In conclusion, to describe the festive gatherings which assembled every four years to worship, e.g. Zeus at Olympia, the best and most fitting designation was 'the Greeks', because the crowds which met at Olympia were in fact of such diverse origins that no other term would be suitable. And – outstanding among those who gathered at the athletic sites of the sanctuaries of the *periodos* were the athletes themselves, and it is to the athletes that I now turn.[39]

The events of Greek athletics

As the modern Olympics demonstrate, there is in reality no end to the number of physical activities that humans can turn into competitions. It is, accordingly, quite striking just how *few* events Classical Greek athletics comprised. The classical program of the ancient Olympics comprised merely 11 competitions in three different sports, subdivided simply into men and boys. Men competed in the *pentathlon*, in four different footraces (*stadion*, *diaulos*, *dolichos* and *hoplites)* and three different combat sports (*pale, pyx* and *pankration*) whereas boys competed merely in the *stadion*, the short sprint, in wrestling (*pale*) and in boxing (*pyx*).[40] This program, which was stable for hundreds of years, was the end-product of some development and experimentation. Thus, *pentathlon* for boys was tried once, in 628 according to tradition, but immediately dropped.[41] In the classical period, the programs of the various athletic festivals

39 The following is based on Nielsen 2023.

40 On the Olympic program, see Lee 2001; on the individual events, see Miller 2004: 31-86. – I do not consider equestrian events here; such consideration would not materially change the points I make. On Greek equestrian sport, see De Rossi 2011-2016.

41 Lee 2001: 2.

throughout Greece resembled the Olympics apart from some very minor variations which were all variations on a well-known theme, as it were. In fact, they were presumably more or less based on the Olympic program. In the archaic period, however, the picture was a little more varied. In archaic sources we find events which do not reappear in the classical period. In the funeral games for Patroklos as described in *Iliad* 23,[42] we find contests in armed duel to first blood,[43] weight-throwing,[44] bowshot for live pigeon,[45] and throwing the javelin.[46] None of these events are found again in the classical period, and we may perhaps doubt that there ever were armed duels to first blood or bowshots for live pigeon: they seem not impossible improvisations by the poet of the *Iliad*. But even throwing the javelin is not met with in the classical period as an event in its own right; in the classical period, throwing the javelin was invariably a part of the *pentathlon*.[47] The unusual weight-throwing resembles discus-throwing and may perhaps be a consciously archaizing depiction of this event; it, too, formed part of the *pentathlon* in the classical period.

In *Odyssey* 8, we find a fine description of a set of competitive contests staged by the Phaeacian King Alkinoos to relieve the anonymous stranger – who is Odysseus – of his sorrows which the king has noticed. The poet describes a foot-race,[48] bouts of wrestling[49] and boxing[50] as well as long jumping[51] and throwing the discus.[52] Whereas foot-races with

42 On the depiction of the games for Patroklos, see Howland 1954; Willcock 1972; O'Neal 1980; Dickie 1984; Dunkle 1981 and 1987; Kyle 1984; Hinckley 1986; Scott 1997; Kitchell 1998; Papakonstantinou 2002; Brown 2003; Ulf 2004; Tyrrell 2004: 8-27; Perry 2014.

43 Hom. *Il.* 23.801-825.

44 Hom. *Il.* 23.826-849.

45 Hom. *Il.* 23.850-883.

46 Hom. *Il.* 23.884-897; old Nestor, too, in his reminiscences about his youth treats throwing the javelin as an individual event (Hom. *Il.* 23.637).

47 On the events found at the festivals of the late archaic and classical period, see the entry 'attested events' in the inventory of festivals at Nielsen 2018: 110-53.

48 Hom. *Od.* 8.120-125.

49 Hom. *Od.* 8. 126-127.

50 Hom. *Od.* 8.130.

51 Hom. *Od.* 8.128.

52 Hom. *Od.* 8.129.

wrestling and boxing as individual events were the very essence of classical Greek athletics,[53] long jumping and throwing the discus are not met with as individual events in the classical period; like throwing the javelin, they invariably formed parts of the *pentathlon*.

The Homeric poems, admittedly, are not simple realistic depictions of any single point in time, but rather traditional oral poetry; however, the Homeric picture of long jumping and throwing the discus as individual events does seem to find some confirmation in archaic epigraphical material. From Eleusis comes an inscribed jumping weight (*halter*) dating to ca. 580-570 BC and inscribed *h*αλόμενος νίκεσεν Ἐπαίνετος.[54] This dedication presumably commemorates a victory in long jumping as an individual event:[55] dedications of jumping weights commemorating victories in the *pentathlon* often make clear that they do so.[56] And this, it should be noted, is at a time when the *pentathlon* is in fact known to have existed, since it is attested by a victory dedication made at the Corinthian Isthmos more or less at the same time as Epainetos made his dedication at Eleusis.[57] From, presumably, Kephallenia comes a bronze discus of the mid-sixth century inscribed with two hexameters: [58] Ἐχσοΐδα μ' ἀνέθεκε Διϝὸς Ϙόροιν μεγάλοιο | χάλκεον *h*οῖ νίκασε Κεφαλᾶνας μεγαθύμος.[59] Again, it seems a reasonable assumption that this dedication of a discus used for the winning throw was made to commemorate a victory in the discus staged as an individual event and not as part of the *pentathlon*. So, both discus and the long jump were, at least sometimes, staged as individual events in the late archaic period, whereas there is no sign of them as individual events at the great Panhellenic games.

What we see in the late archaic period is presumably the end of a development by which athletics took on a uniform character across the Greek world and by which such local peculiarities as the long jump as an

53 Golden 2013.

54 *IG* I^3 988; Moretti 1953: no. 1; see also Ebert 1972: 31 ("Epainetos was victorious in the long jump" (translation by author)).

55 Moretti 1953: 3; Ebert 1972: 31.

56 See, e.g., Ebert 1972: no. 1; *SEG* 11.1227 (= *Neue IvO* 21).

57 Ebert 1972: no. 1.

58 Moretti 1953: no. 6; Cook 1987: 60; *IG* IX.1 649; *CEG* 1.391.

59 "Exoidas dedicated me to the sons of mighty Zeus, (the) bronze with which he overcame the great-hearted Kephallenians" (translation by Cook 1987: 60).

individual event were eliminated. The end product was the *agon gymnikos* which was more or less identical with the Olympic program except for very trivial variations. When archaic elegists want to say 'all kinds of athletic events' they point to well-known events of the Olympic program; Tyrtaios, famously, is unwilling to praise any man for *speed of feet* or *skilful wrestling*,[60] and thus points to the two most prestigious Greek events;[61] and Xenophanes in this well-known critique of the worship of athletes lists simply the Olympic program: foot-races (ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν, 1), *pentathlon* (πενταθλεύων, 2), wrestling (παλαίων, 3), boxing (πυκτοσύνην, 4) and *pankration* (παγκράτιον, 5).[62] From the late-sixth century, the Olympic program in some form or other was the norm at athletic festivals including the three other festivals of the *periodos*.[63] When variations do occur, they are minor or even trivial. Thus, at, e.g., Isthmia and Nemea there were three and not two age-classes,[64] but the basic idea is the same: competitors must be divided into age-classes; and, at Nemea the foot-racers contested an event called the *hippios* which was a foot-race of some 800 m,[65] that is, it was a double *diaulos* just as the *diaulos* itself was a double *stadion*, and it could easily be staged in the same stadium as the *stadion* and the *diaulos*.

In 2018, I published a large study in which I identified 155 festivals of the late archaic and classical period which had athletic contests on their festive programmes.[66] Only a single one of these did *perhaps* stage an event which was not on the Olympic programme: at Olbia, there was *possibly* a competition in longshot with bow.[67] But the Olympic events occur frequently: *Pentathlon* is known at 8 festivals apart from the *periodos*;[68] foot-races are known from 38 other festivals; boxing is known at 15 festivals; wrestling likewise at 15 festivals; and *pankration* at 14. In most

60 Tyrtaios fr. 12.2 (West): οὔτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς οὔτε παλαιμοσύνης.
61 Golden 2013.
62 Xenophanes fr. 2. (West).
63 Neumann-Hartmann 2007.
64 Golden 1998: 104.
65 Golden (1998) 37; Miller (2004) 32; Romano (2021) 214.
66 Nielsen 2018.
67 Nielsen 2018: 75.
68 For this and the following data, see the entry 'attested events' in the inventory of festivals at Nielsen 2018: 110-53.

cases, no details about the competitive program of a festival are known, and the sources simply state that the festival included an *agon gymnikos*,[69] or *agones gymnikoi*.[70] In such cases the *agon gymnikos* probably consisted of a copy of or a suitable selection from the Olympic program, which had emerged as the model of the *agon gymnikos*, and the competitors were probably subdivided into two or three age-classes.

Athletics and peer polity interaction

By the late archaic period, the *agon gymnikos* had become, as it were, a Panhellenic piece of portable cultural technology which was known everywhere and could be practised anywhere. As Christian Mann has recently discussed at length, armies in the field, for instance, often celebrated an *agon gymnikos* e.g. to mark victory or to amuse the soldiers.[71] Thus, when Xenophon and the 10.000 had reached the coast of the Black Sea they immediately arranged for an *agon gymnikos* to let joy and relief get free rein.[72] The competitions comprised a selection of the Olympic *agon gymnikos*: foot-races, wrestling, boxing and *pankration*. Arrianos in several passages records that Alexander the Great arranged *agones gymnikoi* for his army.[73] He never specifies the events contested but simply states that an *agon gymnikos* took place.[74] But *agon gymnikos* presumably means *a suitable selection of events from the standard repertoire* and the occasions will probably, *mutatis mutandis*, have resembled that of Xenophon's charming description.

How and why did the Greek repertoire of sports end up being so limited and the concept of the *agon gymnikos* so unambiguous that there was never any doubt about its meaning? I suggest that two simple mechanisms must have been at work. One is the fact that the Olympic program was so famous and prestigious already in the sixth century that when the

69 E.g. Hdt. 6.38.1; Pl. *Menex.* 249b; Strabo 5.4.7 (with Nielsen 2018: 59).

70 E.g. Lys. 2.80; *IG* XII.9 187A.

71 Mann 2020.

72 Xen. *An.* 4.8.25.

73 Mann 2020: 103-4.

74 Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.8, 2.24.6, 3.1.4 *etc.*

Greek *poleis* began in great numbers to put athletics on the programs of their religious festivals they looked to Olympia as an admired model, as was almost certainly the case when Athens transformed the *Panathenaia* in the 560s BC.[75] The Olympics were, simply, the model for an *agon gymnikos*.

The second is the fact that the Greek *poleis* in general took examples and inspiration from each other and (thus) patterned themselves on each other by the process of peer polity interaction, which is a process by which relatively similar entities by regular interaction come to resemble each other even more and to have the same cultural preferences, and so on.[76] A fine example of this process is provided by *polis*-coinages which, after a somewhat fumbling and experimental start in the sixth century, quickly came to resemble each other in all basic respects (circular blankets, figurative types, abbreviated legends *etc.*). There were minor variations in e.g. weight standards,[77] but in all essentials the system was the same across city-state boundaries and a Greek coin was easily recognisable as a Greek coin. Another example is provided by the Doric temple. In spite of some local variations,[78] Doric temples are easily recognisable as such everywhere they were constructed, be it in on Sicily, in the Peloponnese or in Attica. Or, as a final example, one may point to the foundational political institutions of the Greek *poleis*: Practically speaking, all *poleis* had a smaller council called *boule* and a larger assembly called *ekklesia* or something similar, and practically all *poleis* had public magistrates called *archontes*;[79] there were local variations[80] but the basic system was more or less the same everywhere, be it in democracies or oligarchies.

This rather remarkable similarity of key institutions in the Greek city-state culture, which was so profoundly geographically dispersed, may not unreasonably be explained by intense interaction among *poleis* and the concomitant processes of peer polity interaction.

75 Neils 2007.

76 On peer polity interaction in the Greek city-state culture, see Snodgrass 1986; a case-study of the working of peer polity interaction the Peloponnese in the sixth century is provided by Forsdyke 2011; for the Hellenistic period, see Ma 2003.

77 Kraay 1976: 329-30; Kallet & Kroll 2020: 148-51. See also Psoma in this volume.

78 See e.g. Winter 1991 on Doric temples in Arkadia.

79 Hansen 2006: 113.

80 For details, see Hansen & Nielsen 2004.

There were, undoubtedly, many advantages in this overall similarity of central aspects of Greek culture. The uniformity of the *agon gymnikos* across the Greek world meant that *poleis* could expect to attract top-level athletes from outside, as most of them actually succeeded in doing.[81] This clearly enhanced the quality of the athletic spectacle and thus increased the honour paid to the divinity presiding over the festival into which the *agon gymnikos* was incorporated.[82] Seen from the point of view of the athletes, the uniformity of the *agon gymnikos* ensured that they could count on being able to enter well-known competitions anywhere: It may have varied precisely how long a *stadion*-race was,[83] but one knew *what* it was. This enabled athletes to travel from one festival to another and on to the next as several actually did; the famous boxer Theogenes of Thasos won some 1.400 victories during his career and he must have travelled extensively though this aspect of his career is not very well known.[84] But the travelling of another great boxer, Diagoras of Ialysos on Rhodes, is known in at least its broad outline, since he commissioned an epinician ode from Pindar, the famous *Seventh Olympic Ode*, which includes a victory catalogue (15-17, 80-87) from which it appears that in addition to the Olympics, Diagoras entered competitions at Delphi, the Isthmos, Nemea, Athens, Argos, in Arkadia, at Thebes and in Boiotia more generally, at Pellene in Achaia, at Megara, on Aigina, and on Rhodes itself. He, like Theogenes, must clearly have been a great traveller. Such intense travelling was feasible for athletes because an *agon gymnikos* was a well-known and rather static cultural phenomenon: Both Theogenes and Diagoras knew that if an *agon gymnikos* were announced to take place at, e.g., Thebes, it would include boxing and was thus worth travelling for.

Moreover, such travelling athletes may also very well have been the chief agents of that (peer polity) interaction which limited the number of events at Greek athletic festivals and brought the *agon gymnikos* in its well-known form into existence. It was, after all, to a large degree *their* preferences to which the uniformity of the *agon gymnikos* catered. And,

81 Nielsen 2014c.
82 See further Nielsen 2024..
83 Golden 2004: 157-58.
84 Nielsen 2018: 27-30.

let me end by cautiously suggesting that even the *periodos* itself crystallized as a result of the agonistic preferences of the travelling athletes, in the sense that the four famous festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and the Isthmos became famous and outstanding because these festivals were the ones that athletes valued particularly. In the archaic period, when this crystallization took place, athletes were beyond doubt recruited from the leisure class of Thorstein Veblen,[85] and the preferences and opinions of this class, which still dominated most *poleis*, must have been factors to which festival organizers had to pay due regard.

Conclusions

To sum up. The great Panhellenic sanctuaries were in the late archaic and early classical period the most important venues for the display of the fragile Greek unity which existed in this period. What the four famous Panhellenic sanctuaries had in common was prestigious athletic competitions which in many ways developed into markers of Greek identity. By the end of the archaic period the Greek *agon gymnikos* was firmly in place and comprised only a very limited number of events, which means that it was, very probably, codified from an earlier situation where more events existed. This uniformity of the *agon gymnikos* across the Greek world meant that athletes hailing from the leisure class could travel from festival to festival and compete in well-known events. In fact, it may have been to cater to the preferences of the aristocratic and upper-class athletes, as they were, that the *agon gymnikos* took its final form, though admiration of the Olympic model must also have played its part. And, finally, it may perhaps have been the agonistic preferences of the athletes which singled out the four Panhellenic festivals of the *periodos* as the most prestigious athletic festivals. In brief, two central ingredients of late archaic and early classical Greek unity, the *agon gymnikos* and the centrality of the four great sanctuaries of the *periodos*, may be traced back to the agonistic preferences of the leisure class.

85 Veblen 2007. – I wish to thank Kostas Buraselis for arranging the memorable symposium at Delphi and Christel Müller and Olga Palagia for comments on my paper.

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GREEK DEITIES AS SINGLE OR PLURAL FIGURES? SOME CASE STUDIES*

By Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge

Summary: Greek deities are a valuable touchstone for assessing the opposite or complementary notions of 'unity and diversity', and the same issue could have been be raised from the perspective of sacrificial ritual. In the context of ancient Greek religion, but also of Greek culture as a whole, no generalizing statement can be made without testing it against the fragmented evidence from several hundred cities. Some scholars have therefore come to consider that we should speak of 'Greek religions' in the plural in order to reflect the fragmentation, considering both the representation of the gods and the rituals performed in their honour. Focusing on the divine world, this paper asks the question: which dimension prevails in the (ancient as well as modern) way of dealing with a Greek deity, the apparent unity given by its theonym or the diversity of its cult-places, images, cult-titles, etc.? The argument here is for addressing together unity and diversity, singleness and plurality when studying Greek gods.

At Plataea in 479 BCE various battles took place, including one between the Spartans and the Persians near a sanctuary of Demeter. The Persians were routed and fled in disorder to their own camp. Herodotus, who is referring to the episode, considered as a marvel that no Persian entered the sacred grove of the goddess and died, while the bodies were piling up outside. Then he went on to say: "I think – if it is necessary to judge the ways of the gods – that the goddess herself denied them entry, since they had burnt her temple, the shrine at Eleusis."[1] Referring later to the naval

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battle at Mycale in Ionia, Herodotus pointed out that the simultaneous occurrence of the two events on the same day was accompanied by another coincidence: "Moreover, there was the additional coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataea the fight was near the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mycale also."[2] Already in Book 8, the omens in favour of the Greeks were linked to the Demeter of Eleusis, since the sound of the procession of the mysteries was heard in Attica during the war, even though Athens was empty of its inhabitants. This mysterious sound arose just before the battle of Salamis and manifested a clear indication of divine support for the Greeks, with an emphasis on Athenian commitment against the Persians.[3]

Aside from the fact that it allows me to evoke the battle of Plataea, inscribed in the title of the present volume, the episode told by Herodotus raises the question of the local *versus* regional *versus* Panhellenic character of the Greek gods. Such a topic is well adapted to a collective reflection about 'unity' and 'diversity' in ancient Greece and emphasises the religious dimension of this issue. In the historian's words, the goddess Demeter is at the same time Demeter *tout court* supporting the Greeks against the Barbarians, Demeter whose sanctuary in Eleusis was burnt by the same Barbarians, and Demeter worshipped at Plataea and Mycale under the cult-title Eleusinia. In Herodotus' times, the Panhellenic openness of the Eleusinian mysteries closely associates the generic Demeter supporting the Greeks with her local location in Attica. Moreover, it partly explains why the historian exceptionally addresses the concrete agency of a specific deity in the context of war, even if this choice contradicts the critical stance on "divine matters" exposed in Book 2. At

1 Hdt. 9.65: δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας {τὸ ἱρὸν} τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον (trans. A.D. Godley, Loeb, 1920, slightly modified).

2 Hdt. 9.101 (cf. 97): καὶ τόδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη. καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι (trans. idem).

3 Hdt. 8.65. On Demeter as an 'identity factor' in Herodotus, see Boedeker 2007 and Rodrigues 2020. For assessing Herodotus's perspective on these episodes, see Harrison 2000: 65-67.

this stage, he had stipulated that he would confine his investigation to human affairs (*ta anthropeia pregmata*) without addressing divine ones (*ta theia* or *ta theia pregmata*), except when forced to do so by the necessities of his *logos*.[4] In explaining the 'miracle' of Plataea by Demeter's intervention, Herodotus seems to be in breach of his preliminary commitment and activate "the necessities of his *logos*".[5] Referring once again to Demeter's support for the Greeks seems to have been important enough to justify this deviation from the investigator's programme, recalled by the incidental clause: "if it is necessary to judge the ways of the gods."

Gods and goddesses are a valuable touchstone for assessing the opposite or complementary notions of 'unity and diversity', and the same issue could have been be raised from the perspective of sacrificial ritual.[6] In the context of ancient Greek religion, but also Greek culture as a whole, no generalizing statement can be made without testing it against the scattered evidence from several hundred cities.[7] Some scholars have therefore come to consider that we should speak of 'Greek religions' in the plural in order to reflect this diversity, considering both the representation of the gods and the rituals performed in their honour. For instance, the late Simon Price entitled his book on Greek religion, published in 1999, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*. In the preface, he justified the plural form of the word religion in the title of his book: "I have examined the interplay between local and Panhellenic practices and ideas: the plural 'religions' of my title is designed to suggest the resulting variety, in both space and time" (p. ix). The same choice was made for the title of the book he had published with Mary Beard and John North one year earlier, the textbook on Roman religion entitled *Religions of Rome*.[8] In French-speaking scholarship, Edmond Levy published, in 2000 and in French, a paper entitled "Can we speak of *one* Greek religion?" He gave a qualified answer to this question: "Is Greek religion one or many? It is

4 Hdt. 2.3 and 2.65.

5 Darbo-Peschanski 1987: 33; Scullion 2002: 197-98; Pirenne-Delforge 2020: 70-74.

6 See Pirenne-Delforge 2020: 139-59 (chp. 5: "Sacrifier aux dieux").

7 Kindt 2023 addresses this point, mainly in a historiographical perspective, in a collection of papers devoted to *The Local Horizon of Ancient Greek Religion*.

8 John Scheid made the same choice in the title of his last book: *Les Romains et leurs religions. La piété au quotidien*. Paris, 2023.

both." There is a deep 'tension' between general and particular, between global and local, between unity and diversity within the framework of Greek religion, especially regarding the figure of its multiple deities.[9]

Should we choose the plural to talk about Greek religion to emphasise its diversity? In comparison, when the topic of the 'Greek city' is addressed, one hardly finds the question of whether we should refer to Greek cities in the plural. Despite the political fragmentation of Classical Greece, the singular is widely used in publications on this subject. In Numa Fustel de Coulanges' *La Cité antique* (1864), Gustave Glotz's *La Cité grecque* (1928), and François de Polignac's thesis, published in 1984 under the title *La Naissance de la cité grecque*, we find city in the singular. Other examples can be found in different languages.[10] Simon Price himself, who put the religion of the ancient Greeks in the plural, edited in Oxford, in 1990, with Oswyn Murray, a collective work entitled *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*. It is as if the concept of 'city', the Greek *polis*, was more amenable to a collective singularity than religion; it is as if, behind the multiplicity of particular city-states, it was easy to imagine an idea of the city shared by the Greeks—and hence by modern scholars—beyond its specific variations.

Of course, contrary to the famous Greek word *polis* encapsulating what we call 'city' (despite all the problems of translation), the term 'religion' has no strict equivalent in the ancient Greek language. However, the tension between the singular and the plural applies to the city itself as well as to one of its major components, which is the relationship of the Greeks with their gods. Keeping 'Greek religion' in the singular is the best option because the singular is able to accommodate plurality, while the reverse is not that easy to implement. *Religion* in the singular retains the tension to which I referred previously. On the contrary, *religions* in the plural only implies plurality.[11]

9 Parts of the present paper are the English version of insights presented in the fourth chapter of Pirenne-Delforge 2020, a book entirely built on this tension.

10 See very recently Beck 2020, whose work is an emphasis on 'localism', under the title *Localism and the Ancient Greek City-State*, with 'city-state' in the singular.

11 Cf. Osborne 2015: 11: "The term 'religion' cannot be translated into Greek. The Greeks knew that different people worshipped different gods and did so in different ways. They also knew that worship of different gods or use of different names for the gods tended to correlate with different cult organization and practice. But no Greek

Let us add some more general words about the topic of diversity and plurality. In the context of any polytheism, the multiplicity of divine agents is the most obvious and direct manifestation of this issue. In Greece, the plurality of polytheism extends even wider. The category of heroes is one of these expansions, which, at the level of local communities, considerably increases the number of supra-human interlocutors.[12] A second element is the fact that some divine names are plural forms: Muses, Charites, Horai, Moirai.[13] The tension between unity and plurality is particularly noticeable in the case of the Charites in Olympia. According to Pindar, Heracles had founded, in the sanctuary of Zeus, six altars for the Twelve gods, honoured two by two.[14] The poet does not identify the pairs associated with each altar, but a scholiast gives the list.[15] One of the altars was devoted to Dionysos and the Charites. This group of goddesses was considered as *one* divine power, despite its collective name. Moreover, the presence in the list of the river Alpheios flowing by the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios attests to the local interpretation of the group of the Twelve. Accordingly, the divine ensemble can remain perfectly generic or it can be deployed in twelve names varying from place to place. In the first case, the Twelve gods are conceived as a unity. In the second case, diversity prevails.[16] A third process of expansion in the divine world is the attribution of cult-titles to deities worshipped in the myriads of sanctuaries in the Greek world. The result is what Robert Parker called "the cultic double name".[17] Beyond the fact that the Greeks

writer known to us classifies either the gods or the cult practices into separate 'religions'."

12 By contrast, Herodotus 2.50 pointed out that the Egyptians did not honour heroes.

13 Hes. *Theog.* 901-911, 915-917. Cf. Paus. 3.18.6; 9.35.1-3.

14 Pind. *Ol.* 5.5-6; 10.24-25. Cf. Paus. 5.14.6, 14.8, 14.10; 5.24.1.

15 Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5.10a Drachmann: Zeus Olympios and Poseidon; Hera and Athena; Hermes and Apollo; Charites and Dionysos; Artemis and Alpheios; Kronos and Rhea.

16 See Pironti 2017: 98-99, with previous bibliography.

17 Parker 2003. The number of works on this topic has gradually increased in two decades now: e.g. Belayche *et al.* 2005; Versnel 2011: 60-84, 517-25; Lebreton & Bonnet 2019.

honoured a plurality of gods, this naming process attests to the fact that each god was potentially conceivable in the plural.[18]

Three case studies support the statement that, regarding their gods, the Greeks managed to conceptualize unity and diversity *together*. They form the core of the present paper. In conclusion, Demeter briefly comes back.

The first passage I want to discuss is from Herodotus, to which I return, the second is from Xenophon. Both authors are intellectuals, but their respective ways of addressing the issue of gods and cult-titles, directly or incidentally, tell a lot about the vision of the gods by their fellow-citizens. Despite the different levels of understanding of religious traditions in any culture, the following texts are produced by members of an educated elite, but they do not construct 'worlds apart'.[19] Even if, in this respect, we can never reach the level of information obtained by a field anthropologist interacting with those she or he observes, this literary evidence testifies to a cultural competence held, to varying degrees, by many Greeks. Archaic epic underlies this shared cultural knowledge, particularly the works attributed to Homer and Hesiod, whose role in the representation of the Greek gods was duly emphasised by Herodotus.[20] The passages analysed below provide a glimpse of the Greek ways of conceiving the gods between unity and diversity, between the general and the local. They should allow us to move beyond questioning the inconsistencies of Greek polytheism mainly based on our own difficulties in grasping a complex and fluid conception of the divine world.

Let us start with Herodotus. In Book 1, Croesus, the king of Lydia, has just lost his son, Atys, who was accidentally killed by the guest he had taken in. Distraught with pain, the king turns to Zeus:[21]

18 Detienne 1997: 72. Cf. Scully 1998: 163: "... in short, each individual god embodies a kind of polytheism", and earlier: Gernet 1970: 222-30, Rudhardt 1992: 97, and Vernant 1974.

19 I resolutely distance myself from the vision of a 'popular' way of considering the gods that would be deeply distinct from the vision that intellectuals would have of them. See Stowers 2011 and Pirenne-Delforge (forthcoming a).

20 Hdt. 2.53. This passage is a recurring reference in the collective book directed by Gagné & Herrero de Jáuregui 2019.

21 Hdt. 1.44. On the onomastic attributes in this passage, see Gagné 2021: 50.

> ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἴη, ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἑταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακον συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὑρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.
>
> … he invoked Zeus as the patron of purifications, taking him as a witness to the evil which the stranger had done to him; he invoked him as the protector of home and friendship – it was the same god whom he so called; as the protector of the home, because after having received the guest into his house he had unknowingly fed the murderer of his son; as the protector of friendship, because after having sent him as guardian, he had found in him his worst enemy.

The context is that of an invocation (the verb is *kalein*) in which three different cult-titles qualify the name of Zeus: *katharsios*, 'purifier', *epistios* (an Ionian form of *ephestios*), 'home protector', and *hetaireios*, 'protector of fellowship'. Each designation is given an explanation that helps to circumscribe the circumstances of Atys' murder. The first title introduced by μέν refers to the defilement with which a death always affects a household, and even more in case of murder. Introduced by the expected δέ, the second and third epithets are closely linked to each other by the formula τε καί that emphasizes their semantic proximity. Protecting the home and the bonds of friendship belongs to the same register, since the hospitality discussed in the episode activates both aspects; a guest has been introduced into the king's circle of sociability, which partially overlaps with the family context via the son, and the guest has been received into the household. The cult-titles *ephestios* and *hetaireios* invoke the protection of Zeus on these two aspects of hospitality.

Then comes the incidental clause specifying that it is 'the same god whom he so names' (the verb is then *onomazein*). At first glance, one could consider that the combination of unity and plurality of the god, which is my reading grid, was not self-evident, since Herodotus felt the necessity to stress that it was the same god and not three different gods.[22] But the

22 So Versnel 2011: 73-74 with note 185.

balancing of Herodotus' statement that we have just reconstructed requires a different understanding of the sentence. If the author feels the need to insert the remark about "the same god" after the enumeration of the three cult-titles, this does not imply that his reader can think that he is dealing with a different Zeus each time. In fact, it is the theonym of the god called *ephestios* and *hetaireios* that could lead to confusion since Zeus' name is not repeated. The purpose of the investigator is to deliver a formal clarification about the identity of the god addressed by Croesus and not some theological statement that would contradict the common sense of his reader and justify the precision. Consequently, this passage cannot support the idea that a Greek conceived in the first instance that there were as many Zeuses as there were cult-titles associated with his name. It is even the opposite view that it supports. Indeed, in this passage, where three cult-titles appear that refer to two spheres of Zeus' competence, Herodotus does assert that only one god is at stake—the expression τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον [...] θεόν raises no doubt in this regard. The ancient reader of Herodotus was probably not surprised by it.

Xenophon can also be called upon to address this issue, in a speech he attributes to Socrates speaking about the god Eros in the *Banquet*.[23] The philosopher opposes two Aphrodites for the purposes of his philosophical demonstration. In the *Banquet* of Plato, the same discourse is made by a certain Pausanias.[24] On both sides, two kinds of love (*eros*) are described, one that addresses the soul and the other the body. Since Eros is indissolubly linked to Aphrodite, there are two Aphrodites behind these two types of love, according to two cult-titles of the goddess well attested in Athens. As Ourania ('the Celestial One'), Aphrodite would be the goddess of pure love, while the Pandemos ('She of all the people') would protect love based on sexuality. It has long been shown that such an opposition was an *ad hoc* invention adapting aspects of the cult to the needs of a philosophical demonstration. Nevertheless, the exercise of multiplying the goddess herself—and Eros with her—is rooted in the fact that in a polytheistic context, a god can be considered as plural. However, there

23 Xen. *Symp.* 8.9.
24 Pl. *Symp.* 180e-181a, 181e.

is more in this text. The remark attributed to Socrates by Xenophon serves to deepen and refine this observation (8.9):

> εἰ μὲν οὖν μία ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη ἢ διτταί, Οὐρανία τε καὶ Πάνδημος, οὐκ οἶδα—καὶ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὁ αὐτὸς δοκῶν εἶναι πολλὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει—ὅτι γε μέντοι χωρὶς ἑκατέρᾳ βωμοί τε καὶ τε ναοί εἰσι καὶ θυσίαι τῇ μὲν Πανδήμῳ ῥᾳδιουργότεραι, τῇ δὲ Οὐρανίᾳ ἁγνότεραι, οἶδα.
>
> Whether there is only one Aphrodite or two, Ourania and Pandemos, I do not know, for Zeus, who always seems the same, has many surnames. What I do know, however, is that for each of the two separately there are altars and temples, and also sacrifices which, for the Pandemos, are full of impudence, while they are purer for the Ourania.

The process of argumentation must be closely followed to understand the passage. Socrates first raises the question of Aphrodite's duality (μία ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη ἢ διτταί) by linking it to the existence of her two cult-titles, Ourania and Pandemos. He suspends his judgment on the goddess to take a point of comparison in Zeus, the god arguably best provided with cult-titles in the entire Greek world. Yet, despite this 'eponymous' abundance (πολλὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει), Zeus seems to remain the same (Ζεὺς ὁ αὐτὸς δοκῶν εἶναι [...]). Socrates therefore returns to Aphrodite without needing to answer the original question since the case of Zeus has provided for it. The underlying hypothesis is the unity of the divine figure. Where does the plurality of the divinity 'which appears the same' come from? It is rooted in the multiplication of its sanctuaries and cults under various titles.

The moralising reference to distinct rituals related to each surname of Aphrodite does not withstand scrutiny of the data on the Athenian cults of the goddess, but this aspect of the argument is incidental to the present point.[25] The more important element in this passage, which takes the form of an internal interpretation of Greek culture, is the careful approach of "the cultic double name". Socrates makes a first observa-

25 See e.g. Pirenne-Delforge 1988.

tion: no certainty is reachable as far as gods are concerned. A second observation follows: despite these uncertainties, something stable seems to exceed and surpass the polyonomy of each divine figure. Then comes the third and last observation: the local anchorage of sanctuaries and rituals is a determining factor in understanding Greek gods, in parallel with something stable, which is the theonym when it is shared by the Greeks at a supra-local level. As a result, in a local cult, the god's name with a cult epithet is one aspect of the deity seen in close-up, not the expression of a completely different deity. A Greek god is a power at work in the world, distributed locally in the many places where it is likely to be honoured.[26] In this respect, myths and rituals are not unrelated bodies of evidence, but specific languages, which resonate inside the mental frame of poets who narrated tales, of painters who decorated Attic vases and of worshippers who performed rituals.[27]

At a local level, other types of evidence are available. Sales of priesthoods shed a particular light on local cults, and one of these contracts forms my last case study before coming back to Demeter. In the second half of the second century BCE, the city of Cos sold at least twice the priesthood of Heracles Kallinikos. The contracts of these transactions have been preserved by chance, but only one is readable enough for study.[28] According to the wording of the text, the sale concerns the priesthood of Heracles Kallinikos at the agora and at the harbour. The contract further stipulates that at the time of the sale, the magistrates in charge of the process shall "sacrifice to each of the two gods a sacrificial animal of 100 drachmas for the health of the male and female citizens, and of those who live in the city".[29] Similarly, when reference is made to the management of offerings performed by other magistrates, "sacrifices for these gods" are mentioned.[30]

26 The *locus classicus* about Greek gods as 'powers' is Vernant 1974. On the notion of 'distribution' of a god's power, see Bettini 2015: chps. 2 and 7.

27 On this way of studying the Greek gods, see the methodological reflections in the introduction to Pirenne-Delforge & Pironti 2022.

28 *IG* XII.4 320 = *CGRN* 221. On the various aspects of this cult, see Paul 2013: 99-117.

29 Lines 10-12: θυσάντω ἑκατέρωι τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖ|ον ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν ἑκατὸν ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας τε πολ[ιτᾶ]ν̣ κ̣αὶ πο|⟨λ⟩ιτίδων καὶ τῶν κατοικεύντων ἐν τᾶι πόλει.

30 Line 24: αἱ θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς τούτοις.

That this Heracles is one and the same god is all the more evident from the fact that he bears the same cult-title in both his sanctuaries. The title of the single priesthood supports this: the buyer of the office will serve Heracles Kallinikos τοῦ ἐπὶ ἀγορᾶι καὶ ἐπὶ λιμένι, "the one at the agora and at the harbor" and not "the one of the agora and the one of the harbour".[31] However, the reference to sacrifices administered by magistrates complicates the picture. Rather than stipulating that an animal of 100 drachmas will be sacrificed in each of the sanctuaries, the contract states that the offering will be made "to each of the two gods", which is confirmed a few lines later in a slightly different form. The Heracles of the two sanctuaries thus becomes "the two gods" honoured by one sacrifice each. The double location of the cult has dualized the *theos*. Does this mean that Heracles Kallinikos is "two gods"?

The question thus formulated is absurd and invites us to return to Wilamowitz's considerations about the predicative value of the term *theos*. The attribution of the predicate confers a particular quality to a subject, but says nothing about the ontology of the subject so qualified.[32] Following this intuition, let us say that Heracles Kallinikos is *theos* both in the agora and in the harbour. Clearly, the manifestation of his divine power is expected on both sides. The inscription could be considered as an epigraphic actualisation of the reflections of Socrates on the duality of Aphrodite mentioned above. Let us paraphrase it *à la manière de Socrate*: "Whether Heracles is one or two, I do not know. But what I do know is that he was honoured at Cos in two different sanctuaries where he is called Kallinikos."

The philosopher takes the trouble to ask the question of divine ontology, even if it means suspending the answer in favour of local cultic considerations. In contrast, the epigraphic contract has no use for philosophy and ontology, and is fully embedded in the local cultic situation. Where the modern interpreter identifies a contradiction (Heracles Kallinikos seems to be 'two gods'), the regulation remains impervious to the principles of formal logic. In a way that is all the more enlightening for being incidental and involuntary, the contract from the island of Cos

31 Lines 8-9: περὶ τᾶς ἱερωσύνας τοῦ Ἡρακλεῦς ṭοῦ Καλλινίκου τοῦ ἐ|π̣ὶ ἀγορᾶι καὶ ἐπὶ λιμένι. A point well made by Versnel 2011: 76.

32 von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1931: 363.

confirms that the Greeks conceived each god as a divine power that was 'distributed', notably according to the places where they paid him homage. Unity and plurality of the gods are smoothly juxtaposed in this modest administrative document, and both are to be addressed *together* when studying ancient Greek religion, in the singular.[33]

To conclude, let us return for a moment to Plataea in 479, where we find Demeter preventing the Persians from dying or taking refuge in her sanctuary. In this passage from the *Histories*, Herodotus refers, in his authorial voice, to the agency of a specific deity on the battlefield – or rather around it. Exceptionally, he adopts an overhanging point of view in the manner of Homer describing the Olympian gods engaged in battle at Troy. As we saw earlier, Herodotus highlights the presence of sanctuaries of the goddess at key moments in the Greeks' engagement with the Persians. The goddess herself is supposed to be on the Greek side against the Barbarians, contrary to the Homeric perspective, where she is never involved in the war.[34]

The Eleusinian framework, related to a strong Athenian perspective, is predominant when Herodotus makes Demeter an 'identity factor'. The explanation for the recurring presence of the goddess alongside the Greeks could end there. However, if we consider that, in Attica, the Eleusinian divine mother and daughter are also called *Thesmophoroi*,[35] another element is echoing the present argument about unity and diversity: the importance of the *Thesmophoria* festival for the two deities throughout the Greek world, from the archaic to the Roman period.[36] De-

33 Cf. also Kindt 2023: 19, in relation to Beck 2020.

34 In neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* is Demeter a protagonist of the plot. In the *Iliad*, she appears in verses where reference is made to her cereal-growing skills: e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.500, 13.322, 21.76. In the *Odyssey*, Calypso recalls her union with the mortal Iasion (5.125).

35 *CGRN* 94 (Eleusis, ca. 330-270 BCE).

36 "By far the most widespread of all Greek festivals": Nilsson 1906: 313. Cf. Parker 2005: 270-83, and McLardy 2023 with a good emphasis on the local variations of the festival, between Athens and Sicily. On this topic, I gave a series of lectures in 2023 at the Collège de France, which are available on the internet: https://www.college-de-france.fr/fr/agenda/cours/demeter-thesmophoros.

spite the local variations that can be glimpsed in the evidence, the framework of the festival appear to be recurrent: everywhere, it seems to concern the fertility of the fields and the fecundity of married women who are key players in the birth and nurturing of future generations. In other words, these divine competences involve a fundamental dimension of community survival. Behind the Eleusinian motif of Herodotus' narratives lies perhaps also this Thesmophoric divine profile, amply attested in the Greek world.[37]

To model these final considerations on the questioning of Socrates by Xenophon, I could conclude as follows: "Whether Demeter is one or many, I do not know, but what I do know is that she is honoured almost everywhere in the Greek world under the title *Thesmophoros*." When it comes to studying the Greek gods, unity and diversity need to be considered together.

ABBREVIATION

CGRN: J.-M. Carbon, S. Peels-Matthey & V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, 2017-, consulted in 2023. URL: http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be; DOI: https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN0.

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37 On the history of the epiclesis' meaning, see Pirenne-Delforge (forthcoming b).

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DIVINE INTERVENTION AND THE UNITY OF THE GREEKS DURING THE PERSIAN INVASION

By J.Z. van Rookhuijzen

Summary: Herodotus' *Histories* shows that the Persian invasion of Greece of 480-479 BCE revealed divisions among Greek city-states. Despite these divisions, this article argues that the work also relates how Greek gods and heroes remained united in repelling the Persians, providing a lesson to Herodotus' Panhellenic audience. To this end, the paper examines the sacred topography related to divine interventions in four narratives in the *Histories*: the Sepias shipwreck, the Persian siege of Delphi, the burning of the Athenian Acropolis' olive tree, and the battle of Plataiai. Through an analysis of these narratives and their topography, the article explores how the *Histories* emphasizes the unified force of Greek divinities in the conflict.

The topic of this paper is the topography of the Persian invasion of Greece under Xerxes in 480-479 BCE. The land campaign in that invasion (though not the Persian Wars as a whole) ended with the battle of Plataiai, whose anniversary of 2,500 years was celebrated in 2022, the year of the conference that inspired the present volume.[1] As is well known, the Persian invasion exposed the fault lines in the unison of the Greek city states. The peoples of many northern areas, including Thessaly, Delphi, and Thebes medized, succumbing to the Persian demand for earth and water (Hdt. 7.133). Those in the south, including the Athenians and the Spartans, sometimes stood united, but later discourse (as found in

1 I am grateful to Kostas Buraselis for his idea to organize a conference in the year of the 2500th anniversary of the battle of Plataiai and his hospitality at Delphi, and to Antonis Kaponis for reading an earlier version of this contribution. The present article revisits some of the places and themes that have been part of my doctoral work, published as Van Rookhuijzen 2017a; 2017b; 2018. Greek citations follow Wilson 2015. All translations are mine. This research was made possible in part through a research grant awarded by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung.

J.Z. van Rookhuijzen: 'Divine Intervention and the Unity of the Greeks during the Persian Invasion' C&M Supplementum 1 (2024) 107-128.

Herodotus' text itself, e.g., 7.139, 8.93, and 9.85 and in later texts, e.g, Plutarch's *On the Malice of Herodotus*) included much discussion on the merits of each *polis'* individual contribution to the defeat of the Persians. Even if the unison of the Greek states was at stake throughout the period of the independent city-states, in this paper I attempt to show that the Greek gods and heroes – a hallmark of the relatedness of all Greek people – had stood united in repelling the Persians in this greatest of wars from Greek lands and seas.[2] In this context, the finding that Herodotus wrote for a Panhellenic audience is relevant,[3] as is Herodotus' own comment on 'Greekness' (8.144): beside language and kinship, the shared religion was perceived as a characteristic of the Greeks. The thesis of the present essay is that reflections of the unifying force of the Greek divinities appear in the topography that is part of Herodotus' account, our only full account of the wars. To this end, following some methodological considerations on ancient topography, I discuss the sacred topography of several prominent narratives of divine intervention during the Persian Wars in Greece, related to the shipwreck at Sepias, the Persian siege of Delphi, the burning of the olive tree at the Athenian Acropolis, and the battle of Plataiai.

1. Methodological considerations

Even if the topography of the Persian Wars has many sources, Herodotus' *Histories* has become to posterity its main account, owing to the great detail it offers and its production date about a generation after the event, in the heyday of the Athenian empire and on the eve of new, dangerous tensions between the Athenians and Spartans. The Persian invasion now represented the period of yesteryear in which many Greeks had stood united against their common enemy.

The topographical study of the Persian Wars has traditionally and understandably been a purely historical endeavor. It started early and –

2 On divine intervention in the Persian Wars generally, see Pritchett 1979a: 11-46; Jacquemin 2000; Mikalson 2003; Rawlings 2007: 179-80.

3 On the Panhellenic objectives of Herodotus' work, see, e.g., Jacoby 1913: 409-10; Stadter 2006: 253-54. Yates 2019, however, argues against Panhellenic overtones.

perhaps unsurprisingly – some notable scholars on this topic, such as William Leake (1777-1860) and Kendrick Pritchett (1909-2007), were themselves military men.[4] Even so, the reconstruction of the Persian Wars was difficult because there were very few surviving landmarks that could be employed, and none of these landmarks could with absolute certainty be identified with places described by Herodotus. Thus, the great puzzle of the whereabouts of the Persian Wars unfolded – and perhaps precisely because it was a puzzle, the topography of the wars became all the more alluring. The puzzle also had ideological aspects: for even if it was difficult and large parts were missing, attempts to solve it were worthwhile, as in these battles, western civilization and its boons were saved from history's dustbin by the successful Greek repelling of eastern tyranny. These were wars not only to commemorate, but also to learn from.

In this scholarship informed by the quest for historical truth, there has sometimes existed a tendency to take ancient battle topographies as unproblematic material to spatially reconstruct ancient wars.[5] The topography of Greece has frequently been taken at face value or even as the most reliable information to be gleaned from ancient texts. After all, even if the armies were long gone, the Greek landscape itself still existed, allowing posterity to verify Herodotus' narrative – a gold mine for clues that would grant direct insight into how and where the battle had proceeded. If the wars taught historical lessons, the battlefields were the best schools. Yet, we may question now: Was that approach valid? A sense that Herodotus is no infallible guide to the Persian Wars has always existed.[6] However, as the typical justification went, veterans of the wars were in the days of Herodotus still alive to correct him. Thus, on the whole, Herodotus' account, even with all its embellishments, still provided an accurate reflection of the war – and certainly of the topography.

However, since the mid-twentieth century, studies have appeared in which places of memory are recognized and explored as cultural phenomena that help to create collective identities. In a pioneering book from 1941, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre Sainte*, Maurice

4 See, e.g., Leake 1821; Pritchett 1957; 1993.

5 A testimony of this approach is Müller 1987; 1997.

6 Earlier critical approaches include Delbrück 1887; Whatley 1964.

Halbwachs attempted to discover to what 'laws' the places where events took place obey. Halbwachs stressed the 'sacred' character of these places by calling them *lieux saints* ("sacred places").[7] However, the concept is much broader than the religious sphere. Places of memory are sometimes called *lieux de mémoire*, a term which has, however, paradoxically been employed not only in a topographical sense, but also to describe widely divergent concepts such as national symbols and holidays. A more specific and arguably more useful term for a place of memory can be *mnemotope*, used by Jan Assmann to describe physical places where people may receive real or (pseudo-)historical experiences.[8] Mnemotopes can be man-made structures and natural landmarks, and even empty spaces – but always specific and confined.

The concentration of multiple mnemotopes in a particular area can be called a *memory landscape*, a term that adheres to complex topographies, such as battle sites. Complex historical events can be narrated through mnemotopes in the landscape. These narrations can be at odds with historical 'reality'. An enlightening study regarding battle sites and narratives is by Maoz Azaryahu & Kenneth Foote (2008), who have argued that topographical narratives are simplified into a collection of particular anecdotes, and often enhanced using pre-existing dominant buildings and landmarks. This distorts the historical battle as "time or space is shortened, concatenated, compressed, lengthened, embellished, straightened, or smoothed".[9]

If the narrative power of memory landscapes is recognized, it is a reasonable expectation that Herodotus' text can be explored along these lines as well.[10] In recent years, scholars have started to look at Herodotus' topography of Xerxes' invasion from a memory perspective. In this scholarship, it is recognized that by the time the *Histories* were published, in the second half of the fifth century BCE, so much time had already elapsed since Xerxes' invasion that a process of commemoration had started. In that process, the topography of the war may have been radi-

7 Halbwachs 1941.
8 Assmann 1992: 59-60.
9 Azaryahu & Foote 2008: 187.
10 Van Rookhuijzen 2018.

cally transformed in the recollections of Herodotus' informants. This period has been the focus of Giorgia Proietti's important work on the formation of memories about the Persian Wars.[11] Meanwhile, philologists have brought to the fore the narratological patterns in the *Histories*, showcasing the extent to which this work can be regarded as a literary product rather than a direct testimony of events.[12]

Neither memory studies nor narratology explicitly undermine the essential historicity of Herodotus' account: the Persian Wars were important and real, and perhaps archaeological evidence for the conflict is still lurking in the fields and at the bottom of the sea. Nevertheless, the application of memory studies, in which later reflections and experiences are highlighted, and narratological insights, which reveal the underlying patterns in the stories, are at the possible expense of pure historical reconstruction (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*). While the quest for historical confirmation of the historicity of the wars will go on and can have good credentials, new readings and vantage points for this topography can no longer be ignored. This leads to new questions: Why do specific places feature in Herodotus' topography in the first place? What stories were remembered at these places – and why?

In the remainder of this paper, these questions are asked from four places appearing in Herodotus' account of the Persian Wars. They have been selected as examples of sites where divine intervention is an important feature of Herodotus' narrative, in a sense bringing us back to Halbwachs' *lieux saints*.[13] They foreground the potential of memory analyses of the topography, especially as the belief in the action of the gods and heroes likely needs to be assigned to *post eventum* memory-making. Scholars have typically regarded the instances of divine intervention as ahistorical embellishments to otherwise essentially historical events; in other words: when studying the wars, the divine intervention can simply be ignored, and what is left is a historical narrative that comes close to an accurate testimony of *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. This may sometimes be correct; but in line with the findings of Azaryahu & Foote, we have to

11 Proietti 2021.

12 De Jong 2014. De Jong is currently preparing a narratological commentary on Herodotus.

13 On divine intervention in the Persian Wars, see, e.g., Jacquemin 2000; Mikalson 2003.

remain open to the possibility that the belief in divine intervention shaped Herodotus' account itself and that the mnemotopes of such stories have given rise to the topography in that account. If so, what is the function of these stories of divine intervention? It is my surmise that they can show that the Greek gods and heroes had taken action to protect the territorial integrity of Hellas as a whole, and thus set an example for the cooperation of the various Greek states to repel the Persians.

2. Thetis, the Nereids, and Boreas at Sepias

The coast of Sepias appears in Herodotus' account at the moment when the enormous Persian fleet turns south from Therme (at modern Thessaloniki) on its way to Athens. Here, on the coast of Thessaly, an area that was largely obedient to the Persian king, the Persians were surprised by a vicious storm, which destroyed many ships. Herodotus details the position of the fleet and the arrival of the storm as follows (7.188):

> Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπείτε ὁρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, [...] ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμών τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. [...] ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο. ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον.
>
> So when the fleet, having set out, sailed and put into the land of Magnesia at the beach which is between the city of Kasthanaia and the coast of Sepias [...] at dawn, from clear and windless weather, the sea became wild and a strong and mighty wind from the east, which the people who live there call 'Hellespontian', surprised them ... Those ships that [the wind] caught at sea, it carried off; some it brought to the so-called Ovens in Mount Pelion, others to the beach; some

> wrecked near Sepias itself, others at the city of Meliboia, yet others were cast to Kasthanaia. The force of the storm was unbearable.

Then the Persians try to counteract the storm as follows (7.191):

> ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταείδοντες γοῆσι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρός τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηίσι θύοντες ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἢ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἁρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιὰς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων Νηρηίδων.
>
> The storm lasted for three days, but finally the Magi, by sacrificing to the wind and singing chants to appease it, and moreover offering to Thetis and the Nereids, stopped it on the fourth day, or perhaps [the storm] stopped because of its own will. They offered to Thetis after hearing from the Ionians the story that she was abducted from that place by Peleus, and that the entire coast of Sepias belonged to her and the other Nereids.

This Persian shipwreck happened along the steep and rather dangerous coast of Mount Pelion, near the town of Kasthanaia, which was probably located at modern Keramidi. The so-called 'Ovens' are the eighteen large sea caves near the village of Veneto. Called for their semi-circular shape that resembles a traditional Greek oven, they are a truly impressive feature of the coastline.

Scholars have tried to locate the coast of Sepias on the basis of Herodotus' chronological indications in the narrative and assumptions about ancient sailing speeds. Accordingly, Sepias has been identified with the cape of Agios Giorgios, or with the more northern cape Pouri (or Pori), both part of the Pelion peninsula.[14] However, as I have argued elsewhere, chronological indications and assumed sailing speeds are not necessarily a reliable guide to the topography of ancient texts. It is an eminent possibility that Sepias was located much closer to the other places mentioned by Herodotus and that it was the name of the coast with the Ovens

14 Pritchett 1963: 3-4; Müller 1987: 361-63; Morton 2001: 73 n. 8.

itself. This identification of Sepias seems to be a better match for the topographical situation because it is closer to Kasthanaia and there is also an inscription mentioning the town of Sepias found at Keramidi.[15]

The Ovens of Veneto are the most striking natural feature of the coast. It is possible that they were the mnemotope for the myth of the abduction of Thetis by Peleus, not only because caves often have stories attached to them, but also because the association with Thetis is consistent with the widespread ancient idea that sea nymphs lived in sea caves.[16] Even though Herodotus does not explicitly associate Sepias or Thetis with caves, Euripides does so in his *Andromache* (1263-69), where Thetis' abode is described as a hollow chamber in 'the rock of Sepias'. In other words, the Ovens can be considered part of the coast called Sepias and they were the mnemotope for myths and folklore, as well as for the story of the Persian shipwreck. This does not necessarily imply that the shipwreck is a fiction. Nevertheless, we have to recognize that the idea of natural disasters destroying parts of the Persian land army or fleet is common in the *Histories*.[17] It seems, furthermore, significant that the storm at Sepias is foreshadowed in an anecdote at the Hellespont (7.49), where Artabanos, Xerxes' trusted advisor, warns about the dangers of following the Greek coast where safe harbors are few and far between.

Whether the shipwreck at Sepias is a historical reality or not, it was certainly important in later thinking of the Persian Wars, for the storm was thought to have diminished the size of the Persian armada and thus to have contributed to the decisive Greek victory at Salamis. The divine intervention in the passage cited above should be understood in this context of commemoration. The Persian Magi are said to have tried to appease Thetis, the Nereids and the wind in order to calm down the sea. Their plea was temporarily successful. However, it proved to be in vain, as soon after, during the battle of Artemision, another storm followed, which caused the sinking of two hundred Persian ships at Euboea (8.13). Even if Herodotus, in a rationalizing mode, leaves open the option that

15 Inscription: *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)* 3 (1910) 159, 13. See also van Rookhuijzen 2017b.

16 E.g., Hom. *Il.* 18.50, 18.402, 24.82.

17 Cambyses' army was lost in a sandstorm in the Libyan desert (Hdt. 3.26) and other storms killed Persians at Athos (Hdt. 6.44) and Mount Ida (7.42).

the storm ceased by itself, the point of the story is that Thetis, the Nereids and the wind may have chosen to protect Greece. Thetis in particular would have conjured up the Homeric image of her frequent help to Achilles, and thereby the Greeks, in the Trojan War – that other Panhellenic exploit which for Classical Greeks may have been considered a prefiguration of the Persian Wars.[18]

Herodotus may have been skeptical himself, but the story was part of the lore surrounding the cultic invocation of wind gods, namely Boreas (the North Wind) and the Athenian princess Oreïthyia (the 'Lady of Mountain Storms'). Herodotus (7.189) writes that the sanctuary of Boreas at the Ilissos river in Athens was founded to thank this god for his help in decreasing the Persian forces at the very spot where he had kidnapped Oreïthyia (Pl. *Phdr.* 229c-d). As Herodotus makes clear, the Delphians were involved as well, after their god Apollo had ordered them to sacrifice to the winds (7.178):

> Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθεον διαταχθέντες, Δελφοὶ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδηκότες, καί σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὔχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήιον πρῶτα μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι, καί σφι δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαντες χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ τέμενός ἐστι, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίῃσί σφεας καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίῃσί σφεας μετήισαν.

> The Greeks hastily came to aid, arranging themselves for battle, but the Delphians meanwhile consulted the oracle of the god, fearing for themselves and for Greece. And the oracle told them to pray to the winds, for these would prove great allies for Greece. And the Delphians, having received the oracle, first announced what was professed to them to the Greeks who wanted to be free, and after they professed it to them, who greatly feared the Persians, they professed an undying

18 See, e.g., Ferrari 2000 (on the north metopes of the Parthenon).

> gratitude. After this the Delphians founded an altar for the winds in Thyia, where the sacred precinct of Thyia, the daughter of the Kephisos is, by which also the place is named, and they offered sacrifices to them.

The Delphic cults can fit in a wider role of the sanctuary as a major Panhellenic site of commemoration of the Persian Wars with such monuments as the Treasury of the Athenians, thought to commemorate the battle of Marathon, and the Serpent Column which commemorated the battle of Plataiai.[19]

The story about the Persian shipwreck with its mnemotope at the Ovens and its commemoration at the sanctuaries at the Ilissos and at Thyia, is meaningful because it emphasizes the role of Boreas, Thetis and the Nereids as divinities capable of upsetting and calming down the sea. The Magi's effort to appease these essentially Greek divinities does not work, but only results in more devastation, similar to the Persian appeasement of Athena in Troy (7.43). Here in Thessaly, the Persians were combatted not by the local, medizing people, but rather by Greek gods who did not accept appeasement by those who had trespassed. In the episode about the Delphic cult of the winds, it is clear that the winds were believed to have acted in the defense of Hellas as a whole, rather than favoring any particular Greek *polis* or tribe.

3. Apollo, Phylakos, and Autonoös at Delphi

According to Herodotus, the sanctuary of Delphi itself, too, had been the scene of a battle during Xerxes' invasion. During the march of the army from Thermopylae to Athens, the sacred city had been besieged by a special contingent of the Persian army. But the siege was unsuccessful (8.37-38):

> ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνειγμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον

19 Jacquemin 2011.

ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. [...] ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνηίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέλαβον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο. συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφεας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοισι καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὁπλίτας μέζονα ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον φύσιν ἔχοντας ἕπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

When the Persians had approached the temple and could see it, the seer Akeratos found that the sacred weapons, which no mortal was ever allowed to touch, had been taken from the interior of the temple and now lay in front of it. [...] When the Persians had gone up the road to the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, lightning descended upon them, and from the Parnassos two mountain peaks crashed upon them. As a result, many perished. And from the sanctuary of Athena a chilling scream resounded. This caused the Persians to panic, and when the Delphians realized that they were fleeing, they went after them and killed a large number of them. The survivors immediately fled to Boeotia. The Persians who returned said (as I myself was told) that they saw other divine signs besides what I have just described: for two hoplites, larger than a mortal in stature, had come after them to kill and pursue them.

Herodotus subsequently describes the place where this happened (8.39):

τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεά ἐστι περὶ τὸ ἱρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τῆς Προνηίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων

> φερόμενοι. τούτων μέν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.
>
> The Delphians say that these two [who appeared to be fighting the Persians] are local heroes, Phylakos and Autonoös. Their sanctuaries are near the temple, that of Phylakos by the road itself, above the temple of Pronaia, and that of Autonoös close to the Kastalian spring, under the mountain Hyampeia. The rocks which fell from the Parnassos were still preserved in my day, lying in the temenos of Athena Pronaia, where they fell into after dashing through the barbarians. These men then withdrew from the sanctuary.

The failed siege of Delphi is the only large episode in Herodotus' narrative of the Persian Wars that is generally thought to be unhistorical as a whole.[20] It has been felt that Herodotus tries to apologize the Delphians for their alleged role during the Persian Wars that Delphi had chosen the side of the Persians. If so, the story of the siege (perhaps like the story about Thyia, discussed above), may have served to restore the reputation of the oracle, by showing that the Delphians and their gods had not welcomed the Persians at all, but rather repelled them.

Whether Delphi was ever really besieged by the Persians is today not falsifiable. Yet, the story had a concrete topography. Herodotus refers primarily to the smaller sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, situated southeast of the sanctuary of Apollo, and speaks of the hero shrines of Phylakos and Autonoös as well as rocks that killed some of the Persians. These were apparently the mnemotopes of the siege story. The shrines of Phylakos and Autonoös have been identified with the two small (reportedly sixth-century BCE) structures on the eastern terrace of the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia.[21] However, this location does not match Herodotus' directions. Instead, Autonoös' shrine is described as being close to the Kastalian spring, further up the road to the sanctuary of Apollo. Architectural remains here have been associated with this temple, but the identification remains uncertain. Herodotus describes the shrine of Phylakos as by the road, above the temple of Athena Pronaia. It has been surmised

20 E.g. Asheri *et al.* 2010: 235-36; Hartmann 2010: 541.

21 Bousquet 1960: 191-92.

that the shrine was immediately northwest of the Athena Pronaia terrain. But others have suggested that the shrine of Phylakos is the famous tholos near the temple of Athena Pronaia.[22] However, the topography of the Athena Pronaia sanctuary relies on a description of the area by Pausanias (10.8.6-7) which is notoriously difficult to reconcile with the architectural remains on site. The exact location of the rocks that fell from the Parnassos is now unclear, but that they were there, should not be doubted: landslides are frequent here, and dangerous. A rock fell down from Parnassos in 1905 in bad weather and destroyed the restoration efforts of the French excavators and for a long time lay in the sanctuary.[23] It provided a dramatic illustration of what Herodotus may have encountered during his visit.

Although the rocks were used by Herodotus as proof that the Delphian story was true, they may in fact have formed the very inspiration for the story. Supporters of the historicity of Herodotus have argued that the story was essentially true once stripped of its supernatural element. For example, Nicholas Hammond in 1988 still remarked: "[c]omplete sceptics have to account for the arrival of the great rocks".[24] However, I would instead argue that such remarkable features of the sanctuary landscape could easily attract anecdotes to them and become mnemotopes, especially when they could subsequently function as evidence that the Persian army had reached Delphi. The rocks helped visitors to Delphi to visualize the siege and they thus became a testimony of divine power.

A similar kind of divine intervention at Delphi is also found in a later story: that of the siege of the Celts (279-278 BCE). Interestingly, that siege was remembered along similar lines as that of the Persians. In Pausanias' account of this attack (1.4.4; 10.23), thunder and rocks help to push back the Celts, as do ghostly appearances of hoplites, among whom Phylakos. Divine involvement also appears in Diodorus Siculus (22.9.5) and Cicero (*Div.* 1.37), who say that Athena Pronaia and Artemis (the so-called White Virgins) were fated, according to a Pythian oracle, to defend the sanctuary from the Celts. The Celtic siege was remembered in the Delphic *Soteria* ("Rescue") festival. The same basic story of divine intervention

22 Widdra 1965: 41; Settis 1967-1968. On the tholos generally, see Kyriakidis 2010.

23 Keramopoulos 1935: 92.

24 Hammond 1988: 565 n. 84.

could, apparently, be applied to different historical events. Every time, Apollo's sacred valley was ultimately saved by divine power.

The story also fitted the location of the temenos of Athena Pronaia: here, Athena, a guardian goddess par excellence, was aptly called Pronaia ("Before-the-temple"), because at this point, invaders were on the threshold of the treasure-rich sanctuary of Apollo. It was a logical religious practice to worship guardian deities, such as Phylakos ("Guardian") and Autonoös ("Self-thinking"), precisely here. Logically stories showing that such worship could be reciprocated would sooner or later arise. Rocks, which occasionally fell down from the Parnassos into the sacred temple precinct, could be inserted into the narratives about intervention that crystallized here.

Thus, despite the doubtful reputation of the Delphians, the local landscape of this Panhellenic location helped to forge a story of divine intervention repelling the Persians. It seems to have functioned as a terrestrial counterpart to the story about the Delphic prayers to the wind gods, and, even if this is not explicit in Herodotus' text, it could have functioned as a partial explanation for the loss of Persian soldiers and thus of the ultimate Greek victory at the battle of Plataiai.

4. Athena at Athens

After the episode at Delphi, the Persian army advanced to Athens, the principal city of Greece and the main objective of their invasion (7.8). Herodotus tells of the complete destruction of the Acropolis after a heroic Greek defense (8.53-55). The Greek defenders were all murdered and the temples of the gods went up in flames, as did Athena's sacred olive tree at the Erechtheion. However, following the destruction, Xerxes soon repented and ordered the Athenians in his army to sacrifice to the gods of the citadel. They saw that the burned tree had miraculously sprouted again (8.55):

> ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίη τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε

> ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα.
>
> There is on that Acropolis a temple of Erechtheus called the 'Earth-born', where there are an olive tree and a sea inside. According to the Athenian story, Poseidon and Athena, who were quarreling over the land, placed there as their testimonies. So that olive tree was set to fire along with the rest of the sanctuary by the Persians. On the second day after the fire, the Athenians ordered by the king to sacrifice went up to the sanctuary and saw a shoot sprung from the trunk, about a cubit long.

To Herodotus' audience, the incident exemplified Xerxes' recklessness and misunderstanding of Greek religion. The legend about the olive tree is also referred to by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 14.2.1-2) and Pausanias (1.27.2), who heard the story when he visited the Acropolis in the second century AD. The olive tree was apparently still alive and continued to function as a mnemotope of the Persian siege. The 'sea' of Poseidon was also still there. The Persians had not managed to dispossess the Athenians of their hallowed earth and water, and the ancient testimonies survived.

The story was not only connected to the theme of Persian barbarity and impiety and Xerxes' recklessness, but possibly had a deeper religious meaning, for the olive tree was a totem of the power of the goddess Athena and thus a measure of the condition of her city. Gloria Ferrari aptly describes the symbolism of the olive tree.[25] She compares the olive tree parable with another story in Herodotus about the Athenian politician Miltiades, who had been captured by the inhabitants of Lampsacus on the Hellespont (6.37). Croesus threatened, if they did not release Miltiades, to exterminate the city and its inhabitants like a pine tree, the only tree that does not regrow when cut down. But the olive tree, which stays green, provides useful oil, reaches a great age and can also rise from the dead, symbolized vitality and hope in dark days.

25 Ferrari 2002: 28-31.

The symbolism of the olive tree matched that of the Acropolis as a whole. If Herodotus visited the citadel in the 430s, the great temple that we know today as the Parthenon, with its imagery of mythical battles proclaiming Athenian hegemony over barbarism, already stood here as a symbol of the city's resurrection. In the center of the western pediment of this temple the sacred olive tree was depicted, flanked by a warring Athena and Poseidon. Herodotus himself does not point to this architecture, but nearby he did see a wall blackened by Persian fire (5.77). Not far from it, in the middle of the Acropolis, the ruins of an older sanctuary, the so-called Dörpfeld Temple, were presumably still visible. Through these mnemotopes, the story of Persian calamity was tangible. The juxtaposition of ancient blackened remains alongside new marble architecture made the Acropolis a multi-temporal site of remembrance, where the glorious present was literally framed within the disastrous past.

As at Sepias, the point of the story was not just the divine salvation, but also that it had been spurred by the dishonest intention of Xerxes and the medizing Athenians in his army. The story seems to imply that, by arranging an offering to the gods, Xerxes, without knowing it, secured the return of Athena as patron of the city of Athens, thus sealing the fate of his own expedition; his half-hearted appeasement of the gods did not help the Persian cause at all. Herodotus makes clear that the fate of the Acropolis was of concern to all the Greeks (8.56). Thus, while many gods of the Acropolis were autochthonous Athenians, their working had benefited the Greeks as a whole – and this may be part of the enduring appeal of the olive tree, especially to the Athenians as they claimed the hegemony of all the Greeks.

5. Demeter at Plataiai

The final relevant case of divine intervention is the battle of Plataiai, which took place in the plain between Thebes and Mount Kithairon, the last confrontation in mainland Greece between the collective Hellenes and the Persians. Herodotus' account of this complex battle reveals the extent to which the plain had become a memory landscape *par excellence*. An interesting case of divine intervention appears in the climax of the

fighting. After much turmoil, the Spartans and Tegeans halted at a temple of Demeter of Eleusis (9.57). Here, as they were being besieged by the Persian army, the Greeks performed sacrifices. Then Pausanias turned to the distant temple of Hera at Plataiai to invoke the goddess, after which positive omens started to appear. The temple of Demeter was the place where most of the fighting took place and the Persian general Mardonios was killed (9.62). Although this final stage of the fight had taken place near the temple, Herodotus notes a strange phenomenon (9.65):

> θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας {τὸ ἱρὸν} τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον.
>
> It is a marvel to me that no-one of the Persians who fought near the sacred grove of Demeter appeared to have entered the sanctuary or died within it; most fell around the temple on profane ground. But I think, if one may think anything about divine affairs, that the goddess herself did not allow inside those who had put fire to her holy palace in Eleusis.

The location of the temple of Demeter is uncertain. According to Herodotus, it was situated at ten stades from the Gargaphie fountain, another landmark of the battlefield. Perhaps the most convincing location for the temple is a site to the west of the ridge of the chapel of Pantanassa east of the town of Erythres (Kriekouki), near a well, where temple remains were reported and two inscriptions mentioning Demeter were found.[26] The identification of the temple with this site has, however, been challenged and an important alternative is the hill of the church of Agios Dimitrios further north.[27]

Wherever the temple was, the idea that the location marked the climax of the battle has to be a simplification: the fighting with even a fraction of the gathered forces can only have taken place in a much larger

26 *IG* VII 1670 and 1671. Pritchett 1979b; Boedeker 2007: 68.

27 E.g., Hignett 1963: 433; Gilula 2003: 75-76.

area. Nevertheless, in this narrative, the battle is condensed into a single mnemotope and no sense of the actual area of the fighting is given. It has been proposed that one of the *tropaia* (trophies) of the battle of Plataiai, mentioned by Plato (*Menex.* 245a) and Pausanias (9.2.6), was set up at the temple of Demeter.[28] If this is true, it shows that the temple retained its status as the preeminent mnemotope of the battle, the place of the decisive τροπή ("turn"), because trophies were thought to mark these locations. However, though this is an eminent possibility, the ancient sources give no proof that the trophy was set up at the temple of Demeter. Nevertheless, Herodotus' story about Demeter's anger shows that a mythification process had enveloped the temple in the post-war period and that it had become an important mnemotope of the battle. This instance of divine intervention of Demeter is found in various other sources, including in Simonides' Plataiai elegy (fr. 17 W2, l. 1), showing that the story was more widely known, even if this poem is not necessarily independent of Herodotus.

A striking topographical correspondence is the relation of the battle of Plataiai to that of Mykale, allegedly fought on the same day and involving both Athenians and Spartans. As at Plataiai, at Mykale there was a Demeter temple where the main part of the fighting took place. It is possible that the localization of the battle was 'drawn' to the temple in post-war traditions, to facilitate notions about divine intervention and vengeance. Herodotus informs us that good news from Plataiai reached the Greeks on the other side of the Aegean on the same day by a divine message (9.100-101): the Athenians discovered a *kerykeion*, a herald's staff, on the beach, as if Hermes or Iris had brought the news from Plataiai. The correspondence also reveals the territoriality of the gods as defenders of the Greek land.

The topographical correspondence between Plataiai and Mykale can emphasize the territoriality of the gods as defenders of the collective Greek lands. While it should not be doubted that there was a temple of Demeter somewhere in the plain of Plataiai that had developed into the mnemotope for this story, Deborah Boedeker has observed that narra-

28 Hignett 1963: 432.

tive traditions surrounding this goddess appear in all major Greek victories during the Persian Wars.[29] It is possible that Demeter temples were included in post-war memory making to foster the sense of territorial integrity of Greece. To Boedeker's analysis may be added Herodotus' story (8.65) that before the battle of Salamis a giant dust cloud was seen rising near Eleusis. The cloud crossed the water and descended upon the Greeks at Salamis, as if the protecting power of Demeter descended upon them. A Pythian oracle in 7.141 uttered to the Athenians also connected Demeter in an ambiguous way to Xerxes' invasion, saying that the Persians will die ἤ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης ("when Demeter is scattered or collected"). Demeter can stand here for the harvest, but also for the goddess herself. I would suggest that Demeter was so often associated with battle sites because of her primary qualities as a wrathful force, a true 'Mother Earth' who was a guardian of Hellas as whole.[30]

6. Conclusion

This brief exposé has argued that the study of the topography of the Persian Wars as found in the work of Herodotus is not always or exclusively concerned with finding the location of historical events in the wars. It also concerns the retrieval of locations of stories that *inspired credence* for such events. I have focused on stories of divine intervention taking place at sanctuaries and other sites of cultic importance. It is impossible to know in every instance whether we owe these stories to Herodotus himself as the author of the *Histories*, and/or to his local informants; but what matters is that these stories functioned in a context in which they were generally believable. The stories are not mere embellishments that can be removed from the account to retrieve a historically authentic core, as has sometimes been contended; rather, they are at the very heart of the

29 Boedeker 2007.

30 Simões Rodrigues 2020. The local perspective of the divine forces of Plataiai (not only Demeter, but also Hera and possibly the hero Androkrates) is also apparent in Thucydides (2.71), where the Plataians, much later in 429, in a speech to the Spartans dwell upon the importance of local gods and heroes who govern the land of Plataiai as protectors of justice, and therefore of the outcome of local battles and of Plataiai's independence. As a response, the Spartans even directly invoke these gods.

remembrance of the wars and they have shaped Herodotus' narrative and topography of the Persian Wars, the only detailed account of the event that we have received from the classical tradition. The Greeks of Herodotus' age, though politically divided, shared a strong sense of unity that extended beyond their individual cities or regions. Their identity as Hellenes was based on their communal language, customs, and religion (Hdt. 8.144). While the gods and heroes were often locally worshipped, their main aim in the Persian Wars appears to be the same throughout Greece: to repel invaders from Greece at large. The gods were thus seen as the best *symmachoi* for the Greeks who longed for freedom. The surrender to the Persians was symbolized by the giving of earth and water. Some Greeks had been swayed by the Persian demand. However, the Greek gods and heroes provided a powerful counter-example, showing that mortal Greeks should never yield to those intent on conquering their earth and water.

And that same earth and water, punctuated with its mnemotopes of the wars, played a particularly important role in mediating and shaping this collective memory. Herodotus' account codified some of these beliefs and transmitted them to posterity. It promoted the creation of a Panhellenic identity, at a time when new fault lines in that identity were appearing and when the brief moment of resistance in unison against the Persians was the past's most powerful lesson.

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UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN ANCIENT GREEK LAW

By Edward M. Harris

Summary: In the twentieth century there were several works that assumed the essential unity of Greek Law: *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht* by J. Partsch, *Griechisches Privatrecht auf rechtsvergleichender Grundlage* by E. Weiss, and *The Greek Law of Sale* by F. Pringsheim. In a review of Pringsheim's book, and in an essay on the topic, however, M.I. Finley challenged the notion of the unity of Greek Law. Finley observed that the Greek world was divided into hundreds of different city-states, each with its own political institutions, laws, and legal procedures. According to Finley, there was just too much diversity in the laws of the Greek city-states to justify any discussion of 'Ancient Greek Law' as a unified body of statutes and legal concepts. He did however allow that there might have been some unity in commercial law. More recently, M. Gagarin has claimed in the *Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law* that there was unity in the laws of the Greek *poleis* in respect to procedure but not in respect to substantive provisions. This essay revisits this issue and shows that there was a considerable amount of unity in the laws of the Greek *poleis* in substantive and constitutional matters. The article examines several areas of unity: marriage law, contracts, real security, the status of freed persons, the accountability of officials, and the relationship between Council and Assembly. It will also examine the unity of Greek law in regard to legal terminology. On the other hand, it will show that there was considerable diversity in legal procedures, which often varied according to the political constitution of a state.

Introduction

In the late nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries there were several works that assumed the essential unity of Greek law: *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs* by Ludwig Mitteis in 1891, *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht* by Iosef Partsch in 1909, *Griechisches Privatrecht auf rechtsvergleichender Grundlage* by Egon Weiss in 1923, *Die Willenslehre im griechischen Recht* by Richard Maschke in 1926, *The Greek Law of Sale* by Fritz Pringsheim in 1951, *The Law and Legal Theory of*

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the Greeks by J. Walter Jones in 1956, and *Eigentum und Besitz im griechischen Recht des fünften und vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* by Arnold Kränzlein in 1963. The book of Walter Erdmann: *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland*, published in 1934, took for granted broad similarity in marriage practices. In 1982 Arnaldo Biscardi published a book entitled *Diritto greco antico*. Sealey however preferred in 1994 to give the title *The Justice of the Greeks* to his general treatment but still argued for the unity of Greek law. In 2020 Stolfi gave the title *La cultura giuridica dell'antica Grecia* to his book on Greek law.

In a review of Pringsheim's book published in *Seminar* in 1951, and in an essay on the topic published in 1968 and reprinted in *The Use and Abuse of History* in 1975, M.I. Finley challenged the notion of the unity of Greek Law.[1] Finley observed that the Greek world was divided into hundreds of different city-states, each with its own political institutions, laws, and legal procedures. According to Finley, there was just too much diversity in the laws of the Greek city-states to justify any discussion of 'Ancient Greek Law' as a unified body of statutes and legal concepts. Finley concentrated most of his critique in two areas, marriage and property. He denied any similarities in the marriage practices of Homeric Greece, classical Athens, and Ptolemaic Egypt, a point to which we will return. As for property, he dismissed the three common principles enunciated by Mitteis: private ownership, the exclusion of next of kin other than blood heirs from claims, and a different conception of ownership from Roman *dominium* – as neither illuminating nor useful. By contrast, he found major differences in three areas: (1) limitations on the size of land holdings, (2) prohibitions on the right to sell, and (3) restrictions on the sale of an 'original allotment'. He also observed differences in practices about manumission. The only exception he noted was the widespread use of the Rhodian Sea Law, but this was because "Every *polis* with cargo ships on the high seas faced the same problems, exacerbated by the frequency of shipwreck, and the seamen and shippers required neither notaries nor jurists in order to come to an agreement with each other across the po-

1 Finley 1951, Finley 1968 and Finley 1975: 134–46.

litical boundaries of small autonomous states. The same was true of commercial law more generally."[2] Finley did not discuss constitutional law or make a distinction between procedural and substantive law.

More recently, M. Gagarin has claimed that there was unity in the laws of the Greek *poleis* in respect to procedure but not in respect to substantive provisions.[3] Gagarin asserts "although Athenian law may be different in its substantive details, in the realm of procedure (broadly understood) it shares significant features with other legal systems of archaic and classical Greece." He continues: "The unity I find in Greek law, therefore is a general procedural unity, grounded in the archaic and classical periods, not the substantive unity grounded in Hellenistic law." One aspect of this procedural unity is: "Greek laws, for example, at least those found at Athens and at Gortyn, devote considerable attention to procedure and show less interest in setting precise penalties for offenses."[4] We will return to the first assertion, but the second assertion is contradicted by the evidence of fifth-century inscriptions and the inscribed laws of the fourth century. Out of 156 decrees in *IG* I^3 (1-154, 236, 1453b) forty-five contain penalties. One must also bear in mind that some are fragmentary and that over thirty are honorary decrees, in which we would not expect to see penalties.[5] Gagarin also detected a widespread tendency in Greece to inscribe laws on stone and to display them in public places. But this has nothing to do with procedure but with publication and accessibility.[6] Gagarin next asserts that in the Gortyn Code and at Athens there was a "highly restricted use of writing" and that legal proceedings relied mainly on oral argument in open settings. As we will see below, this is certainly not true for Athens.

To anticipate my conclusion I am going to show that contrary to Gagarin's assertions there were broad similarities in substantive provisions in many areas, but in general wide differences in legal procedures. The

2 Finley 1975: 146.

3 Gagarin in Gagarin & Cohen 2005: 29-40.

4 Gagarin in Gagarin & Cohen 2005: 34.

5 Fragmentary decrees: *IG* I^3 22, 25, 26, 33, 44, 50, 51, 59, 87, 88, 94, 111, 112, 115, 121, 124. Honorary decrees: *IG* I^3 19, 20, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 48, 56, 57, 69, 73, 74, 80, 81, 91, 92, 95, 97, 98, 102, 103, 106, 107, 110, 113, 114, 116, 119, 122, 125, 126.

6 On publication and accessibility of laws at Athens see Sickinger 2004.

main reason for this is that the Greeks shared some basic notions about the rights and duties of citizens, which formed the foundation of substantive law. But legal procedures involved the allocation of power – who decides and who has power to enforce norms – which varied from one constitution to the next. We need however to start by defining our terms. I quote the discussion of the legal scholar J.W. Salmond, who is followed by Gagarin in his *Early Greek Law* and by other scholars and is widely accepted.[7]

> Substantive law is concerned with the ends which the administration of justice seeks; procedural law deals with the means and instruments by which those ends are to be attained. The latter regulates the conduct and relations of courts and litigants in respect of the litigation itself; the former determines their conduct and relations in respect of the matters litigated. Procedural law is concerned with affairs inside the courts of justice; substantive law deals with matters in the world outside.

One cannot claim that this analysis is etic, that is, a modern distinction anachronistically imposed on the ancient evidence, and therefore inappropriate for the study of ancient Greek law. As Carey has noted many laws of the Greek city-states are formulated in the casuistic form as a conditional sentence starting with a protasis naming the substantive offense – 'if anyone commits theft' or 'if anyone commits *hybris*' – then followed by the name of a procedure in the apodosis such as 'let there be a private action for theft' or 'let there be a public action for *hybris*' (Dem. 21.46).[8] The distinction is implicit in the wording of the statute. The protasis names the illegal behavior – theft or *hybris* – and indicates the actions one should not commit in daily life. The apodosis names the procedure to be followed by an accuser if someone commits a certain illegal action. For instance, if someone wishes to accuse a person of theft, he will bring a private action. The procedural rules will indicate how the

7 Salmond 1913: 438 followed by Gagarin 1986: 72.

8 Carey 1998, who however believes that Athenian law was mainly procedural, but his analysis is vitiated by his reliance on several documents that have now been shown to be forgeries and by his neglect of inscriptions.

legal action will be initiated (e.g. present a summons to the defendant with two witnesses, submit a written charge to a certain magistrate) and how the case will be tried in court (e.g. the manner of selecting judges, the amount of time allocated for each litigant to speak, the method of voting the verdict). Several passages in the orators make a clear distinction between the offense and the ways of bringing an action to court (e.g. Dem. 21.23-28). In 1975 Mogens Hansen claimed that Athenian law was mainly procedural, and scholars such as Michael Gagarin, Stephen Todd, Paul Millett, and Robin Osborne followed him in claiming that Greek law in general and Athenian law in particular were mostly concerned with procedure and paid little attention to substance.[9] In an essay published in 2009-2010 and reprinted in my book of 2013, I collected all the laws mentioned in the Attic orators and the fourth century laws inscribed on stone and demonstrated that most laws were primarily concerned with substantive matters and that Athenian laws were organised by substantive categories (e.g. laws of homicide, laws of adoption, laws on traders, laws about order in the Assembly).[10] Because the evidence against his previous assumption is overwhelming, Hansen has recently admitted that he was wrong.[11] In a recent essay David Lewis and I analyzed all the inscriptions in Koerner's valuable collection *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis* down to 450 BCE and came to the same conclusion about laws during the archaic period.[12]

Differences in Legal Procedures

First point. The differences between the basic procedures of city-states could be enormous. Let us start with the laws of Gortyn in the fifth century BCE. To initiate proceedings, one party summoned (καλε͂ν) the other

9 Hansen 1975: 10, 14, 21 followed by Osborne 1985, Todd & Millett 1990: 5, Todd 1993: 65, Foxhall & Lewis 1996: 3, and Lanni 2006: 87.

10 Harris 2013a: 138-74, 359-78.

11 Hansen 2016: 465-66.

12 Harris & Lewis 2022 analyzing the laws in Koerner 1993.

before a judge (δικαστάς).[13] Each presented his case (πονε͂ν) and presented witnesses who testified. These could be formal witnesses, who were asked to be present at some transaction and then were summoned to testify that the transaction took place, or accidental witnesses who happened to be present at some event and were later called on to testify about the facts of this event. The judge then made a decision in one of two ways. First, the judge might be required in some cases to decide according to witnesses or according to an oath. For instance, if one litigant presented witnesses and the other none, the judge was ordered to decide for the former litigant. In divorce cases in which a woman was accused of taking her husband's property but swore an oath that she did not take anything, the judge was ordered to decide for the woman. This form of decision according to evidence was called δικάδδεν or καταδικάδδεν. In other cases, the judge would hear the evidence and decide according to the substantive rule in the law. This was called *krinein*. There is no mention of written documents in the laws of Gortyn aside from written statutes. At Gortyn a slave could swear an oath and in some cases it might be ὀρκιότερος, more binding, than that of a free person.

The difference with Athenian procedures could not be greater. In Athens the accuser summoned the defendant to appear before an official on a certain day but had to have two witnesses to the summons.[14] The accuser then submitted a plaint containing his name, patronymic, and deme and the name, patronymic, and deme of the defendant, the type of procedure, and a brief description of the actions of the defendant violating the substantive part of the relevant statute.[15] After the trial this document was kept in the Metroon.[16] This key document has no parallel in the laws of Gortyn. In a private procedure after 400 most cases were sent to a public arbitrator, who could try to mediate the dispute or if both sides rejected mediation, would make a decision ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.1-7).[17] The arbitrator would receive documents and testimony and could

13 On procedure at Gortyn see Gagarin in Gagarin & Perlman 2016: 136-39.

14 On initiating a lawsuit at Athens see Harrison 1971: 85-94.

15 On the plaint see Harris 2013b.

16 See Harris 2013b: 167-69, endorsed by Boffo & Faraguna 2021: 264, 288 (rejecting Gagarin 2008: 86, who denies without evidence that the plaint was kept in the archives).

17 On public arbitration at Athens see Harris 2018.

question the litigants. If the litigants did not accept the decision, the evidence was placed in an *echinos*, and the case went to a court of several hundred judges who had sworn the judicial oath and decided by secret ballot. The oath bound the judges to vote according to the laws and decrees of Athens, to vote only about the charges in the plaint, to cast a just vote without favor or hostility, and to listen to both sides.[18] Each litigant gave two speeches measured by the κλεψύδρα. Other private cases were decided by διαδικασία, which dispensed with the public arbitrator but was in other respects similar.[19] At Gortyn there were no public arbitrators, no large panels of judges, the official who received the charges also tried the case, and there was no need for secret ballot. On the other hand, oaths at trials were not dispositive in Athenian law. The procedural differences in private suits could not have been greater. One might add that in public and private cases at Athens many written documents could be submitted: letters from officials, letters from foreign kings, catalogues of trierarchs and public debtors, records of import and export duties, accounts of officials, inventories in the *antidosis* procedure, leases of mines, citizen lists kept in the demes, and honorary decrees from other states.[20] Gagarin's assertions about the lack of written documents in Athenian trials is not supported by the evidence. And for private suits the Athenians made a distinction between normal suits and monthly suits (ἔμμηνοι δίκαι), which were decided within a month ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 52.2-3), a distinction not found at Gortyn. The differences between Athens and Gortyn could not have been greater.

We know a little more about trials of kings and other officials such as Sphodrias in Sparta.[21] These cases were often tried in the Gerousia or Council of Elders where there was no selection of judges by lot. By contrast, the Council at Athens might impose fines up to 500 drachmas (Dem. 47.43), but could not vote larger fines, permanent exile or death, and all

18 On the judicial oath at Athens see Harris 2013a: 101-37. Lanni 2006: 72 claims that the pledge to vote according to one's most just judgment was the most frequently cited pledge, but this is not true: see the overwhelming evidence collected in Harris 2013a: 353-57.

19 On the *diadikasia* see Harrison 1971: 79, 88, 235-38 and *passim*.

20 On written documents in Athenian trials see Harris 2022 and Boffo & Faraguna 2021: 265-93 with detailed criticisms of Gagarin 2008.

21 For procedure at Sparta see MacDowell 1986: 123-50.

public cases took place in courts staffed by five hundred or more judges. The kings at Sparta tried cases involving heiresses, public roads and adoption (Hdt. 6.57.4-5), and the Ephors had a broad jurisdiction over other private cases (Arist. *Pol.* 1275b9-10; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 8.4). At Athens these cases were tried in courts staffed by hundreds of judges. Another major difference was that important trials at Sparta took place over several days while trials on public charges at Athens were decided in one day, something noted by Socrates at his trial (*Ap.* 37a-b; cf. Plut. *Eth.* 217a-b). Not much is known about procedure in laws of Ptolemaic Egypt, but here cases were decided either by royal edict or by civic laws.[22] There were also rules for cases between Greeks, who were tried in the *dikasteria*, and Egyptians, who were tried before the *laokritai*. For trials between Greeks and Egyptians if the documents were in Greek, the trial was before the *dikasteria*, if the documents were in Egyptian, before the *laokritai*. There was nothing similar in Athens where citizens, metics, and foreigners were tried in the same courts according to Athenian law.[23] There are some similarities such as the requirement that two people witness the summons and the use of a written plaint, but there is no evidence for large courts in Ptolemaic Egypt.

The Laws of the Greeks in Interstate Relations

By contrast, there are significant similarities in substantive law. In a famous passage Herodotus (8.144) states that the Greeks were united by their common ancestry, common language, common religion and common customs. These common customs often took the form of similar laws enforced by many different city-states. For instance, in 367/366 BCE the Athenian Assembly sent a herald to the Aitolians to protest against the arrest by the Trichonians of the *spondophoroi* sent to announce the truce for the Eleusinian Mysteries, an act that violated the laws of the Greeks (*Agora* 16.48, ll. 13-14: παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων). The decree of the Assembly assumes the existence of a rule

22 See M. Modrejewski in Keenan, Manning & Yiftach-Firanko 2014: 470-81.

23 Charges involving metics and foreigners were brought before the Polemarch, but the cases were tried in the regular courts. See [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 58.2-3.

recognized by all the Greeks that it is wrong to hold those sent to announce a truce for a Panhellenic festival. This is similar to the Greek rule that one does not harm heralds sent from one city to another.

Several speakers in Thucydides' history refer to the laws of the Greeks. When the Athenians invaded Boeotia and fortified the sanctuary at Delium, the Boeotians claimed that they had violated the laws of the Greeks that required those invading a country not to damage sanctuaries (Thuc. 4.97.2; cf. Polyb. 4.67.4). The Athenians replied that the laws of the Greeks provided that sanctuaries belonged to whoever was in control of the territory as long as they observed the traditional rites of the sanctuary (Thuc. 4.98.2). They also insisted that the Boeotians follow the rule of the Greeks that the bodies of soldiers killed in battle be returned for burial. It is well known from other sources that this was a Panhellenic rule and widely enforced.[24] In his funeral oration Lysias refers to the Greek law that the dead should not remain unburied (2.7-10; cf. 9: Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου), a common rule underlying the legislation about burial in different communities.[25]

When the Plataeans were put on trial by the Spartans after their surrender in 427 BCE, the former pointed out that they have surrendered as suppliants to the Spartans who have accepted them, and that it is wrong according to the laws of the Greeks to put suppliants to death (Thuc. 3.58.1). The Boeotians retort that it is the Plataeans who have violated the laws of the Greeks by not honoring the rights of suppliants (Thuc. 4.68.4; cf. 66.2-3). As F.S. Naiden has shown, the norms of supplication were a quasi-legal ritual recognised throughout the Greek world.[26] In a debate at Athens, the Corinthians appealed to the laws of the Greeks about the right to discipline members of an alliance (Thuc. 1.41.1; cf. 3.9).

24 For the sources about the law see Harris 2006: 65-68 and Pritchett 1985: 235-41 for a collection of testimonia from different city-states about the practice.

25 See Harris 2006: 65-68 with the literature cited there.

26 See the thorough treatment of Naiden 2006.

Similarities in Homicide Law and Family Law

Some of these rules relate to interstate law, but there were also broad similarities in the area of family law. In the speech *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* written by Lysias (1.1-2), the defendant Euphiletus tells the court that the laws against seduction (μοιχεία) do not differ in oligarchies and democracies: all Greek city-states condemn this crime and enact harsh penalties against those who seduce wives (cf. Xen. *Hier.* 3.3). It was also a universal rule among the Greeks that the property and inhabitants of a city conquered in war belonged to the victors (Pl. *Resp.* 5 468a-b; Arist. *Pol.* 1.6 1255a 6-7; Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.73). In every one of these cases the rules apply to substantive matters, not procedure. There also appear to have existed broad similarities in regard to homicide law. In a speech of Antiphon (5.13), the defendant states that all Greeks who were accused of murder had the right to avoid punishment by going into exile. The belief that homicide caused pollution was also widespread and was incorporated into the laws of the Greek city-states.[27] And in a story about the return of a deposit, a Spartan named Glaukos replied to some citizens of Miletus that he would follow the laws of the Greeks about this matter (Hdt. 6.86). The study of marriage by A.-M. Vérilhac & C. Vial, *Le mariage grec du VIe siècle av. J.C. à l'époque d'Auguste*, has also revealed basic similarities in substantive law.[28] In all Greek cities, marriage was an agreement between the woman's father or brother and her husband, which transferred the woman from her natal household to that of her husband (*virilocal*). The marriage was normally accompanied by a dowry (προίξ) given by the wife's family to the husband. Everywhere legitimate children (γνήσιοι) were distinguished from bastards (νόθοι). In general, legitimate children had the right to inherit their parents' property while bastards did not. In the Greek rules for inheritance, descendants took precedence over collaterals, and males in the same degree received equal portions (*partible inheritance*); there is no evidence for primogeniture. All heirs were universal successors, which meant that they were responsible for the debts of the estate as well as entitled to the assets. If the liabilities exceeded the value of the assets, the heir(s) had to pay the debts. There

27 Harris 2018c.
28 Vérilhac & Vial 1998.

were, of course, local variations: at Gortyn, for instance, sisters could inherit along with brothers although their share was only half that of their brothers. In some cities, *nothoi* were citizens, in others they were not. Yet the main substantive provisions remained the same.

Similarities in Property Law

Another area in which there was broad consistency in substantive matters was in regard to the ownership of land.[29] The concept of ownership is universal, found in all societies and contains several standard incidents: (1) the right to possess, (2) the right to use, (3) the right to manage, (4) the right to income, (5) the right to capital, (6) the right to security, (7) transmissibility, (8) absence of term, (9) prohibition of harmful use, and (10) liability to execution. Three aspects of ownership may vary from one society to the next: (1) who can own? (2) what can be owned? and (3) what restrictions are placed on the powers of ownership?[30] As observed by D. Hennig in an important essay, "Nach einem in allen griechischen Staaten unabhängig von der jeweiligen Verfassungsform gültigen Rechtsgrundsatz waren Besitz und damit auch Erwerb von Grundstücken und Gebäuden prinzipiell nur den eigenen Bürgern gestattet."[31] This of course is seen in a famous passage from Demosthenes' speech *For Phormio* (36.6) where we learn that when Phormio leased the bank of Pasion and took over the deposits, he could not recover all the loans that Pasion had made on the security of land and lodging houses because he had not yet obtained citizenship. In other words, if the borrowers in these loans defaulted, Phormio as a non-citizen could not seize these properties because he had no right to acquire property in Attica. As a result, a foreigner could only obtain the right to own property if the community granted him an *enktēsis gēs*, a right to acquire property.[32] Such grants are

29 On ownership and property records see Harris 2016.

30 On the incidents of ownership see Honoré 1961.

31 "According to a legal principle valid in all Greek states, regardless of the respective constitutional form, ownership and thus also the acquisition of land and buildings were in principle only permitted to their own citizens" (Hennig 1994).

32 On *enktēsis gēs* at Athens see Peçirka 1966.

attested throughout the Greek world. Appendix I shows that they are found in all regions: the Peloponnese, Central Greece (Megara, Phocis, Lokris, and Boeotia), Northwestern Greece, Thessaly, Aetolia, many of the Aegean islands including Crete, Caria and other parts of Asia Minor, Thrace and the Black Sea regions. They are mostly found in proxeny decrees, but they are also found in treaties of *sympoliteia* such as the one between Miletus and Pidasa (*Milet* I 3, 149). There are also examples of communities that awarded foreign benefactors with land, but the award was clearly accompanied with the privilege of owning land, a kind of implicit ἔγκτησις γῆς. It is true that some Athenians acquired property in the territory of allied states during the fifth-century empire as we can see from the confiscation records for the religious scandals of 415 (*IG* I^3 426, lines 35-41; cf. lines 144-49), but the practice was viewed as an infringement of autonomy and was banned in the Second Athenian League (*IG* II^2 43).

There is a question about the right of citizens in one community of a federal league to acquire property in the territory of another community of the same league. This appears to have been the case in the Chalcidian League (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11-19), which has led E. Mackil to conclude that the same held true for other federal leagues.[33] Two recent articles by Sizov have however demonstrated that this arrangement did not exist in the Thessalian, Achaean and Aetolian leagues, which undermines Mackil's assumption.[34] Even though this privilege was granted to cities in the Chalcidian League, the principle still held that those who were not citizens of one of the member cities could not obtain land in the territory of the league. The way in which this rule was enforced would have varied from one community to the next according to their different legal procedures, but the general substantive rule was universally followed.

The basic modes of acquiring ownership in the Greek *polis* were widely recognized and agreed. In a famous arbitration between Hierapytna and Itanos on Crete decided by judges from Magnesia, it is stated that "Men have rights of ownership over land because they have received the land themselves from their ancestors, or because they have bought it by giving money, or by conquering it by the spear or taking it from someone of

33 Mackil 2013: 256-57.

34 Sizov 2021a, and Sizov 2021b.

those more powerful" (*I. Cret.* III iv 9, lines 133ff.).[35] While the basic substantive principles are universal, the specific procedures for transferring ownership varied from one community to the next. In a famous fragment from his work *On the Laws* (fr. 97 Wimm. = Stobaeus 4.2.20) Theophrastus lists several different modes of conveyance in various Greek states. According to Theophrastus, some lawgivers require that the sale be announced by a herald several days in advance while others order that sales take place before a magistrate. At Athens the sale must be announced in writing no fewer than sixty days ahead and the buyer should deposit one sixtieth of the price so that whoever wishes may have the right to dispute and to lodge an objection.[36] Once again, the procedures differ from one community to the next.

The Status of Freed Slaves

Finally a widespread rule in Greece was that freed slaves did not automatically become citizens but were metics, or *katoikoi*.[37] In 217 BCE Philip V of Macedonia sent the people of Larissa a letter in response to their concerns about their recent loss of citizens (*IG* IX, 2 517 = *Syll.*^{3} 543).[38] He contrasted the Greeks with the Romans who, when they manumit their slaves, admit them to the citizen body and grant them a share in the magistracies. In this way, they have not only made their country great, but also sent colonies to almost seventy places (lines 29-34). We know that the Athenians did not automatically make their freed persons citizens. Pasion, the father of Apollodorus, was freed, but was not given citizenship until after he made many generous contributions ([Dem.] 59.2). In the 1,341 manumission documents preserved at Delphi there is no mention of any former slaves receiving citizenship, which is the reason why

35 [... ἄν]θρωποι τὰς κατὰ τῶν τόπων ἔχουσι κυριείας ἢ παρὰ προγόνων π[αραλαβόν]τες αὐτοὶ [ἢ πριάμενοι] | [κατ'] ἀργυρίου δόσιν ἢ δόρατι κρατήσαντες ἢ παρά τινος τῶν κρεισσόν[ων σχόντες· On this text see Chaniotis 2004: 185-87.

36 For the inscriptions recording these payments see Lambert 1997.

37 For the status of freed persons see Zanovello 2021, who shows that they are free and not between free and slave. For their status at Athens see Canevaro & Lewis 2014.

38 On manumission and citizenship in ancient Greece and Rome see Harris with Zanovello 2023.

these texts assign many witnesses and guarantors to protect their freedom.[39] Had they become citizens, this would not have been necessary. The manumission documents from Thessaly point in the same direction.[40]

Similarities in Constitutional Law

In some cases the similar provisions about substantive rules derive from a common belief in the rule of law, a set of values that goes back to the late archaic period and spread throughout Greece by the classical period. In Euripides' *Medea* (536-38) Jason tells his ex-wife that she is lucky to have come from barbarian territory to Greece where she learns justice and to follow the laws and not to live in a way that gives free rein to force. When Tyndareus faults Orestes for killing his mother and not prosecuting her for murder in court, he accuses him of violating the laws of the Greeks, not merely the laws of Argos (Eur. *Orestes* 491-517). As Canevaro has shown, the rule of law became the main criterion for legitimacy in the Greek *poleis*.[41] In his *Panegyricus* Isocrates (4.39) claims that it was the Athenians who brought the rule of law to the Greeks in place of tyranny and anarchy. This is Athenian propaganda, but these three passages are important for showing the importance of the rule of law for Panhellenic identity, a point to which we will return. It would be a serious mistake to believe that there was a shift from popular sovereignty to the sovereignty of law in Athens around 400 BCE; democracy and the rule of law went hand in hand in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.[42] The basic features of the rule of law go back to the late archaic period when they were articulated in the poetry of Solon and implemented in the many laws

39 For an overview of these documents with statistics see Mulliez 1992. For the first volume of these manumission documents see Mulliez 2019.

40 On the documents from Thessaly see Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013.

41 Canevaro 2017.

42 Hansen 2018: 29 claims that there was a shift from popular sovereignty to the rule of law, but his view rests on a misunderstanding of the concept of the rule of law and of the identity of the *nomothetai* in the legislative procedure after 403 BCE. For detailed analysis and refutation see Harris with Esu 2021: 94-100.

preserved on stone from the period.[43] There are some differences between ancient and modern conceptions of the rule of law, but several features are the same: (1) equality before the law, (2) no person above the law, that is, all officials are accountable, (3) stability and consistency of the laws, and (4) fairness in procedure (defendant informed about charges before the trial, trial before impartial judges, decision about guilt according to fixed rules, which means no *ad hoc* decisions, defendant given time to present evidence and witnesses, enforcement of *res iudicata*).[44] Here I would like to concentrate on the second and third features.

In the famous debate about the constitutions in Book 3 of Herodotus, Otanes states that with *isonomia* the laws are respected, free women are not victims of abuse, and people are not put to death without a trial. In this form of government there is alternation in office by use of the lot, no official holds office without being accountable (ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει), and all plans are discussed in common (Hdt. 3.80.6). The historicity of the debate is questionable, but the passage demonstrates that the Greek audience for whom Herodotus wrote contrasted *isonomia* with tyranny and associated *isonomia*, equality before the law, with the accountability of officials. The practice of penalizing officials for not carrying out the law goes back to the late archaic period. In Koerner's collection of inscriptions we find examples of fines for officials disobeying the law from Tiryns, Argos, Arcadia, Olympia, Naupactos, Thasos, Eretria. In his speech *Against Ctesiphon* Aeschines (3.2-23) explicitly links the rule of law with the accountability of officials and provides a long list of those accountable. The procedures at Athens are succinctly described at the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Athenians* (54.2): all officials after their term of office had to submit their accounts to ten accountants (λογισταί) and their assistants (συνήγοροι). The accountants could bring three kinds of charges before a court: (1) embezzlement (κλοπή), (2) bribery (δῶρα), and (3) 'injustice' (ἀδικιῶν) which is probably mismanagement of public funds. For the first two offenses, the penalty was ten times the amount, but for the last only the amount involved. The Council also selected by lot ten auditors (εὔθυνοι), one per tribe, and two assessors (πάρεδροι) for each auditor. If anyone wished to bring a private or a public charge

43 See Harris 2006: 3-28.

44 See Harris 2013: 4-10.

against a magistrate, he wrote his name, that of the defendant, the name of the offense, and the amount of the fine or damages sought. If the auditor considered the charges proven, he handed a public charge to the *thesmothetai* and a private charge to the Forty ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 48.3-5). As P. Fröhlich has shown, the principle that all officials were accountable is almost universal, but the procedures for implementing this substantive rule varied from place to place.[45] We can see the contrast in the decree about the foundation of Aristomedes and Psylla from the second century BCE on Corcyra (*IG* IX,1 694). The Council takes responsibility for receiving accounts and imposing fines for misconduct. If officials do not submit accounts, the *nomophylakes* examine their accounts. There is no division into two parts and different bodies are involved. On the other hand, in Boeotia during the third and second centuries BCE officials called the κατόπται exercised a close supervision of payments made by officials and not only at the end of their term of office.[46] There is no mention of trials in court. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 2.9.26.1271a6-8), the Ephors at Sparta had the task of supervising all officials, a marked difference from the procedure at Athens. If an anecdote from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (3.18.1419a31- 35) is reliable, the Ephors too were accountable, but the procedure is not known. On the other hand, several sources indicate that the Spartan kings were tried either in the Assembly or in court. Cleomenes appears to have been charged with bribery for not capturing Argos and acquitted before the Assembly (Hdt. 8.82.1-2), and the friends of Cleombrotus may have warned him about a trial before the people for allowing the Thebans to escape (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4-5). On the other hand, Leotychidas was tried twice in court (Hdt. 6.72.2; 85.1).

The concern for the stability of the law is best seen in an anecdote told by Demosthenes in his speech *Against Timocrates* (24.139-41): The Locrians "are so committed to the idea that it is necessary to follow the long-

45 Fröhlich 2004.

46 Fröhlich 2004: 179: "Au IIIme et au IIme siècle, dans chaque cité béotienne, il existe donc un collège de magistrats spécialisés dans le contrôle de leurs collègues et dans la reddition de comptes, les *katoptai*. Ils surveillent (souvent en collaboration avec les polémarques) toute opération financière soit par des magistrats ordinaires (en particulier les polémarques et les trésoriers), soit par des commissions temporaires. La surveillance peut semble-t-il s'exercer sur un domaine plus étendu que seules finances, par exemple la transcription de documents publics à Thespies."

established laws, to preserve the ancestral ways, and not to legislate on a whim nor to provide guilty men with a means of escape that if anyone wishes to pass a new law, he proposes his law with a noose around his neck; if the law is judged good and beneficial, the proposer lives and walks away; but if not, he dies when the noose is drawn tight. In fact, they do not dare to pass new laws, but strictly adhere to the long-established laws. Men of the court, it is said that for many years only one new law was enacted in the community. There was a law that if someone gouged an eye, he was to have his own eye knocked out in return, and no monetary penalty was permitted. The story goes that a man threatened to gouge the eye of his enemy who had just one eye. The one-eyed man, alarmed by this threat and thinking that life would not be worth living were it carried out, is said to have worked up the courage to introduce a law ordering that if anyone gouged the eye of a person with just one eye, he was to have both his eyes gouged out in return so that both men would suffer an equal misfortune. It is reported that this is the only law the Locrians have passed in more than two hundred years" (trans. Harris). The tendency to overturn traditional laws was characteristic of tyrants as Otanes mentions in the constitutional debate in Herodotus (3.80.5: νόμαιά τε κινέει πάτρια). The normal way to keep the laws stable was less extreme than the Locrian method. Starting in the archaic period important laws contain an entrenchment clause threatening severe penalties if anyone attempted to alter or repeal the statute. One of the earliest is found in Draco's law of homicide: Let any official or private citizen who is responsible for overturning or changes this law be without rights and his children and his property (Dem. 23.62).[47] We find similar clauses in laws from "Tauromenium and Issa in the west to places as far as to the east as Acmonia and Termessus,"[48] and the late D. Lewis collected those from Athens in fifth century inscriptions.[49] Around 403 the Athenians introduced a distinction between laws and decrees and a new procedure for enacting laws as a way of promoting stability. This contained a series of steps designed to make it harder to enact new laws and to promote

47 For a new text of Draco's homicide law in *IG* I^{3} 104 see Harris & Canevaro 2023.

48 Rhodes with Lewis 1997: 524-25.

49 Lewis 1997: 136-49 with the discussion in Harris 2006: 23-25.

stability without resorting to the noose.[50] This made it unnecessary to add entrenchment clauses at Athens, but other cities continued to use them.

Herodotus, The Persian Wars, and the Rule of Law

It is appropriate at the end of this essay to return to the battle of Plataea, which served as the inspiration for the conference, and the Serpent column, which was erected at Delphi after the battle and later taken to Constantinople, now Istanbul.[51] When Herodotus wrote about the Persian Wars, he portrayed the conflict not only as a struggle between Greeks and barbarians (though there were many Greeks fighting on the Persian side such as the Thessalians and Thebans), but also as a struggle between different forms of government, between tyranny and constitutional governed by the rule of law. Herodotus makes the contrast explicit throughout his work, starting with the interview between Solon and Croesus and especially during the conversation between Demaratus and Xerxes, when the Spartan exile tells the Persian king that the Spartans are free but not completely free because they fear the law more than the Persians fear him (Hdt. 7.104.4). We see the same message in Aeschylus' *Persians*, which makes clear the difference between the Persian monarchy and the Athenian form of government. As we will see, this is an oversimplification but in a way it is quite accurate. Appendix II provides a list of all the communities listed on the Serpent Column, which is close to the lists in Herodotus and Pausanias.[52] Even though some communities in Greece were ruled by monarchs/tyrants such as Macedonia, all those on the Serpent Column were not ruled by tyrants at the time. Among the three leading powers, Sparta never had a tyrant while Athens and Corinth overthrew their despots in the sixth century. This is also true for the others on the list. Even though for some there is no evidence for their constitutions at the time of the Persian Wars, evidence for later in the fifth century and the early fourth reveals the presence of civic institutions

50 See Canevaro 2013, Canevaro 2018, and Canevaro 2020.

51 For the text see Jacquemin, Mulliez & Rougemont 2012: 43-45.

52 For the different lists see Steinhart 1997: 61-69.

like officials, councils, and assemblies. We should not doubt the hostility of the Greek allies to tyranny. Most of the *poleis* listed on the Serpent Column were members of the Peloponnesian League. When Cleomenes led the members of the Peloponnesian League to reinstate Hippias as tyrant of Athens, they were convinced by the speech of Socles against tyranny and voted with their feet, deserting the expedition (Hdt. 5.93). Their opposition to the Persian invasion was not because of geography but from political conviction.

But this was not the only great victory of Greeks over non-Greeks in this period. According to Diodorus (11.20-26), the victory of Gelon and Theron at Himera was as great as the victories of the Greeks over the Persians at Salamis and Plataea. The Carthaginian threat to Sicily was as serious as the Persian threat to mainland Greece. Diodorus claims that the number of Carthaginians who sailed with Hamilcar to Panormus was not less than three hundred thousand (the same as the number of Persian troops at Plataea [Hdt. 8.32.2]), and there was a fleet of two hundred triremes and more than a thousand ships to transport supplies. Even though many of the ships were lost in a storm (just as many Persian ships were lost in a storm off Euboea [Hdt. 8.13-14]), the army was large enough to conquer the entire island. Theron, who was guarding the city, called on Gelon from Syracuse to help him defend Himera, and the two leaders won a decisive victory. Diodorus puts the number of Carthaginian prisoners at 10,000 and the number of soldiers slaughtered at 150,000 and reports, "Because of this achievement many historians compare this battle with the one which the Greeks fought at Plataea and the stratagem of Gelon with the ingenious schemes of Themistocles, and the first place they assign, since such exceptional merit was shown by both men, some to the one and some to the other" (11.23.1). Although Themistocles and Pausanias, the victors of Salamis and Plataea, were later driven into exile, Gelon continued in power and died while still on the throne. The victory at Himera was celebrated by Pindar (*Pythian* 1.67-80) who placed the victory on the same level as those of Athens and Sparta over the Persians. When Gelon dedicated his column at Delphi near the Serpent Column on the terrace in front of the temple of Apollo, he was clearly creating an equivalence between the two victories (*Syll.*^{3} 34A). As Jacquemin, Mulliez & Rougemont observe, "Dès 470, Pindare (*Ier Pythique* v. 71-80) faisant

l'éloge des Deinomenides, établissait un parallèle entre Himère, Salamine et Platées. Le trépied et la victoire étaient en or et l'on comparait l'ensemble aux offrandes légendaires de Crésus (Hérodote 1.50-51). La richesse de l'offrande et surtout le choix de son emplacement, à proximité immédiate de l'Apollon de Salamine et du trépied de Platées, auquel l'offrande de Gélon ressemblait, répondent précisément à la même intention que les vers de Pindare."[53]

Herodotus (7.153-67) was not unaware of the victory of Gelon and Theron over the Carthaginians, but he devotes only a few chapters to the campaign and its impact. Herodotus mentions the victory of Gelon in the context of the Greek mission to ask for his support against the Persian invasion. Herodotus (7.163-67) gives two alternative explanations for Gelon's refusal to send troops. According to one version, he sent three ships under Cadmus of Cos with gold to Delphi. If the Persians won, Cadmus was to give Xerxes the money along with a pledge of earth and water (i.e. submission). If the Greeks won, he was to return with the money. According to the other version, he declined to send help because Terillus of Himera invited Hamilcar to invade with an army of 300,000 (the same figure as in Diodorus). Herodotus does not describe the battle and gives a different version of Hamilcar's death. Herodotus also omits any mention of the temples built to celebrate the victory at Himera and the dedication at Delphi though he mentions the Greek dedications at Delphi after Salamis and Plataea.

For Herodotus the main lesson of the Persian Wars was the superiority of Greek *eunomia* over Persian tyranny. The communities that participated in the victories at Salamis and Plataea all had constitutional governments. To be a good Greek was to hate tyranny. And even a Greek like Alexander of Macedon, who was considered a tyrant by some Greeks (Hdt. 8.142.5), might have his Greek ethnicity questioned (Hdt. 5.22), and tyranny might go hand in hand with collaboration with the Persians as it did at Athens (Hdt. 6.107-9). As a result, Herodotus did his best to marginalize the battle of Himera despite its importance, to downplay Sicilian

53 Jacquemin, Mulliez & Rougemont 2012: 44-45.

affairs, and to question Gelon's loyalty to the Greek cause.[54] Too much attention to Himera, a victory won under the leadership of a tyrant, would have spoiled the dichotomy he so carefully constructs. His choice of emphasis still has an effect on the way modern scholars write the history of ancient Greece. And it explains why the conference about unity and diversity in the ancient Greek world took place at Delphi and not on Sicily.[55]

Appendix 1
Places where Grants of Enktesis are Attested

Peloponnese and Saronic Gulf
Aegina
Troezen
Epidauros
Sparta
Kythera
Kotyrta
Geronthrai
Tainaron
Elis
Messenia

Megara, Oropia, Boeotia
Aulis
Thebes
Aigosthena
Thespiai
Oropos (many)

Phocis
Delphi (many)
Elateia
Tithronion
Ambryssos
Antikyra
Stiris

Aegean Islands
Keos (several)
Delos (many)
Rhodes
Kos
Kalymna
Andros
Tenos
Amorgos

54 Gauthier 1966 claims that Herodotus gives less prominence to Sicilian affairs because he was less well informed about them, but this does not explain why Herodotus chose not to inquire more about these events and overlooks the ideological reasons for his selectivity.

55 I would like to thank Kostas Buraselis for the invitation to present an earlier version of this paper at the Delphi conference. I would also like to thank Mirko Canevaro and David Lewis for their helpful comments.

Peparethos

Euboea
Chalcis
Eretria (many)

Ionian Islands
Kerkyra

Epeiros
Dodona
Buthrotos

Crete
Knossos
Lato
Hierapytna
Praisos
Polyrrhenia (?)

Caria
Iasos
Halicarnassos
Keramos
Labraunda
Magnesia (several)
Mylasa
Olymos

Ionia
Colophon
Phokaia
Priene
Teos
Ephesos

Aeolis
Gryneion
Kyme
Temnos
Troas

Mysia
Pergamon

Bithynia
Kios

Lycia
Telmessos

Aetolia
Thermos (several)

Akarnania
Actium

Lokris
Amphissa

Thessaly
Halos
Thaumakoi
Thebai
Hypata
Lamia
Herakleia Trachinia
Larisa,
Skotoussa
Perhaibia
Kierion
Pharsalos.

Thrace and Lower Danube
Mesambria
Odessus
Dionysopolis
Maroneia
Doriskos

Black Sea
Kallatis
Olbia

Appendix 2
Greeks Fighting at Plataea

Serpent Column (*Syll.*[3] 31; serial numbers are those in Hansen-Nielsen *Polis Inventory*):

Lacedaemonians (345): same laws for four hundred years (Thuc. 1.18.1); hostile to tyranny (Thuc. 1.19).
Athenians (361): overthrow tyrant in 510; constitutional government from 510.
Corinthians (227): tyranny ends ca. 580.
Tegeans (297): evidence for civic institutions in fourth century and possibly in the fifth century.
Sicyonians (228): Spartans overthrow tyrant before 500 ([Plut.] *Mor.* 859d).
Aeginetans (358): Figueira 1981.
Megarians (225): 'democracy' in sixth century (Arist. *Pol.* 1300a15-19, 1302b31-32, 130-4b35-40).
Epidaurians (348): "...the narrow *politeuma* points to an oligarchy in the archaic period" (Hansen-Nielsen *Polis Inventory* 607).
Orchomenians (286): civic institutions attested in the classical period.
Phleiasians (355): possible tyrant in the sixth century (Diog. Laert. 1.12, 8.8), but a democracy by the early fourth century (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.16).
Troezenians (357): Aristotle (fr. 613-15) lists a constitution; no evidence for tyranny.
Hermionians (350): called a *polis* at Hdt. 8.42.1; Hdt. 3.59.1 appears to indicate a non-tyrannical government.
Tirynthians (356): a *lex sacra* (*SEG* 30.380) indicates civic institutions in the sixth century; no evidence for tyranny.

Plataeans (216): appears to be a democracy in the fifth century (Thuc. 2.72.2).

Thespians (222): allied to Thebes in 506 (Hdt. 5.79.2); appears to be an oligarchy in 410 (Thuc. 6.95.2); no evidence for tyranny.

Myceneans (353): not clear if this was a dependent *polis* or not; destroyed in 460s.

Keians (491-494): this covers four *poleis*, Ioulis (491), Karthaia (492), Koresia (493), and Poiessa (494); Ioulis appears to have civic institutions in the fifth century; Karthaia and Koresia have civic institutions in the classical period; no evidence for tyranny.

Melians (505): Aristotle (fr. 564) gives a constitution; Thucydides (5.84.4-86) indicates civic institutions (officials and council).

Tenians (525): civic institutions attested in the classical period; possible change from democracy to oligarchy in 411 (Thuc. 8.64.1).

Naxians (507): Spartans drive out tyrant Lygdamis in late sixth century ([Plut.] *Mor.* 859d).

Eretrians (370): oligarchy to 'democracy' around 510 (Arist. *Pol.* 1306a35-36; *IG* XII Suppl. 599).

Styrians (377): no evidence of tyranny; absorbed into Eretria around 400.

Eleians (251): oligarchy before synoikism (Arist. *Pol.* 1306a12ff.)

Poteidaians (598): civic office attested at Thuc. 1.56.2; no evidence of tyranny.

Leukadians (126): constitutional government (Arist. *Pol.* 1266b21-24).

Anactorians (114): Thucydides (4.49) calls it a *polis* of the Corinthians; no evidence for tyranny after the overthrow of the Cypselids at Corinth; evidence for civic institutions in the classical period.

Kynthians (501): elected generals in fourth century.

Siphnians (519): Isoc. 19.13, 38 (democracy in late fifth century).

Ampraciots (113): moderate oligarchy to democracy (Arist. *Pol.* 1303a20-23); Spartans drive out tyranny in late sixth century ([Plut.] *Mor.* 859d).

Lepreans (306): Heraclides Lembos (42) mentions a constitution; later a perioikic community of Elis; no evidence of tyranny.

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UNITY *VERSUS* DIVERSITY IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD: ATTIC WEIGHT STANDARD *VERSUS* LOCAL STANDARDS

By Selene E. Psoma

Summary: This paper offers a full description of the *koinon hellenikon nomisma* of the Hellenistic period and of almost all other coinages of the same period. The *koinon hellenikon nomisma* was issued on the Attic standard, while all other coinages were struck with different standards: Milesian, Aeginetan and reduced Aeginetan, Corinthian, Corcyrean, Persian, Nesiotic, Chian, the standard of Rhodes, that of the cities of Apollonia and Dyrrachium in Illyria, and of the *kistophoroi*. The use of these different standards pointed to previous monetary backgrounds of the cities and *koina* in question. It aimed, as was the case during the Archaic and the Classical periods, mainly to create different monetary zones, thus revealing, through the local circulation of coinages struck on the same standard, a sort of regional unity. This was not the case of the many Attic weight standard coinages. Alexanders, Antigonid, Seleucid, Attalid and other royal coinages, as well as coinages of cities minted with civic types and on the Attic standard, could circulate all around the vast Hellenistic world. The choice of kings and cities to mint on this standard and hoard evidence reveal that this was in fact the *koinon hellenikon nomisma* of the period. Epigraphic evidence supports this view: Alexanders – and other Attic weight coinages – served various military needs such as the payment of *siteresia*, the repair of walls, the payment of ransom to free prisoners, travel funds for *theoroi* and ambassadors, money for public subscriptions (*epidoseis*), and funds for various religious and other obligations. These were the needs that the *koinon hellenikon nomisma* of the Platonic *Laws* (742a-e) was supposed to fulfil. Thus, the Attic standard coinages refer to unity, while all others to diversity.

In his *Laws*, written shortly before his death, Plato made the distinction between common Hellenic coinage (*koinon nomisma hellenikon*) and coined money which is legal tender among themselves (i.e. locally), but valueless elsewhere (*nomisma autois men entimon, tois de allois anthropois*

Selene E. Psoma: 'Unity *versus* Diversity in the Hellenistic Period: Attic Weight Standard *versus* Local Standards' C&M Supplementum 1 (2024) 159-197.

adokimon).[1] Plato was relying on his own experience as both an Athenian citizen and a man of his times.[2] His contemporary Xenophon, another pupil of Socrates, in his *Poroi* of ca. 355 BCE also noted:

> In most cities [foreign] merchants must seek a return cargo, since they use coinage which is not acceptable elsewhere. But at Athens, while it is possible to export a great amount of material which is needed elsewhere, if they do not wish to take on a return cargo, they can still make a good profit (*kalen emporian*) by taking away silver (*argyrion*); for wherever they sell it, they always get more than the original [investment].[3]

More than any other Greek city until that date, Athens experienced how important it was to have a coinage with a high commercial value such as its own to the point that this could claim the title of *nomisma koinon hellenikon*. What Plato and Xenophon described was numismatic reality, which became more apparent during the Hellenistic period. During this period, the *koinon nomisma hellenikon* was on the Attic standard, but was minted by many different issuing authorities. These coinages are mentioned with names deriving from their issuing authorities in epigraphic documents: *drachmai alexandreiai, stateres alexandreioi, drachmai demetrieioi/-ai* and *Antiocheiai, drachme antigonis,*[4] as well as with terms created by the Delian *hieropoioi*: *tetrachma philippeia, persika, ptolemaika* etc.[5] The New Style silver tetradrachms of Athens are mentioned as *stephanephora tetrachma* at Athens and Delos, and as *tetrachma attika* in financial documents from Delphi and Boeotia of the Late Hellenistic period·[6] During the

1 Pl. *Leg.* 742a-e.

2 Meadows 2009c.

3 Xen. *Vect.* 3.2 (trans. Melville Jones).

4 For alexanders, see Psoma 2019b. For all others, see Psoma 2019b: 184-85. For *Antiocheiai drachmai*, see Psoma 2009: 176.

5 Tréheux 1991.

6 The New Style silver tetradrachms of Athens are mentioned as *stephanephoron* (sc. *argyrion*) at Athens and Delos, as *stephanephora tetrachma* on Delos, and as *tetrachma attika* in financial documents from Delphi and Boeotia of the Late Hellenistic period. For Athens, see *IG* II^2 1013 (*I.Eleusis* 237), late second century BCE; 1028, 100/99 BCE;

same period, there were also coinages on standards known from the previous periods, and also on local standards:[7] the *stater patrios* at Samos,[8] and the *epichoriai drachmai* at Miletus,[9] Iasos,[10] Ithaca,[11] and Teos.[12] The aim of this article is to describe the *koinon nomisma hellenikon* of the Hellenistic period, a reference to unity, together with the other coinages of the same period, that refer to diversity. To do so, I will group the coinages by their weight standards, take under consideration the areas of their circulation, i.e. hoards, and their mention in epigraphic documents.[13]

1029, 94/3 BCE; 1030, *post* 94/3 BCE. For Delos see: *ID* 1415, 158/7 BCE; 1419, 156/5 BCE; 1421, 156/5 BCE; 1422, 156/5 BCE; 1428, *post* 166 BCE; 1429, 155/4 BCE; 1430, ca. 153/2 BCE; 1432, 153/2 BCE; 1433, 153/2 BCE; 1439, 146-140/39 BCE; 1442, 146/5-145/4 BCE; 1443, 145/4-142/1 BCE; 1449, *post* 166 BCE; 1450, 140/39 BCE; 1464, *post* 166 BCE; 1520, *post* 153/2 BCE. For Boeotia see: *IG* VII 2710, Acraephia, mid-second century BCE; *SEG* 3.369 a front. Ll. 28-30, Lebadea, second century BCE; *IG* VII 540, cf. *SEG* 25.501 and 31.496: 90-80 BCE, Tanagra, *Sarapieia*; *IG* VII 3078, 80-50 BCE, Lebadea, *Basileia*; Lebadea, *Basileia*: unpublished, second half of the first century BCE. In this document, we also find the *leukolleion argyrion*, which was most probably also on the Attic standard. For the *leukolleion argyrion*, see Assenmaker 2017. For the hoards from Boeotia, see Psoma 2007: 81-82 n. 24.

7 For the *argyrion hemedapon* of Attic documents, see *IG* I^3 378 b22: 406/5 BCE?

8 *IG* XII 6, 172 face A l. 8: ca. 250 BCE. For Barron (1966: 152), the *stater patrios* is the Alexander tetradrachm.

9 *IDidyma* 471 ll. 5-7, 161/0 BCE.

10 *IIasos* 78 ll. 3-4, Hellenistic.

11 *IMagnesia* 36 + p. 295 l. 20; cf. Rigsby 1996: no. 86, 214-15, third/second century BCE.

12 *SEG* 44.949 ll. 79, 91, 93, 101, 250-200 BCE. In the Ptolemaic kingdom the *epichorion argyrion* refers to coinages brought by merchants to Egypt: *PZenon* 59021 col. I l. 12, 23/10/258 BCE. In most of the cases monetary units in a city's documents that are not accompanied by an adjective deriving from their issuing authority refer either to the city's coinage or to the coinage that was considered legal tender in the city: Psoma 2009: 174, 178; 2019b: 185 n. 101.

13 For weight standards during the Archaic and the Classical periods, see Psoma 2016. For weight standards of the Hellenistic period, see Mørkholm 1991: 7-11; Ashton 2011: 193-196, 200; Reger 2018; Meadows 2021a.

What do we mean with the term weight standard?[14]

The system of weights with which a coinage is minted is called the weight standard. The weight of the largest normal denomination is used as the basis for calculation and the way this is divided determines the weight standard. The reasons an issuing authority (city, king, federal state, tribe, military alliance) chose a standard are mainly to facilitate transactions by reducing exchange costs and to serve military obligations. The choice of a weight standard as a result of political control, of a change of the gold/silver ratio or because – in the case of colonies – it was one of the mother city's *nomima* is also possible.[15] This last explanation cannot be adopted for the Hellenistic period. Although colonies continued to be founded, this was on the initiative not of cities but of Hellenistic kings.[16]

The Milesian standard, stater of 14.4 g[17]

This was the oldest monetary standard and an old one in the Chalcidic peninsula,[18] and was adopted by Philip II of Macedonia.[19] After Alexander's death a posthumous silver coinage in the name and types of Philip II was issued between 323 and 294/290 BCE. This currency served mainly local needs within the frontiers of the Macedonian kingdom and traveled

14 Kraay 1976: 8: 'When coins are struck in metals which are intrinsically valuable, the value of each coin will be strictly related to the amount of metal it contains, and the more valuable the metal the more carefully will its weight be regulated'.

15 Psoma 2016: 106-7. For the change of the gold/silver ratio and the change of monetary standard see Ellis-Evans & Kagan 2022.

16 See Cohen 1995; 2006.

17 Mentioned as Ptolemaic in Mørkholm 1991: 9.

18 For the so-called Milesian standard, see Psoma 2016, 91-93 with previous bibliography. For the coinage of the Chalcidian League, see Psoma 2001. For the coinage of Amphipolis, see Lorber 1990 with the remarks of Wartenberg 1991 and Psoma 2001: 179-87. For the Milesian standard of both coinages see, Psoma 2015a: 171-72; 2016: 91-92.

19 For Philip II, see Le Rider 1977; 1996.

also to inland Thrace and Mainland Greece,[20] and ran parallel to rich series of Alexanders issued in two or three Macedonian mints.[21] The Milesian standard was adopted again during the last quarter of the third century BCE for two of the three denominations of the silver coinage of the *Botteatai* (3.60 and 1.80 g), that circulated locally.[22]

Ptolemy, later Ptolemy I, gradually reduced the weight of the silver tetradrachm on the Attic standard and changed also its basic types and legend. From ca. 295 BCE, he began issuing gold and silver coins on the Milesian standard with his own types and name.[23] With the adoption of this standard, Ptolemy I managed to turn the territories of his kingdom into a closed monetary zone, as hoards and numismatic circulation reveal. Alexanders and other currencies are absent from Egyptian hoards from the late fourth century BCE, but continued to arrive in Alexandria as is revealed by the letter of Demetrius to Apollonius.[24] What they served, we learn from the above-mentioned letter and maybe also the hoard of Meydancikkale among others.[25]

The cities of Byzantium and Calchedon turned to this standard between 260 and 220 BCE, when they decided to have their own monetary policy, i.e. impose the use of their currency on this standard in all transactions taking place within their territories and countermark all Attic

20 Le Rider 1993: 495-96.

21 For the Macedonian mints, see Price 1991: 85-150; Le Rider 1993: 494-500; Troxell 1997: 20-128; Gatzolis 2019. For hoards with Alexanders, see Tselekas 2019.

22 Kremydi 2018a: 233-35 (reduced local standard).

23 For Ptolemy's coinage as satrap of Egypt as well as of the reform of his coinage after ca. 305 BCE, see Le Rider & Callataÿ 2006: 36, 131-38. For the standard of the kings of Cyprus that issued their coinages between the death of Alexander III and 309 BCE, see Markou 2019: 162-163. For Alexanders minted in Egypt, Cyprus and Cyrene, see Markou 2019.

24 *PZenon* 59021 with the remarks of Caddel & Le Rider 1997: 32-33 and Burkhalter 2007: 39-44. In this documents Alexanders together with other coinages are mentioned as *epichoria nomismata* referring to currencies brought to Egypt by merchants and others. Cf. Bresson 2015. In the frontiers of the kingdom, one Alexander/Attic tetradrachm of 17.2 g was exchanged for one silver Ptolemaic stater of 14.3 g: Le Rider & Callataÿ 2006: 135.

25 For this hoard, see Davesne & Le Rider 1989.

silver coins entering their markets and territories.[26] Both cities also issued Lysimachi during this period,[27] and Alexanders.[28] One recalls that these two Megarian colonies and immediate neighbors followed similar numismatic habits from the early fourth century BCE.[29] The use of the Milesian standard (*Milesiai drachmai*) to calculate the weight of donations, mainly silver vessels, is to be found in the inventories of Miletus and in a decree of Myous honoring a citizen of Miletus.[30]

The Aeginetan standard, stater of 12.3 g

The most popular standard in Mainland Greece from the Archaic period onwards stopped being used by Aegina already in the fourth century BCE,[31] but survived in a number of cities, mainly in the Peloponnese, Boeotia and Thessaly. This was the standard of the anonymous obols of Sparta,[32] and of the silver coins of the Boeotian League,[33] Phlius, Sicyon,

26 Ashton 2011: 195-96.

27 Marinescu 1996; 2000; 2004; 2014. See also Reger 2018: 119.

28 Wartenberg & Kagan 1999 for Price 1991: nos. 890-900, 927 (gold staters), and 901-946 (silver).

29 Schönert-Geiss 1970; Meadows 2011. Cf. Russell 2017: 126.

30 *IDidyma* 441 ll. 7-8, third-second century BC; 444 ll. 6-7 and 11-12, third century BCE; 446 l. 12, 225/4 BCE; 448 ll. 3, 7-8, third-second BC; 449 l. 10, third-second century BC; 451 ll. 3-4, 7-8, third century BCE; 452 l. 8-9, third-second century BC; 456 l. 3-4, third-second century BC; 457 ll. 14-15, third-second century BC; 463 l. 18-20, 178/7 BCE; 477 l. 6-7, 51-31 BCE; Hermann 1965: 90-96 no. 2a ll. 5-6, third-second century BCE: Myous (100 Milesian drachms each). For the *Milesiai drachmai*, see now Sosin 2001: 161-64, who shows that they refer to the Milesian standard.

31 Ashton 2011: 193.

32 Grunauer von Hoerschelmann 1978: 4-6; Ashton 2011: 191.

33 *BCD* Boeotia 2006: 14-36 nos. 1-147.

Argos, Epidauros, Kleitor, Mantinea, the Arcadian League, Larissa, Opuntian Locris,[34] and the second- and first-century BCE staters of the Thessalian League.[35] These coinages came to an end during the 3rd c. BCE,[36] while Elis continued to mint on a reduced version of this standard, which points to local circulation, down to the late 3rd c. BCE.[37] A local version of the Aeginetan standard was also the one adopted already during the Classical period by the cities of Crete, that kept on using it for their silver output down to the early first century BCE.[38] When they turned to the Attic standard, their tetradrachms are mentioned as *stateres Attikoi* in Cretan documents, which reveals the impact of terminology related to the Aeginetan standard.[39]

The reduced Aeginetan standard (*symmachikon* B), stater ca. 11 g

A reduced Aeginetan standard results from the previous one and was adopted by most of the federal states of Mainland Greece, the Aetolians,[40] the Achaeans,[41] the Boeotians – the *Boiotion argyrion* of the *apologia* of the

34 For these cities, see *BCD* 2006 Peloponnesos: 50-52 nos. 132-43 (Phlius), 82-86 nos. 283-303 (Sicyon), 265-71 nos. 1074-1116 and 275-81 nos. 1140-46, 1160-82 (Argos), 292-96 nos. 1222-44 (Epidauros), 341-42 nos. 1429-34 (Cleitor), 352-54 nos. 1479-83 (Mantinea), 363-67 nos. 1519-41 (Arcadian League, late 4th and Hellenistic period); Thessaly 2012 (Larissa) 163 nos. 385.1-6; 2010 (Locris) 15-42 nos. 1-7, 11-77, 88-110. For the Locrians, see Morineau, Humphris & Delbridge 2014.

35 Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004; Kremydi 2021.

36 Kremydi 2019: 59 with n. 111.

37 *BCD* Olympia 2004: 74-79 nos. 225-66.

38 For Crete, see Stefanaki 2007-2008.

39 *IC* viii 13, Knossos, second century BCE. Cf. Chaniotis 1996: no. 50: *post* 145 BCE.

40 Tsangari 2007; 2011; Damigos 2016.

41 Lakakis 2017; 2018. For a description and the different groups of the coinage of the Achaean League from the middle of the fourth to the first century BCE, see Walker pp. 106-10 in *BCD* 2006 (Peloponnese). Its bulk begins in the early second century BCE: see ibid. 107 and Kremydi 2019: 59.

hipparch Pompidas from Thebes[42] – the Euboeans,[43] the Macedonians under Philip V (series A and B),[44] and Histiaea (series B).[45] A number of mints (Haliartos in Boeotia, Larymna [?], Chalcis, Eretria, another Euboean city, Larissa in Thessaly, an uncertain mint in Macedonia and Samothrace) producing the so-called pseudo-Rhodian tetrobols/triobols with Medusa's head/rose, that I proposed to identify with the *symmachikon* of epigraphic documents of the second century BCE, also chose this standard.[46] The term *symmachikon* might refer either to the *Hellenike symmachia* or – and this is more plausible – to allies of the different parts (Romans and their opponents) during the Macedonian and the Antiochic Wars.

The Corinthian standard, stater of 8.6 g

The standard of Corinth and some of her colonies survived at Corinth and a number of mints from Western Greece during the early Hellenistic period. Corcyra and Leucas continued to strike silver staters with Corinthian types and weight down to the early third century BCE,[47] while Corcyra continued also later, this time with drachms, as did Corinth down to 146 BCE.[48] These coins circulated together with Histiaean tetrobols in

42 *IG* VII 2426 l. 2, 170-150 BCE. For the coinage, see Grandjean 1995; *BCD* Boeotia 2006: 31-36 nos. 110-147.

43 *BCD* Euboia 2002: 9-12 nos. 17-33.

44 Kremydi 2018a: 236-37, 242. Its predecessor might be the early third century BCE Athenian silver coinage: Kroll 2013.

45 Kremydi 2018a: 237-41; 2018b: 243-45; 2021. V. Psilakakou is finishing her PhD thesis on the history and silver coinage of Histiaea.

46 For these coinages, see mainly Ashton 1987a, b; 1988a-c; 1989; 1992; 1995; 1997; 1998; 2000; 2001; 2002; 2004; 2012; Ashton & Warren 1997; Ashton & Reger 2006; Ashton & Meadows 2008. For the proposed identification with the *symmachikon argyrion*, the epigraphic evidence from Mainland Greece and previous bibliography, see Psoma 2019a: 112-16.

47 For Corcyra, see Psoma 2022a: 110-11. For Leucas see, Bonelou (*per litteras*).

48 Brice 2011.

Epirus, Thesprotia, Chaonia and Illyria.[49] Together with epigraphic evidence from Acarnania, Corcyra and Epidamnus, this presence in hoards shows that this currency monopolized monetary circulation in these areas.[50]

The Corcyrean standard, stater of 11.6 g

The Corcyrean stater was the equivalent of four (4) Corinthian drachmas (2.9×4), or an Aeginetan weight stater of reduced weight (12.3 g; full weight). During the Hellenistic period, apart from Corcyra and the Acarnanian League, this was also the standard of the Epirotic League,[51] and had an impact on the monetary production of Apollonia and Dyrrachium. Dyrrachium adopted Corcyra's standard and types ca. 313 BCE, when Corcyra provided military help to the city that opposed Cassander.[52] King Monounios of Illyria and Apollonia followed.[53] Coinages issued with this standard all circulated locally, i.e. in Chaonia, Illyria and Corcyra.[54]

49 Gjongecaz-Vangjeli 2014: 161-69 no. 15, pls. 61-65, 70-177 no. 16, pls. 66-68; Psoma 2019a: 132-36. See also *IGCH* 247 and *CH* VIII 431.

50 For the epigraphic evidence, see *IG* IX 1² 3 l. 39 (*stater Korinthios*): treaty between Aetolians and Acarnanians (271/0 (?) BCE); *IG* IX 1² 4, 798 ll. 4-5, 7, 19, 41-42, 69, 101-2, 112 (*mnas argyriou Korinthiou*): foundation of Aristomenes and Psylla, Corcyra (late third-early second century BCE); *IG* IX 1² 4, 1196 ll. 32-33 (*drachmas Korinthiou argyriou*): decree of Corcyra recognizing the *asylia* of the sanctuary of Artemis *Leucophryene* (ca. 208 BCE); *IMagnesia* 46 + p. 295 l. 41-42 (*hemimnaion argyriou Korinthiou*): decree of Epidamnos for the *asylia* of the sanctuary of Artemis *Leucophryene* (ca. 208 BCE). See also *IG* IV² 1 97 ll. 17-19 (*stateras Korinthious*) (3rd ca. BCE) and *IG* IV² 1 118 + *SEG* 15.208 face B l. 38 (third century BCE) from Epidaurus.

51 For Corcyra, see Psoma 2015b. For the Acarnanians, see Dany 1999. For the Epirotans, see Franke 1961.

52 Psoma 2022a: 107-10, 261-63 with previous bibliography and discussion. *Contra* Meta 2015: 158. Meta proposes much earlier dates for this series of the coinage of Dyrrachium.

53 See previous note.

54 Tsangari 2011; Gjongecaz-Vangjeli 2014.

The Persian standard, *symmachikon* A

With a stater (double *siglos*) at 11 g, a drachm (*siglos*) at ca. 5.5 g, and hemidrachms of ca. 2.7 g this was the standard of the Great King, his satraps and administrators, as well as a number of cities. Under Alexander III, Balakros and satraps of Persian origin, such as Ariarathes and Stamenes, continued to strike silver coins on this standard.[55] Queen Amastris, the niece of Darius III, also adopted it for her own silver coinage and the coinage of Amastria.[56] During the Hellenistic period, this became the standard of cities of Asia Minor every time they felt the need to have their own silver currency and monetary policy.[57] During the last decades of the fourth century BCE, Byzantium, Calchedon, Kios, Perinthos, the Thracian Chersonese, and Parion issued coins of this standard. It was also the case of Ephesos between 320-300 BCE, and of Ephesos-Arsinoe ca. 290 BCE, followed by Alexandria Troas, Abydos, Mytilene, Methymna and Scepsis, ca. 300 BCE, Chios and Cyme in the 280s, (5.6 g equal to an Attic octobol), Miletus ca. 260 and in the late second century BCE, Magnesia ca. 210-200 BCE, and Iasos, Cnidus, Calymnus and Cos, 250-200 BCE.[58] Phaselis, Aspendos and Selge also coined on this standard during the first half of the third century BCE.[59] In a previously published paper, I proposed to identify the *symmachikon* coins of epigraphic documents of the late fourth century BCE from Delos, Miletus and Colophon with the silver output of mints of Asia Minor of this period.[60] The alliance to which the term refers might be the *symmachia* mentioned by Antigonus the One-Eyed and the

55 Le Rider 2003: 206-08 (Balakros), 273-79 (Stamenes); Hoover 2012: 296-97 nos. 790-91 (Ariarathes).

56 Wartenberg 2021 with previous bibliography.

57 Kinns 2006a; Ashton 2011: 195; Meadows 2021a: 37.

58 Meadows 2021a: 37-38: ca. 300 BCE: Alexandria Troas, Abydos, Mytilene and Methymna; 320-300 BCE: Ephesos; 290 BCE: Arsinoe (Ephesos); mid-third century BCE: Cyme, Magnesia on the Maeander, Miletus, Iasos and Cnidus.

59 Ashton 2011: 195; Meadows 2021a: 33.

60 Psoma 2019a: 107-12. For the epigraphic documents see: Maier 1960: no. 69 II ll. 151-54 (Colophon, 311-306 BCE); *IDidyma* 434-37 (Miletus, fourth century BCE); *IG* XI 2, 146 (Delos, 301 BCE).

Greek cities of Asia Minor after the declaration by him of the freedom of the Greeks.[61]

The Nesiotic standard

This standard is mentioned in Anonymus Alexandrinus *De talento et denario* and was recently identified with the weight standard of the Cycladic islands during the Hellenistic period.[62] From the second half of the fourth century BCE, the weight of the drachma passed from 3.9 to 3.4 g at Paros and Naxos, while Tenos and Andros reduced the weight of their drachms to 3.6 g after 250 BCE. Naxos – the *kraterophoroi drachmai* of the Delian inventories – and Paros began to strike silver coins of 3.4 g ca. 200 BCE, that circulated locally. This was also the weight of the drachma at Euboea and Rhodes.[63]

The Chian standard

With a stater of 15.3 g and fractions, the standard of Chios was compatible with the Persian standard, served the new gold/silver ratio of the late fifth century BCE, and became popular after being used for payments in a military context during the last years of the Decelean War and mainly during the campaigns of Agesilaus.[64] It survived at Cos down to the mid-third century BCE.[65] It is very plausible that from this standard derived the standard of the coinage of Rhodes.[66]

61 For literary and epigraphic evidence, see Psoma 2019a: 111-12.

62 Tully 2013.

63 Stefanaki 2010: 413-46.

64 For the Chian standard during the fourth century BCE, see Meadows 2011. For the new gold/silver ratio, see Kagan & Ellis-Evans (forthcoming). For the ΣΥΝ coinage, see Fabiani 1997; Müseler 2018: 60-65; and Psoma 2022.

65 Ashton 2011: 194.

66 See previous note.

The standard of Rhodes

From 340 BCE, the coinage of Rhodes followed a local standard – a reduced version of the Chian – with 6.8 g for a didrachm (?). These were continuously issued also after the decision to mint silver coins of 2.8 g, the weight of the Attic tetrobol, ca. 225 BCE. Rhodian drachms went up to 3.05 g in the early second century BCE and are mentioned as *plinthophoroi* in the Delian inventories.[67] The aim of this change was to create a closed monetary zone in the aftermath of the Antiochic War. Rhodian currency is mentioned in documents from Caria during this period, and this reveals that, in this area, Rhodian coins played the role of a regional currency.[68] We need also to mention the *rhodion lepton argyrion* (13) in epigraphic documents (land leases) at Mylasa.[69] In this case, Rhodian imitations minted in a number of cities of Southwestern Asia Minor are meant.[70] The decision to strike imitations was most probably a reaction to the new Rhodian monetary policy of the *plinthophoroi*. The Lycian League, a federal organization, which fought against Rhodian dominion and was finally freed in 167 BCE, also adopted a *plinthos* for her silver coins.[71]

67 For these coins, see Apostolou 2016 with previous bibliography. For *plinthophoroi* in the Delian inventories, see Robert 1951: 166-76.

68 Reger 2018: 125. There is epigraphic evidence for Rhodian drachms: *Rhodiai drachmai* at Mylasa (3): *IMylasa* 307 ll. [7-8] (no date: a list of penalties); Telmessos: Segre 1938: 190-208 ll. 11 and 14 (181 BCE, letter of King Eumenes II to Artemidoros, the Attalid governor of the city). See also Ashton 1994. Old Rhodian drachmas in a decree of the *demos* of Miletus accepting the *isopoliteia* offered by Heraclea, and mentioning transport costs for recovered runaway slaves: *Milet* I 3, 150 ll. 97-98 (180-161 BCE: δραχμὰς Ῥοδίας παλαιὰς δεκαδύο). For an earlier example of *argyrion Rhodion* at Cnidus in the decree of *demos* honoring Cnidus for a loan (282 BCE), see *Milet* I 3, 138 III ll. 68, 87.

69 *IMylasa* 203 l. 9-10 (second-first century BCE: restored); *IMylasa* 205 l. [18] (second-first century BCE: restored); *IMylasa* 207 ll. 12 and 18 (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 212 ll. 4-5, 10 and 14 (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 202 l. [1] (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 210 l. [12] (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 224 l. [4] (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 816 face B l. 6 (second century BCE); *IMylasa* 822 l. 10-11 (second century BCE); *IMylasa* 828 l. 4 (second century BCE).

70 Ashton & Reger 2006. Cf. Reger 2018: 125 n. 33 for their dates.

71 Troxell 1982; Ashton 2005.

The standard of Dyrrachium and Apollonia

Some decades after the end of their series on the Corinthian standard and Corcyrean types, Dyrrachium and Apollonia struck abundant series of drachms with the same types and the weight of the *victoriatus* or of a slightly reduced Milesian weight drachma (3.4 g) down to the mid-first century BCE.[72] These circulated widely in Thrace and seem to have served the needs of the Roman army.[73] Both cities, together with Corcyra, were among the earliest allies of the Romans east of the Adriatic Sea.

The *kistophoroi* (*stateres*)

With a weight of 12.2 g the *kistophoroi stateres* were issued by a number of cities of the Attalid kingdom after 167 BCE, with types referring to Pergamene cults.[74] This was neither royal nor civic, but rather a coordinated coinage.[75] The inauguration of this coinage is considered a royal initiative with the aim, not to create a closed monetary zone, but to finance Attalid policy after the Galatian war (168-165 BCE).[76] This standard became popular after the creation of the province of Asia.[77]

72 Meta 2015.

73 See previous note.

74 For *kistophoroi* (*scil. stateres*) in epigraphic documents from Asia Minor, see Psoma 2009, 172-76; 2013.

75 Kaye 2022: 131.

76 Meadows 2013: 198-202; Kaye 2022: 187: "The Attalids looked for a way to reconstitute and reinforce imperial space". For cistophoric countermarks (bow-in-case and mint initials) applied to Attic-weight Alexanders and tetradrachms of Side, as well as Alexanders of Perge, Aspendos and Phaselis, see Bresson 2018; Thonemann 2021.

77 See Ashton 2013: 251-55: Byzantium, Alabanda, Stratonikaia, Euromos, Cibyra, Alinda, late second century BCE. For Magnesia on the Maeander, ca. 88-85 BCE, see Kinns 2006b.

The Attic standard

Alexanders

It was in Cilicia, where huge numbers of Athenian tetradrachms arrived during the fourth century BCE[78] and in the aftermath of the battle of Issos, that Alexander III began to strike his gold and silver coinage on the Attic standard (333/2 BCE).[79] The Attic standard for the gold coinage was a common point with his father's monetary policy.[80] What was an innovation was the adoption of the Attic standard for his silver coinage with young Heracles' head on the obverse and Zeus on throne on the reverse.[81] Alexanders were minted in approximately 130 mints in Macedonia, Mainland Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, the East and Egypt.[82] The earliest production comes from Cilicia, Phoenicia and Macedonia,[83] while considerable numbers began to be minted towards the end of Alexander's reign. Alexanders are mainly a posthumous coinage, that consists of tetradrachms and drachms in the fourth century and mainly tetradrachms from the beginning of the third. It was issued by different issuing authorities, kings, federal states and Greek cities: royal, independent and dependent.[84] Alexanders have different stories to tell in different parts of the Hellenistic world. They were state currency in Macedonia down to the late 290s and under Antigonus Gonatas, and also in Seleucid Syria under Seleucus I,[85] and Seleucid Asia Minor during the third century BCE,[86] as well as Egypt down to 312 BCE. Pro-Macedonian cities of the Peloponnese minted this currency down to ca. 250 BCE and

78 Psoma 2015c.

79 For the date of the beginning of this coinage, see Gatzolis 2019 based on Troxell 1997: 87-89; Le Rider 2003: 9-28. Cf. Price 1991: 27-28. For the debate, see Le Rider 2003: 20-26 with previous bibliography.

80 For gold alexanders, see Callataÿ 2019. The gold coins disappeared after a generation, were concentrated in the Balkans and the Old Kingdom and seem to have no impact on economic growth.

81 For the beginning of Alexander's silver coinage on the Attic standard, see Le Rider 2003: 9-28 with previous bibliography. For Philip II, see Le Rider 1977; 1996.

82 See the list of mints in Price 1991: 5-6.

83 For Phoenicia, see Duyrat 2019. For Macedonia, see Gatzolis 2019.

84 Price 1991; various contributions in Kremydi & Marcellesi 2019.

85 Hoover 2019.

86 Meadows 2021a.

later during the Cleomenic and the Social Wars (Megalopolis, Corinth, Sicyon and Argos). Alexanders were also minted by the Aetolians with the jawbone as mintmark.[87] They stopped being minted in Ptolemaic Egypt and Ptolemaic territories before the late fourth century BCE, were replaced by Lysimachi in the cities of Asia Minor between 297 and 281 BCE, continued to be minted by Susa until 222 BCE, by Laodicea by the Sea until the 240s, by Arados between the 240s and 168/7 BCE, by cities of Asia Minor down to the mid-second century BCE, and by Odessos and Mesambria until almost the mid-first century BCE.[88]

Alexanders predominated in hoards down to 223 BCE, and remained important afterwards: 261 hoards of Alexanders were buried from the late fourth century BCE to the first century BCE.[89] From the late fourth century BCE to the Early Imperial period Alexanders are mentioned more than 300 times in epigraphic documents from Mainland Greece, the Aegean Islands, Crete and Asia Minor.[90] They served to pay for *siteresia*, repairs of walls and ransoms to free prisoners.[91] But, they were also given to *theoroi* and ambassadors for *poreion*/*xenion,* and are also mentioned in international treaties.[92] These are the "missions necessary for the state" of Plato (*Leg.* 742a-e), and for these, the states needed the *koinon hellenikon*

87 Kremydi 2019: 47 with bibliography.

88 Mesambria: Price 1991: 1039-82, 175-125 BCE; 1083-1131: 125-65 BCE. Odessos: Price 1991: 1177-1210, 125-70 BCE. See also Paunov 2021: 149-53.

89 Tselekas 2019. Of these, 26 were buried in Macedonia, 23 in Thessaly, 13 in Central Greece and the Cycladic islands, 23 in the Peloponnese, 43 in Thrace, 51 in Asia Minor, 7 in Cyprus, 29 in the Levant, 21 in the East, 12 in Egypt and 13 are of unknown provenance either in the Levant or Asia Minor. For the circulation patterns of Alexanders, see Stefanaki 2019.

90 Psoma 2019b: Athens, the Argolid and the Megarid, Boeotia, Delphi, Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace, the Aegean islands and Crete, Corcyra, cities of Ionia, Mysia and Caria, and the Kaikos valley in Lydia. They are absent from Thessaly, Western Greece and inland Thrace. This might be related to the fact that these did not enter the civic life, either because this was linked to another standard, e.g. to the Corinthian in Western Greece, or because there were no cities with institutions, and so-well organized cults (inland Thrace). Another reason might be related to the absence of a certain group of inscriptions, i.e. inventories of a significant sanctuary, as in Thessaly, where it occurs once.

91 Psoma 2019b: 179-80.

92 Psoma 2019b: 178-79.

nomisma. Inscriptions reveal other uses for this exceptional coinage: in inventories as dedications, in public subscriptions (*epidoseis*), to calculate the weight of silver vessels and gold crowns, prices of houses, land, statues, *stelai*, victims, *aparche,* priesthoods and other religious obligations, fines, manumissions, donations, 'foundations' and loans.[93] Ambitious building programs, such as the reconstruction of Rhodes, as well as trade networks need also to be kept in mind.

The Attic standard was also adopted by most of the Hellenistic dynasties.[94] King Areus and Sparta adopted it for their sporadic silver issues, while the Aetolian and Acarnanian Leagues chose also this standard for some exceptional issues. From the second century BCE, this was also the standard of civic coinages in Phoenicia, Asia Minor, Mainland Greece and the Aegean Islands.[95] The gold staters with the types and name of T. C. Flamininus (T. QVINCTI) were also on this standard,[96] as well as the fractions of the Thessalian league.[97] From 164/3 BCE dates also the inauguration of the so-called New Style Athenian coinage,[98] and of later date are the coinages of Thasos and Maroneia in Thrace, as well as of the Ainianes and the Magnetes.[99] On this standard were also issued the coinages in the name of the Macedonian *merides*, of Aesillas, the LEG(ATIO) ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ and finally the coinage of Lucius Licinius Lucullus in the historical context of the First Mithridatic War.[100]

We have thus the following list of issuing authorities using the Attic standard:

93 Psoma 2019b: 173-83.

94 Mørkholm 1991: 83-84, 128-32, 173-77, 179-80, 181-83. For the Ptolemies before the late fourth century BCE, see Le Rider & Callataÿ 2006: 36, 131-38.

95 For a survey of these coinages, see Le Rider 2001; Psoma 2013; Delrieux 2019; Kaye 2022: 142-46.

96 Mørkholm 1991: 136-37.

97 Klose 1998; Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004.

98 For a corpus of this coinage, see Thompson 1961. For its dates, see Lewis 1962.

99 For the Ainianes, see Callataÿ 2004. For the Magnetes, see *BCD* Thessaly 2012: 179-81 nos. 407, 408, 410, 412, 414.1-3.

100 For Aesillas, see Callataÿ 2020 with previous bibliography. For the tetradrachms *Leg(atio)* ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, see Burnett 1985 with previous bibliography. For the coinage of Lucullus, see Assenmaker 2017.

Macedonia and Mainland Greece

The Antigonids[101]

Areus, Cleomenes III and Nabis of Sparta[102]

Pyrrhus of Epirus[103]

The Aetolian and Acarnanian leagues for some exceptional issues (the Aetolians: gold staters and drachms, silver tetradrachms; the Acarnanians: gold staters, drachms and hemidrachms, and silver tetradrachms)[104]

The Thessalian league for its fractions[105]

The Boeotian League, ca. 287 BCE[106]

Messene, 183/2 BCE[107]

The Macedonian *merides*[108]

Aesillas[109]

Leg(atio) Μακεδόνων[110]

Lucius Licinius Lucullus[111]

The Ainianes and the Magnetes[112]

Eretria, Chalcis and Leucas in Mainland Greece, Thasos and Maroneia in Thrace[113]

101 For the Antigonids, see Burrer 2009; Panagopoulou 2017; 2020; and Gatzolis 2019.

102 Grunauer von Hoerschelmann 1978: 1-4 (Areus), 7-16 (Cleomenes III), 26-30 (Nabis). See also Ashton 2011: 191.

103 Fischer-Bossert 2011: 152; Rutter 2011: 138.

104 For the Aetolians, see Tsangari 2007; 2011; Damigos 2016. For the Acarnanians, see Dany 1999. Cf. Kremydi 2019: 47.

105 See *supra* n. 97.

106 *BCD* Boeotia 2006: 25 no. 81.

107 Grandjean 2003: 130. Cf. ibid. 123-30 (Alexanders of Messene).

108 Kremydi 2007; 2009; 2021: 86-88; Prokopov 2012.

109 See *supra* n. 100.

110 See *supra* n. 100.

111 See *supra* n. 100.

112 See *supra* n. 99.

113 For Eretria and Chalcis, see Mørkholm 1991: 171. For Leucas, see Callataÿ 2015a. For Maroneia and Thasos, see Psoma in Psoma, Karadima & Terzopoulou 2008: 177-82 (Maroneia and Thasos); Picard 2008 (Thasos). For the late second and the first century BCE, see Psoma 2011: 147-49. For the coinages of Maroneia and Thasos, see *infra* n. 151.

Athens with the so-called New Style coinage present in 132 hoards.[114]

In Asia Minor and the East

Queen Amastris for her gold coinage[115]
Lysimachus[116]
The Seleucids[117]
The Attalids down to 167 BCE[118]
The kings of Bithynia, Cappadocia and the Pontus[119]

114 See *supra* n. 98. For the hoards, see Kremydi & Psoma forthcoming.
115 Wartenberg 2021.
116 For Lysimachus, see Thompson 1968; Marinescu 1996; 2000; 2004; 2014; Petac 2010; 2011; and Petac & Vilcu 2012.
117 For the Seleucids, see Houghton & Lorber 2002; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008.
118 Meadows 2013: 154-70, 173-75.
119 See *supra* n. 94.

Cities with their own types: Cyzicus,[120] Mytilene,[121] Alexandria Troas, Aigai,[122] Cyme,[123] Myrina,[124] Tenedos,[125] Magnesia on the Maeander,[126] Heraclea on Mount Latmos,[127] Smyrna,[128] Lebedos,[129] Miletus,[130] Clazomenai,[131] Colophon,[132] Ephesos (drachms), Alabanda[133] (*ante* 150-145 BCE), Cos,[134] Cnidus,[135] Myndos, Antiochea in Caria,[136] Side,[137] Arados (drachms)[138] and Rhodes (first century BCE).[139]

The Dionysiac Artists of Teos[140]

120 Before 160 BCE: Le Rider 2001: 42. Cf. von Fritze 1914: gr. VI: 180-145 BCE.

121 Mattingly 1993: 69-86.

122 Amandry 1989.

123 Oakley 1982: 1-37, pl. 1 to 14; van Bremen 2008.

124 Sacks 1985: 1-43, pl. 1-22.

125 Callataÿ 1998.

126 Jones 1979: 63-107, pl. 20 to 26; Kinns 1989: 137-48, pl. 39-40.

127 Lavva 1993: 391-414; Kinns 1998: 175-95.

128 Milne 1914: 273-98; 1927: 1-107.

129 Amandry 1989; Meadows & Houghton 2010: 147.

130 Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 105-9, 185-86: 175-160 BCE; Le Rider 2001: 42: ca. 160 BCE. For Miletus, see also Kinns 1998: 175-95; Marcellesi 2004; and Kinns 2021.

131 The initials Κλαζο(μενίων) of the ethnic under the exergual line on the second known specimen bearing the legend Διὸς Σωτῆρος Ἐπιφανοῦς from the Tartous, Syria, 1987 hoard (*CH* VIII 471) buried ca. 120 BCE, identified the issuing authority of that enigmatic tetradrachm whose attribution to Smyrna seemed secure. For the date of this coinage, see Meadows 2009b: 253-54: between 170-151 BCE (Clazomenae) and 162-151 (Temnos).

132 Le Rider 2001: 43.

133 Meadows & Houghton 2010: 203: 150-145 BCE. For Alabanda, see also Callataÿ 2013 based on Meadows 2008.

134 Ingvaldsen 2001: 86-94. Cf. Ashton 1998: 223-28.

135 Le Rider 2001: 42: ca. 160 BCE.

136 Le Rider 2001: 43.

137 Meadows 2009a.

138 Duyrat 2005.

139 Ashton 2011: 194.

140 Lorber & Hoover 2003; Psoma 2007 with previous bibliography.

Coinages in the names of gods:[141] Athena Nikephoros,[142] Athena Ilias,[143] Artemis of Perge,[144] the Megaloi Theoi of Syros or Syria[145]
The kings of Bactria[146]

Different zones of circulation for each one of these coinages on the Attic standard can be traced with the help of hoards and were explained on the basis of the historical background of the relevant periods. What needs to be retained is their presence in large numbers in hoards and the extremely large number of hoards that include Attic weight currency. Both reveal that this was the currency *par excellence* during the Hellenistic period and that this circulated almost everywhere.

From all the evidence cited above, two main groups of coinages emerge:

(a) Coinages that were minted with the aim of circulating within the frontiers of their issuing authority.
(b) Coinages that circulated outside the frontiers of their issuing authorities.

Ad (a)
To the first group belong coinages that were inaugurated with the aim of creating a closed monetary zone, among which those of the Ptolemies, of the cities of Elis, Rhodes, Byzantium and Calchedon (260-220 BCE), of the

141 For these coinages, see Psoma 2008a, cf. Nollé 2014.

142 For the tetradrachms of Athena Nikephoros, the *terminus ante quem* of 160 is provided by the presence of two specimens in the Sitichoro, Thessaly hoard (*IGCH* 237) of ca. 165 BCE (Price 1989: 239-40) and of one specimen in the Maaret-en-Nouman hoard (*CH* IX [2002] 511; Mattingly [1993]: 83). A date in 181 BCE was proposed by O. Mørkholm (1984: 187-92) while M.J. Price (1989: 239) connected this coinage with the war of the 160s against the Galatians.

143 For the beginning of the series in the name of Athena Ilias, see Mattingly 1990: 71 n. 15; Meadows 1998: 44 n. 27. See also Knoepfler 2010; Ellis Evans 2016: 127-30. Cf. Pillot 2020.

144 For this coinage, see Psoma 2008a: 235; Meadows 2021a: 36-37.

145 For an attribution to Syros, see Nicolet-Pierre & Amandry 1992: 295-306. See also the doubts of Meadows & Houghton 2010: 183 (after 143 BCE). Cf. Psoma 2013: 268 n. 18.

146 Glenn 2020.

Thessalian League in the second century BCE, and the coinages on the Persian standard issued by a number of cities of Asia Minor during the third century BCE.[147] In this way, different circulation zones were created. Among these, Egypt was the most successful and lasted from the late fourth century to the late first century BCE. Although the cistophoric coinage introduced by Eumenes II was not conceived with the aim to create a closed monetary system, it did not travel to Syria.[148]

Ad (b)
The second group can be divided in two sub-groups.

1. To the first sub-group belong the coinages of some cities that circulated and were part of hoards buried outside the frontiers of their issuing authority: the Persian weight half *sigloi* of Parion and the Thracian Chersonese (2.5 g), the pseudo-Rhodian silver coins, the triobols of Histiaea on the reduced Aeginetan standard and the silver drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrachium on a local standard deriving maybe from the *victoriatus*.[149] The silver hemidrachms of Parion and what we call the Thracian Chersonese all moved to inland Thrace and were part of a very significant number of hoards – more than 41 – buried in this area.[150] The coinages of Dyrrachium and Apollonia began to be minted in the late third century BCE and their distribution in the Balkans and inland Thrace were explained

147 Meadows 2021a: 34. See also *supra* nn. 57-59.

148 Meadows 2013: 194-204.

149 For Apollonia, see Gjongecaj & Picard 2007. For Dyrrachium (Epidamnus), see Meta 2015.

150 Psoma 2011. For Parion, see *IGCH* 474, 742, 752, 754, 755, 758, 759, 760, 762, 764, *CH* 9.21. For the Thracian Chersonese, see *IGCH* 392, 393, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 743, 744, 745, 746, 748, 749, 750, 751, 753, 757, 761, *CH* 8.110, 109, 136, 170, 171. Sometime these hemidrachms were hoarded together with coins of Philip II and Alexander III. See Psoma 2011: 145-46. One wonders if these moved to Thrace together with troops sent by Antigonus to provide help to Greek cities on the western coast of the Black Sea against Lysimachus in 313/2 BCE: Diod. Sic. 19.73.

in the historical context of Roman military operations.[151] A military explanation can also be proposed for the coinage of pro-Macedonian Histiaea, which constitutes 58.12% of the non-Attic weight coinage mentioned in the Delian inventories,[152] and is present in many hoards in Mainland Greece, Macedonia and Thrace.[153] If the identification of the pseudo-Rhodian coins with the *symmachikon* of epigraphic documents from the second century BCE is correct, their wide distribution in Mainland Greece can also be explained in a similar way.[154]

2. To the second sub-group belong the coinages on the Attic standard, and those on the reduced Aeginetan and Corinthian standards. The reduced Aeginetan standard was adopted by the most significant Leagues of Mainland Greece and the Peloponnese, and silver coins on this standard were part of hoards buried in the Peloponnese, Central Greece and Euboea.[155] The standard of Corinth and its reduced version, the so-called Corcyrean standard, were popular in what we call Western Greece, which is the main area where these circulated.[156] The international character of the Attic standard of all royal currencies (with the exception of the Ptolemies after 312 BCE and the Attalids after 167),[157] and also of Athens after 164,[158] and a number of cities in Mainland Greece, Thrace and Asia Minor during the second BCE explains their wide circulation and

151 Meta 2015 with previous bibliography; Gatzolis & Psoma 2018. This is the explanation that was proposed for the coinages on the Attic standard of Thasos and Maroneia, minted during the Late Hellenistic period, and present in large numbers of hoards from inland Thrace: see *supra* n. 113.

152 Chankowski 2011: 382.

153 Gatzolis & Psoma 2018; Kremydi 2018a: 238-43; 2018b: 243-45; 2021. For hoards with Histiaean silver coins, see Kremydi 2018a: 255-57. See also *supra* n. 45.

154 Psoma 2019a: 124-25.

155 For the coinages of the Leagues, see Psoma & Tsangari 2003; Tsangari 2011.

156 See previous note.

157 Unlike Alexanders, all other royal currencies are rarely mentioned in epigraphic documents. See *supra* n. 4.

158 See *supra* n. 6.

presence in hoards far away from the frontiers of their issuing authorities.[159]

To conclude. Coinages, weight standards as well as hoards and circulation patterns of all the coinages mentioned above reveal the co-existence of two distinct worlds, as far as currency is concerned, during the Hellenistic period: a world of diversity and a world of unity. The different weight standards and coinages of the previous periods, often in reduced versions, continued after the last decades of the 4th c. BCE and down to Actium to form different, smaller or larger, zones of circulation. To these were added new coinages on the traditional standards (the coinages of the cities of Asia Minor on the Persian standard), on their reduced versions (the coinages of the Leagues of Mainland Greece and Histiaea) or on new standards deriving from the contacts with Rome (the coinages of Apollonia and Dyrrachium). The use of distinct standards by cities and *koina* in this and other areas refers to a sort of regional unity, which was also apparent during previous periods. Parallel to these runs the Attic standard and its coinages minted by kings, cities and federal states. The world of this Attic standard covers – with the exception of the Ptolemaic territories – the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. From these coinages, Alexanders – a posthumous coinage *par excellence* – were the most important one, the *koinon hellenikon nomisma* of the Hellenistic period, and a clear reference to the unity of a world created by Alexander III. This was the coinage that served military purposes more than any other currency of this period. If the Seleucids are behind most of posthumous Alexanders of Asia Minor, Thrace, Phoenicia and Syria, the other posthumous coinage, the Lysimachi served a Pro-Ptolemaic, anti-Seleucid and at the very end anti-Roman policy.[160] Weight standards and coinages served the interests of all the mighty of this Hellenistic world from its beginning to its end.

159 Meadows 2019: 73.

160 The gold Lysimachi of Mesambria, Odessos, Tomis and Callatis date after the end of the Monopoly War (253-250/47 BCE) and the beginning of the Third Syrian War (246/5 BCE). See Petac & Vilcu 2012: Tomis; Petac & Vilcu 2013: Odessos; Petac 2011: Mesambria. Cf. Callataÿ 1995 [1997]. Histria minted gold staters of Lysimachus towards the end of the third century BCE in a similar context: Petac 2010. See also

ABBREVIATIONS

Alexandres après Alexandre = S. Kremydi & M.-Chr. Marcellesi (eds.) *Les Alexandres après Alexandre: histoire d'une monnaie commune, Actes du colloque international, Athènes 24-25 mai 2014*. ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 81. Athens 2019.

Attalid Asia Minor = P. Thonemann (ed.) *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations and the State*. Oxford 2013.

CH = *Coin Hoards*. The Royal Numismatic Society. London 2002.

IGCH = M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm & C.M. Kraay. (eds), *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York 1973.

ID = F. Durrbach *et al. Inscriptions de Délos*. 7 vols. Paris 1926-1972.

IDidyma = A. Rehm, Didyma II: *Die Inschriften*. Berlin 1958.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

IIasos = W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. 2 vols. *IK* 28. Bonn 1985.

IK = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*.

I.Eleusis = K. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme.* 2 vols. in 3 parts. Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 236 & 259. Athens 2005-2008.

I.Magnesia = O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin 1900.

IMilet I 3 = G. Kawerau *et al. Das Delphinion in Milet*. Berlin 1914.

IMylasa = W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*. Vol. I, *Inschriften der Stadt*. Vol. II, *Inschriften aus der Umgebung der Stadt*. *IK* 34-35. Bonn 1987-1988.

KME = G. Le Rider (ed.) *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays. Numismatic Studies in Memory of C.M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1989.

Nomisma = Th. Faucher *et al.* (eds.) *Nomisma. La circulation monétaire dans le monde grec antique. BCH Suppl.* 53, 2011.

Marinescu 2004. Callatis issued gold staters – *chrysoi* – under Mithridates VI of Pontus with the types of Lysimachus. It was also the case of Histria and Tomis. For these mints of Lysimachus, see Price 1991: 173-74. For the gold Lysimachi of Histria, Callatis and Tomis, see also Callataÿ 1997: 139 (Histria), 139-40 (Callatis) and 141 (Tomis). For Tomis, see also Iliescu 1998; 2000. These coinages served to pay mercenaries from these cities who joined the Mithridatic army: Callataÿ 1997: 150 with n. 51. In the case of Tenedos, posthumous Lysimachi of the late third and the second century BCE have been interpreted as Attalid or Rhodian – and in some cases both – fleet currency: Meadows 2021b: 136-40.

Obolos 7 = *Coins in the Thessalian Region. Proceedings of the Third Scientific Meeting. Obolos* 7. Athens 2004.

Obolos 9 = P. Tselekas (ed.) *Coins in the Aegean Islands: Mints, Circulation, Iconography, History. Proceedings of the Fifth* Scientific Meeting, Mytilene, September 2006, vol. I, *Ancient Times*, *Obolos* 9. Athens 2010.

Obolos 10 = E. Apostolou & Ch. Doyen (eds.) *Coins in the Peloponnese. Mints, Iconography, Circulation, History from Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Sixth Scientific Meeting in the Memory of Tony Hackens, Argos, May 26-29, 2011*, *Obolos* 10. Athens 2017.

OHGRC = W.E. Metcalf (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford 2011.

Presbeus = A.R. Meadows & U. Wartenberg (eds.) *Presbeus. Studies in Ancient Coinage Presented to Richard Ashton.* New York 2021.

Studies Price = R.H.J. Ashton & and S. Hurter (eds.) *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price*. London 1998.

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GREEKS DRAWING LOTS: UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN A PANHELLENIC MINDSET AND PRACTICE[1]

By Irad Malkin & Josine Blok

Summary: The drawing of lots in ancient Greece was an institution that expressed the egalitarian values, practices, and mindset apparent for three centuries before the emergence of the Athenian democracy. Constituted by a large-scale mixture lottery, classical Athenian democracy with its choice of magistrates by lot, would never have seen the light of day without the broad spectrum of drawing of lots that preceded it. The first part of this article, by Irad Malkin, presents drawing lots' distributive (e.g., land, booty, catch, inheritance, colonial plots), selective (e.g., magistrates), procedural (e.g., taking turns), and mixture functions. The concept of 'equal portions' moves from the concrete equal sharing of portions (*isomoiria*) to the abstract sharing of equal portions of the law, *isonomia*. A mindset with strong egalitarian features is revealed with a tendency to make equality and equity as close as possible: Equal chances before the lot and, when possible, equal outcomes. The role of the gods is mostly not to determine results, but to grant validity and legitimacy to a procedure under their auspices. The following section, by Josine Blok, examines why drawing lots for office created difficulties not encountered in the other, common uses of lots, how nonetheless this practice spread across the Greek world and due to the variety of political systems of the *poleis* came to highlight the diversity in ancient Greece.

1 The following texts by Irad Malkin and Josine Blok sum up several points relevant to the issues of unity and diversity from our forthcoming study *Drawing Lots: from Egalitarianism to Democracy in Ancient Greece*, now in press with Oxford University Press. For this reason, the article contains only a limited number of footnotes. – A note on terminology: There are various available terms in English, such as 'drawing lots', 'lotteries', 'casting lots', and 'sortition'. Each term evokes a different mental image (e.g., 'casting' conveys throwing, whereas 'drawing' conveys pulling or lifting). Since our emphasis is not on the precise protocols of using lots but on the institution, we opted, somewhat arbitrarily, for 'drawing lots' and 'lotteries' interchangeably.

Irad Malkin & Josine Blok: 'Greeks Drawing Lots: Unity and Diversity in a Panhellenic Mindset and Practice' C&M Supplementum 1 (2024) 199-220.

Irad Malkin

I.1 Drawing lots in the archaic and classical Greek world: A commonality of practices and values

To ask about the drawing of lots in ancient Greece is to ask about the values, practices, and mindset apparent for three centuries before the emergence of the Athenian democracy. Classical Athenian democracy would never have seen the light of day, were it not for the very broad spectrum of applications of the drawing of lots that preceded it. Some would recommend applying the ancient device to modern politics, but there is no sense in contemporary suggestions to reintroduce the lot into modern politics without an understanding of the Greek world of values, frame of reference, and state of mind that have been associated with drawing lots in ancient Greece. A history of the lot is a history of how people distribute things, how they select individuals, how they take turns, how they inherit, and how they mix to form a more cohesive community. It is also a history of the ideas of equality and fairness, or rather fairness as equality.

It is also a history of the idea of a horizontal community: A community that recognizes itself as such, making decisions about and for itself, without recourse to external authority. For example, access to a drawing of lots to distribute booty, defines, exclusively, the contours of the group of 'sharers': Who belongs and who is excluded from the circle. A drawing of lots implies 'members only': The 'group' may be tiny; for example, two brothers sharing a partible inheritance by lot, or seven brothers casting lots to send one of them to war in the *Iliad* (24.399-400). Or it may be very large, such as soldiers deserving equal chances in the distribution of booty, or settlers obtaining equal portions of land, *kleroi* (a word which primarily means 'lot'). The group may also consist of 'citizens' – not 'foreigners' – deserving 'equal portions of the law', *isonomia*, in a democracy.

With distributive lotteries, whether among gods or humans, authority is not external to the group of participants and draws its legitimacy from the group itself. When, in the *Iliad*, Hades, Poseidon, and Zeus use the drawing of lots to divide and share the world between them (15.185-210), they were not asking another god to tell them what to do. No oracle, to

my knowledge, ever ordered a drawing of lots; it was always a human decision to turn to random devices, including the drawing of lot oracles. Athena did not choose the magistrates and judges of Athens; the Athenians did, and by lot.

Lotteries were ubiquitous for some three centuries before the birth of democracy, establishing a state of mind of equal opportunity and equal portions. They affected a whole range of lives and deaths, private and public: The lot was used to determine matters such as inheritance, where lots were drawn for predefined fair shares; for the distribution of booty, plots of land in colonies and portions of sacrificial meat; for the selection of mythical heroes and historical colonists; for the mixing and homogenization of society by lot, and for divination oracles. Their mentions are found in epigraphic documents and formal decisions, in historical and quasi-historical accounts, and in myth and poetry. In addition, an 'archaeology of equality' in the colonial world, where we find equal plots, can sometimes support the notion of equal distribution by lot. Finally, the casting of lots is at once a salient feature of the entire Greek world, pointing to a major aspect of civilizational unity, while at the same time illustrating the diversity of communities the contours of which could be defined by the drawing of lots.

I propose the following categories for uses of the drawing of lots:

Distributive lotteries were used to distribute inheritance, sacrificial meat, colonial lands, booty, and positions in the state; it was even believed that the entire cosmos and the provinces of the gods had been distributed by lot by and among the Greek gods.

Selective lotteries chose soldiers for military campaigns, settlers for new colonies, and warriors for special tasks, and positions in the state.

Procedural lotteries were particularly useful for rotations and establishing turns, such as guard shifts, positions on a racecourse, and days of rotation of the presidency of the council (*boule*).

Mixture lotteries were used to alleviate dissensions and homogenize the community in mother cities when those were founding new colonies and to do the same in the colonies, mixing the core of col-

onists from a specific mother city with other Greek colonists; mixing the people to avoid civil wars and mixing Athenian citizens into the ten tribes to create the basis of the Athenian democracy.

Lot divination (lot-oracles), a discrete category, is evident above all in the oracles of Delphi and Dodona.

The following guiding notions are apparent in all those categories: First, equality of opportunity before the chance (especially in selective, distributive, and procedural lotteries). Where possible, the aim was also equality of outcome, such as equal shares of partible inheritance by lot.

Only in the context of the distribution of equal shares by lot, 'equally and fairly', can we understand the political leap, at the end of the sixth century BCE, from the concrete to the metaphorical level, from *isomoiria* to *isonomia*, to the 'equal portions of law', and eventually to 'democracy' (called, initially, *isonomia*). The concrete and the conceptual are never far apart and tend to overlap. Let us remember that at the same time as Kleisthenes established political *isonomia*, the Athenians conquered Euboea and divided its land into 4,000 (apparently equal) units on which they settled possessors of *kleroi*, or *klerouchoi*. We have few details, but it seems that while a political *isonomia* was being established by Kleisthenes, a very concrete *isonomia* was being practiced on the ground, allocating equal shares to settlers probably chosen by lot.[2]

Although Classics is the oldest academic discipline, no one to date has written an in-depth study of the lot. Here we have a whole field of investigation that has never received sufficient attention or even recognition. The most recent monograph was written by James Wycliffe Headlam before the discovery of the *Athenaion Politeia* and was published in 1891 (first edition). It is chronologically limited to Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Other studies in chapter form have been similarly restricted.

2 The lexical family from the Indo-European root **nem-* and the Greek verb νέμω have been shown to mean, already in Homer, 'to distribute' (Emmanuel Laroche, *Histoire de la racine* nem- *en grec ancien* (Paris, 1949) 8; see also Bořivoj Borecký, *Survivals of Some Tribal Ideas in Classical Greek: The Use and The Meaning of λαγχάνω, δατέομαι, and the Origin of ἴσον ἔχειν, ἴσον νέμειν, and Related Idioms* (Prague, 1965).

In archaic Greek culture, the notion of the discrete 'portion' and the discrete individual person seemed to overlap. Philosophers, for example, recommended an overlap between the number of citizens and the number of *kleroi*. A *moira* (portion) can be part of a sacrificial cow, which an individual obtains by drawing lots; metaphorically speaking, *moira* can also mean that individual's 'destiny'. But what does it mean? What 'whole' does it refer to? When the Greeks ate meat, it was usually in the context of a sacrifice. Apart from a *geras* to a priest, the rest of the cow was usually divided into equal portions of roasted or cooked meat and distributed by lot among the predefined group of sharers. This was not a hierarchical distribution from top to bottom. The whole (in this case, the cow) belonged *a priori* to the whole of the predefined group. The vision is horizontal: The group, or community, distributes portions by lot.

Such insistence on equality of opportunity and outcome in distributive lotteries reveals an egalitarian mindset. Egalitarianism and equality are not synonymous. Odysseus, for example, was the chief, but his *hetairoi* were equal among themselves. Homeric society provides a good illustration: In the *Iliad*, the heroes are clearly unequal to the rest of the soldiers. Heroes take private booty, *enara*, equivalent to the biblical BIZZAH, a category neglected in Homeric scholarship. This includes weapons, horses, or captives for ransom. In public, however, equivalent to the biblical SHALAL, we observe egalitarianism: Apart from the *geras*, which is a gift from the army to the chief, the booty is brought 'to the middle' from where it is redistributed by lot into individual portions.

When Odysseus raids Ismaros in Thrace, he takes care to oversee the distribution of the booty equally among his companions (*hetairoi*), so that "none might go cheated of his 'equal' (or 'fair' (*ise*)) portion" (*Od.* 9.39-42; trans. Lattimore (adapted)). Similarly, Odysseus says: "Now there were twelve ships that went with me, and for each one nine goats were portioned out by lot (*lanchano*) (*Od.* 9.159-160, trans. Lattimore; cf. *Od.* 9.548-552; 14.229-233).

Portions were individual and distributed with each individual facing equal chances while being recognized as an individual and a 'sharer' in the process. In selective lotteries each individual is considered interchangeable with another, hence equal. The emphasis on 'one-to-one' relationships (one portion/one individual) would prove consistent from

the eighth to the fourth century BCE. Instead of a hierarchical approach, more than any other ancient Greek institution, the lottery, and its vocabulary reflect a 'lateral' or 'horizontal' vision of society (see now kleros.org.il, a database of lottery-associated vocabulary).

Of course, there is nothing fundamentally democratic about egalitarianism. The oligarchy of Thebes, for example, might have been called an *isonomia*, expressing an egalitarian state of mind but within a restricted group. When Kleisthenes came along, he widened the political circle by adding the *demos*. It is a question of degree and comprehensive numbers, and the degree is significant. The Greeks, too, knew the top-down types of authority (elites, tyrants, oligarchies), but the language, instruments, and structure of power were very different from those in the ancient Near East, for example.

We must remember that the structure of the Greek world discouraged centralism, illustrating the web of unity and diversity. There were over a thousand Greek city-states (*poleis*) scattered along the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts. It may seem like a historical paradox: Hellenicity crystallized and spread at the very moment when Greeks were distancing themselves from each other as much as possible. In my book, *A Small Greek World* (2011), I argued that Greek civilization was born not in spite of distances, but because of them. A process I called *convergence through divergence*. The network dynamics that operated between the nodes of the 'Greek web' reinforced Greek commonalities of practices and values, such as partible inheritance by lot.

My aim is to explore, expose and restore the mental and practical uses of the lot. Whereas in the earlier archaic period we can speak of a 'state of mind of the lot', in the later classical Athenian democracy the state of mind had become something close to an 'ideology'. Not the ideology of modern political parties, but the abstraction of the practices associated with the lot into an idea that, in Herodotus' time, could become the very definition of democracy:

> "... The rule of the people has in the first place the loveliest name of all, *isonomia* ["equality before the law"; the term 'democracy' came later] ... it determines offices by lot, and holds power accountable, and conducts all deliberating publicly" (Hdt. 3.80.6).

I.2 What was this state of mind?

A collective mindset is a common mental frame of reference that endures over time and is expressed in response to similar contexts and problems. It can be self-conscious or not and can be expressed in language, values, myths, collective representations, and implementation in practice. A state of mind is equivalent to 'this is the way we do things', based on values, customs, and traditions that form a worldview. For example, when distributing something like booty, meat, land, and inheritance, 'we' (= Greeks) think in terms of fair shares and look to the lot to actualize the distribution. It is a state of mind where the relational idea of 'equal shares' of a 'whole' implies a horizontal view of a group or society as a whole. This 'whole' can be concrete or abstract, like the 'state', where members of the whole community share equal 'portions' expressed in assigned political positions. This is probably how we should understand the semantic field of *isonomia*: An equal share of 'law' for each participating citizen.

We can observe certain stable mental patterns when they are integrated into language, concepts, and practice. Reactions to new situations, such as the creation of a colony or the re-shuffling of the body of citizens for the sake of political reform (e.g., Cyrene, Athens, Herakleia on the Black Sea, Nakone) were conditioned by pre-existing mental structures and images, or mentalities. These included terms, values, and implicit understandings of how things should be done because of previous choices, instruments, conceptual categories, and behavior. In this sense, the lot was an 'institution'.

I.3 The vocabulary of the lot: Modes of thought and perception

One way of revealing the Greek mindset of drawing of lots is to examine the relevant vocabulary both as individual words, in conjunction with each other, and the context of their semantic fields. Some words will prove more important than others, but all relate to notions of distribution, equality, and fairness, and the actual workings of the lot. Ancient

Greek vocabulary best illustrates the multiple uses of the lot, the type of practices associated with it, and the associated values that guided it.[3]

One conclusion is immediately obvious: The two most frequent and significant terms, *kleros* and *lanchano*, are clearly linked to drawing lots, although both may have other meanings. For example, the *Greek-English Lexicon* (LSJ) gives the meaning of the verb *lanchano* as 'to obtain by lot' and 'to get' in short. Our study seems to confirm the associations of drawing lots with *kleros* and shows that around 73% of uses of the verb *lanchano* up to the mid-fourth century are linked to the drawing of lots. The direct implication of such discoveries is that we can translate certain texts and inscriptions more accurately and pursue them as further evidence, particularly where a context is lacking.

I.4 Portions, fairness, and egalitarianism

The concept of equal portions implies a specific notion of equity. For example, in some cultures, it is considered fair for the eldest son to inherit everything (primogeniture). However, with the Greek practice of partible inheritance by lot, all brothers are equal before chance and all receive equal or fair shares, agreed in advance. So, fairness is not proportionate: It does not mean that you get what you deserve according to your status, but rather fairness is equality. We also see this in other types of distributive lotteries. Where possible, equality also means equal results. This also has psychological implications: Life decisions to be determined by drawing lots were on the horizon of any son's expectations, and he would not have had to wait for his parent's demise to realize the importance of the values of equality and fairness and their link to the lot.

A recurring expression is *isos kai homoios*, 'equal and like', or equal and just, i.e., 'fair'. For example, equal portions of sacrificial meat or portions of land in a settlement could be equal in size or weight (*isos*) but only 'similar' to each other (*homoios*) since they were different in terms of meat quality or land location. New settlers, for example, sailed overseas to colonize on 'equal and like' terms (*isai kai homoiai*), meaning 'equal and

3 For the complete database, see kleros.org.il and the appendix by Elena Iaffe in our *Drawing Lots* (see note 1).

fair' (sometimes even *isos kai dikaios*). As noted, Odysseus and his companions distribute booty made up of captured goats. Odysseus organizes a drawing of lots "so that no one is deprived of his equal share", distributing nine goats per ship by drawing lots. He could have made a simple distribution while keeping the arithmetic equal, but that would have been unfair to those who got the skinny old goat instead of the delicious fat one. The lot is used because it is arbitrary and, being impersonal, it eliminates personal resentment.

The conflict between the two notions of fairness, proportionate fairness, and fairness as equality, is also evident in the *Iliad*; here is Achilles' protest:

> "Stay at home or fight your hardest—your share will be the same. Coward and hero are given equal honor" (*Il.* 9.318-319).

The protest is, in fact, proof of the accepted custom: These distributive lotteries are all-inclusive.

In the *Iliad*, a brother was chosen by lot to go to war, and in Herodotus' account of the colonization of Cyrene, there was a state-wide drawing of lots at Thera among all *oikoi* that had more than one son, to choose who would go and settle overseas. Equality is thus also expressed interchangeably: Any brother can be chosen by lot to fight in the war or colonize overseas; any Athenian citizen could hold office, etc. The use of lot reveals a fundamental vision of equivalence between members of society, a horizontal society, and a significant mental foundation on which to build notions of political equality in the centuries to come.

The equal portions of land discovered at the settlement of Megara Hyblaia that belong to the first founding generation express, in concrete terms, the idea of *isai kai homoiai* even if the formula did not exist so early. Equal plots were a special category of *protoi kleroi*, the 'First Lots', that constituted the minimum landholdings of the community's sharers. Again, egalitarianism did not mean absolute equality. Settlers could own personal *chremata* and buy or acquire more land. Yet significant social stratification in Greek colonies is generally only evident two or three generations after their foundation, implying more equal antecedent conditions. Archaeologists who argue against absolute equality in the Greek

colonies must realize that they are arguing against an assertion that nobody is making (the first lots were a minimum 'entry ticket', not a maximum holding). Equality consisted in *protoi kleroi.* We can assume that these portions of land were distributed by lot, since Archilochos, writing in the middle of the seventh about Syracuse (which had been founded in the eighth) speaks explicitly of these *kleroi* (fr. 293 (West)).

I.5 The gods and the moira: Was lot an expression of the divine?

We are not ancient Greeks. It is a mistake to have too much intellectual empathy: The ancient Greeks did not necessarily think like us, nor did they share our attitudes and worldview. However, while we may have enormous empathy for Greek 'reason', 'philosophy' and 'theater', we apparently do not like to deal with lotteries. They may seem strange, perhaps unpleasant, due to the bad reputation of gambling. So why did the Greeks use the drawing of lots? The facile answer has often been: Because they wanted to know the will of the gods.

However, religion is a question, not an answer. Paradoxically, some admirers of Greek rationality seem worried about lotteries in Athens, that 'city of reason' conceived by Jean-Pierre Vernant. They try to save ancient Greek rationality by claiming that the Greeks used lots irrationally as a tool of divination. But the Greeks did not live like those in Borges' Babylonian Lottery. Those ancient, rational Greeks made a rational decision to apply a random device to so many aspects of their lives, and reasonably so.

The gods were 'present' on a spectrum ranging from a simple invocation or prayer (in most cases) to expressing their direct will through the lot-oracles. Greek myth reveals a state of mind that demonstrates the horizontal aspect of lotteries. The Greeks had no transcendent God as a subject for whom the world was an object. The Olympians (third-generation deities) did not create the world; they were born into it and gained their supremacy through violent revolution. In the *Iliad*, we are told how Hades, Zeus and Poseidon conducted a drawing of lots: Zeus got the sky, Hades the underworld, and Poseidon the sea (15.185-210). It is absurd to imagine that these three Olympian deities organized a drawing of lots to

'reveal the will of the gods'. As with most selective, distributive, and procedural lotteries, i.e., human lotteries, the three brothers were the 'sovereign group' to decide upon the drawing of lots.

Zeus was undoubtedly the king of the gods, a position he did not obtain by a lot but to which he was elected by the Olympians, says Hesiod (*Theog*. 881-885); on the other hand, Zeus obtained his domain, heaven, by lot. Archaic Greek poetry, notably Hesiod and the poets of the Homeric hymns, also speak of divine lotteries:

> "Tell how at the first gods and earth came to be, ... and how they [the gods] divided [*dateomai*] their wealth among themselves, and how they shared their honors [*timai*] amongst them [*hos timas dielonto – diaireo*] ... " (*Theog*. 108-113, trans. Evelyn-White 1914).

Zeus presides over such lotteries; he does not determine their outcome. Otherwise, 'the gods' (plural) do the distributing. The relevant common verb in the middle voice (*dateomai*), and the result, what is awarded (*dasmos*), denote a distribution by the group of participants for themselves.

In a Greek world "full of gods" (Thales), there was no clear dividing line between what we might consider the secular and religious spheres. This is precisely where we need to pay attention: Divination via lot-oracles existed at one end of the religious spectrum. By contrast, the annual selection by lot of 6,000 judges in Athens; the daily procedural lotteries for the selection of ad hoc juries; and the allocation by lot to court cases, were at what we would call the 'secular' end of the spectrum, with the gods merely 'invoked'. The gods do not decide; they preside. There is no point in introducing a dichotomy in the form of a secular category where it has never existed. The gods were 'present' in all public affairs, which were always conducted under their auspices; however, such affairs were not subject to constant, active divine intervention.

As historians of the past, we are inevitably also citizens of the present. If we are ever to adopt, once again, that salient feature of ancient egalitarianism, the drawing of lots, we must remember that it was never simply a mechanism, but an expression of a Greek egalitarian mindset and its ideal of a horizontal society as expressed in distribution, selec-

tion, procedure, mixture, and divination through lot-oracles. Such characteristics and their associated values of *isos kai homoios* were embedded in Greek society throughout the archaic period and found expression in forms of governance, as Josine Blok eminently demonstrates.

Josine Blok

II.1 Diversity: Drawing lots for political office

In the first half of this diptych, Irad Malkin has shown how for the ancient Greeks drawing lots was the default method for the distribution of land, booty, sacrificial meat, and inheritance, for setting turns, for mixing groups, and selecting individuals, and for divination. As a social practice embedded in egalitarian values, drawing lots was a leading element of the Greek mindset and foundational to Greek societies from the early archaic period down to Roman Imperial times across the Greek world. In other words, drawing lots was a salient, structural factor of the unity, or rather commonality, of the Greek world.

Yet, drawing lots also was a salient factor in the diversity of the Greek world, and in the following, I will examine why and how this was the case. In a nutshell, this diversity reflects the variety among *poleis* in their use of the lot for assigning *polis* office. The differences between Greek *poleis* became more pronounced from the archaic age on, due to contingent factors such as location, economic potential, and social composition. By the classical age, this diversity had crystallized into a diverse political landscape, each *polis* having its own political structure, habitus, culture, and social climate, in other words its own *politeia*. Depending on the grain of the picture we make or on the distance from which we look at this political landscape, we see notable similarities between the *politeiai*, such as the preference for republican government in multiple bodies, and between clusters, such as of largely democratic or oligarchic *politeiai*. By contrast, when zooming in, the differences between the *poleis* come more sharply into view and here the use of the lot for *polis* office comes into play.

Let me first take one step back. *Poleis* also adopted the drawing of lots for many other aspects of their governance, namely for the purposes for which the practice traditionally was used, as Irad Malkin demonstrates, that is selection, distribution, procedure, mixing, and divination. *Poleis* used drawing lots for selecting individuals, for instance to found a colony or to serve as judges for arbitration, for the equal distribution among the citizens of land, booty and sacrificial meat, for setting turns, for instance in duties such as standing guard, for mixing citizens into new subgroups and for distributing new citizens over subgroups, such as Kleisthenes did in Athens in 508/7, and for consulting the gods about the best policies. It seems that using these traditional applications of the lot now under authority of the *polis* elicited few to no concerns. Nor were these applications of the lot considered distinct features of a *politeia*. But drawing lots for political office marked the political nature of a *polis*, and it was a topic of debate and even a source of discontent. To be more precise, no one objected to the use of the lot itself, which was a familiar practice, but the problem concerned its application to *polis* office and the composition of the group of candidates. The debate focuses on the political offices, but the cultic offices such as priesthoods should also be relevant.

The fact that drawing lots for office was so problematic may come as a surprise, given that precisely this practice was such a conspicuous feature of Greek governance. About half of all Greek *poleis* in the classical age were democracies, and in the Hellenistic period even more called themselves democracies, even if in fact their political system gave priority to elites in the assignment of offices. In many (but certainly not all) democracies at least some offices seem to have been distributed by lot, notably the jury courts, albeit direct evidence is scarcer than we should like. Above all, the massive scale of drawing lots in the democracy of classical Athens has captivated observers both in antiquity and today. How to account for this apparent paradox?

In this section, I will give a bird's-eye view of the spread of drawing lots for *polis* office across the Greek world and attempt a brief explanation for it. However, except for democratic Athens, the evidence is scarce and disparate, partly due to the uneven epigraphical habits in the Greek world. Often, we must make do with incidental remarks in historical or

philosophical writings. But I think the erratic evidence is also representative of the highly uneven spread of the practice itself in the Greek political landscape. This fact confirms our surmise that drawing lots for *polis* office is a special case, both from the perspective of *polis* governance and from the perspective of drawing lots itself. The question why this is the case, I will now first discuss in some detail.

II.2 Why and how was drawing lots for office a special case?

Whereas none of the other applications of the lot seems to have raised serious controversies, only its use for *polis* office has a history of checkered application and of recurrent contestation. Why this difference in a world where drawing lots was part of the mindset?

Drawing lots, when applied in societal contexts, is an instrument applying equality of chance for all participants in specific forms of decision-making. It takes place in definite social settings, but it also creates such a setting itself by the mechanisms of the procedure; it is based on shared values about its use, and it shapes the expectations and conduct of the (section of) society where it is applied. The social and political meaning of drawing lots depends on two crucial factors: One, the choice to apply the lot with its inherent equality of chance, instead of any other means, for the decision-making; and two, the composition of the group participating in the procedure. Whoever is in, shares in the distribution on equal conditions; all others are out. In ancient Greece, and also today, the members of the group sharing in an allotment are considered to be largely similar and equivalent (in Greek: *homoios*) in the terms relevant to the decision – it is one among several reasons why the lot is chosen as a method – but the framework of the allotment itself makes them all truly equal (in Greek: *isos*) in the equality of the chance.

Psychological research by the Dutch social-psychologist Hofstee shows that in present day western societies people can easily accept distribution by lot of goods that are not considered a reward for individual

qualities, in other words for which the recipients are equally qualified.[4] By contrast, the distribution by lot is considered unjust if it concerns desirable goods that one normally receives due to one's merit, in other words for which normally the recipients need to be better qualified than the rest. For the stability and continuity of any state, group or organization, its members must sense that the distribution of privileges and duties is, by and large, just. Quite a substantial section of the literature on distribution by lot today is concerned with the issue of justice, notably for the allocation of desirable goods that are too scarce to supply everyone with to the same measure. Political office is a desirable good because it is a privilege: It elevates its holder and gives her or him authority over others, and conventionally, in most societies, it is assigned on perceived superiority. Hence, its distribution by lot creates tensions in the sphere of justice, at least to people's feelings.

Although in ancient Greece, unlike in modern western societies, distribution by lot was common and entrenched in the sociocultural mindset, the ideas about justice in the allocation by lot of political office seem to have been similar. In the Greek world, as in fact almost universally, political office was an honor (*time*) and political offices were positions of authority (*arche*) over other citizens. *Polis* office, then, was an immaterial good for which traditionally not all members of the group were considered equally qualified. It was assigned on perceived differences in merit, birth, or wealth (also called *time*, in the meaning of *value*); in other words, *polis* office was based on inequality. This deeply ingrained value system was difficult, if not virtually impossible, to reconcile with the principle of equality governing the drawing of lots.

Besides the inherent incompatibility of equality and inequality, drawing lots for office also sits uneasily among the other applications of the lot, from which it differs in several important respects. This difference has, again, much to do with the conception of office as an honor, a fact that also renders the composition of the group of candidates far more difficult than in the other cases of selection by lot. Let us first compare allotment for office with other applications of the lot, and next look into the problems of the group of candidates.

4 Willem K.B. Hofstee, 'Allocation by Lot: A Conceptual and Empirical Analysis' *Social Science Information* 29.4 (1990) 745-63.

Is drawing lots for office a form of selection? Allocation of office is not exactly a form of selection by lot, a term we use in our book for the selection of an individual or a limited group of individuals for a specific, occasionally ad hoc, task. Instead, *polis* office was a regular, recurrent duty of several, even many people, lasting for a fixed term and then assigned to a new group by lot. Unlike the roles assigned by lot as 'selection', office holding was based on rotation.

Is it a form of distribution? Depending on the *politeia* of the *polis* in question, the number of citizens eligible for office could be large or small, and the lot would distribute them randomly over the available offices. Yet, allotment for office is not a clear case of distribution by lot either. Normally in such cases, everyone in the group was equal in the participation and in the results, all receiving an equal share of land, booty, or sacrificial meat. But *polis* office was an immaterial good that was never 'equal'; within a single board all office holders were equal and held equal 'portions' of authority, but not all boards were equal in authority. Equality primarily resided in the equal eligibility for office, either of a particular group or of all citizens, but the office itself elevated one, or rather a few of them, temporarily above others and gave them authority over all others.

This temporary quality is a further complicating factor. All other distributions by lot concerned goods the recipient was to keep, either forever or to enjoy on the spot. Office, by contrast, was a good an individual could not keep, but only hold for a limited amount of time. It was a share in the self-governance of the community, and the principle of rotation was essential: After each term of office, others would fill the positions left by their predecessors. On the one hand, the rotation amongst the group reinforced the sense of equal sharing and coherence, brought further into effect over time, but on the other hand the temporal restriction of its enjoyment intensified the competition for the offices, at least for the coveted ones, a competition that distribution by lot would reduce. After a year of holding office, a citizen reverted to equal status with the others, a fact that might restrain him while in office or might stimulate him to make optimal use of it for his own benefit (Greek office holders were invariably suspected of doing the latter).

Finally, we might consider allotment for office to be a distribution by lot of turns (so a form of procedural lottery) but even this solution is not entirely satisfactory, because some people might never get a turn. In sum, distribution of office is unlike other applications of the lot.

The second issue concerns the composition of the group and the effects of allotment. Because holding office was an honor, an expression of the value (*time*) the *polis* assigned to an individual, the means of selection for office had a deep impact on the political climate of a *polis*. Since all eligible candidates vied for honor, election stimulated the competition between them, because votes clearly showed who was favorite in the *demos'* esteem to hold power, and who was not. By contrast, drawing lots in principle would reduce the competition, because this selection method removed all arguments pro and con, all love and hatred, from the selection procedure and its results. This system only could work if all candidates were more or less equal (*homoios*): The outcome of the lottery for office would create an inequality among them that was only temporary, for rotation would bring another group to temporary prominence, and ultimately, perhaps, all would have had their turns. Agreement as to who was included in the group of candidates, was therefore vital. In other words, when political office was distributed by lot, it rendered the problem who was to be included in the group of candidates arguably even more pressing than in other distributions by lot, because inclusion provided an equal chance to be elevated, if only for a limited time, to honor and authority over the others. As the social distinctions between groups and between individuals in the *polis* were constantly shifting, every *polis* had to assess and reassess who had access to the honors of the offices and on which conditions. Finally, with 'inequality' writ large over *polis* office itself, over time the rotation among the eligible, *homoios* citizens created an absolute equality (*isotes*) among them. The equality of chance would reduce the competition for office, but the steps preceding the actual drawing of lots made the tension between (political) equality and (social) inequality manifest.

Given this crucial role of the group of candidates, an unmistakable connection existed between the methods of selection for office of a *polis* and its rules for access to citizen status. Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451/0

marks such policies in Athens, but all *poleis* implemented citizenship policies. For reasons of space, I cannot further discuss this point, but it needs to be kept in mind.

In sum, drawing lots for the assignment of political office was an innovation in both domains – politics and drawing lots. So, we may wonder how drawing lots, which would seem to be essentially unsuitable for *polis* office, came to be introduced in the domain of politics at all and ultimately became a successful innovation in a substantial number of *poleis* and in multiple forms. However, not a single source explains why drawing lots was introduced and why it was to be the preferred method of selection for office. I shall come back to this issue in the final part of my paper; let us first look at some cases.

II.3 The spread of drawing lots for political office in the Greek world: A bird's-eye view

That there is something special about drawing lots for office is borne out first of all by its relatively late appearance on the historical scene. Whereas the drawing of lots for other purposes had been common in the Greek world since the eighth century, the earliest attested case of assigning office by lot appears in Athens shortly after 594, when the lawgiver Solon introduced the method for two high offices, the Nine Archons and the Treasurers of Athena. The procedure entailed drawing lots from preselected candidates (*klerosis ek prokriton*) from among the wealthiest citizens, and for the election of the Archons the two wealthiest classes were mixed to form one group of candidates. The source of inspiration and of legitimacy for Solon's innovation may have been the selection of priests among the *gene*, Athenian families of so-called pure birth. They assigned the cultic offices by lot among themselves as a distribution of their inheritance, with a tinge of divine selection. However, Solon's innovation was only partially successful: For the Nine Archons, the stage of drawing lots was abandoned after just a few years, only the election remained. It took about a century before the Athenians reinstituted Solon's system (487), and another twenty years (after 462) until the practice began its growth into the large-scale allotment from all for which the city became renowned.

In other *poleis*, no drawing lots for office can be confidently identified before the second quarter of the fifth century. By the fourth century, the practice was more widespread. In Aristotle's *Politics*, written in the later fourth century, selection for *polis* office by lot is typical of two types of *politeia*, oligarchies and democracies.[5] What is striking in this section of Aristotle's treatise and the collection of *politeiai* on which it drew, is how self-evident the lot had become since the time of Solon, as a method for selection for political office, next to election. Yet its actual use was quite unevenly spread, as a bird's-eye view shows.

First, democracies. Overall, the label 'democracy' covered a wide range of *politeiai*, some of which should better be classified as broad oligarchies. Radical democracies like Athens were the outcome of deep social, economic, and military changes, as Maurizio Giangiulio has argued, and our evidence suggests that Athens was not only the most radical democracy but also exceptional, in the combination of its economic and military power and *politeia*.[6]

Athens was instrumental in the introduction of the lot for at least some offices in some of its 'allies', in the fifth century: by force in Erythrai and Miletus, by invitation in Byzantion and possibly Chalcedon. Other *poleis* within the power orbit of Athens, for instance Delos, have no evidence of allotted offices, except for the courts. The absence of any evidence for drawing of lots in Thurioi, founded around 444 as a model colony by Sybaris and Athens, can be the result of coincidence, but also of a deliberate differentiation from the Athenian system, due to preference of its legislator Protagoras for a balanced democracy based on 'ancient' models. Argos turned democratic of its own accord after the 490s and became an ally of Athens, but there is no evidence of allotment.

Several *poleis* on Sicily and in southern Italy saw periods of democratic rule, without any plausible influence of Athens. In Syracuse, drawing lots for offices was applied widely between 412 and 405, so for seven years. Taras became democratic in the mid-fifth century, and in the first half of the fourth century (probably) Archytas introduced a system, in which

5 Arist. *Pol.* 1300a13-1300b5; among pre-selected few, election is 'aristocratic' (sc. by deliberate, qualitative selection); cf. 1273a26-27: election by wealth is oligarchic; election by merit (*arete*) is aristocratic.

6 Maurizio Giangiulio, *Democrazie greche: Atene, Sicilia, Magna Grecia*, Rome, 2015.

half the offices were elected, and half allotted. In Croton, democratic between the 440s and 410, allotment from all may have been practiced, according to much later sources. In the fourth century and the Hellenistic era, many *poleis* of the Greek east claimed to be democracies. Their offices were overall not distributed by lot but elected by the *demos*. In this type of democracy eligibility was in effect limited to the elite and allotment from all was applied only for the jury courts.

No firsthand attestations of allotment exist for oligarchies, since they had little reason to publicize their policies in inscribed decrees. The *Athenaion Politeia* provides some details of the regime in Athens of 411, both for how they actually used the lot for office and procedure, and for their *politeia* for the future. The system leaned heavily on the previous, democratic practices, but now restricted to a limited group of wealthy citizens. For other oligarchies, drawing lots for office is only attested incidentally by historians and by observers such as Anaximenes of Lampsakos, if he was the author of the *Rhetoric for Alexander*, and Aristotle in his *Politics*. We are slightly better informed about the governance of some of the leagues created or reinforced from the fourth century on. The council of the Boeotian Confederacy was drawn by lot, and so were the members of the board of the league set up by Demetrios Poliorketes in 302. In these boards, allotment was meant to get an equal representation of the members of the leagues and mix them. Democracy had nothing to do with it.

II.4 Why and how did allotment for office spread in the Greek world?

Drawing lots for *polis* office meant that this method was transposed from domains where it was considered the just method for distribution, selection, or procedure, to a domain where its application was traditionally felt to be unjust. The evidence shows that this tension between what was considered just and unjust never fully disappeared, even when the practice had become widespread. No ancient source explains why using lots for office is a good idea to reduce strife, why it implements citizens' equality, let alone how it was introduced in any given *polis*. Critics of the system cover more text than its advocates. A few lines in Herodotus' fictional 'Constitutional Debate' (3.80-83) are the only recommendation

(see Malkin above). This passage must reflect the common democratic viewpoint in Herodotus' day, but any reconstruction of why and how the practice spread depends entirely on our own conjectures. So here, briefly, are mine.

In Athens, in Solon's *klerosis ek prokriton* (drawing lots from preselected candidates) the *prokrisis* formally established and publicized the elite prerogative of holding *polis* office. To persuade them to accept the drawing of lots among the elected candidates, Solon probably drew on the standing of the *gene*, with their distribution of office by lot as their inheritance with a dint of divine selection, as I just mentioned, and perhaps on the Homeric selection of heroes discussed by Irad Malkin. In 487, Solon's system was back on the political stage, with his venerable name attached to it; just as for Solon himself, the method was not meant to bring equality as a political principle into effect, but to reduce inter-elite competition. When in the late 460s a reform for further democracy took place associated with Ephialtes, drawing lots had become a familiar custom associated with the highest offices and carrying the hallmark both of Solon and the archonships. Due to his institution of regular allotment of councilors and jury courts, a far larger section of the male citizen body than before acquired the experience of selection by lot and of involvement in the government. Introducing the lot also into the meeting procedures of the council, the reform of the late 460s made drawing lots a central feature of the Athenian governance.

Seen from this outcome, in Athens drawing lots for political office became an accepted and even normative practice in several stages. In each stage, the high standing of the context where it was previously used facilitated introducing the method in a new context. For the method to be acceptable in that new context, it had to draw, on the one hand, on the familiarity with the institution of drawing lots in other domains of life, and, on the other hand, on its accommodation in societal values more broadly: The willingness to reduce competition as a source of civic strife, and on an ideology that increasingly combined recognition of differences in *time* (value, honor) with the principle of political equality.

For other *poleis*, we may conjecture two interlocking processes. Using the lot for distribution of *polis* offices was an idea that appears to have been carried from one place to another: We cannot see how exactly it

happened, only the results. Throughout Greek history persons, knowledge, laws, practices, skills, and cultural features travelled across the Greek world through the intensive networks and peer polity interaction between *poleis*. All this intensive travel brought ideas and practices into wide circulation. If this wide connectivity was indeed the way the idea of drawing lots for office was spreading, we must assume yet another process for its actual application. Someone had to propose using it in the governance of his *polis*. Next, just as in Athens, to get this new application of the lot accepted, it needed familiar ground and a political climate conducive to a method of allocation based on cohesion among equals. Again, this familiar ground probably consisted of the traditional applications of the lot for other purposes, for instance the distribution by lot of *kleroi*. In some *poleis*, these contingencies worked, in others they did not. Drawing lots for *polis* office thus came to mark the political diversity of the Greek *poleis*.

INTERTEMPORAL MEMORIES OF A SHIFTING UNITY: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND KINSHIP BONDS BETWEEN CORINTH AND CORINTHIAN APOIKIAI AROUND THE AMBRACIAN GULF

By Antonios S. Kaponis

Summary: In ancient Greece, a *metropolis* and its *apoikiai* constituted a form of kinship unity. In Thucydides' view, at least in his era, particular bonds of kinship connected the Corinthian *apoikiai* on, or in the vicinity of, the Ambracian Gulf with Corinth itself, and literary tradition endowed Ambracia, Leucas and Anactorion with a special cultural unity. Modern research ranging over political institutions, foreign policy, ideology, economic factors, cults, myths, calendar and burial customs has shown that these *poleis* regarded themselves as members of a Corinthian colonial family. Initially highly dependent on Corinthian policy during the archaic period, by the end of this period the western *apoikiai* had admittedly begun to diverge from a Corinthian-centred economy and to move away from Corinthian traditions. Internal social diversification also caused these *poleis* to move away from Corinthian institutions and habits. Nevertheless, despite various political fluctuations, western Corinthian *apoikiai* remained within the Corinthian sphere of influence and after Timoleon's campaign they revived old Corinthian traditions and institutions. Indeed, other Greeks of late classical times regarded the citizens of these *poleis* as if they were indeed Corinthians. The area remained under Corinthian economic influence throughout Hellenistic times and memories of affinities with and ties to Corinth survived in her *apoikiai*. Lastly, Hellenistic monarchs and even Augustus himself took advantage of the peculiar Corinthian identity of these *apoikiai* for their own ends.

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Metropoleis and apoikiai

Scholars have long been interested in the subject of political unity and diversity in ancient Greece.[1] *Metropoleis* and their *apoikiai*[2] were mainly groups of states connected by economic and cultural bonds that rested on kinship.[3] The present paper uses evidence concerning foreign policy, political institutions, tribal organization, ideology, coin types, cults, myths, calendar and burial customs in order to present the evolution of these bonds among Corinthians and Corinthian *apoikiai* around the Ambracian Gulf.[4] The unusual feature of this unity lies in how it was maintained, as we will show, even after the destruction of the *metropolis* itself. I therefore hope to shed some light on various shifting aspects of the subject and to illuminate intertemporal common memories that point to an intertemporal political and cultural unity.[5] In order to put these features in their historical context and to present their multifaceted function, I present them in chronological order.

1 I am grateful to all reviewers for the helpful advice and insightful critique. The following is a selective bibliography on matters such as Greek ethnicity: Hall 1997; Malkin 2001; Luce 2007; Müller & Veïsse 2014; federalism: Dobesch 1968; Payrau 1971; Flower 2000; Mitchell 2007; Birgalias et al. 2013; panhellenism: Beck, Buraselis & McAuley 2019; political unification: Buraselis & Zoumboulakis 2003. On cultural unity: Burckhardt 1963: 104-23; Greek nationality: Walbank 2002; Osborne 2004: 102-18; cultural affinity: Dougherty & Kurke 2003 (see also Hall 2002; Jost 2006); several unifying/diversifying features: Cassola 1996: 5-23; Settis 1996: 847-1207.

2 The terms *apoikiai* and *metropolis* express the meaning of the respective ancient words better than the terms *colonies* and *mother-city* used extensively in the Anglo-Saxon bibliography, *colony* in particular evoking anachronistic parallels: see also Tsetskhladze 2006; Osborne 2016.

3 The relationship between *metropolis* and *apoikia* was first analysed by Seibert (1963) and Graham (1964). For the term συγγένεια in Thucydides, see Fragoulaki 2013: 32-57. For colonial networks in Italy and Sicily, see Vlassopoulos 2013: 78-128. Πόλις and ἔθνος were also political organizations based on kinship: Morgan 2003: 4-16.

4 For the exception offered by Corcyra to the unwritten rule of colonial piety: Thuc. 1.25.3-26.1, 1.38.1-4. See also Williams 1985; Rhodes 1987; Morrison 1999; Kaponis 2020: 94-115; Psoma 2022: 55-63, 134-62.

5 Mazzarino 1964; Reboton 2008. The most typical parallel are found in the Megarian *apoikiai*: Robu 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2020a; 2020b. See also Costanzi & Dana 2020; Morakis' contribution in the present volume.

Political and cultural unity through dependence

Ambracia, Leucas and Anactorion were founded on, or in the vicinity of, the Ambracian Gulf by the Corinthian tyrant Cypselus.[6] He probably regarded this area as a geographical and economic unity since he intended, among other things, to control land and sea routes to northwestern Greece and the West.[7] At this first stage, these three *apoikiai* were dependent on Corinthian trade[8] and therefore necessarily formed a political and economic unity. They also formed a cultural and a consciously maintained kinship entity linked to Corinth, given that many Corinthian burial customs appear and evolve in these *apoikiai* along the same lines as they do in Corinth. They consist of the extensive use of interment in all of *apoikiai* and, in Ambracia, a large number of grave offerings in the first half of the sixth century, the use of cist tombs for adults and vases for infants and conscious orientation of the corpse.[9]

6 Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303) fr. 1 (= Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4); Ps.-Scylax 34; Ps.-Scymn. 465; Strabo 10.2.7-8 (C452), 10.2.8-9 (C451). Strabo describes the Corinthian campaign as a unique operation, scheduled and executed by Cypselus and his son, Gorgus, the oecist (a term I prefer to 'founder') of Ambracia. See Fantasia 2017: 19-23, who restores the corrupt text with the phrase Γόργου ἡγησαμένου. If the colonial expedition was simultaneous, Pylades and Echiades, oecists of Leucas and Anactorion respectively, will have participated in this joint foundation: see Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 58.44-46, reading Ephorus (see Jacoby 1926: 248).

7 Kaponis 2020: 97 with nn. 563-65. This interpretation is corroborated by the pre-colonial contacts between Corinthians and local Illyrian, Epirotic, or Akarnanian tribes: Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303) fr. 1; Ps.-Scylax 34; Ps.-Scymn. 465; Strabo 10.2.7-8 (C452), 10.2.8-9 (C451); see also Vokotopoulou 1982: 79 with fig. 4, 82 with fig. 5-6. On the issue of the pre-colonial settlement of natives in Ambracia and the origin of the 'Thapsos workshop', see Gadolou 2008: 287-88; Gadolou 2011: 38-45. See *contra* Douzougli & Papadopoulos 2010: 49. See also Kaponis 2020: 43, 100-8, 115, 126-28, 131 with n. 762, 125-37, 138-41. For the planning of the foundation of *apoikiai* by Euboean Chalcidians, see Frisone 2016.

8 Kaponis 2020: 146-47 with n. 858, 173-74 with n. 1024, 198-202 with nn. 1184-85, 1199, 1206; Aggeli 2021: 262. For the respective Megarian network, see Robu 2012: 183-89.

9 Staikou 2016: 174-80; Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Alexopoulou 2002: 83-85; Aggeli 2021: 282-84. On the tombs as a sign of kinship between *apoikia* and *metropolis*, see Thuc. 1.26.3.

During the tyranny of Periander in Corinth, all three *apoikiai*[10] seem to have been ruled by Cypselids.[11] The Corinthian tyrants seem to have intervened militarily in the region. An epigram in honour of Arniadas from Corcyra indicates that in late sixth century Ambracia was probably attacked by Corcyra, or a Corcyrean squadron, perhaps made up of pirates.[12] The event was probably connected in some way to the old enmity between Corinth and Corcyra referred to by Thucydides and implied by Herodotus.[13] Periander also defended Leucas, Anactorion, and Apollonia from an external threat, and punished Corcyreans for having killed his son in the last few years before his death.[14]

The existence of hero cults of their oecists in archaic times is implied by dubious Hellenistic versions of foundation myths, which however seem to retain the memory of an older diachronic cult.[15] The authenticity of these foundation stories and the historicity of the oecists and their cults in Greek *apoikiai* in the West have been challenged by Hall, who points out that they involved variant oecists and mythical heroes.[16] Indeed, Helios or his daughter Ambracia, Hercules, and Ambrax are also

10 Together with Apollonia in Illyria: Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀπολλωνία. See Reboton 2008: 9.

11 On Periander the Ambraciot and Archinos: Arist. *Pol.* 1304a31-33; Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrHist* 84) fr. 19 (= Diog. Laert. 1.99); Maximus of Tyrus, 18.1a-f (= Plut. *Mor. Am. narr.* 768 E.10-F.5); Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 17.4. See Kaponis 2020: 277-82. Periander tried to establish his son Nicolaos/Lycophron at Corcyra as tyrant: Hdt. 3.53.4; Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 60.

12 *IG* IX 1^2 4 880. See Kaponis 2020: 185-86, 406-7; Psoma 2022: 13, 77 n. 20, 118, 122 (pirate?), 408, 444, 461, 475, 487, 503. The phrase ἐπ' Ἀράθθοιο ῥοϜαῖσι refers to the river Arachthos which runs through Ambracia: Camerotto 2015.

13 Hdt. 3.48.6-49.9, 3.52.23-53.30 (especially the subjugation and the consequent revolt of Corcyra against Periander's son); Thuc. 1.13.4, 1.38.1-4. See Psoma 2022: 63-73.

14 Hdt. 3.53.30; Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 60; Plut. *Mor. De sera* 557A-B.

15 Ambracian foundation legend: Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303) fr. 1. The hero cult of Gorgus is confirmed through numismatic testimony dated to the fourth century: see Calciati 1990: II.461 no. 82; Mortensen 2015: 224-27; Kaponis 2020: 125-27, 130-31, 368-69. The foundation legends of Leucas and Anactorion are implicitly attested: Ps.-Scymn. 460-465; Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 58.44-46. The existence of the *patra Chersikratidai* in honour of the oecist of Corcyra also indicates the existence of an official cult of the oecist there: *IG* IX 1^2 4 1140. See Psoma 2022: 51-52, 316, 346, 377, in particular 393.

16 Hall 2008: 399, 402-11.

mentioned as possible founders of Ambracia.[17] However, the Corinthian *apoikiai* in western Greece seem to have preserved the memory of the oecists against the need to 'justify circumstances' in later times, because they tended to perpetuate the names of three Cypselid oecists, although this family had been considered unholy and sinful from classical times onward.[18] The presence of Gorgus on classical Ambracian *pegasoi* and the antityrannical Hellenistic version of the foundation legend of Ambracia tend to suggest that this name and the respective oecist's cult were historical in this sense.[19] At this early stage such cults also created religious and emotional bonds with Corinth through the acknowledgement of Corinthian origin and the memory of the common past.

During this phase, Corinthian political institutions and cult practices, the νόμιμα, were adopted by the new *poleis*, as late sources suggest, so ensuring further communication between *metropolis* and *apoikia*.[20] More precisely, the tribal organization of the *apoikiai* was Doric/Corinthian. The Bacchiads had probably added a fourth tribe to the initial tripartite system in order to integrate the pre-Doric population into the community.[21] Cypselus preserved this system in Corinth and this was probably

17 Arist. fr. 474 (= Steph. Byz. s.v. Δεξαμεναί); Philistus *FHG* 52 (p. 191) (= Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀμβρακία); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom* 1.50.4.1-51.1; Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303) fr. 1.

18 Thgn. 1.891-894; Hdt. 5.92α.-92ζ; Pl. *Phdr.* 236b; Suda, s.v. Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα.

19 See above n. 15. For the cult of oecists or founders of a *polis*: Hdt. 6.38.1; Pind. *Pyth.* 5.93-95; Paus. 3.1.8; Callim. *Aet.* 2.43; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.149b (Drachmann). See also Malkin 1987: 11, 263; Dougherty 1993: 24-25; Musti 2005: 308 with n. 21; Cordano 2009; Lane 2009: 246; Mortensen 2015: 224-27; Golding 2017: 7-8; Castiglioni et al. 2018; Kaponis 2020: 88 with n. 508, 368. Besides, the foundation myth of Miletus suggests that the mythical mortal oecists were also heroized: Polito 2011; 2018.

20 Kaponis 2020: 292-94, with bibliography. Robu (2014: 325-406) has examined similar common political institutions between Megara and its *apoikiai*. For *nomima* in Greek colonization, see Martin 1987; Malkin 2011: 189-97.

21 IG IX 1^2 4 798 ll. 3, 5; 866 A l. 1; 869 l. 2; 872 A ll. 1-2; *SEG* 30.990; Calligas 1971: l. 25. See Robert 1948: 5-15; Daux 1953-54: 250 n. 5; Robert 1960: 562-69; Jones 1980: 167-72; 1987: 189-93; Antonetti 1999: 367-70; Crema 2010: 213; Stickler 2010: 26-27; Del Monaco 2011: 307; Psoma 2022: 314.

also implemented in the *apoikiai*.[22] The system was probably subsequently reformed by the Corinthian oligarchy, who added four more tribes.[23] The *apoikiai* certainly shared tribal divisions and subdivisions with Corinth. Mention of the tribe Ἀ(F)ορεῖς is found in the archaic lead tablets from Corcyra and in a Hellenistic honorific decree that comes either from Corinth, Apollonia or Ambracia, while the tribe *Hylleis* occurs in a second century honorific decree from Corcyra.[24]

Other political institutions were adopted by these *apoikiai*, either from the start or as an *a posteriori* link to the *metropolis*. The assembly in most of the *apoikiai* was called either *halia* or *ekklesia*.[25] The re-use of the term *halia* after Timoleon's campaign of 344[26] implies that the term was used at least initially after the foundation of the *apoikiai*.[27] The presence of *prytaneis* in both Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorion, and in several Corin-

22 Kaponis 2020: 291-96, especially for the tripartite Doric system at Syracuse, 292 (see also n. 1670). See also the respective *phylai* in Megarian *apoikiai*: Robu 2014: 326-60. On Ionian *phylai* at Milesian *apoikiai*: Ehrhardt 1983: 98-112. On the incorporation of the Dryopian population into the tribes of Ambracia: Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303) fr. 1. Similar hybrid cultural and anthropological characteristics are found in Apollonia and in Euboean *apoikiai*: McIlvain *et al.* 2014; Charalambidou 2017: 110. For contacts between the Corinthians and local tribes: see above n. 7.

23 Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 60.38. The reform was later attributed to Aletes: Suda, s.v. πάντα ὀκτώ. It is highly likely that the oligarchic government of Corinth renamed some of the previous tribes and turned other tribes into subdivisions: *SEG* 30.990, l. 25. See Antonetti 1999b; Kaponis 2020: 291-99; Psoma 2022: 314.

24 On a possible tripartite tribal system in Corcyra: Thuc. 1.47.1; *IG* 1^{2} 4 798 ll. 9-10, 37-38, 49. See Psoma 2022: 309-16. On the strong similarity of the tribal system of Apollonia with that in Corcyra: Kaponis 2020: 298; Psoma 2022: 316 with n. 69. On the joint Corinthian and Corcyrean colonization of Apollonia: Ps.-Scymn. 439-446; Strabo 7.5.8 (C316). See also Reboton 2008: 11; Kaponis 2020: 89-90, 415-17.

25 Leucas: *IG* IX 1^{2} 1 4 1475 ll. 16-17 (= *SEG* 51.466, 53.388, 58.388) – for the restoration ἁ[λίαι], see Thonemann 2003: 116; Anactorion: *IG* IX 1^{2} 2 212 l. 3; Corcyra: *IG* IX 1^{2} 4 786 l. 5; 789 l. 1; 790 l. 1; 791 l. 1; 792 l. 1; 798 ll. 18, 49, 72, 83, 140; Epidamnus: Arist. *Pol.* 1301b21-26. See also Psoma 2022: 316-18.

26 All dates from this point onwards are BCE.

27 Kaponis 2020: 300-4. Cf. Psoma 2022: 316-18.

thian or Corinthian-Corcyrean *apoikiai*, shows that there were close political connections between Corinth and northwestern Greece.[28] The *polemarchos* was of great political significance in Leucas as we can deduce from a Hellenistic inscription, but probably originated from a military office that initially existed in archaic Corinth.[29] The *probouloi* was also possibly of Corinthian origin.[30] Other *poleis* in this region later imitated these institutions.[31] All these similarities in political organization show clearly that northwestern Greece was an area of Corinthian political and ideological influence and that its political and economic development was due to the Corinthian *apoikiai*.

The Corinthian calendar was also adopted by several northwestern *apoikiai* and *poleis*, Corinthian and otherwise.[32] The epigraphic evidence is scarce and comes mainly from Ambracia.[33] Yet Iversen has proved that all northwestern Corinthian *apoikiai* used the same model from the very beginning, implicitly acknowledging the economic primacy of Corinth.[34] Furthermore, the Epeirotan sub-group of Corinthian calendars suggests

28 The material is mainly Hellenistic, but the offices discussed were certainly founded in previous periods: *SEG* 24.421 l. 1; 26.694 l. 2 (see also 24.412 l. 2); 42.543bis l. 3; 42.543ter l. 1; *IG* IX 1[2] 2 212 l. 3; *IG* IX 1[2] 4 786 l. 1; 798 l. 1; 1196 l. 2; 1475 l. 26; McCabe 1991: 45 l. 2; 46 ll. 2, 39-40; Cabanes & Ceka 1997: 5b l.1 ; 6 l. 1; 7 l. 2; 21 l. 1; 187 l. 2; 189 ll. 3-4; 193, F a l.15, F b ll. 10-12; 369 l.1; 385 l. 1; 387 l. 1; 390 l. 1; 391 l. 1; Cabanes & Drini 2007: 394 l. 1; 396 l. 1; 397 l. 1; 398 l. 1. For analysis: Kaponis 2020: 305-9, based mainly on Crema 2010. See Psoma 2022: 322-24. For the office of *prytanis* in Apollonia, see Reboton 2008: 11-12. For the office of *basileus* in Megara and its *apoikiai*, see Robu 2014: 367-75.

29 *IG* IX 1[2] 4 1231 ll. 8-9. On the archaic origin: Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 58.1-43. See also Matijašić 2010: 232-35; Kaponis 2020: 314-15.

30 *IG* IX 1[2] 4.1231 ll. 8-9; IX 1[2] 4 1475 l. 30 (ἁ[λίαι]); IX 1[2] 4 786 l. 12; 787 l. 11; 789 ll. 16-17. For a comparison with Corinthian *probouloi*, see Tréheux 1989; Psoma 2022: 325-27. For *probouloi* in Megara and its *apoikiai*, see Robu 2014: 387-89; 2018: 280-81. For the transplantation of *probouloi* to Milesian *apoikiai*, see Nawotka 2014: 121.

31 De Vido 2010; Matijašić 2010.

32 Cabanes 2003. On calendar in the Megarian *apoikiai*: Avram *et al*. 1999; Robu 2019. In Milesian *apoikiai*: Ehrhardt 1983: 113-26; Feraru 2015.

33 *SEG* 30.990 l. 3, if the inscription, as Crema (2010: 213) and Del Monaco (2011: 307) believe, is Ambracian; and see also *SEG* 56.948 (Γαμίλιος); 35.665 l. 2 (Φοινικαῖος). See also Cabanes & Andreou 1985: 499-544, 753-57, part B, 23 (Ἀρτεμίσιος), 25 (Ψυδρεύς).

34 Iversen 2017; 2020: 27-30; Kaponis 2020: 318-23, 395-96, 404, 440-41. See also Psoma 2022: 395-400. For the Megarian calendar: Robu 2019.

that Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorion and other *poleis* enjoyed a special economic and cultural unity in northwestern Greece. The Corinthian calendar was so widespread that it even ended up on the Antikythera mechanism, which was manufactured after the destruction of Corinth itself.[35] The calendar played a perennial role in relations between Corinth and her *apoikiai*, in that the common festivals referred to by Thucydides are probably those celebrated in the respective months involved.[36]

Corinth also played a crucial role in the religious life of the *apoikiai* from the beginning. Cults and deities connected with the Doric-Corinthian foundation of the *apoikia* concerned were established from this time, although local variations were to appear later.[37] Religious bonds were made even closer through Corinthian epic poems and *Nostoi*, which connected Corinth with northwestern Greece and the West. Most of the available information comes from literary sources and inscriptions dated between the fifth century and Roman times. However, legends of travelling or returning heroes were certainly widespread from classical, and probably even archaic times onwards in Corinth, Corcyra, and throughout Epirus, Illyria, and Akarnania.[38]

35 The division into an Epeirotan and a Corcyrean subgroup denotes that Corcyra and other Corinthian *apoikiai* were commercial rivals from early on; see Kaponis 2020: 404.

36 Thuc. 1.25.4: during these festivals, the *apoikiai* showed particular honour to Corinthian citizens who happened to be present.

37 Tzouvara-Souli 1993; Kaponis 2020: 326-31, 333-49, 353-62, 378-84, 386-87, 391, 403-5, with extensive bibliography. See also Psoma 2022: 372-76, 376-79, 382-83, 383-84, 387-88. Cults of deities connected with colonization were also founded in Megarian *apoikiai*: Antonetti 1999a: 21-22; Robu 2013: 75-76; 2018: 276-78. On Aphrodite in Milesian *apoikiai*: Greaves 2004: 30-31. For transplanting of cults from Paros to Thasos, see Papadopoulou 2018; Trippé 2018; from Miletus to her *apoikiai,* see Ehrhardt 1983: 127-223; from Phocaea to her *apoikiai*, see Sachs 2014: 78-84, 122-27, 158-61.

38 Pind. *Nem.* 7.35-37 (Neoptolemus); Eur. *Andr.* 1243-1252 (Andromache, Helenus); Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 13-14.4 (Neoptolemus); Simias fr. 6 (Andromache, Aeneas); Strabo 10.2.9 (C452) (Leucadius); Eur. fr. 65.73a; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.94.1 (Amphilochus); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.4.1-51.1.5 (Aeneas); Ptolemaeus Chennus, *Novae Historiae* 7 (Westermann 1843: 198); Ath. 13.56.32-36 (589D) (Helenus); Paus. 1.11.1-2 (Neoptolemus, Helenus, and Andromache), 5.22.2-4 (Trojan and Achaean heroes); *IG* IX I^2 2 583 l. 38 (Helenus); *IG* IX 1^2 4 866 B ll. 5-6; 871 ll. 1-2 (Amphineis), Cabanes & Ceka 1997:

Moulding a multifaceted unity

After the overthrow of the tyrants, oligarchic constitutions were established in both the *metropolis* and in the northwestern *apoikiai*.[39] The Corinthians seem to have willingly supported their *apoikiai* and defended them against enemies, as is implied by the existence of the *polyandrion* at Ambracia, erected after the defeat of the *Perrhaiboi*, and in all likelihood commemorating assistance offered by the Corinthians,[40] and the existence of the late archaic tomb stele of the Corinthian Aristion who was either a representative of Corinth, a hoplite or even a mercenary.[41] The fact that a baetyl, the symbol of Ambracia itself, is inscribed on this stele probably indicates that the Ambraciots deeply appreciated Aristion's action on behalf of their *polis*.[42]

By the early decades of the fifth century, Ambracia, Leucas and Anactorion had become more independent in terms of commercial activity

78, T 303, 14-15 n. 4 (Trojan heroes); Tzouvara-Souli 1979: 46 with fig. 18b (Aeneas). See further Castiglioni 2003: 877-79; Stocker 2009: 288-94; Antonetti 2010; Morgan 2018: 32; Malkin 2018; Kaponis 2020: 138, 345, 355-57, 379-80, 391, 396-97, 405; Psoma 2022: 309, 311 n. 22, 355-63.

39 Ambracia: Arist. *Pol.* 1304a29-33; see also Gehrke & Wirbelauer 2004: 354-56; Birgalias 2009: 126 with n. 387. Leucas: Arist. *Pol.* 1266b15-25; see also De Vido 2010: 258-59. Epidamnus and Apollonia: Thuc. 1.26.3, Arist. *Pol.*1290a40-b20, 1301b21-26, 1304a13-17; Diod. Sic. 12.30.2. See also Reboton 2008: 10-11; Kaponis 2020: 133-34, 282-91.

40 *Polyandrion*: *SEG* 41.540A l. 1; 44.463 l. 1; 44.1697. For the restoration of εὐρυχόροι[ο ϙορίνθο]: *Anth. Pal.* 6.135. See further Kaponis 2020: 51 with n. 274. The Thessalian/Epirotic *ethnos* of Perrhaeboi (Πυραιβοί in the inscription) was a nomadic mountain people of the Pindos: Hom. *Il.* 2.749-54; Soph. fr. 271; Ps-Scymn. 614-617; Strabo 9.5.12 (C434), 9.5.19-20 (C439); Cl. App. *Ill.* 3-5; Plut. *Mor.* 293A-B (*Quaest. Grec.* 13); Hdn. 3.1.399; Plin. *HN* 4.1-2. See further Kaponis 2020: 58-63. Corinthians also saved (ἐρρύσαντο) Syracusans in the late sixth century when they, along with Corcyreans, reconciled them with Hippocrates of Gela: Hdt. 7.154.16.

41 *SEG* 41.540B ll. 1-2; see Andreou 1986.

42 The baetyl as a symbol of Ambracia: Kaponis 2020: 104 with n. 612, 132, 162 with n. 944, 328-30 with bibliography.

and internal political relations. Initially firmly dependent on Corinth, these *poleis* developed independently as is indicated above all by the appearance of Attic artifacts, although this may be simply due to the general trend of the time.[43] The economic development of Ambracia, Leucas and Anactorion led to further social stratification and political diversification stimulated by the emergence of political groupings. This could also be connected with the evolution that occurs in burial customs. In some respects, such as the construction of the Ambracian *polyandrion*, numerical predominance of cist tombs and the numerous cremations in Anactorion, they diverge from those in Corinth and, in other cases, the burial customs of the *apoikiai* resemble Corinthian habits. For example, the citizens of these *apoikiai* use sarcophagi, stop making funerary offerings and the main type of burial is interment.[44] However, this resemblance could be due not to the imitation of the *metropolis* but rather to social factors.[45]

In this context, a pro-Corcyrean faction seems to have arisen on Leucas,[46] as can be deduced from the arbitration of Themistocles in 483/2 between the Corcyreans and the Corinthians for the colonial rights over Leucas. Themistocles favoured the Corcyreans and acknowledged that they were mutual founders of the *apoikia*.[47] However, the pro-Corinthian grouping soon prevailed and convinced the Leucadians to strike coins

43 Aggeli 2004: 555-56; Aggeli 2014: 63-67. See also Kaponis 2020: 161, 200-1.

44 Dickey 1992: 20, 24-32; Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Alexopoulou 2002: 83; Slane 2017; Aggeli 2021: 284-87. On similarities and divergences between Corinthian and Syracusan burial customs: Shepherd 2002; 2015; Germanà Bozza 2011: 694; Morakis 2019: 191-92 with nn. 800, 805; between Corinthian and Corcyrean burial customs: Spanodimos 2014.

45 Other, non-Corinthian, *apoikiai* seem to have used the sarcophagi simply as a sign of social differentiation: Shepherd 2014: 120-23; 2015: 357-66.

46 Kaponis 2020: 203-11.

47 Thuc. 1.136.1; Theophr. fr. 9 ll. II.23-34 (*POxy*, 7.1012C); Plut. *Them.* 24.1; see also Psoma 2022: 134-38. These claims probably arose from the fact that Corcyreans had a powerful navy at the time: Hdt. 6.168; Thuc. 1.14.2, 25.4; see also Psoma 2022: 118-26.

employing Corinthian types.[48] The prevalence of this oligarchic grouping may be related to the institution of the habit of burying the dead in sarcophagi which survived in Leucas until the second century.[49] Themistocles' involvement in commerce in northwestern Greece also confirms the point that Corinth and its *apoikiai* in northwestern Greece had long collaborated over corn trade from Sicily.[50]

In the early fifth century, Leucas and Ambracia minted *pegasoi* in large quantities in an attempt to prepare their military forces in the face of Xerxes' invasion.[51] Ambracian staters were struck in the mint at Corinth: Ambracia and Corinth were on very friendly terms and had even aligned their economic institutions with each other.[52] The economic support of *metropolis* towards the *apoikiai* inaugurated close economic cooperation between them. So important were the kinship bonds between Ambracia and Leucas and Corinth that they decided to participate in the naval battle of Salamis, in Herodotus' view, "because they were Dorian Corinthians".[53] All three *apoikiai* amassed a considerable number of hoplites for the battle of Plataea.[54] Herodotus' unusual statement, in which he gives

48 This conscious choice is resonant, because at the same time or a little earlier the Corcyreans minted their own coins on a variation of the Corinthian weight standard and with different types, although they also were included in the sphere of Corinthian economic influence: Calciati 1990: II.385; Psoma 2015: 141-46; Kaponis 2020: 203-11; Psoma 2022: 89-93, who emphasizes the fact that this numismatic differentiation was caused by the Corcyreans' desire to ensure their own 'loneliness' and to protect its own economic benefits denying another *polis'* currency such as the Corinthian one.

49 Douzougli 2001: 51-52, 55-57; Staikou 2016: 176-79; Aggeli 2021: 293.

50 *Themistocles' Letters* (6.8-30, 7.4-6). The letters are Hellenistic in date but draw on classical authors: see Cortassa & Culasso Gastaldi 1990: I.39. Kometopoulou (2012: 205 with n. 998) depicts Themistocles' commercial activities in the West in which he collaborates with Corinthian corn traders.

51 For the integration of these *apoikiai* into the Hellenic Alliance: Hdt. 8.45; Paus. 5.23.2; *Syll.*[3] 30 ll. 29-30 (X), 33 (XI). See also Fantasia 2017: 45 with n. 131.

52 This conclusion is mainly based on the use of common dies for Ambracian and Corinthian coins: Kraay 1977: 42-44; Carter 1993: 35, 39; Mercuri 2006: 243; Kaponis 2020: 210-12.

53 Hdt. 7.45.

54 Hdt. 9.28: the Ambraciots gathered 500 and the Leucadians and Anactorians together 800. This is a significant number of hoplites, given the small populations of these *poleis*: see also Kaponis 2020: 142-44.

one figure for both Leucadians and Anactorians, can only be explained, if the Leucadians and Anactorians were regarded as a joint force. These ethnonyms also appear together on the bronze serpent column erected at Delphi.[55] This joint deployment implies tactical collaboration during the battle, which means that they clearly considered themselves Corinthian sister *apoikiai*.[56]

Colonial and kinship piety: a rule with exceptions

During the first half of the fifth century, Corinthian oligarchic institutions and values deeply influenced the political life of Ambracia. Both the foundation myth of Ambracia and the 13th *Olympian* of Pindar in honour of the wealthy Corinthian Xenophon show that Corinth and Ambracia shared common political values (*themis, eunomia* and *dike*), which, also unsurprisingly, happened to possess oligarchic connotations.[57] Thucydides' own comments on the filial piety of the Corinthian *apoikiai* and Aristotle's few passages on their polities suggest that both Ambracia and Leucas were governed by pro-Corinthian oligarchies.[58] On the other hand, the contemporary change that we have observed concerning the burial customs of all three *apoikiai*, in particular the adoption of built cist tombs or pit burials, the prevalence of cremations, the use of tombstones and the abandonment in Ambracia (albeit not in Leucas) of limestone sarcophagi, a burial form predominant in Corinth, implies that there was some divergence from Corinthian culture.[59]

55 Hdt. 9.28; Paus. 5.23.2; *Syll.*³ 30 ll. 29-30 (X), 33 (XI).

56 Cf. the similar troop deployment implemented in the battle outside Stratos: Thuc. 2.81.3. On the colonial identity of Euboean colonies, see Mermati 2012.

57 Pind. *Ol.* 13.4-8; Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303) fr. 1. For parallels, see Hes. *Theog.* 85, 396, 902; *Op.* 9, 137, 221; Hdt. 1.65.10; Dem. *Aristog.* 11.1-3, 35.1. See also Stickler 2010: 35-57.

58 Thuc. 1.38.1-4, Arist. *Pol.*1266b15-25 (Leucas), 1303a20-25, 1304a17-20, 1304a31-33, 1311a28-36, 1311a40- b1 (Ambracia).

59 Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Alexopoulou 2002: 82-84; Staikou 2016: 180-81; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2019; Aggeli 2021: 98, 287-88, 294-95. This divergence was either due to local conditions, such as a lack of limestone, or due to constitutional change: see Aggeli

By 460 the Athenians had started to dispute Corinthian political control of northwestern Greece. The settlement of Messenian refuges in Naupaktos and Athenian military campaigns dissolved this strategical unity between Corinth and her northwestern *apoikiai*. Almost all the Akarnanian *poleis* became Athenian allies.[60] After Phormio's victory in defence of the Amphilochians, the powers of Ambracia no longer extended to the southeastern shore of the Ambracian Gulf, so that pro-Corinthian unity in northwestern Greece was ruptured by the subsequent alliance between Athenians and Akarnanians.[61] The hatred between Ambraciots and Amphilochians probably created anti-Corinthian sentiment in Amphilochikon Argos during this period, traces of which may perhaps appear in the version of the foundation legend of Amphilochikon Argos given by Euripides, in which the eponymous hero Amphilochus denies its Corinthian origin.[62]

Besides, a pro-Corcyrean political grouping may also have sprung up in Anactorion before 435, although before the Peloponnesian War Leucas and Anactorion functioned as important stopping-off points for Corinthian vessels travelling in the Ionian Sea and/or in the Ambracian Gulf.[63] Both Corcyra and Corinth had already been recognized as the co-founders of Anactorion[64] and it is very suspicious that Anactorion failed to send any triremes to assist Corinth during the first Corinthian campaign to help Epidamnus.[65] Thus, the campaigns against Corcyra seem to have provoked a reaction on the part of pro-Corcyrean or pro-Athenian

2021: 284-87. A similar independent evolution in the burial customs is seen at Syracuse: Shepherd 2005.

60 Thuc. 1.103, 108, 111, 2.30.1, 2.33.1, 2.82.1, 3.94.1. See also the effort of the Corinthians to supervise colonial loyalty in Potidaea by means of a special office, the *epidamiourgos*, who was sent every year from the *metropolis*: Thuc. 1.56.2. See Kaponis 2020: 311-14.

61 Thuc. 2.68.7-8. For the date of Phormio's campaign in Akarnania: Kagan 1969: 385; Krentz & Sullivan 1987; Kagan 1998: 169-70; Stickler 2010: 132-40 (before the Thirty Years' Peace); Fantasia 2017: 47-48 (beginning of 430s).

62 Eur. fr. 65.73a; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.94.1. See also Jouan 1990.

63 Thuc. 1.29.1-4, 30.3, 46.3, 55.1.

64 Thuc. 1.55.1-2.

65 Thuc. 1.27.2. The Corinthians took Anactorion by treachery before the Peloponnesian War and during the Archidamian War the Athenians expelled Corinthian *apoikoi* also by treachery in order to establish Akarnanians in the city: Thuc. 1.55.1, 4.49.

groups in Anactorion.[66] As part of the same dynamic, Ambraciots and Leucadians sent considerable assistance to Corinth during the second campaign which resulted in the battle of Sybota, while the Anactorians sent almost none.[67]

By the 430s, the Ambraciots had become, thanks to their superior military abilities, the leaders of a regional alliance that comprised several *ethne* of Epirus and Illyria.[68] On the other hand, in previous decades the Corinthians had controlled the land route from Aetolia to Illyria[69] and maintained friendly relations with the local *ethne*, as can be deduced both from Corinthian *nostoi* dealing with returning heroes who travelled through Epirus and Illyria and from the foundation of small *poleis, apoikiai/polismata* in northwestern Greece.[70] This overlapping of Corinthian and Acmbracian political and strategical interests created a tangible, concrete Corinthian/Ambracian sphere of influence.

The Corinthians continued to regard these *poleis* as indispensable components of their sphere of influence. Leucadian *pegasoi* were minted in large quantities and on a great variety of dies at this time.[71] Corinth also minted Ambracian *pegasoi* to fund the building of triremes for Ambracia. She also probably ordered Leucas, Potidaea, Epidamnus, and Anactorion to mint their own *pegasoi* in preparation for the colonial and naval campaigns in defence of Epidamnus.[72] The Corinthians could now require military and political aid from these *poleis* on grounds of

66 Kaponis 2020: 143, 207-8. On *oligoi* and *demos* supporting different hegemonical powers at Megara, Epidamnus and Corcyra: Thuc. 1.24-27, 1.103-5, 3.70-81. For Corcyreans' claims over Apollonia: Strabo 7.5.8 (C 316); Paus. 5.22.4.

67 Thuc. 1.27.2, 46.1. See also De Ste. Croix 1972: 68.

68 Thuc. 2.80.

69 Thuc. 1.26.2; Paus. 5.22.2-4; Cabanes & Ceka 1997: T 303, 78.

70 Thuc. 1.47.3. The Corinthians followed this route in the early 460s, in order to subjugate Thronion, a *polis* hostile to Apollonia: Paus. 5.22.2-4; Cabanes & Ceka 1997: T 303, 78. According to Thucydides (1.26.2), they later used this route to lead new colonists to Epidamnus. On Corinthian *apoikiai/polismata*: Thuc. 1.108.5, 2.30.1, 3.102.2.

71 Carter 1993: 35, 39. See also Kaponis 2020: 214-15.

72 Thuc. 1.27.1. The *pegasoi* from each of these *poleis* were engraved with the initial letter of its respective ethnonym: Kraay 1976: 123-24, 1979: 38, 42, 54, 58; Kagan 1998: 164-66, 168; Kaponis 2020: 216-20.

συγγένεια and was obliged to reciprocate with offers of military protection and financial support. The Corinthians even declared that they enjoyed more affection and respect from northwestern *apoikiai* than did any other *metropolis* in Greece. With the exception of the Corcyreans, during joint sacrifices the Corinthians were first to be honoured by them.[73]

Corinth continued to support her *apoikiai* and allies during the Peloponnesian War.[74] Ambracia did not mint any coinage in this period in contrast to Leucas.[75] *Pegasoi* from both Corinth and her *apoikiai* became the dominant coinage in neighbouring areas, while Akarnanian *poleis*, although hostile to Corinth and her *apoikiai*, also minted coins on a reduced Corinthian weight standard.[76] Thus *pegasoi* came to symbolize a peripheral economic unity despite any political diversity. Corinth also insisted on exercising particular political and military control over Anactorion.[77]

During the Archidamian War, the Corinthians were very willing to promote Ambracian interests.[78] After the battles of Stratos, Olpae and Idomenae the Ambraciots lost their supremacy.[79] On the other hand, Corinth sent 500 hoplites to protect Ambracia and Leucas to demonstrate her willingness to protect her *apoikiai* should the Athenians attack.[80] Anactorians had sent hoplites for the first Peloponnesian expedition in 429, but in 425 the anti-Corinthian party facilitated the Athenian conquest and Anactorion was refounded by new settlers from all over Akarnania.[81]

73 Thuc. 1.25.4, 38.3. For an interpretation of this passage, see Suk Fong Jim 2013. Thucydides emphasizes the paradoxical fact that Corcyreans plundered Leucas, although it was a Corinthian *apoikia*: Thuc. 1.30.2. It is in this context that we must regard the Corinthian claim that the Corcyreans were their own allies who had rebelled against them: Thuc. 1.40.4. See also Stickler 2010: 248-50; Fragoulaki 2013: 66, 73, 84.

74 Thuc. 2.9.3.

75 Carter 1993: 35. See also Kaponis 2020: 223-25.

76 Carter 1993: 35; *SNG* (1943/Copenhagen) n. 340; Calciati 1990: II.404-5 nos. 54, 55, 57, 58, 392-476 nos. 17-129; Psoma 2007a: 10-11, 17, 18.

77 Thuc. 1.55.1-2, 4.49. Graham 1962; Fragoulaki 2013: 40.

78 Thuc. 2.80-82 (Cnemus), 3.102.6-7, 3.105-14 (Eurylochus).

79 Thuc. 2.81.6-7, 3.114.3.

80 Thuc. 4.42.3.

81 Thuc. 4.49.

Leucas was then the only place to provide secure docking facilities for triremes and commercial vessels and so became the centre of naval operations of Corinth in the region.[82]

In Thucydides' narrative, Ambracia and Leucas and (until 425) Anactorion are constantly mentioned together, which implies that this was how they were grouped in battle. This is how they appear in the catalogue of Sparta's allies, in the battle of Stratos, in the Corcyrean civil war and in the Sicilian Campaign.[83] In various passages in Thucydides, Corinth willingly supports her *apoikiai*, being motivated above all by colonial and kinship bonds.[84] Thucydides thus regarded the *apoikiai* around the Ambracian Gulf as a form of an entity united by συγγένεια.[85]

Revival of a mocked Corinthian unity

The economic development of the *poleis* around the Ambracian Gulf and the consequences of the Corinthian War gave the *poleis* another chance to diverge from the policy of Corinth. At the beginning of the fourth century, the Leucadians struck new issues on Corinthian types, albeit with new legends (Λ or ΛΕΥ), which proudly advertised the economic independence of Leucas.[86]

82 Thuc. 2.80.2-5, 81.3, 84.5, 91-92.3, 3.7.4-5, 69.1, 80.2, 81.1, 94.1-2, 95.1-2, 102.3, 4.8.2, 4.42.3, 6.104.1, 7.2.1, 7.1, 8.13.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.26; Paus. 10.9.10.

83 For similar grouping before the Peloponnesian War, cf. above n. 55-56.

84 Thuc. 1.29.1-4, 1.30.1-3, 2.9.2-3, 2.80, 2.91.1-4, 3.69.1, 3.76.1, 7.58.3 (κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές); Xen. Hell. 5.4.64.2-4.66.10, 6.2.2.1-2.2.5. Cf. Thuc. 1.26.3 (Epidamnus), 7.57.7 (Corcyra). On kinship in Thucydides: Curty 1994; Fragoulaki 2013, especially concerning Corinth and *apoikia*i, 58-99.

85 Corinth preserved the same warm relationship with other Corinthian *apoikiai*, such as Potidaea and Syracuse: Hdt. 7.154.16; Thuc. 1.29.6, 56.2, 60.1-3, 4.72.1, 6.34.3-4, 73.2, 88.7, 104.1, 7.2.1-3, 4.7, 7.3, 17.3-4, 18.1, 19.5, 24.3, 39.2. The Syracusans later in fourth century asked Corinth to become their *metropolis* again, showing their loyalty over time: Plut. *Tim.* 23.1-2. See also Fragoulaki 2013: 81, 88-96. Cf. the violation of this Corinthian συγγένεια when the Corcyreans participated in the Sicilian Expedition: Thuc. 7.57.7. See also Fragoulaki 2013: 34.

86 Kraay 1976: 125 n. 3; Calciati 1990: II.392, 400 no. 45, 404 no. 54-55, 405 no. 57; Carter 1993: 35. See also Kaponis 2020: 223-25, 231-33. Over 400-350 there was a significant

Although Ephorus states that Ambracia and Leucas were members of the anti-Spartan coalition during the Corinthian War, they did not send troops or triremes in support of Corinth, whose territory was ravaged.[87] At the time, Anactorion was still considered Akarnanian.[88] Consequently, both Leucas and Ambracia reorganized their army and navy and, when they became Peloponnesian allies soon after, they again funded naval campaigns in the Ionian Sea and supported Peloponnesian triremes in the conflict over Corcyra. Ambracia and Leucas are again mentioned together by Xenophon as members of the naval force under Mnasippus, although this time they appear in the text after Corinthians.[89]

By the fourth century, probably after the Corinthian War,[90] the polities of Ambracia and Leucas had been reformed and the *poleis* gradually adopted democratic institutions that diverged from the oligarchical model employed in Corinth.[91] Furthermore, political offices which in archaic times had enjoyed great prestige started to acquire features in the *apoikiai* that differed from those possessed by such magistracies in Corinth.[92]

Moreover, the Leucadians in 361 joined the Second Athenian Alliance, albeit for only a short period.[93] In 350s they minted staters depicting the

increase in foreign coins circulating in the *agora* at Leucas: Bonelou 2005: 49-53; Gatzolis 2012: 386-90; Bonelou 2016: 121, 124-25; Kaponis 2020: 269-71.

87 Diod. Sic. 14.82.1.5-5.1. However, Ephorus in his list of the states in this alliance mentions Leucadians along with Akarnanians and Ambraciots. Cf. Xen. *Ages.* 1.5.1-7.1; *Hell.* 4.2.17, 3.15.

88 After Agesilaus' expedition in 388 against Akarnania, Anactorion became an ally of Sparta: Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.1.

89 Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.64-66.10, 6.2.2-2.5, although he never mentions any bonds of kinship.

90 Kaponis 2020: 286, 288. During this war, Corinth also experienced a political revolt, possibly organized by a recently formed democratic party in collaboration with disenfranchised wealthy citizens: Diod. Sic. 14.86.1; *POxy* 7.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.4. See also Hamilton 1972: 21-24.

91 Arist. *Pol.* 1266b15-25 (Leucas), 1303a20-25 (Ambracia).

92 On the office of *polemarchos*: *IG* IX 1^2 4 1231 ll. 8-9; Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 58.1-43; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.1, 17.2, 22.2; on that of *basileus*: Hdt. 5.92δ; Nic. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) fr. 58.1, 59.1-13; Apollodorus (*FGrHist* 244) fr. 331 (= Diod. Sic. 7.9.1-9.6); Euseb. *Chron.* I, 88 (Schöene); Arist. fr. 611.19-20 (Rose). See also Matijašić 2010: 232-37; Kõiv 2016: 26-27, 58, 60; Kaponis 2020: 314-15.

93 *IG* II^2 104. See also Kaponis 2020: 230, 239.

Boeotian shield, possibly as a sign of some economic or political cooperation with Thebes, which at the time was on bad terms with Corinth.[94] Anactorion had also cooperated with Thebes at about that time: it was asked to fund Theban troops during the Third Sacred War.[95] However, it minted a large amount of *pegasoi*, a symbol of Corinthian economic supremacy in the region before 350.[96]

The most important factor that deepened and expanded unity within northwestern Greece was the campaign in support of Syracuse organized by the Corinthian *strategos* Timoleon in 344. An inscription from Corinth commemorating his victory mentions Corcyreans, Apolloniates and possibly Ambraciots, while literary sources confirm that the Leucadians also took part.[97] This campaign led to the political rediscovery of Corinth as the *metropolis* of all the Corinthian *apoikiai* in the north-west and to the reestablishment of previous colonial loyalty.[98] Anactorion re-entered the Corinthian sphere of economic and political influence, and the idea of kinship was promoted once more and this time incorporated even the previously hostile Corcyra.[99] The reunification of the Corinthian colonial family was also expressed by the settlement of citizens from one *apoikia* in another, as is shown by the presence of tombs of Corcyreans at Leucas and Anactorion and of Ambraciots at Leucas.[100] The memory of the com-

94 Kraay 1976: 125 with n. 3; Calciati 1990: II.392, 400 no. 45, 404 nos. 54-55, 405 no. 57; Kaponis 2020: 237-42. Likewise, the Akarnanians were briefly members of the Second Athenian Alliance and subsequently fell within in the sphere of influence of Thebes: Diod. Sic. 15.36.5-6 (Second Athenian Alliance); Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.23; Diod. Sic. 15.57.2-4 (Theban sphere of influence).

95 *IG* VII 2418 ll. 5-7. See also Psoma 2016: 102; Kaponis 2020: 261, 266-69.

96 Kaponis 2020: 261.

97 Kent 1966: no. 23; Cabanes & Ceka 1997: T 307. For the possible reconstruction [Ἀμβρακ]ιωτῶν, see Fantasia 2017: 99-105. For the participation of Leucas and Corcyra: Diod. Sic. 16.66.2; Plut. *Tim.* 8.4; [*Rh. Al.*] 1429b.18-22. For the encapsulation of Corcyra in the Corinthian sphere of influence, see Intrieri 2015: 107-9.

98 Antonetti 2011.

99 Forasté 1993: 47. On Corcyra regarded as ἄποικος of the Corinthians and συγγενής of the other Corinthian *apoikiai*: Thuc. 7.57.7. See also Fragoulaki 2013: 34.

100 Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Alexopoulou 2002: 84; Staikou 2016: 180-81. For the right of reestablishment in old apoikiai, see Malkin 2018; Kaponis 2020, 90 with n. 516.

mon past was expressed on Ambracian coins, where the figure of the Corinthian oecist Gorgus was depicted.[101] The reconnection of *metropolis* and northwestern *apoikiai* was so strong in fourth century that Demosthenes tried to warn the Corinthians of Philip's aggression, since (he states that) Ambracia and Leucas were *poleis* under Corinthian control.[102] Once more in the literary tradition the *poleis* around the Ambracian Gulf form a multifaceted unity.[103]

A few years later, the Ambraciots formed a similar political and economic entity, albeit smaller. A treaty of friendship and alliance with the Akarnanians and the Amphilochians, probably agreed in 342 but in fact a renewal of the treaty signed in 426, confirms that the Ambracian Gulf is to be exploited freely and in common by all parties.[104] Ambracia managed also to reaffirm her bonds with Akarnania, point commemorated on her coins that depict the Akarnanian god Achelous.[105]

During this period, the Leucadians considered themselves the closest relatives of the Corinthians, as did also other Greeks. A Late classical mirror advertises its Corinthian origin and hints at economic cooperation between Leucas and Corinth: it depicts Corinth as a seated male deity and Leucas as a nymph serving him, while two irises, a flower closely connected with Corinthian and Leucadian trade in perfumes in Epirus and Illyria, appear in the background.[106] These close kinship bonds are found

101 Cf. above n. 15.

102 Dem. *Phil. 3*, 34.1-35.2.

103 Kaponis 2020: 140, 434-35.

104 *SEG* 63.391, especially on the common exploitation of the Ambracian Gulf: ll. 8-9. See also Funke & Hallof 2013: 56-62; Fantasia 2018: 503-5; Kaponis 2020: 158, 245. Ambraciots exported great quantities of fish throughout the classical period: Hsch. s.v. ἀκεᾶνες; Anonymus, *Exegesis totius mondi e nationum*, 30; Archestratus, fr. 7 Brandt (= Ath. 3.44-92D), fr. 26 Brandt (= Ath. 3.66-105E), fr. 15 Brandt (Ath. 7.72-305E-F), fr. 30 Brandt (Ath. 7-328A), fr. 45.1-10 Brandt (Ath. 7.86-311A): fr. 54 (Ath. 7-326D), fr. 156 Brandt (Ath. 3-105E); Philemon, fr. 82 (Kassel). See also Dakaris 1976: 19; Tzouvara-Souli 1992: 206-7; Zoumbaki 2012: 85-86; Dalby 2013: 7 (Ambracia); Kaponis 2020: 149-57.

105 Calciati 1990: II.463, nos. 88-90. Achelous was the most important deity of the Akarnanians: Corsten 2006: 163-65. See also Kaponis 2020: 244-45.

106 *IG* IV 360; *IG* IX 1^2 4 1477 (Louvre no. 1699). For the ideological relation with Corinth: Ostrowski 1996: 266; Zachos & Douzougli 2003: 45; Antonetti 2011: 58-59 with nn.

to an exceptional degree in pseudo-Aristotle's implication that Leucadians and Corinthians resemble each other.[107] Most peculiar and amusing of all, Callisthenes made fun of the obvious and mutual affection between the Corinthians and the supposedly conservative Leucadians, presenting the Leucadians as "a fogeyish version of the Corinthians".[108]

Intertemporal Corinthian memories

During the period of Macedonian and/or Molossian supremacy, pro-Macedonian parties in northwestern *poleis* respected their Corinthian past, although in an effort to legitimize the claims of the Macedonian sovereign, they created new versions of foundation legends and placed deities with Macedonian/Molossian affinities at the centre of local cult.[109] The later version of the Ambracian foundation legend commemorates the Corinthian oecist Gorgus, thus revealing the diachronic cult that lay at the heart of Ambracian religious life.[110] Furthermore, the economic bonds that had connected the members of the Corinthian family of *apoikiai* could not be annulled. Numismatists have concluded that Am-

31-32. Iris flowers: Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 9.7.3-4; Plin. *HN* 13.5, 21.42. See also Roebuck 1972: 118; Lambrugo 2008; Castel *et al.* 2009: 326-27; Zoumbaki 2012: 84. For depictions of iris on Leucadian coins: Calciati 1990: II.392-476 nos. 17-129.

107 Arist. [*Phgn.*] 808a31 (Bekker). Unlike Leucadians, the inhabitants of Apollonia in Illyria had probably little in common in their appearance with the Corinthians: McIlvain *et al.* 2014.

108 Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 5.32-33 = Ath. 8.44.7-11 (347C).

109 Kaponis 2020: 133-37, 341-46. For re-elaborated and amended foundation legends in Miletus: Polito 2011: 97-98.

110 Athanadas (*FGrHist* 303) fr. 1. Cf. the cult of the oecist in Megarian *apoikiai*: Robu 2014: 159, 248, 412-13.

bracia continued to use *pegasoi* for several decades after Pyrrhus' arrival,[111] and Corinthian *pegasoi* circulated extensively in northwestern Greece and the west.[112]

In spite of the political integration of these *poleis* in the territory of Hellenistic hegemonic or peripheral powers, there were still strong memories of Corinthian culture. The most eloquent symbol of the Corinthian origin of its *apoikiai* and of cooperation over time between *metropolis* and *apoikia* was Pegasus. He was still engraved on Hellenistic *danakes* (coin-shaped burial offerings) in Ambracia and Leucas.[113] Moreover, political cults connected with the Corinthian *nostoi* or linked to Doric cult practices kept Corinthian culture and ideology alive.[114]

Most strikingly, however, these memories were propagated by authors and poets of Augustan times. Antipater of Thessalonica represents the three *apoikiai*, along with Argos Amphilochikon and Thyrrheion, as the predecessors of Nicopolis. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Ovid represent their conquest by the Romans as a result of Roman aggression against Corinth.[115] Lastly, the survival of so many deeply-rooted Corinthian memories is attested in the cults of Nicopolis. The population of Augustus' city was drawn from neighbouring areas, and they brought with them their own deities and cult practices, along with their material culture,[116] and sanctuaries were dedicated to Asclepius, Leucadian Apollo

111 Oikonomidou-Karamessini 1994: 172-74; Preka-Alexandri & Stoyas 2009; Bonelou 2013: 389. Corinthian staters were also used for paying the wages of Akarnanian soldiers: *IG* IX I^2 1 3 l. 39. Bronze Ambracian pegasoi were dominant in the Ionian Sea and Epirus during the third and early second centuries: see Oeconomides 1990: 267-69 with n. 4; Tsangari 2007: 26; Kaponis 2020: 251-52.

112 *CID* 2 12, col. II ll. 20-25; Bousquet 1942: 102, 20-25; *CID* 2 4, col. III; *IG* IX 1^2 4 32; *IG* IX 1^2 4 798 ll. 4, 7, 19, 41, 69, 102, 112; *IG* IX 1^2 4 1196 l. 32; Cabanes & Drini 1995: 514 n. 46 l. 41. See also Psoma 2007b: 238-40; 2018: 128-33.

113 Zachos 1997: 282; Vassios 2017.

114 *IG* IX I^2 2 583 l. 38; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.4.1-51.1.5; Strabo 10.2.9 (C 452). On the exploitation of traditional Doric cults in Hellenistic times: Kaponis 2020: 322, 396-97.

115 *Anth. Pal.* 9.553; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.4.1-51.1.5; Ov. *Her.* 155-172. See also Fantasia 2017: 200.

116 Fantasia 2017: 190-95.

or Apollo Actios.[117] The temple of Apollo Actios in Akarnania was also restored by Augustus.[118] The 'Leucadian Leap' on the promontory of Leucatas as a purificatory ceremony was adopted, while Leucadian Apollo was also depicted on coins of Nicopolis.[119] A baetyl, the Ambracian symbol, was erected in the centre of Nicopolis to indicate the identity of the new city. During the same period, burials of wealthy citizens from Nicopolis contained golden *danakes* depicting Pegasus, just like in Hellenistic Ambracia.[120] Finally, both the political institutions of these *poleis*, especially the *boule* and *demos* of Ambracia, and in general the *nomima*, including cults and calendar, remained to a remarkable degree unchanged throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[121]

Intertemporal memories of a shifting unity

To conclude: ancient literary tradition always regarded Ambracian Gulf as an area of Corinthian economic, cultural and political interest from the archaic period onwards. Corinth's relationship with her western *apoikiai* gradually led to a notable degree of unity, derived from colonial kinship and otherwise rare in the divided world of Greek *poleis*. Other examples of such unity are exceptional in the ancient Greek world and are

117 Polyb. 21.27.2; Livy 38.5.2. See also Strauch 1996: 172.

118 Verg. *Aen.* 8.704-706; Prop. 4.6.27-68; Strabo 7.7.5-6 (C325); Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Dio Cas. 51.1.1-3.

119 Prop. 3.11.69; Ov. *Her.* 155-172; *Tr.* 3.1.35-40. For coins, see Franke 1976; Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 242-44.

120 Tzouvara-Souli 1984; 1987: 177; 1993: 65-69; Fehrentz 1993: 156; Strauch 1996: 171-72; Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 243-44; Katsadima 2007: 96. For the baetyl in Ambracia and Apollonia, see *SEG* 45.659; 59.614-15; Quantin 2011: 229 with n. 44. For artifacts from Ambracia adorning the monuments of Actium, see Hoepfner 1983; Tzouvara-Souli 1987: 181; Strauch 1996: 170-71; Fantasia 2017: 193.

121 Most of the sources are Hellenistic: see above nn. 25-31. For βουλὴ and δῆμος in possibly Trajanic Greek inscriptions: *CIG* 2.1801; *SEG* 39.527; 1868. Fantasia 2017: 196 thinks that βουλή and δῆμος were revived after the site had been abandoned in Augustan times.

perhaps due to initial strong political and economic affinities.[122] Political unity was to a certain degree ruptured by Athenian policy in the region and was challenged by political developments and constitutional changes in the *apoikiai*. Yet this unity survived via political ideology and institutions and until the absorption of the *poleis* by Hellenistic powers was revived several times thus strengthening the kinship bonds among these states. Economic unity was maintained through Corinthian trade and through a common calendar and numismatic policy and managed to survive until the end of the Hellenistic era. Cultural diversities that arose from local needs and particularities did not prevent these *poleis* over time from remaining conscious of their common Corinthian culture, expressed mainly through cults, myth, burial customs and artefacts.

Although they had their own institutions and followed their own policies, these *apoikiai* seem initially to have depended on Corinth because of the blood relationship between Corinthian and their own tyrants. The Corinthian legends created a common mythological tradition, retained the memory of Corinthian origin and therefore shaped strong kinship and cultural bonds. *Metropolis* and *apoikiai* shared a common ideology and war experience that reinforced bonds of sentiment between them. At the end of the archaic period, they formed a political and economic unity, which motivated the *apoikiai* to support each other. However, from time to time political bonds among these Corinthian *apoikiai* and between them and the *metropolis* were either strengthened or partially dismantled. Despite the divergence from Corinth caused by the economic development of its *apoikiai*, by internal social diversification and by the corrosive effects of war over the fifth and early fourth centuries, Corinthians, Ambraciots, and Leucadians continued to enjoy the economic and political unity they had established previously.

122 For the similar relations of Sicilian *apoikiai* with their *metropolis*, see Morakis in this volume (throughout). The *apoikiai* of the Syracusans and Sinopeis maintained exceptional bonds with or even dependence on their *metropolis*: Hdt. 7.154.18; Thuc. 6.5.2-3 (Syracusans); Xen. *An.* 4.8.22, 5.3.2, 5.5.7, 5.5.10-11 (*Sinopeis*): for Syracusan *apoikiai*, see Dunbabin 1948: 16-18; Graham 1964: 92-93; Morakis 2019: 177-80; for Sinopean *apoikiai,* see Manoledakis 2015: 86. Sparta also had a similar relationship to her *apoikiai*: Fragoulaki 2013: 140-208 with references to Thucydides. For Miletus and her *apoikiai*, see Ehrhardt 1983: 229-54.

In late classical times, Corinthian *apoikiai* diverged from Corinth and created new economic relations, albeit still respecting Corinthian economic supremacy. They gladly participated in the revival of old traditions and in establishing a new and long-lasting period of unity as a result of Timoleon's campaign. So firm at that time were their bonds of sentiment, that other Greeks regarded the citizens of the *apoikiai* almost as if they were Corinthians. The *apoikiai* were thought to be so respectful of their *metropolis*, that they surpassed the normal limits of colonial loyalty and indeed became something of a caricature of Corinthians. The renewal of economic interconnections with Corinth and the West created a perennial memory of the political, economic and cultural unity of the past for a greater group of *poleis* in the north-west, which now included old enemies or *apoikiai*.[123] Although these ties underwent various fluctuations over the course of history, they remained important channels for the transmission of ideologies and they sometimes even engendered important cultural revivals in successive periods. The citizens of Nicopolis acknowledged the cultural bonds with the Corinthian *apoikiai* on and around the Ambracian Gulf, both through Corinthian cults and via the dominant ideology of Augustus himself, who employed Corinthian saga and myth in order to legitimize the political unification and synoecism of the ancient *poleis*, namely the foundation of Nicopolis. Such was the powerful impression made by these bonds between *metropolis* and *apoikiai* upon Augustus himself, that he, too, respected this tradition and even promoted it through his own propaganda.

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123 Such colonial memories were exploited over time in Megarian *apoikiai* as well: Robu 2014: 411-12.

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PATTERNS OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN METROPOLIS AND APOIKIA IN DORIAN SICILY

By Andreas Morakis

Summary: This paper explores the relationship between Dorian *metropoleis* of Sicily and their colonies there during the archaic and early classical periods. We will concentrate on three case studies and different topics such as political organization, attitude towards the indigenous populations, alphabet, foreign relations, burials, and material culture. The three case studies are the following: (a) Syracuse and its three colonies, Akrai, Kasmenai and Kamarina, (b) Megara Hyblaea and Selinous, and (c) Gela and Akragas.

Syracuse and its colonies

The first Dorian colonists in Sicily were the Corinthians under Archias in 734/3.[1] Shortly afterwards arrived the Megarians under Lamis. After a lot of difficulties, they founded Megara Hyblaea in 729/8.[2] Dorians from Rhodes under Antiphemus and from Crete under Chersicrates founded Gela in 688.[3] The first colony that established new settlements was Syra-

1 For Archias and Syracuse, see Thuc. 6.3.2. For the foundation of Syracuse, see among others, Bérard 1957: 116-30; Leschhorn 1984: 13-16; Bernstein 2004: 45-77; Domínguez 2006: 269-75; Morakis 2011: 468-69; Guzzo 2011: 194-99.

2 For the foundation of Megara, see Thuc. 6.4.1-2; Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 137 = Strabo 6.2.2; Scymn. 270-278; Polyaenus, *Strat.* 5.5, along with Bérard 1957: 83-84, 110-16; Malkin 2002: 210-6, 220-22; Guzzo 2011: 171-81; Robu 2014: 119-57.

3 Thuc 6.4.3. For the foundation of Gela, see, among others, Bérard 1957: 225-31; Leschhorn 1984: 48-50; Sammartano 1999; Raccuia 2000: 99-130; Domínguez 2006: 279-83; Morakis 2011: 470-73.

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cuse. Archaeological evidence points to the occupation of the site of Helorus ca. 700 BCE.[4] The Syracusans later destroyed the indigenous settlement of Monte Finocchito (mid-seventh century).[5] Thucydides noted the foundation of Akrai by Syracuse in 664, of Kasmenai in 644, of Kamarina in 598, as well as the oikists of the latter, who were Daskon and Menekolus.[6]

Akrai was founded in a strategic position at the top of a hill in the range of the Hyblaean mountains (870 m alt.), 30 km west of Syracuse and close to the springs of the Anapus river.[7] Excavations that began in the 19th century brought to light the urban layout of the settlement, an *agora*, part of the fortifications and a temple dedicated to Aphrodite. With the exception of the temple of Aphrodite, which is dated around 525-520, all the rest dates from the Hellenistic period.[8]

Kasmenai is located about 13 km west of Akrai on a hill (830 m) close to the springs of the rivers Anapus, Hyrminus, and Helorus.[9] The site was excavated by Orsi in the 1920s and 1930s. From these early excavations we have the urban layout, houses and a temple. More recent archaeological research revealed a wall and offered a clearer picture of the site. The urban layout consisted of about 40 *stenopoi* (most recently Collura identified 46),[10] of about 3.5 m wide which form habitation blocks of 25 m wide and up to 55 m long. Inside these blocks, complexes (each side 25 m) of four quadrangular houses (each side 12.5 m) with a courtyard

4 Its foundation is not mentioned by literary sources. For Helorus, see di Vita 1956: 183-87; Domínguez 1989: 196-99; Copani 2010; Frasca 2015: 74-76; Morakis 2019: 196-98.

5 For Monte Finocchito, see Domínguez 1989: 206-13; Frasca 2015: 30-33, 77-86; Morakis 2019: 198-99.

6 Thuc. 6.5.3.

7 For its location, see Chovaniec 2015: 43.

8 For Akrai, see Domínguez 1989: 303-6; Fischer-Hansen 1996: 335-36; Mertens 2006: 76-77; Tréziny 2009: 173-74; Chovaniec 2015; Lancaster 2018: esp. 42, 235-37.

9 For its location, see Lancaster 2018: 241.

10 Collura 2020: 68.

sometimes shared by two house units have been excavated.[11] Of significant importance is the evidence from the temple of Mars inside of which weapons (helmets, swords, lances) and agricultural tools were excavated.[12]

The different ways these two Syracusan foundations have been seen by modern scholars are clearly related to the type of their relations with their mother city, Syracuse. For Orsi[13] and Di Vita, both settlements had a military character and were not proper *poleis*. Their aim was to facilitate the expansion of Syracuse to the interior of South-Eastern Sicily.[14] Di Vita stressed the lack of *plateiai*, an *agora* and large streets and interpreted the urban layout as having being created on the principle of *isomoiria* and further connected to hoplite warfare and equality of the hoplites forming the phalanx.[15] This interpretation has gained much favor by modern scholars.[16] In the same context, scholars also pointed out the lack of coinage in both cities, as well as the fact that Thucydides fails to mention an oecist for both of them, and considered that the two settlements were in a way subordinated to Syracuse.[17]

This exclusively military character and the equality of Kasmenai residents,[18] as well as the anti-native orientation of the two settlements and

11 For Kasmenai, see Greco & Torelli 1983: 183-85; Domínguez 1989: 213-18; Fischer-Hansen 1996: 336; Di Vita 1996: 276-79; Menéndez Varela 2003: 53-55; Mertens 2006: 77-79; Tréziny 2009: 174-76; Lancaster 2018: esp. 43-45, 239-41; Morakis 2019: 200-3; Collura 2020.

12 For this data, see more recently Melfi 2000; Albanese Procelli 2013; Scarci 2022.

13 See in Collura 2020: 63.

14 Di Vita 1956: esp. 181-94, 204-5; 1987: 79-80.

15 Di Vita 1996: 276-78.

16 See e.g. Bérard 1957: 132; Sjöqvist 1973: 7; Domínguez 1989: 214, 217; Anello 2002: 67 n. 48; Menéndez Varela 2003: 53; Erdas 2006: 46-50; Copani 2009: 15; Guzzo 2011: 208. See also in Collura 2020: 68-69.

17 Bérard 1957: 132; Sjöqvist 1973: 37; Asheri 1980: 122; Greco & Torelli 1983: 181,184; Domínguez 1989: 217-18; 2006: 285 with n. 86; Hansen 1997: 36; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo 2004: 189; Erdas 2006: 46-47, with some doubts; de Luna 2009: 75-76; Copani 2009: 13-14; Uggeri 2015: 48 with n. 11; Chovaniec 2015: 43.

18 Already by Greco & Torelli 1983: 183-84, see also more recently Collura 2020: esp. 75-83 who postulated the existence of *plateiai* and *agora*. Tréziny 2009: 176 had also postulated the existence of an *agora* but in a different location than Collura.

especially of Kasmenai, have been challenged.[19] Doubts were also cast on the supposed subordination or dependency to/on Syracuse, mainly of Kasmenai and especially during the (very) late archaic period.[20] The relevant main arguments are the following:

(a) For Herodotus, Kasmenai was a *polis*;[21]
(b) An early fifth-century fragmentary inscription, usually considered as originating from Kasmenai, is granting tax immunity and other privileges to (probably) the *gamoroi.*[22] Since Kasmenai could grant tax immunity, and land possession or citizenship, it is certain that we are dealing with a proper *polis* completely independent from Syracuse.
(c) Thucydides includes both cities in the list of Greek colonies of Sicily, while he omits other Syracusan settlements like Helorus and Akrillai.
(d) The lack of coinage should not be considered as evidence of non-*polis* status and/or of dependency from Syracuse. There are many cities of the West that minted coinage only at a late or very late date.[23]

19 Mainly Melfi 2000, followed by Greco 2000: 229 and Copani 2009: 17-18, see also Albanese Procelli 2013: 237. On the contrary, di Vita 2003: 66-69 considers these weapons as spoils taken from the natives.
20 See for example Asheri 1980: 123; di Vita 1987: 79-80; Hansen 2000: 198-99, for Kasmenai, although he remarks that its location is totally inappropriate for the foundation of a colony; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo 2004: 205 for Kasmenai.
21 Hdt. 7.155; Steph. Byz. s.v. Κασμένη.
22 *SEG* 12.407. See for example Asheri 1980: 23; Domínguez 2006: 284-85; Lancaster 2018: 43. For this inscription see, among others, Alexander 1925; Guarducci 1959-1960: 254-58; Manganaro 1965: 194-97; Dubois 1989: 275-76; Luraghi 1994: 283 n. 43; van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994: 274-78; Erdas 2006: 46-47; Mignosa 2021. They do not all agree that the inscription comes from Kasmenai. For Alexander (the first to publish it) it was found at the site of ancient Akrai, while others, mainly because of the mixed alphabet of the inscription (with elements from Syracuse, Megara, but also the Chalcidian cities), believe that it comes from Megara Hyblaea (Guarducci), Selinous (Manganaro), or Syracuse (Dubois, Mignosa).
23 E.g. Cumae, Leontinoi and Catane minted coins for the first time at the beginning of the fifth century, Lipara at the end of the fifth century, while Lokroi minted at about the middle of the fourth century. For all these, see Morakis (forthcoming).

(e) The size of Kasmenai (45 ha) cannot support the view of a simple stronghold.[24]

The fact that Thucydides does not mention oecists for both cities suggests some special character and very plausibly indicates that both settlements were not proper *poleis* from the beginning and had special bonds to Syracuse. In the same direction points the choice of their sites, inland and at a high altitude, close to each other and with no adequate arable land in their vicinity. The two settlements were most probably founded as strongholds by Syracuse with the aim at controlling the indigenous populations of the interior and preventing the expansion of Gela to the east. The same is indicated, as we have seen, by the mountainous area where both were established which has no parallel in Sicily, and the proximity to each other (less than 15 km). It is in this way that we can also explain the absence of oecists. There are no names because there were no formal foundations and consequently no oecists: at first there were only a few soldiers stationed in both settlements.
Collura is right to support the view that gradually more people with their families settled at Kasmenai. The (re)organization of the urban layout along with the monumentalizing of the temple of Aphrodite and the construction of other public buildings are the outcome of this procedure.[25] If the inscription mentioned above originates from Kasmenai, its *polis*-status is further confirmed by the date of the inscription (ca. 500). A simple *phrourion* could not issue a decree. By the 490s, at the date of the events described by Herodotus (7.155), Kasmenai was a *polis*. It was also the case during the period of Thucydides' source about colonization in Sicily (probably Antiochus of Syracuse).

There is less evidence for Akrai, which was a *polis* when a reorganization of the urban layout of the city took place in the third century under Hieron II.[26] But, it is highly unlikely that it remained a *phrourion* until that date. It is plausible that Akrai became a *polis* during the archaic period and well before Kasmenai, since its foundation is of earlier date. It seems also plausible that Akrai, unlike Kasmenai, kept its military character

24 Collura 2020: 70.
25 Collura 2020: 70.
26 Scripo 2018: 313.

down to the reign of Gelon. It was most probably after Gelon's triumph over Carthage that Akrai lost its military function. Thus, Akrai must have reached the *polis* status at the latest by the 470s.

To sum up, both cities seem to have achieved *polis*-status during the sixth century. Nevertheless, this did not alter the strong bonds that they both had with Syracuse as its former strongholds. These bonds imply some kind of dependency, at least in matters of foreign policy. Although it is difficult to say more about the relations between these two colonies and their mother city,[27] it seems rather possible that both settlements/*poleis* were in some way united with Syracuse. We could postulate for Akrai and Kasmenai a status more or less similar to that of the Spartan *perioikides poleis* to the city of Sparta.[28]

It is within the same context that we propose to explain the relations of the *gamoroi* of Syracuse with Kasmenai, revealed by Herodotus and the inscription mentioned above, the *gamoroi* being the ruling elite, identified with the Syracusan state itself.[29] The establishment of Kasmenai and Akrai as strongholds and the gradual transformation of Kasmenai (and presumably of Akrai) into proper *poleis* were facilitated by Syracuse itself who had a close eye on both settlements throughout the archaic period. These close relations between colonies and mother city have been lately demonstrated also through the architectural program; it has been assumed that the urban development of both needed constant assistance from Syracuse.[30]

The third Syracusan foundation, Kamarina, was founded in the southern part of Sicily near the mouth of the river Hypparis (modern Ippari)[31] at a distance of approximately 100 km from Syracuse. Its *chora* covered an area of about 600-700 km^2 between the rivers Irminio (ancient Hyrminus) and Dirillo.[32] As we have seen, Thucydides dates its foundation to 598 and also gives the names of the two oecists. He moreover says that

27 Lancaster 2018: 224 remarks that the degree of independence of Kasmenai may have changed over time.

28 For the status of these, see lately Ducat 2018: 606-12.

29 For the character of the *gamoroi*, see Morakis 2015.

30 Lancaster 2018: 225.

31 For the location of Kamarina, see de Luna 2006: 77-78; Uggeri 2015: 52.

32 Di Stefano 1987: 134-36. For the *chora* of Kamarina, see in detail Uggeri 2015: 13-34.

Kamarina was later destroyed by Syracuse as a result of its revolt (δι' ἀπόστασιν) in 553/2.[33] A fragment of Philistus gives more information about this conflict between colony and mother city. We learn from Philistus that Enna and Megara Hyblaea were allies of the Syracusans, whereas the native Sicilians and others were allies of Kamarina. Gela was also an ally of Kamarina but refused to fight against Syracuse. When Kamarina crossed the river Hyrminus, Syracuse was ready to react.[34] According to Herodotus, Syracuse was defeated by Hippocrates of Gela at the Helorus river, and was forced to cede Kamarina to the latter in 493/2,[35] who refounded it.[36] Excavations in the site of Kamarina and archeological research in its *chora* began in the 19th century and revealed the urban layout, especially the area of the *agora*, the port, the walls, the

33 Scymn. 295-296; Scholia in Pind. *Ol.* 5.16.

34 Philistus (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 = Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 5.5: ... ἐν ἀρχῆι τῆς δευτέρας τῶν Περὶ Σικελίας· "Συρακόσιοι δὲ παραλαβόντες Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐνναίους, Καμαριναῖοι δὲ Σικελοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους πλὴν Γελώιων ἀθροίσαντες· Γελῶιοι δὲ Συρακοσίοις οὐκ ἔφασαν πολεμήσειν· Συρακόσιοι δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Καμαριναίους τὸν Ὕρμινον διαβάντας ..." (At the beginning of the second book of his Sikelika: "The Syracusans brought over to their side the Megarians and the Ennaians, and the Kamarinians levied the Sikels and the other allies apart from the Geloans (who refused to go to war against the Syracusans). The Syracusans, having learned that the Kamarinians had crossed the Hyrminos ..." (transl. C.B. Champion)). Pais 1894: 236 n. 1 replaces Μεγαρεῖς with Ἀκραίους and Ἐνναίους with Κασμεναίους. For a discussion of Pais' emendations, see Madolli 1980: 20; di Vita 1987: 82-83; Anello 2002: 69-70; de Luna 2009: 81; Lancaster 2018: 235 n. 2.

35 Hdt. 7.154.3: Συρηκοσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο ... "ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἱπποκράτεϊ Καμάριναν Συρηκοσίους παραδοῦναι· Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον ("They were, however, rescued by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans ... who made a peace for them on the condition that the Syracusans should deliver up to Hippocrates Camarina, which had formerly been theirs" (transl. A. D. Godley)). There are also two worn out passages of Timaeus and a passage of Philistus that refer to the destruction of Kamarina: Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 19a = Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 5.19a; Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 19b = Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 5.19b; Philistus (*FGrHist* 556) F15 = Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 5.19c. For these passages as well as two plausible destructions of Kamarina one in 492/3 and another in 485/4, see briefly Morakis 2019: 216-17.

36 Thuc. 6.5.3.

sanctuary of Athena, and cemeteries. However, few finds date from the archaic period.[37]

Modern scholarship agrees that Kamarina was founded as a city (*polis*). The reference by Thucydides to its oecists,[38] the choice of its site by the sea, near a river and surrounded by fertile plain, as well as the distance from Syracuse, support this view.[39] However, there is no agreement as far as the relationship with Syracuse is concerned: an independent city from the beginning,[40] or dependent on Syracuse?[41] In my view, the reference of Thucydides to a war δι'ἀπόστασιν and Herodotus' description of its status vis-à-vis Syracuse (Kamarina belonged to Syracuse during earlier periods: Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον) point to dependency on Syracuse.[42]

With this in mind, we need to consider the war between colony and mother city not as an effort of Syracuse to violate the (independent) status of Kamarina, but as an effort to ensure that Kamarina would stay under Syracusan control and follow the foreign policy of the mother city. Kamarina certainly aimed at emancipation from Syracuse and for this reason formed alliances with other cities also dissatisfied with Syracuse and menaced by the latter. These were, as we have seen, indigenous populations, Gela and probably some others, as these are mentioned by Philistus, and probably Leontini (not mentioned by Philistus but included at all probability in his reference to ἄλλους συμμάχους) that was a neighbor of Syracuse.[43] The pretext could be the good relations of Kamarina with the local Sicels. This attitude of Kamarina threatened the

37 See Uggeri 1996: esp. 75, 84, 88, 95, 109; 2015: esp. 134–35, 148.

38 It is plausible that Menekolus was from Corinth, see Asheri 1980: 123; Uggeri 1996: 26; 2015: 50; de Luna 2009: 78–79.

39 See Dunbabin 1948: 105; Uggeri 1996: 26; 2015: 49.

40 See Dunbabin 1948: 105; Uggeri 1996: 29; 2015: 54–55. According to both scholars, those who settled at Kamarina were the defeated in the internal conflicts in Syracuse along with the *Killyrioi*. This explains why Kamarina tried to keep a distance from Syracuse already from the beginning.

41 Pace 1927: 32; Graham 1983: 93; di Vita 1987: 85-86; Luraghi 1994: 28; de Luna 2006: 79.

42 Morakis 2019: 205. For Herodotus, see de Luna 2009: 79.

43 Uggeri 1996: 29.

unity of Syracuse and its colonies and also could show the path to *eleutheria* to the other two Syracusan foundations.

The victory of Syracuse over Kamarina restored the unity between the two cities. Kamarina did not cease to exist after its defeat and destruction by Syracuse. This is indicated also by the use of the nearby cemetery of Rifriscolano throughout the sixth century, along with the mention by Diodorus (1.68.6) of the Olympic victory of Parmenides in 528.[44] The rebellious Kamarinaeans might have found shelter among the indigenous populations, while their city received settlers from Syracuse.[45] The situation did not change until the defeat of Syracuse by Hippocrates at the Helorus river two generations later. The handing over of Kamarina to Hippocrates by Syracuse further confirms the status of dependency of Kamarina to Syracuse from 552 onwards. Finally, it is worth mentioning that there are striking similarities in burial customs between Syracuse and Kamarina. In both cities we see inhumations mostly in fossa graves to a little less than 60%, while cremations represent only 6% and *enchytrismoi* (for children) 35%.[46]

To conclude. With the foundation of its own colonies, Syracuse aimed to control Akrai and Kasmenai, which were founded as advanced Syracusan strongholds monitoring the indigenous of the area and other Greek cities (like Gela). Their gradual development into *poleis* was achieved under the control of Syracuse, despite the fact that in both settlements presumably people from other *poleis* were established. Kamarina was founded as a proper *polis* under Syracusan control. For Akrai and Kasmenai this gradual evolution from a *phrourion* to a *polis*, as well as the proximity of both to Syracuse and the strong bonds that the majority of their settlers had with the ruling class of the *gamoroi* (as the inscription mentioned above indicates) were the main reasons that both cities were so close to Syracuse. It is almost certain that Kasmenai and Akrai are included in the *Syrakousioi* of Philistus, who fought against Kamarina.

Kamarina's ambition to escape Syracusan control and eventually oppose the colonial 'empire' of Syracuse was facilitated by the distance

44 Pace 1927: 36-37; Dunbabin 1948: 106-7; di Stefano 1987: 199; Domínguez, 1989: 227; Fischer-Hansen 1996: 343; Anello 2002: 72; Pelagatti 2006: 58-59; de Luna 2009: 83.

45 Uggeri 1996: 29; 2015: 55.

46 Morakis 2019: 191-92 for Syracuse, and Pelagatti 2006: 61 for Kamarina.

from the mother city, as well as its fertile plain and commercial activity. The dissatisfaction of those who founded Kamarina with the ruling *gamoroi* is another factor that needs to be taken under consideration.[47] Kamarina tried to gain its independence with the help of the Sikels, being the first city to ally itself to the indigenous communities against another Greek city. The friendly relationship of Kamarina with the Sikels, contrary to the hostile attitude of Syracuse towards them, might have been a key factor for this conflict between colony and mother city. Kamarina's defeat meant the end of its effort to form a different and separate entity from Syracuse and the reestablishment of unity among the Syracusan foundations.

Megara Hyblaea and Selinous

According to Thucydides (6.4.2), Selinous was founded by Megara Hyblaea and Megara in mainland Greece in 628 while Diodorus (13.59.4) and Eusebius (*Chron.* p. 88-89) give an earlier date (651).[48] We do not know if Megara Nisaia provided only the oecist (or one of the oecists) or (also) part of the population as has been suggested.[49] Therefore it is difficult to tell in some cases whether the similarities between Selinous and the two cities named Megara originate from the one in mainland Greece or the one in Sicily.

Selinous was founded on the southern coast of Sicily, more precisely on the extreme western side of the island, in an area of three hills separated from each other by two valleys, each one of them being crossed by a small river todays Cotone and Modione respectively.[50] Excavations of

47 Uggeri 1996: 29; 2015: 255; de Angelis 2016: 169.

48 Thucydides' reading allows two possibilities for the origin of the oecists. Either the oecist Pamillus came from Megara Nisaia or he came from Megara Hyblaea, while a second oecist, whose name is missing from the manuscript, is the one originating from Megara of mainland Greece. For Selinous' foundation, see e.g. Domínguez 1989: 361-62; Anello 2000: 99 n. 1; de Angelis 2003: 123-24, with n. 183; Menéndez Varela 2003: 56 n. 168; Morakis 2011: 478-80; Robu 2014: 159-200.

49 See for example de la Genière 1977: 257; Asheri 1980: 129-30; Robu 2014: 188.

50 For the location of Selinous, see Bérard 1957: 246-47; de Angelis 2003: 124-25; Domínguez 2006: 303; Mertens 2006: 83.

the site of the ancient city on the Manuzza hill provided scant evidence for the seventh century: remains of houses and early phases of temples. From the beginning of the sixth century dates the reorganization of the urban design of the city.[51] This presents significant similarities with that of Megara Hyblaea, such as the trapezoidal form of the *agora*, its location and association with other prominent buildings, the urban sanctuary in the north for Megara Hyblaea, the area of the port and the acropolis, the circular rings for cult reasons, and the existence of an *hestiatorion* in both cities.[52] There are also suggestions for the existence of the cult of the *oikistes* in both cities.[53] It seems that the colonists adopted the urban organization of their metropolis and adapted it to the features and particularities of the area. The economic relations between the two cities, at least during the first generations of the colony's life, are reflected in the exports of polychrome pottery from Megara Hyblaea dating from the middle of the sixth century.[54]

There are differences between colony and mother city in their burial customs. Inhumations are the predominant form of burial in Megara Hyblaea and the other Greek cities in Sicily. Cremations form a small part, about 15%, at Megara Hyblaea,[55] while in the cemetery of Buffa at Selinous, almost all adults were cremated between 650 and 550, which is not the case later between 550 and 500. During the sixth century only 8% of the adults of the cemetery of Buffa were not cremated. In the cemetery of Manicalunga-Gaggera of Selinous cremations represent 70% of the total adult burials during the same period.[56] Cremation is totally absent

51 For the urban organization of Selinous in the archaic period, see di Vita 1996: 283-84; de Angelis 2003: 131-52; Menéndez Varela, 2003, 55, with n. 166 with previous bibliography: 58-61; Mertens 2006: 173-83; 2012: 154-64; Tréziny 2009: 165-67; Robu 2014: 195-200.

52 Tréziny 2009: 165; Mertens 2012: 1160-1, 1164; Gras, Tréziny 2012: 1139; 2017: 157; Robu 2015: 80.

53 Gras & Tréziny 2012: 1141; Robu 2015: 80-1.

54 De Angelis 2003: 85; Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009: 60. For this pottery, see Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009: 58-63.

55 See Bérard 2017: 32-44 especially, 33-34, 43.

56 See Morakis 2019: 374-75.

(only one has been found) at Megara of mainland Greece, where sarcophagi, jar burials, cist graves made by small stones and pebbles, and *fossa* graves occur.[57]

Epigraphic evidence from all three Megarian cities is very poor, which renders more difficult the task of tracing similarities between them. For this reason, we need to turn to evidence from Megarian colonies in the Black Sea and the Propontis. It is difficult to decide about influences of Megara Nisaia or of Megara Hyblaea on Selinous, as far as dialect and alphabet are concerned.[58] Robu traced similarities between Selinous and Megara Nisaia and advanced the hypothesis that Selinous was under direct influence of Megara Nisaia for its *nomima*: letter forms and cult practices, for which there is no evidence from Megara Hyblaea.[59]

Finally, there is a fragmentary inscription from Olympia of about 500,[60] which was previously interpreted as an agreement between the city of Selinous and Megarian refugees. That document was considered by Asheri as referring to the return, the reintegration in Selinous and the giving back of their property to Selinountian exiles from Megara Hyblaea.[61] This view has found much acceptance in modern scholarship.[62] More recently, Robu proposed to identify the Megara of the inscription with Megara Nisaia.[63] In my view, Asheri's reconstruction is preferable. In the inscription there are two important elements that reveal the unity between colony and mother city. The first is the mentioning of the *aisymnetes*, a magistracy known from Megara Nisaia, and Megarian colonies in the Propontis (Chalcedon and Selymbria) and the Black Sea (Chersonesus and Kallatis).[64] This indicates the common *nomima* between *metropolis* and colony. The second is the choice of the refugees, either originating from Megara and founding shelter to Selinous or the opposite, to ask for protection in their kin city, even if this was located far away from

57 See Chairetakis 2016: esp. 221-23 with n. 27.

58 Arena 1989: 9-10, 89-95; Brugnone 2006: 47-57; Robu 2014: 188-89.

59 Robu 2015: 81-92.

60 Dittenberger & Purgold 1896: n. 22.

61 Asheri 1979.

62 For this inscription, see, e.g., Arena 1989: n. 52; Dubois 1989: n. 28; van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994: n. 17; de Angelis 2003: 160-62; Robu 2014: 189-91; Morakis 2019: 387-89.

63 Robu 2015: 93-94.

64 Hanell 1934: 146-51; Loukopoulou 1989: 143-45; Robu 2014: 382-87.

their city, rather to another city which could be closer. This indicates the deep bonds that the people of the two cities kept even after four or five generations and despite the distance between them.

To conclude. There are many common points between Selinous and Megara Hyblaea. Differences also occur, e.g. burial customs. How much Megara Nisaia participated in the foundation of Selinous is a subject of debate. What seems plausible is that Megara Nisaia provided the oecist – as Thucydides says – but no colonists. We should also keep in mind that Megara Hyblaea, the *chora* and arable land of which were limited, compared to its neighboring Greek cities, presumably had a considerable number of people who needed land (since land is the main impetus behind the establishment of a new foundation), so there was no need for reinforcements by the mother city. In this framework, the *aisymnetai* of the aforementioned inscription must be a magistracy adopted from Megara Hyblaea, which in turn had adopted it from Megara Nisaia.

Finally, I should emphasize that distance must have played a crucial role in the formation of the relationships between Megara Hyblaea and Selinous. Even if the former (which remains very doubtful) wanted to perform a more intervening role in the affairs of its colony (similar to the one of Syracuse in its own colonies, as examined above) this was not possible since the two cities were located on the opposite sides of Sicily.[65] In addition, distance was probably an important factor in preventing Selinous from helping its mother city, when threatened and finally destroyed by Gelon in 485.[66] The destruction of its mother city must have played an important role for the decision of Selinous to side with the Carthaginians against Syracuse and Akragas and their tyrant-rulers a few years later. Generally speaking, it seems that Selinous was oriented much more towards the neighboring indigenous populations and Phoenicians than towards the east where its mother city lay. Nevertheless, this distance did not prevent the refugees of the inscription to ask for shelter in their kin city which is a clear indication of the strong bonds between the people (or most probably the elites) of the two cities down to 500.

65 For distance as an important character for the formation of the relations between colonies and mother cities, see Graham 1983: 71-97.

66 For the destruction of Megara Hyblaea, see Hdt. 7.156; Polyaenus, *Strat.* 1.27.3. See also Morakis 2019: 285-87.

Gela and Akragas

Last to be examined are Akragas and Gela. Akragas was founded, according to Thucydides, by Gela in 580, the Geloans appointing as oecists Aristonous and Pystinous; other sources refer to Akragas as a Rhodian foundation, but these should not be preferred to Thucydides and others who speak of a Geloan foundation for Akragas.[67] The city was established in a fertile area, between two rivers (Akragas and Hypsas) on the southern coast of Sicily, about 75 km west of Gela.

Regarding the burial customs at Gela, inhumations and cremations (primary and secondary) are used at the same time but not to the same extent already from the beginning of the city's foundation. Children were usually buried in ceramic vessels. There were also sarcophagi for both adults and children, initially made of stone, but at a later stage also of clay. At Akragas, burial customs have many similarities to those at Gela, namely cremations and inhumations were also common and the same grave types were used as in Gela: urns, sarcophagi, stone-slab graves, pit- and tile-graves. Nevertheless, in some way Akragas diverged from its mother city. In particular, contrary to Gela, cremations corresponded only to a small part of the total burials in Akragas, while in Gela there were also numerous large pits in the rock, burials which are unattested in Akragas.[68]

Gela and Akragas maintained very good relations throughout the archaic period. There are no references in the sources to any kind of conflict, despite the fact that their territories were almost adjacent. This could have multiple explanations. The first one is related to Gela's decision to establish a colony that would be independent and *autonomos*. Literary sources and archaeological data reveal that Gela and Akragas tried to expand their influence over the interior where the indigenous popu-

67 From Gela: Thuc. 6.4.4-5; Scymn. 292-93; Strabo 6.2.5; Artemon (*FGrHist* 569) fr. 1. From Rhodes: Polyb. 9.27.8 and Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.15a, 16 = Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 92. For the foundation of Akragas, see also Bérard 1957: 235-39; de Waele 1971: 81-97; Leschhorn 1984: 52 n. 5; Baghin 1991: 7-17; Musti 1992; Domínguez 2006: 306-311; Adornato 2011: 11-29; Morakis 2011: 480-82.

68 Burkhardt 2016: 122-24.

lations were living. Some of these settlements of the indigenous populations, especially those close to Gela, seem to have been under the direct control of the latter (Butera, Monte Bubbonia), others more distant like Gibil, Gabib, Sabucina, Capodarso and Monte Saraceno, seem to have initially maintained economic relations with Gela until 550, but from the second half of the sixth century they are considered to have been in the orbit of Akragas.[69] Especially for Monte Saraceno there is evidence for a possible control by Akragas.[70]

It seems to me very plausible that it was this anti-native orientation of both cities that fostered their good relations. Gela considered that an expansion of Akragas towards the area of the locals was favorable to the former, while Akragas had plenty of space for expansion without menacing its neighbor Gela. Gela's tyrants also avoided any expansion towards the territories of Akragas. Although both Hippocrates and Gelon implemented a very expansionistic policy, this targeted the east and the Euboean cities, Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse,[71] but not Akragas. Kinship also played some part in the formation of the alliance between Gelon of Gela and Theron of Akragas against the Carthaginians.

Conclusions

We can conclude that different patterns of establishing new settlements occur as far as the Dorian colonies of Sicily are concerned. The case of Syracuse and its two foundations, Akrai and Kasmenai, is unique. These

69 Literary sources: Gela: Paus. 8.46.2; 9.40.4, capture of Omphace; Artemon (*FGrHist* 569) fr. 1 = Schol in Pind. *Ol.*2. 16b, fights against the Sicani; Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240) fr. 12; *Lind. Temp. Chron.* C.25, spoils from Ariaiton dedicated by the Geloans in the temple of Athena in Lindos; Akragas: Polyaenus, *Strat.* 5.1.3-4, capture by Phalaris of two cities of the Sicani, one of them being Ouessa; Hdt. 7.170; Diod. Sic. 4.78; Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 6.5, capture of Camicus on behalf of the Acragantines. Archaeological evidence: Orlandini 1962; De Miro 1962; Fischer-Hansen 2002: esp. 136-63; Miccichè 2011: 28-84; Morakis 2019: 291-305, 354-61; 2020: 381-86.

70 For Monte Saraceno, see Orlandini 1962: 97-98; Domínguez 1989: 311-14; Fischer-Hansen 2002: 150-52; Siracusano & Calderone 2006: 266-68; Miccichè 2011: 37-38, 87-88; Morakis 2019: 299-300, 302-5, 356-57.

71 Hippocrates : Hdt. 7.154-55; Polyaenus, *Strat.* 5.6; Gelon: Hdt. 7.155-56.

were initially founded as *phrouria* which later developed into proper *poleis*. The other three settlements under consideration, i.e. Selinous, Kamarina, and Akragas, were proper *poleis* already from the beginning. Selinous and Akragas were independent *poleis* when founded, but that was not the case of Kamarina. The attitude of Syracuse seems exceptional by Sicilian standards.[72] Syracuse and Kamarina were neighbors and that aggravated the situation, as also did Kamarina's friendly relations with the local populations.

Megara Hyblaea and Selinous, as well as Gela and Akragas had friendly relations. In the first case, the effect of distance is not to be neglected as far as involvement in the affairs of its colony by Megara Hyblaea is concerned, as well as disputes and tensions on border disputes. In the case of Gela and Akragas, proximity did not result in any kind of disputes and conflicts. Apparently, Gela did not intervene in the affairs of its colony. Moreover, as in the case between Syracuse and Kamarina, the attitude towards the local populations was in all probability a key factor in the formation of relations between the colony and mother city. Both cities devoted their energy for expansion towards the interior and the indigenous populations, limiting the possibility of a clash between them.

As regards *nomima*, the available data reveal strong similarities in dialect, alphabet and burials between Syracuse and its colonies, in dialect, alphabet, magistracies, cult practices between Selinous and both Megara, and burial customs between Gela and Akragas. The same data have shown that occasionally colonies followed their own separate paths. This is clear in the alphabets at Syracuse and Kasmenai and in burial customs mostly between Megara and Selinous and to a lesser extent between Gela and Akragas.

72 Zancle and Mylae could also fit into this frame. Mylae was founded by Zancle at about 30 km to the west soon after the latter's establishment (dated to 730). Mylae is mentioned by Diodorus (12.54) as a *phrourion* in the fifth century and presumably it was dependent on Zancle already from its foundation, see for example Dunbabin 1948: 211-22; Vallet 1988: 166-67; Domínguez 2006: 266-68; Tigano 2009: 159-60.

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UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN GREEK ART: ATHENIAN INFLUENCES IN THE PELOPONNESE AND IN MACEDONIA*

By Olga Palagia

Summary: Athenian art was more or less dominant in the visual culture of the Greek world in the classical period but not in all areas. We explore here the influence of Athens on the art and architecture of regions that had developed their own local traditions. This happened in times of crisis, political as well as social. Such crises can be detected in the last decades of both the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE. We will begin by examining the impact of the Peloponnesian War on the artistic development of Arcadia and Laconia and conclude with the aftermath of the Macedonian conquest of Athens after the Lamian War. It appears that in the last twenty years of the fourth century the Macedonians hired Attic masons to reproduce Athenian buildings in Macedonia, and the ban on luxurious grave monuments imposed on Athens by Demetrios of Phaleron drove Athenian artists to emigrate to Macedonia.

We begin with the Peloponnesian War. After the conclusion of the disastrous Sicilian expedition, in the last decades of the fifth century, Athens suffered an exodus of artists and intellectuals who could not find gainful employment at home. Iktinos, the architect of the Parthenon, was said by Pausanias (8.41.7-9) to have built the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai near Phigalia in Arcadia. This major temple was erected in a remote corner of the Peloponnese. Pausanias admired its magnitude and expense, remarking that it had marble roof tiles instead of clay. Apollo's epithet, *Epikourios*, he adds, indicates that he had saved the Phigalians from the plague during the Peloponnesian War, just as he had saved the

* I am grateful to Kostas Buraselis for inviting me to a very stimulating conference, to Bonna Wescoat for the drawing Fig. 9 and to Pavlos Chrysostomou for permission to reproduce the drawings Figs. 11 and 12. All dates are BCE unless indicated otherwise.

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Athenians in the same period, except that the Athenians named him *Alexikakos*. Finally, Pausanias remarks that Iktinos' employment suggests a connection between Phigalia and Athens.

The Bassai temple is now dated to the last decades of the fifth century.[1] Iktinos' involvement has been doubted by some scholars but the combination of Doric and Ionic elements in the architectural design and the Parthenonian overtones detected in the architectural sculptures betray Athenian hands at work.[2] Although both the Parthenon and the Apollo temple are Doric, they include an Ionic sculptured frieze running around the cella. These friezes were of limited visibility since the Parthenon frieze was outside the cella but within the colonnade of the pteron, and the Bassai frieze was inside the cella. The articulation of the interior of the Bassai temple by means of an engaged Ionic colonnade supported by flaring bases is a major innovation; so too is the single Corinthian column placed in front of the back wall of the cella (Fig. 1).[3] The interior design of the Bassai temple deviates from the norm, showing disregard of current rules. We get the impression that the remoteness of the temple allowed the architect to take liberties that he would not have attempted in Athens.

The same can be said of the style of the Bassai frieze.[4] Its exuberance transcends the carefully balanced compositions of high classical assemblages. But before we proceed with the novelties, let us see if we can detect Athenian masons at work here, Athenian masons, moreover, who had worked on the Parthenon sculptures. If we take a look at the battle of Greeks and centaurs, we observe that the centaurs have a tuft of hair growing out of the horses' backs (Fig. 2),[5] a peculiar trait invented for the centaurs on the south metopes of the Parthenon (Fig. 3).[6] In addition, the centrepiece of the battle of Greeks and amazons showing Herakles fighting the amazon queen (Fig. 4),[7] draws on the confrontation of

1 The Bassai temple has been studied in detail by Cooper 1996a and 1996b.
2 Iktinos' involvement in the Bassai temple is advocated by Cooper 1996a: 369-79.
3 Interior colonnade: Cooper 1996a: 283-92 and 1996b: pl. 15a-b. Corinthian column: Cooper 1996a: 293-95 and 1996b: pls. 15b, 69b-g, 70a.
4 The frieze is fully illustrated in Hofkes-Brukker & Mallwitz 1975; Felten 1984: pl. 46.
5 E.g., London, British Museum 522, Hofkes-Brukker & Mallwitz 1975: 51-52.
6 E.g., south metope 1 in the Acropolis Museum, Brommer 1979: pl. 9.
7 London, British Museum 541, Hofkes-Brukker & Mallwitz 1975: 80-82.

Athena with Poseidon in the middle of the west pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 5).[8] The two adversaries form the so-called heroic diagonal, retreating in the face of the enemy while looking back at him. The Amazonomachy of the Bassai frieze echoes parts of the shield of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos. The Bassai amazon attempting to lift her comrade from the battlefield[9] is inspired by a similar group of Greek warriors on the shield, as we can see on a miniature copy of the shield in the Patras Museum.[10]

Even though the Bassai frieze reflects images of the Parthenon created over 20 years earlier, its composition has shed the constraints of high classical art. In contrast to the carefully balanced battle scenes of the Nike temple,[11] for example, the fighters on the Bassai frieze adopt dramatic gestures, and this effect is enhanced by an abundance of flying or stretched draperies and graphic anatomical details. What we see here is Athenian masons transplanted to the wilderness of Arcadia.

But the art of Athens seems to have managed to penetrate the heartland of the Peloponnese as well. Lacedaimonian artists had developed strong ties with East Greece, spearheaded by Bathykles of Magnesia, who created the throne of Apollo at Amyklai in the mid-sixth century.[12] After the great earthquake of about 463, which triggered a helot revolt,[13] art and architecture in Laconia came to a standstill, only to be resumed after the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. With the spoils of Athens, the Spartan general Lysander dedicated a number of sculptural monuments in the sanctuaries of Apollo at Amyklai and Delphi and in the sanctuary of Zeus in Sparta, thanking the gods for his good fortune.[14] Lysander's victory monuments revived the arts in Laconia. He was careful, however, to employ artists mainly from the Peloponnese. This is documented by Pausanias' descriptions and by the epigraphical testimony for

8 As illustrated in the drawing of 1674 by an artist commonly identified with Jacques Carrey (but see Palagia 2022: 53 n. 4 for an alternative identification), Palagia 1993: fig. 3.

9 London, British Museum 542, Hofkes-Brukker & Mallwitz 1975: 82-83.

10 Patras Museum 6, Davison 2009a: 230-31, no. 109 and 2009b: fig. 6.36.

11 Illustrated in Felten 1984: pl. 47.

12 Paus. 3.18.9-16.

13 Thuc. 1.101.2.

14 On Lysander's cultural policies, see Bommelaer 1981: 7-23.

none of these sculptures has come down to us. The bronze group known as Lysander's naval commanders commemorating his victory at Aigos Potamoi in 405 and erected at Delphi shortly thereafter, was created by artists of the School of Polykleitos of Argos, named by Pausanias and additionally documented by several signed statue bases.[15] The exception was Theokosmos of Megara, an associate of Pheidias, who made the portrait of Hermon of Megara, captain of Lysander's flagship. A second memorial to Aigos Potamoi also dedicated to Apollo, this time at Amyklai, included a statue of Aphrodite by the master Polykleitos himself, as well as a statue of Sparta personified, made by Aristandros of Paros.[16] This artist is otherwise unknown and we do not know if he was affiliated to the School of Argos or that of Athens.

A clear allusion to Athenian art, however, can be detected in Lysander's dedications on the acropolis of Sparta. Pausanias (3.18.4) saw two statues of Victory on top of eagles on the Stoa of Zeus Kosmetes, dedicated by Lysander from the spoils of his naval victories at Notion in 406 and Aigos Potamoi in 405. Victories stepping on eagles were very likely acroteria.[17] Their iconography recalls the statue of Victory made by Paionios and dedicated in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia by the Messenians and Naupaktians after 425, commemorating their victories in the Peloponnesian War as Athenian allies.[18] Paionios was a native of Mende but his style is affiliated to Athenian art. He may indeed have been active in Athens, considering that he was commissioned with a victory monument by the allies of Athens. It may well be argued that Lysander's twin statues of Victory were Sparta's answer to Paionios' Victory, and that Lysander deliberately set them up in a Zeus sanctuary because Paionios' Victory celebrating the Athenian alliance stood in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.

15 The monument was described by Pausanias 10.9.7-9. See also Plut. *Lys.* 18.1 and *Mor.* 395b and 397f. See Bommelaer 1981: 14-16, no. 15; Palagia 2009: 36-38 with nn. 48-51 on the sculptors; Bommelaer 2011; Bommelaer & Laroche 2015: 132-34, no. 109.

16 Paus. 3.18.7-8.

17 See also Bommelaer 1981: 9-10, no. 6.

18 Olympia Museum Λ 49, Paus. 5.26.1. See Palagia 2016 and 2021. For the dedicatory inscription, see Osborne & Rhodes 2017: 382-85, no. 164.

A final note on the artistic revival initiated by Lysander and the impact of Athens on the art of Laconia is a fine relief in Parian marble now in the Sparta Museum (Fig. 6).[19] It represents Apollo and Artemis about to offer a libation to an omphalos flanked by two eagles. Apollo stands on the left, wearing a *chiton* and a *himation* pinned on his left shoulder. He holds out a phiale in his right hand, while the fingers of his left hand are playing with the strings of his *kithara*. Artemis stands on the right, pouring wine into Apollo's phiale from an *oinochoe* held in her right hand. She wears a transparent *chiton* held by shoulder chords, and a *himation* draped over her lower body. The *omphalos* with the pair of eagles is an allusion to the Delphic *omphalos*, Apollo therefore being characterised as Pythios. The god is dressed as a performer and is stylistically close to the citharode on south metope 17 of the Parthenon (Fig. 7).[20] Artemis in her clinging dress can be compared to Artemis on two Attic reliefs dated around 410, a votive relief with Apollo, Leto and Artemis in the Athens National Museum,[21] and a record relief from Brauron, decorating the accounts of Artemis Brauronia (Fig. 8).[22]

The relief in Sparta is generally thought to be votive but is in fact a fragment of a larger unit. The toolmarks on its right side indicate that it was cut off from a larger block. The left side is broken off and it is not possible to examine its back as it is attached to the Museum wall. It may have been part of a statue base or a frieze. We simply do not know. At any rate, it is attributed to an Athenian sculptor and it is often compared to a fragmentary record relief in the Athens Epigraphical Museum, concerning the cult of Apollo in Athens.[23] Even though the relief in the Epigraphical Museum includes the *omphalos* flanked by eagles, the long and deeply cut draperies of the figures on either side of the *omphalos* are distinctly different from those of Apollo and Artemis on the Spartan relief; there is, therefore, no question of duplication and there can be no stylistic comparison. The fact that the Spartan relief represents Apollo

19 Sparta Museum 468, Goulaki-Voutira 2020.

20 Athens, Acropolis Museum, Palagia 2022: 59, fig. 3.

21 Athens National Museum 1389, Kaltsas 2002: 136, no. 262; Vikela 2015: 217-18, Tr 1, pl. 53.

22 Brauron Museum 1172, Lawton 1995: 118-19, no. 73, pl. 39.

23 Athens, Epigraphical Museum 5, Lawton 1995: 114-15, no. 67, pl. 35.

Pythios, on the other hand, is no surprise, as the Delphi oracle was notorious for its pro-Spartan stance during the Peloponnesian War. And we have already seen that Lysander's dedications were mostly addressed to Apollo.

We now move on to the last quarter of the fourth century in order to examine the impact of Athenian art and architecture on Macedonia. In the turbulent years after the death of Alexander the Great in 323, Athens fell under the spell of the Macedonians of Antipater and soon thereafter of his successor, Polyperchon, who acted as regent and guardian of the kings Philip III Arrhidaios and Alexander IV from 319 to 317,[24] when Athens was taken over by Cassander and Philip III was murdered by Olympias. It was in this short period of Polyperchon's rule that an extraordinary building was dedicated in the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace, in the names of the joint kings Philip III and Alexander IV. This building has been studied in detail by Bonna Wescoat.[25] It consists of a marble pavilion erected above a circular theatre area on the Eastern Hill of the sanctuary (Fig. 9). It was designed to face the pilgrims as they arrived at the sanctuary and its function was to shelter the kings while they attended the rituals enacted on the circular orchestra. Its visual impact was that of a propylon since the sanctuary did not in fact have a propylon at that point.

The association of Macedonian royalty with the mysteries of Samothrace is well documented by the literary sources. Philip II was not only an initiate but is in fact said by Plutarch to have met his future wife Olympias during attendance of the mysteries.[26] According to Philostratos (*VA* 2.43),[27] his son, Alexander the Great, dedicated an altar to the Great Gods of Samothrace at the limits of his empire on the Hyphasis River. The fact that Philip II's other son, Philip III, and Alexander III's son, Alexander IV, renewed the dynasty's allegiance to the Samothracian mysteries is doc-

24 On Polyperchon's regency, see Heckel 2016: 206-12.

25 Wescoat 2003; Wescoat 2017: 96-120, pl. 48 (restored elevation of west façade). See also Palagia 2017a: 153-55.

26 Plut. *Alex.* 2.1; Lewis 1958: no. 193. For Philip II's interest in the Samothracian mysteries, see also Curt. 8.1.26; Lewis 1958: no. 195.

27 Lewis 1958: no. 209.

umented by the dedicatory inscription on the epistyle blocks of the pavilion on the Eastern Hill. We can read the words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ, and enough letters of the name Alexandros survive to restore the inscription as ΒΑΣΙΛΕ/ΙΣΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ/ΑΛ[ΕΞΑΝ]Δ[Ρ]/Ο[ΣΘΕΟΙΣΜΕΓ]/Α[ΛΟΙΣ].[28]

The pavilion had a Doric hexastyle prostyle façade on the west side (Fig. 9), with steps that return near the antae, a shallow room and an Ionic porch at the back.[29] The Doric façade, between the steps and the sima, was built of Pentelic marble, while the rest of the building was of marble from the neighbouring island of Thasos, which was used extensively in the sacred architecture of the sanctuary. The import of Pentelic marble seems to have been accompanied by Athenian masons, since the techniques of construction of the Pentelic façade follow Athenian prototypes, especially the double-T clamps fastening the blocks to one another. Wescoat points out that architectural details of this façade testify to additional influences from the Peloponnese, Thasos and Delphi,[30] suggesting that the architect who designed the pavilion introduced his own personal touch. Nevertheless, the façade and proportions of the pavilion are very close to a contemporary Athenian building, the choregic monument of Nikias (Fig. 10), the foundations of which survive near the western *parodos* of the theatre of Dionysos.[31] The Athenian Nikias son of Nikodemos was a successful *choregos* of *Elpenor* by Timotheos, a boys' dithyramb performed at the Dionysia of 320/19 as attested by its dedicatory inscription.[32] Many blocks of this monument, including the inscribed epistyle, were incorporated into the so-called Beulé Gate of the Athenian Acropolis, created out of spolia in late antiquity.[33] Since Nikias' monument is precisely dated to shortly after 319, the pavilion on Samothrace can have only been constructed in the narrow margin between sometime

28 "Kings Philip and Alexander to the Great Gods". Wescoat 2017: 102-8, fig. 109, pl. 39.

29 Wescoat 2017: pls. 48, 74-81.

30 Wescoat 2017: 175-76.

31 Travlos 1971: 357, figs. 459-61; Wilson 2000: 226-29; Goette 2007: 135, fig. 10.

32 *IG* II^3 4, 467.

33 The Nikias Monument was first identified and reconstructed on paper by Dinsmoor 1910. For the Beulé Gate, see Travlos 1971: figs. 462-63.

in 319 and the autumn of 317, when Philip III Arrhidaios was assassinated.[34]

The Nikias Monument, in its turn, was inspired by the design of the east façade of the central wing of the Propylaia, built by Mnesikles on the Athenian Acropolis.[35] Even though it pays tribute to its classical predecessor, its divergence from the original proportions and the modification of its function reach beyond the classical. The adaptation of the Nikias Monument to serve as a quasi propylon cum royal pavilion in a sanctuary in Macedonia demonstrates the resilience of Attic architecture. But most of all, it is a testimony of the Macedonian elite's emulation of Athenian culture.

The Athenian masons who built the façade of the royal pavilion on Samothrace were not the only ones to seek employment in Macedonia. In 317, Demetrios of Phaleron was appointed by Cassander ruler of Athens. One of the first reforms he introduced was a ban on luxurious funerary monuments (as attested by Cicero, *Leg.* 2.63-66, Demetrios of Phaleron, *FGrHist* 228 fr. 9), and this obviously compelled several marble sculptors to emigrate in order to find employment elsewhere.[36] Some of these sculptors made their way to Macedonia just as the veterans of Alexander's army were returning from Asia laden with gold and ready to commission their own monumental tombs. Only a handful of monumental grave reliefs have come down to us from Macedonia, however. The best-preserved example is a sculptured marble anta (Fig. 11) that was reused to construct a marble sarcophagus inside Pella Tomb VI. This is a Macedonian tomb comprising a chamber and antechamber. The chamber contained three marble sarcophagi, assembled of spolia from two sculptured grave monuments. The tomb was excavated and published by Pavlos Chrysostomou.[37] It is dated after 281 from a stamped Thasian amphora handle naming the magistrate Astyanax and found in the *dromos* of the tomb.[38] The destruction of the grave reliefs prior to their reuse may be attributed to some disaster that befell the cemetery. The reliefs on the

34 On the date of Philip III's death, see Wheatley 2015: 243-44.

35 Townsend 2003: 98; Wescoat 2017: 181.

36 On Demetrios of Phaleron's ban, see Mikalson 1998: 59.

37 Chrysostomou 1999; Chrysostomou 2019: 587-707; Chrysostomou 2020.

38 Chrysostomou 2019: 613.

grave monuments were cut down to facilitate reuse. One grave monument consisted of a *naiskos* sheltering high relief slabs showing a horseman fighting two fallen adversaries. The figures are heavily damaged but their outlines are visible.[39] Of the other grave monument only two sculptured antae have survived. On the best-preserved anta we can see parts of a single figure as well as traces of colour (Fig. 11). A second anta with a similar figure, heavily damaged, was re-employed in the same tomb.[40] From the debris found in the tomb, Chrysostomou suggested that the antae belonged to a funerary *naiskos* of the late fourth century. There are several examples of such *naiskoi* in Athens and Attica. Two prominent examples come from the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens, the *naiskos* of Prokles and Prokleides[41] and of Dionysios of Kollytos.[42] Each one of them stands on a base and is topped by a pediment supported by pilasters. The names of the figures are inscribed on the epistyle. The *naiskos* of Prokles contains sculptured family members in high relief. The *naiskos* of Dionysios housed no sculptures but a painted image of Dionysios which has since faded.

The anta from Pella Tomb VI represents a youth in relief, between 14 and 18 years of age (Fig. 11). His height is about 1.48 m. He wears a short *chiton*, a large Macedonian *chlamys* fastened on his right shoulder, a *kausia*, the Macedonian elite hat, and military boots. He leans against the anta on his left and his right hand is lowered by his side. The high quality of the relief is evident from the details of his finely carved hair. Traces of paint are visible on the figure and in the background.

Two questions arise: how do we reconstruct the original monument and what is the function of the two youths represented on the antae? The reconstruction proposed by the excavator with the relief antae placed on the sides and facing inward (Fig. 12) is uncanonical. Relief antae in Attic monuments are placed on the outside, as on a votive relief

39 Chrysostomou 1999: 306, drawing 5; Chrysostomou 2019: 602-608, figs. 39-42, pl. 30. Similar grave reliefs with combat scenes from Macedonia attributed to Athenian sculptors are discussed in Chrysostomou 2019: 606-11.

40 Chrysostomou 2019: 596-99, figs. 34-8, pls. 27-9.

41 Athens, National Museum 737, Kaltsas 2002: 198, no. 394.

42 Kerameikos P 690, Stroszeck 2017: 214-19, figs. 40.1 and 40.3.

from the Athenian Asklepieion.[43] The form of this relief is unusual: a family of votaries approach Asklepios and his family who are shown in high relief and placed in a separate *naiskos*. The back wall of the *naiskos* is decorated with Hekate, wearing a *polos* and holding two torches (Fig. 13). The excavator suggested that the Pella *naiskos* held free-standing statues.[44] This too is uncanonical. Very few funerary *naiskoi* with statues from Athens and Attica have come down to us and none has sculptured antae. They all have flat roofs supported by Ionic columns. A fine example of special interest to us here is the *naiskos* of Diogeiton and Hagno from Rhamnous.[45] Hagno is a free-standing statue, and so is her maid, placed at her side. The maid is placed in a position similar to the Macedonian youth from the Pella tomb as reconstructed by Chrysostomou (Fig. 12), but she is free-standing, not in relief. This is how Athenian sculptors managed their funerary *naiskoi* at home. However, the sculptor who created the funerary monument reused in Pella Tomb VI, is no longer at home. Would he have made his own rules? Did he really place the relief antae facing inside? And did he fill the *naiskos* with statues? Or were the figures of the deceased painted in the background as in the Attic stele of Dionysios in the Kerameikos? We will never know.

Finally, a word on the function of the youths on the antae. The excavator has suggested that their equipment and young age point to royal pages.[46] The institution of the royal pages was introduced to Macedonia by Philip II and continued down to the last king of Macedon, Perseus. Their function was to accompany the king at banquets and hunting expeditions and to stand guard outside his bedroom.[47] The only other representation of royal pages known to me is on the banquet frieze of the Macedonian Tomb of Agios Athanasios, where they are shown in short *chiton*, Macedonian *chlamys* and boots, wearing a helmet or a *kausia*, and

43 Athens, Acropolis Museum, ex Athens, National Museum 1377, Kaltsas 2002: 215, no. 442.

44 Chrysostomou (2019: 601 n. 39) cites as parallel a funerary *naiskos* of the late fourth century from Tragilos, housing two statues. This *naiskos*, however, did not contain sculptured reliefs, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983: 136-38.

45 Rhamnous storeroom 1062 and 1063, Petrakos 1999: 365-69; Petrakos 2020: 224-25, nos. 245 and 246; Scholl 2020: 55-8.

46 Chrysostomou 2019: 598-99.

47 Carney 2015.

carrying shields and spears. I have suggested elsewhere that their presence on the banquet frieze indicates that the banquet takes place in the royal court.[48] If royal pages are indeed represented on the funerary monument from Pella, then it should be associated with a royal burial. We know that sometimes elite tombs in Macedonia were additionally decorated with marble reliefs placed outside. This is the case of the multi-chambered rock-cut tomb of Pella, which was decorated with the Hellenistic grave relief of Antigona, probably placed outside the tomb.[49] Of course, we will never know if the grave *naiskos* with the royal pages stood outside a royal tomb in Pella but this remains a distinct possibility.

We conclude with the introduction of the handshake motif, common in Athenian grave reliefs, into Macedonian funerary painting. Attic grave reliefs often depict members of a family shaking hands in order to symbolize family unity beyond death. More often than not, one of the family members is seated. A fine example is the *naiskos* of Prokles and Prokleides mentioned earlier.[50] Here father and son shake hands. The gesture does not signify a warrior's departure or a reunion in the underworld but the unity of the family. Father and son shaking hands are also depicted in the large grave relief of Hierokles from Rhamnous, where Hierokles, shown seated, is attended by his daughter-in-law, two of his sons, a horse and a groom.[51] A similar scene can be found in the painted pediment of the Macedonian tomb of Phoinikas in Thessaloniki, which dates from the end of the fourth century, shortly after the stele of Hierokles. The centre of the pediment is heavily damaged but we can make out a seated woman shaking hands with a standing man, followed by two more men and a horse.[52] This quiet family scene is unique in the funerary painting of Macedonia and can be attributed to Athenian influence.

To sum up, in the closing years of the fifth and fourth centuries, we get glimpses of the art of Athens in areas like Arcadia, Laconia and Mac-

48 Palagia 2017b: 421 with n. 65, fig. 18.11.

49 Pella Museum, Lilimbaki-Akamati 2008: 212-13, pl. 15.

50 See n. 41 above.

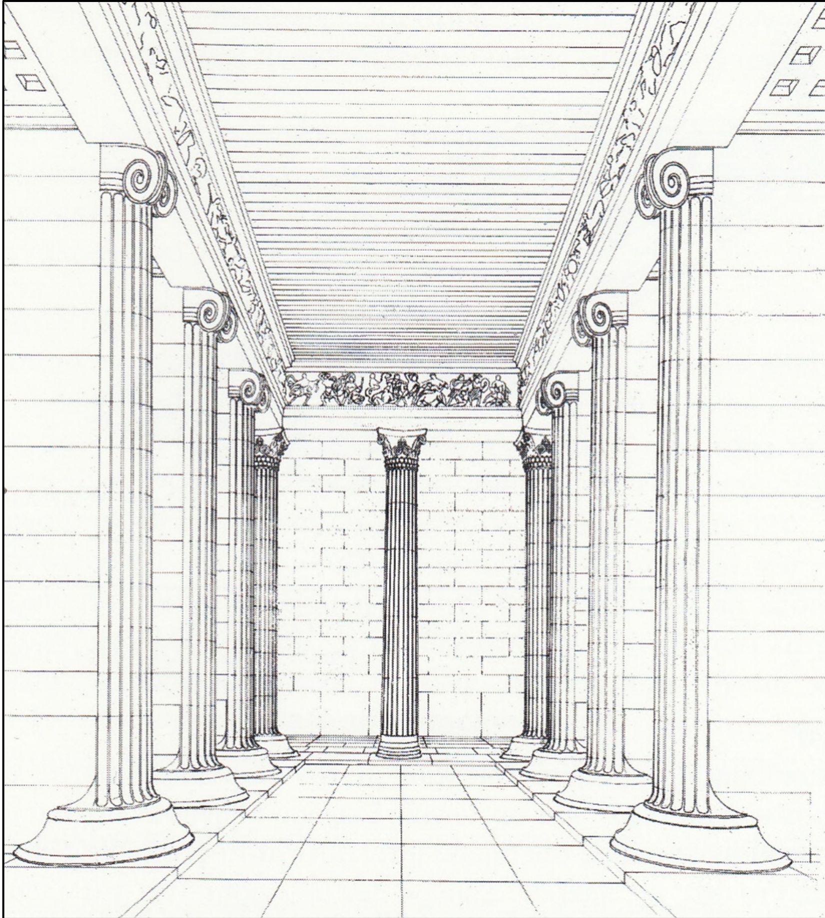
51 Rhamnous storeroom 1065, Petrakos 1999: 389-92, figs. 288-91; Petrakos 2020: 232-34, no. 265.

52 Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005: 49, pl. 4.

edonia, which were dominated by local artists or artists from other regions like East Greece or the Peloponnese. In most cases, Athenian influence can be attributed to the actual presence of Athenian artists, who were seeking employment away from home in times of crisis, thus enriching the local art scene with new motifs and techniques. It is worth noting, however, that Athenian artists operating away from home did not feel bound by community standards thus achieving relative freedom in artistic expression, as is evident from the exuberant style of the Bassai frieze.

FIGURES

1. Reconstruction drawing of the interior of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai. From Hofkes-Brukker & Mallwitz 1975, 25, fig. 13.

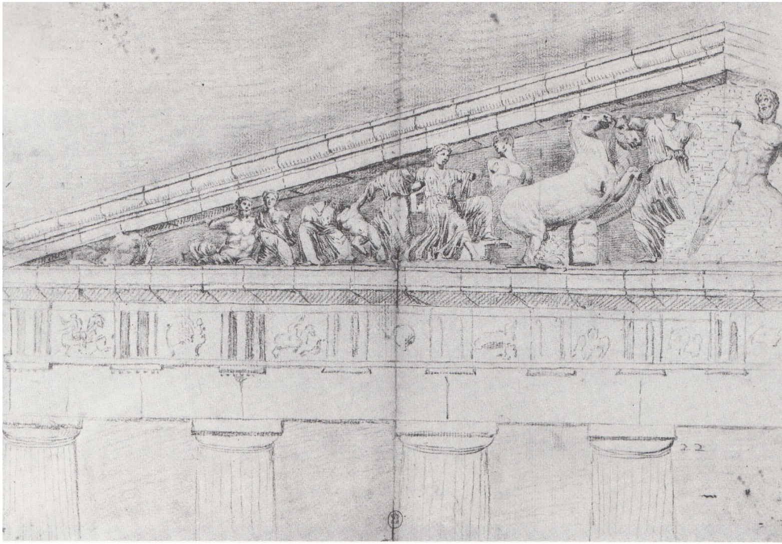


2. London, British Museum 522. Detail of the centauromachy frieze from the Bassai temple. Photo Olga Palagia.

3. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Parthenon south metope 1. Photo Olga Palagia.

4. London, British Museum 541. Herakles fights the amazon queen, from the amazonomachy frieze of the Bassai temple. Photo Olga Palagia.

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Drawing of the west pediment of the Parthenon by Jacques Carrey (?), 1674. From Palagia 1993, fig. 3.

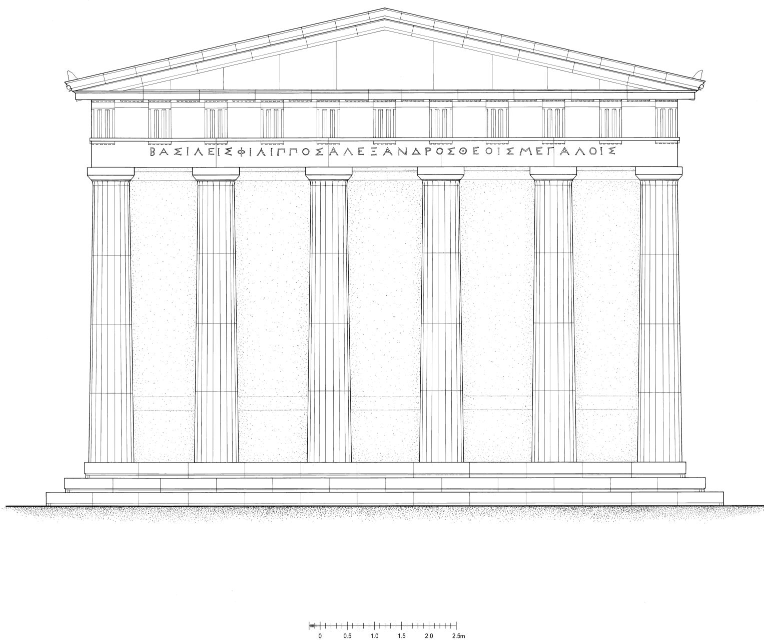


6. Sparta Museum 468. Relief of Apollo and Artemis. Photo Olga Palagia.

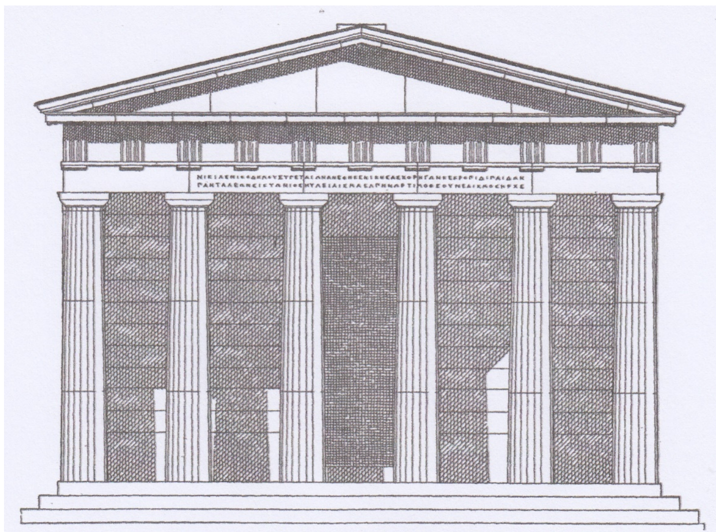
7. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Parthenon south metope 17. From Palagia 2022, fig. 3.

8. Brauron Museum 1172. Record relief with accounts of Artemis Brauronia. Photo Olga Palagia.

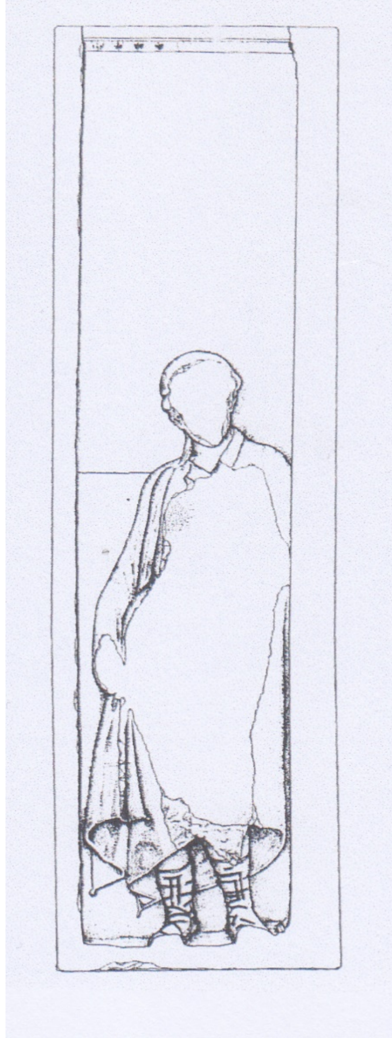
9. Reconstruction drawing of the west façade of the pavilion of Philip III and Alexander IV, sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Photo © American Excavations Samothrace.



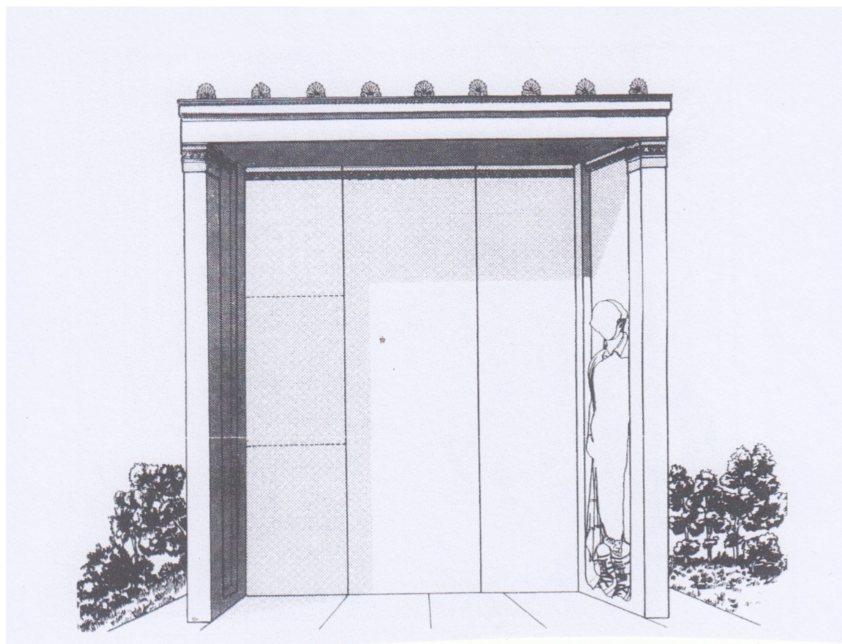
10. Reconstruction drawing by W.B. Dinsmoor of the choregic monument of Nikias. Drawing courtesy of the Archives of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, W.B. Dinsmoor Papers.



11. Drawing of sculptured anta with a royal page from Pella Tomb VI. From Chrysostomou 1999, fig. 4.



12. Hypothetical reconstruction of funerary naiskos with sculptured anta. From Chrysostomou 1999, fig. 3.



13. Athens, Acropolis Museum, ex Athens, National Museum 1377. Votive relief of Asklepios. Back wall of naiskos with relief of Hekate. Photo Olga Palagia.

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