

AN INCONVENIENT PAST IN HELLENISTIC ATHENS: THE CASE OF PHAIROS OF SPHETTOS*

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Abstract. This essay focuses on Athens after the Chremonidean War and asks how at that time the Athenians remembered the revolution from Demetrios Poliorketes in 286 BCE. As the honours for Phaidros of Sphettos show, the past could not simply be ignored. Since Phaidros' earlier actions were not consistent with the dominant narrative of the revolution, the past had to be reconfigured to make it suitable for the city's current circumstances, as I argue. Despite the initial success marked by the passing of the honours, this rewriting was inherently unstable. How the monument might be interpreted in the middle of the third century was very different from how it would be understood in 200 BCE.

Keywords: Phaidros of Sphettos, Athens, honours, inscription, Agora, statue, Demetrios Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas

1. Introduction

When the revolution by the *demos* took place against the men who were occupying the city and they expelled the soldiers from city, but the fort on the Mouseion was still occupied and the countryside was in a state of war at the hands of the forces in Piraeus,

*It is my pleasure to thank the editors, Christy Constantakopoulou and Maria Fragoulaki, for their invitation to contribute to this volume. During the course of this project, I have benefited from the help and advice of various friends, particularly Andrew Bayliss, Polly Low, Graham Oliver, Robin Osborne, P. J. Rhodes, and John Tully. I also owe an especial debt to Ron Stroud for his help with the readings on the inscription for Kallias of Sphettos, and I am delighted to be able to extend my warmest thanks to him once again. Earlier versions, not always in this form, were presented at the University of Liverpool, at Durham University at the conference 'The Materiality of Text: Placement, Perception, Presence', and at the Canadian Institute in Greece; I have profited from the participants' comments on all three occasions. For permission to study material in their care, I would like to thank Mr Athanasios Themis, then the acting director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, Mrs Jan Jordan, then the secretary of the Agora Excavations, Mrs Sylvie Dumont, the secretary and registrar of the Agora Excavations, and the staffs of both collections. For their help with the images, I am most grateful to Mrs Sylvie Dumont at the Agora Excavations and Mrs Ioanna Damanaki at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. This essay was revised while I was teaching at Boğaziçi University and held a position funded by the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation; it is my great pleasure to acknowledge the Foundation's support here. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

and while Demetrios with his army was approaching against the city from the Peloponnese, Kallias learned of the danger to the city and, choosing a thousand soldiers from the forces stationed with him on Andros and paying their wages and providing rations of grain, he came at once to the city to aid the *demos*, acting according to the good will of King Ptolemy toward the *demos*; and leading out his soldiers into the countryside and making every effort, he protected the harvest of grain in order that as much grain as possible might be brought into the city ... when Demetrios had arrived and was encamped to besiege the city, Kallias fought on behalf of the *demos* and, attacking with his soldiers, although he was wounded, he did not at any moment shrink from any danger on behalf of the safety of the *demos* ...¹

So, Kallias, the son of Thymochares, of the deme Sphettos aided the Athenians in their revolution from King Demetrios Poliorketes in 286 BCE.² When the Athenians had successfully regained their freedom, they re-established democracy, rather than oligarchy, as the appropriate political regime for the city. Despite the internal dissent and strife which had occurred,³ the Athenians chose to remember these events as the restoration of democracy and freedom after a successful external war, as we can see from Kallias' honorary decree. In the public, commemorative sphere, this decision was visible in the burial of the dead from the assault on the Mouseion in the Demosion Sema, in the dedication of at least one monument to Zeus

¹ *SEG* XXVIII 60.11–32 = *IG* II³.1 911.11–32. The inscription dates to the archonship of Sostratos in 270/69 BCE; date of the archonship: Osborne (2009) 88.

² I have argued for this date in Shear (2010). Habicht's and Osborne's placement of the revolution one year earlier in 287 still forms the scholarly consensus; Habicht (1979) 45–67; Osborne (1979); Habicht (1997) 95–7. As I have shown, the letter traces in *SEG* XXVIII 60.64–5 indicate that the Panathenaea of 286 was cancelled and the festival of 282 must have been the one celebrated 'then [for the] fir[st] t[im]e a[f]te[r] t[he] city had been recovered'; *SEG* XXVIII 60.64–6; cf. *IG* II³.1 911.64–6. As we shall see below, there were two *agonothetai* in 282/1, a fact which should indicate that the Panathenaea of 282 was, indeed, celebrated; cf. Oliver (2007b) 243 n. 72. This celebration in 282 is confirmed by the dating evidence for the first Ptolemaea; Bennett (2011) 118–24. Scholars wishing to place the revolution in 287 need to explain the unusual cancellation of the festival in 286. The letter traces of the initial pi of *τότε πρώτ[ο]ν* preclude the restoration *[τρίτο]ν*; Shear (2010) 139; *contra*: Osborne (2012) 162–3; id. (2015) 59–65; id. (2016) 92–3 n. 34. Anyone advocating the phrase *τότε [τρίτο]ν* here must provide an exact parallel: I have found no such example, but *τότε πρώτον* is common in our literary sources; cf. also the comments of *SEG* XLIX 113.

³ On which see Shear (2012) 278–81; cf. Bayliss (2011) 64–5. For the oligarchic regimes between 322 and 307, see Bayliss (2011) 61–93. That Phaidros of Sphettos was elected hoplite general 'first' in 287/6 further points to unrest before 286 because the designation 'first' indicates that Phaidros was subsequently removed and replaced by another general, as Paschidis and Shear have noted; *IG* II² 682.44–5 = *IG* II³.1 985.44–5; Paschidis (2008) 141–2; Shear, Jr (1978) 66–7 with further references. I find it hard to understand how Phaidros' removal from office does not mark the start of the revolution proper (as opposed to the unrest and confusion preceding it).

Eleutherios, in narratives presented to the council and the assembly in honorary decrees, in the subsequent inscribed texts of those documents, and in honorary statues. Some twenty years after the revolution, the Athenians were still using these strategies and (re)creating these memories, and this history had visibly been written onto the cityscape, as we shall see in more detail below.

The Athenians, however, did not remain independent from the Macedonians indefinitely. After playing a leading role in the Chremonidean War, the city found herself under tight siege by King Antigonos Gonatas, the son of Demetrios Poliorketes, and capitulated to him in the summer of 262.⁴ Now under close Macedonian control, the Athenians needed to ask how they were to remember the revolution from Demetrios, an issue not considered in the existing scholarship, hence this essay. In some cases, they could potentially ignore the past, but this tactic would not always work, as we shall see with the great honorary decree for Phaidros of Sphettos, Kallias' brother and a leading Athenian in the 290s and 280s.⁵ Phaidros' past actions on behalf of the city were integral to the larger project of gaining him the highest honours which the city could bestow because he had to demonstrate that his services to Athens really merited such an award.⁶ Scholars, accordingly, have seen his document as a typical decree granting highest honours to a citizen, as well as an unbiased source for elucidating the city's complicated history and the archon list in the early Hellenistic period.⁷ These approaches have removed the decree from its context in the 250s in the aftermath of the Chremonidean War and so we must ask how it worked in its original setting. At that time, Phaidros' actions in the 290s and 280s were not consistent with the dominant collective narrative of the revolution, now instantiated in Kallias' decree and an event in which Phaidros, too, had taken part; therefore, the past had to be reconfigured to make it suitable for the city's current circumstances, as I shall argue. In so doing, Phaidros and Lyander

⁴ On the Chremonidean War, see Habicht (1997) 142–9 and Oliver (2007b) 127–31, both with further references. The war began in the archonship of Peithidemos, now dated to 269/8, and the city capitulated late in the archonship of Antipatros, now located in 263/2; *IG* II² 686 + 687 = *IG* II^{3.1} 912; Osborne (2009) 89; id. (2012) 127–9; Byrne (2006/7) 175–9; Apollodoros, *FGH Hist* 244 F 44 with Dorandi (1990) 130; Osborne (2009) 90.

⁵ Potentially ignored: e.g., *SEG* LIII 130B = *IG* II^{3.1} 989, honours for the *proxenos* [Aisch]ias; cf. the honours for two different *agonothetai*: *IG* II² 780 = *IG* II^{3.1} 995 with *SEG* XXXIX 125 = *IG* II^{3.1} 991. Phaidros: *IG* II² 682 = *IG* II^{3.1} 985. On the date of this inscription, see the discussion below.

⁶ Compare Luraghi (2010) 252; Culasso Gastaldi (2007) 134; Bayliss (2006) 123.

⁷ Honours: e.g., Gauthier (1985) 77–92; Kralli (1999–2000). History: e.g., Shear, Jr (1978) 63–73; Osborne (1979); Habicht (1979) 52–62; Dreyer (1996); id. (1999) 200–23; Paschidis (2008) 136–8, 140–5; Osborne (2012) 35–43. Archon list: e.g., Osborne (1985) 275–82; Henry (1988) 215–22; Osborne (1989) 227–8, 239–42; id. (2000) 511–15; id. (2004) 207–10; id. (2012) 116, 129–30, 141. The decree has also figured in larger discussions of intentional history and the past in Hellenistic Athens; Luraghi (2010) 247–63; Culasso Gastaldi (2007) 115–38. The post-Chremonidean War context does not play a large role in either of these last two studies.

of Anaphylstos, who proposed the decree,⁸ did not have a blank slate on which to write. As Arjun Appadurai has demonstrated, the past is always a finite and limited resource governed by formal constraints.⁹ Requiring cultural consensus, these four constraints concern: the authority of the sources of information about the past; continuity with these sources; depth or ‘the relative values of different time-depths’; and the interdependence between different versions of the past.¹⁰ In Phaidros’ case, the success of the rewriting would be determined by the interdependence of Lyander’s and his past with the city’s other and competing versions: if the interdependence was close enough, their account would have the necessary credibility to succeed.¹¹ When the decree was successfully passed, inscribed, and erected in the Agora, its setting particularly emphasised the importance of its interdependence because it brought the monument into contact with other, earlier versions of the city’s past, as we shall see. Despite Phaidros’ and Lyander’s initial success, this context was inherently unstable and subject to change. How the monument and its history might be interpreted in the middle of the third century was very different from how it would be understood in 200 BCE, as the later history of the inscription demonstrates. At this time, Phaidros’ and Lyander’s rewriting was no longer interdependent enough with other versions to maintain its credibility and so it was amended by the Athenians. For us, these changing fortunes bring out the complications and difficulties of rewriting the past in the service of the present.

2. Remembering the Revolution against Demetrios

In order to understand how Phaidros’ decree reconfigured the past and the complications which arose from this process, we need to look more closely at the ways in which the Athenians publicly remembered the revolution against Demetrios in the years immediately after 286. I have discussed this process in more detail elsewhere;¹² here, it suffices to summarise the Athenians’ strategies because they formed an important collective narrative with which Phaidros’ and Lyander’s version had to be interdependent, if it were to succeed. Despite the internal strife and division which clearly occurred during the revolution, the Athenians chose to present these events as external war and as the restoration of freedom and democracy. Doing so also provided a very uncompromising image of the good Athenian.

The account of the revolution in Kallias’ great honorary decree (fig. 1)

⁸ As *IG II² 682.92–6 = IG II³.1 985.92–6* makes clear.

⁹ Appadurai (1981).

¹⁰ Appadurai (1981) 203.

¹¹ The constraints of authority, continuity, and depth are the same for both the past of Phaidros’ inscription and the version created after the revolution.

¹² Shear (2012).

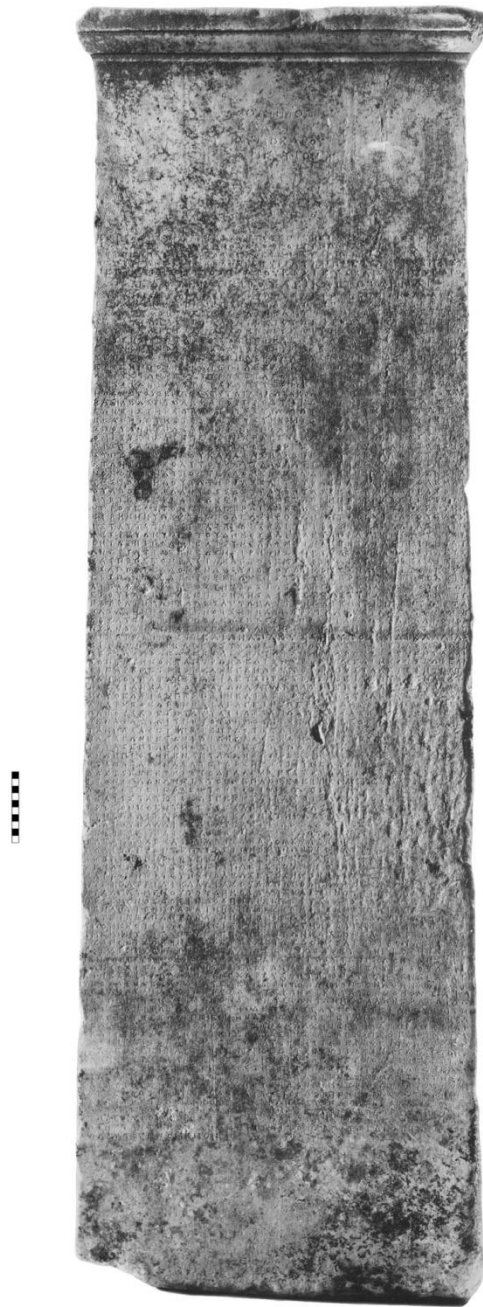


Fig. 1: *SEG XXVIII 60 = IG II³.1 911*: the decree in honour of Kallias of Sphetos. Dimensions: 1.655 m. x 0.536 m. x 0.122 m. (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).

stresses military action: the expulsion of the (Macedonian) soldiers from the city; war in the countryside; Demetrios' approach to the city; Kallias' forces and actions, to the point that he was even wounded.¹³ The overall narrative also brings out the ways in which Kallias continuously acted on behalf of the *demos*.¹⁴ We see this image of the fighting as external war in other monuments in the city. After the Athenians had successfully assaulted the Macedonian garrison in the fort on the Mouseion Hill, the dead Athenians were buried in the Demosion Sema with the war-dead from earlier campaigns.¹⁵ After the death of Leokritos in this assault, the Athenians then dedicated his shield to Zeus Eleutherios, Zeus of freedom, who protected the city against external enemies.¹⁶ In 266/5, this image appears very clearly in an honorary decree granting a certain Strombichos citizenship in return for his various services to the city: this Macedonian officer was persuaded to take up arms on behalf of the *demos*, he helped in the city's deliverance, and he joined the *demos* in besieging the Mouseion.¹⁷ These events, consequently, were repeatedly remembered and memorialised as external war against the Macedonians, and internal division was conspicuously forgotten.¹⁸

After describing Kallias' subsequent services to the city and at the end of the narrative of his career, the text returns to the events of the revolution. Kallias evidently did something on behalf of the fatherland when the *demos* had been overthrown and he allowed his property to be confiscated under the oligarchy 'so as no[t] to do [anything a]gainst either the laws or the democ[rac]y of all the Athenians'.¹⁹ The overall decree presents a very specific image of Kallias: he is democrat who fights for the *demos* in war and works on its behalf in peace. When the democracy has been overthrown and the oligarchy confiscates his property, he himself is in exile and so he cannot support a regime other than democracy.²⁰ This uncompromising image is not limited to Kallias' document. The decree granting Philippides of Kephale highest honours specifies that he, too, 'never [d]i[d] anything agains[t the d]emocracy [e]ith[er by word or] by deed'.²¹ This phrase also appears in the request for highest honours for Demochares of Leukonoe,

¹³ Above n. 1.

¹⁴ *SEG XXVIII* 60.21–2, 28–9, 31–2, 36–9, 41–3, 50–2, 58–9, 72–8 = *IG II³.I* 911. 21–2, 28–9, 31–2, 36–9, 41–3, 50–2, 58–9, 72–8; Shear (2012) 284.

¹⁵ Paus. 1.29.13 with 1.26.1–2; Shear (2012) 294.

¹⁶ Paus. 1.26.1–2; Shear (2012) 294.

¹⁷ *IG II²* 666.7–17 = *IG II³.I* 918.7–17; *IG II²* 667.1–6 = *IG II³.I* 919.1–7; Shear (2012) 293. Date (archonship of Nikias of Otryne): Osborne (2009) 89.

¹⁸ Shear (2012) 292–5.

¹⁹ *SEG XXVIII* 60.78–83 = *IG II³.I* 911.78–83.

²⁰ Shear (2012) 286.

²¹ *IG II²* 657.48–50 = *IG II³.I* 877.48–50; for the restoration of [πέρραχ]ε[ν] in line 49, see Gauthier (1982) 222 n. 28; cf. Shear (2012) 287–8.

another important Athenian leader.²² In this document, Demochares is portrayed as very active on behalf of the *demos*. His early activities led to his banishment by ‘the men who overthrew the *demos*’ and his recall by the *demos* in 286/5 in the archonship of Diokles inaugurates the second phase of his career.²³ Later, we are told that he was exiled on behalf of the democracy, that he had no part in the oligarchy, and that he held no office after the *demos* was overthrown. Nor did he plot to change the democratic constitution. He also made the laws and the courts and their judgements ‘safe for all Athenians’. As with Kallias, Demochares, too, is depicted as a democrat who goes into exile when democracy is overthrown. Since Demochares was not a military man, martial exploits do not feature in this narrative.

This imagery is very uncompromising and it presents a very specific view of what it means to be an exemplary Athenian: to be a democrat and to go into exile when democracy is overthrown.²⁴ In both Kallias’ decree and Demochares’ request, democracy is contrasted with oligarchy, and it is clear that not all Athenians supported the democracy at the crucial moment.²⁵ For those men, the imagery promulgated here will have been very cold comfort because it excluded them. Kallias explicitly fought against Macedonian forces and thus the exemplary Athenian must also be ready to fight on behalf of the democratic city against external foes. The revolution itself was remembered as fighting against Macedonians, an external enemy, and, as in 403, it was connected with the return of the democrats from exile. Internal discord, in contrast, was allowed to slip into the gaps of forgetfulness.

3. Phaidros’ Decree and the Politics of the Text

When Phaidros decided to make his request for highest honours, both he and Lyander, the son of Lysiades, of Anaphylstos, who proposed the decree,²⁶ had to work against the city’s dominant public narrative of the revolution which was well established both in the city’s collective memory and in her monuments. They could not simply ignore the past because Phaidros’ earlier deeds had to be recounted in order to demonstrate that he really was worthy of the honours being requested. Lyander particularly had to show that Phaidros actually was an exemplary Athenian and both men

²² [Plut.] *Mor.* 851F; Shear (2012) 287. This request and the two others associated with it in *The Lives of the Ten Orators* are usually accepted as authentic; see, e.g., Gauthier (1985) 83 with n. 20; Faraguna (2003) 483–91; MacDowell (2009) 424–5; Luraghi (2010) 258; Roisman and Worthington (2015) 23.

²³ [Plut.] *Mor.* 851D–F; Shear (2012) 283–4. Date of Diokles’ archonship: Osborne (2009) 86.

²⁴ Shear (2012) 283–4, 286.

²⁵ *SEG* XXVIII 60.79–83 = *IG* II³.1 911.79–83; [Plut.] *Mor.* 851F; Shear (2012) 289.

²⁶ See above, n. 8. On requests for highest honours, see Gauthier (1985) 83–8.

had to hope that the presentation would be convincing enough for the decree to be passed in the assembly. In order to bolster his case, Lyander enlisted Phaidros' other relatives, as we know from the extant remains of the decree, and their careers were also carefully presented.

The beginning of the inscription is now destroyed so that we do not have the prescript and the opening section of the text (fig. 2). The first eighteen lines preserve the end of the deeds of Phaidros' grandfather, also called Phaidros, and the exploits of his father Thymochares.²⁷ The narrative of Phaidros' own activities begins in line 18 and continues to line 64. This section is then followed by the award of the honours (*sitesis*, gold crown, bronze statue, and front-row seats at the games), the publication clause, Lyander's amendment, and the names of the men elected to oversee the statue given to Phaidros.²⁸ Below the text is a sculpted representation of the gold crown awarded by the *boule* and the *demos*; originally it must have been painted gold.²⁹ Some of the information originally in the prescript can be determined from the existing text. The amendment indicates that Lyander was the orator who proposed the original decree after Phaidros himself had requested the honours. Since Phaidros' gold crown is to be announced at both the City Dionysia and the athletic games of the Great Panathenaea, the decree ought to have been passed in the year immediately before the Great Panathenaea, which was celebrated every four years.³⁰ References to the single officer of administration, rather than the plural board of administration, strongly point towards the period after the Chremonidean War when the city was not under democratic rule.³¹ Lyander also proposed an honorary decree for the councillors of the tribe Aegaeis in the archonship of Philinos, when he was *bouleutes*; it seems most economical, therefore, to place our decree also in Philinos' archonship which is now dated to 259/8, soon after the end of Chremonidean War and the year immediately before the Great Panathenaea of 258/7.³²

²⁷ Grandfather: *IG* II² 682.1–3 = *IG* II³.1 985.1–3; father: *IG* II² 682.3–18 = *IG* II³.1 985.3–18. The elder Phaidros is attested by other sources and was general at least three times; see Aeschin. 1.43, 50; Str. 10.1.6; *IG* II² 1623.174–5, 238–41; 1632.329, 342; II³.1 299.6–9.

²⁸ Award: *IG* II² 682.64–87 = *IG* II³.1 985.64–87; publication: *IG* II² 682.87–91 = *IG* II³.1 985.87–91; amendment: *IG* II² 682.92–8 = *IG* II³.1 985.92–8; statue: *IG* II² 682.98–101 = *IG* II³.1 985.98–101.

²⁹ *IG* II² 682.102–3 = *IG* II³.1 985.102–3.

³⁰ *IG* II² 682.75–88 = *IG* II³.1 985.75–88.

³¹ *IG* II² 682.79–80, 90–1 = *IG* II³.1 985.79–80, 90–1. The plural board of administration first appears after the revolution from Demetrios; on these matters, see Osborne (2010) 123–8 with further bibliography.

³² See e.g. Osborne (2012) 141; Paschidis (2008) 140 with n. 6; on the date, see also Osborne (2004) 207–10; id. (2000) 511–15; Bringmann and von Steuben (1995) 38 (by Ameling); Henry (1992); Osborne (1989) 230–3; Henry (1988) 222–4; Rhodes (1984) 201–2. Philinos: Osborne (2009) 90. Decree: *Agora* XV 89.1–22 = *IG* II³.1 983.1–22.

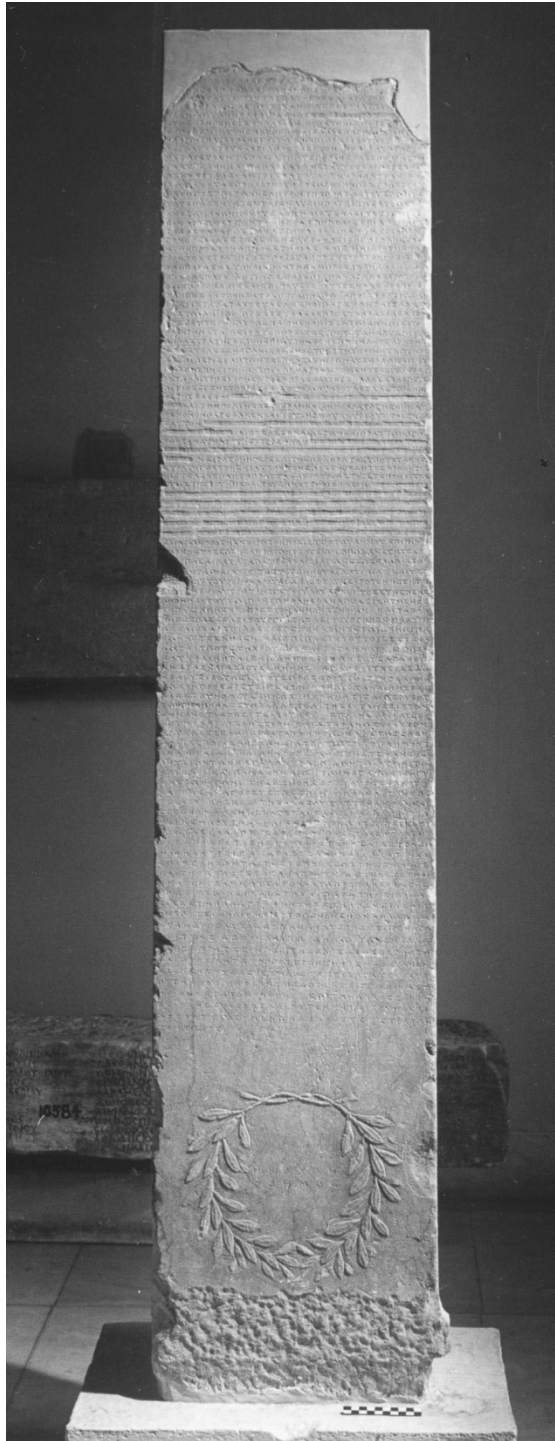


Fig. 2: *IG II² 682 = IG II³.1 985*; the decree in honour of Phaidros of Sphetos (EM 10546). Preserved dimensions: 1.827 m. x 0.371 m. x 0.246 m. The erased sections were removed in 200 BCE. (Courtesy of the photographic archive of the Epigraphical Museum, Athens).

As presented in this inscription, the narratives about Phaidros the grandfather, Thymochares, and Phaidros himself all proceed in chronological order and by generation.³³ Initially, we might take both Thymochares and the honorand himself as good Athenians who fought for the city, but the situation is not, in fact, so simple. Instead, the detailed accounts have been carefully constructed to create this view and only some actions are closely dated so that the text deemphasises the political nature of the regime when their service took place. Phaidros' father Thymochares as general of the fleet served in Asia, he fought on Cyprus, he captured the city of Kythnos and the pirate Glauketes and his ships, and, as general of the ships, he led the Athenian contingent involved with Kassandros's (unsuccessful) siege at Oreos on Euboa.³⁴ Of these events, only the actions against Glauketes are closely dated to the archonship of Praxiboulos in 315/4 and the rest are placed either before or after this occasion.³⁵ If we follow Andrew Bayliss' arguments, the events in Asia and on Cyprus belong in 321/0, while the siege of Oreos is dated by Diodorus to 313.³⁶ Thymochares' service, consequently, was first under the oligarchy imposed by Antipatros and then under the tyranny of Demetrios of Phaleron, but the inclusion of only one date obscures these circumstances.³⁷ Instead, the references to the *demos* in lines 5 and 6 and to the archon in lines 9–10 bring out the orderly nature of the regime ruling the city; together with the statement about Thymochares' election in lines 4–5, they suggest that the city's ancestral traditions were being followed at this time. In the section about Oreos, the focus on Thymochares' actions on behalf of his fellow citizens diverts attention from Kassandros's lack of success in his siege, while it also keeps the emphasis on Athenians, rather than the Macedonian dynast. Thymochares' credentials as a good Athenian who fights on behalf of the city are particularly stressed by the actions in which he took part: they all involved expeditions abroad and the enemies are also named.

The narrative of Phaidros' deeds is also carefully constructed to present a particular view of the honorand. For modern scholars, what stands out is the series of archon dates which begin in line 30, but the early years of his career

³³ Compare Shear, Jr (1978) 66; Osborne (2012) 35; Kralli (1999–2000) 158 n. 58; Oliver (2007b) 160–1, 249–51; *contra*: Paschidis (2008) 141, 143–4.

³⁴ See above, n. 27.

³⁵ Date of Praxiboulos: Meritt (1977) 170.

³⁶ Asia and Cyprus: Bayliss (2006) with earlier bibliography; cf. O'Sullivan (2009) 254–7. The traditional date is just before 315/4. While I find Bayliss' arguments persuasive, his restoration for the erased text in line 6 is unlikely. Having measured the space on the stone, I agree with him that there is only room for 18–19 letters: as he rightly states, the restoration in *IG II²* is not possible. Antigonos, however, did not take the title of king until 306 and I know of no epigraphic parallel for retrojecting the title back before this year. Perhaps we should restore $\llbracket\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \text{Ἀντιγόνου}\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\rrbracket$. For Antigonos and the title, see Billows (1990) 155–60. Oreos: Diod. 19.75.7–8.

³⁷ For an introduction to these regimes, see Habicht (1997) 40–9, 53–66 and above, n. 3.

are less specific. The initial entry records that he was elected general for supply twice by the *demos* in 296/5 in the archonship of Nikias, but he is then described as carrying out his duties with great zeal ‘both when he was elected many times general over the countryside and when he when he was three times general for the mercenaries’.³⁸ Behind these apparently innocuous phrases lurk several important details. The generalship held twice in 296/5 must have been held first at the end of Lachares’ tyranny and then again after the city was made democratic by Demetrios Poliorketes.³⁹ The important differences between the nature of these two regimes, however, is obscured by attributing both elections to ‘the *demos*’. The other offices are undated, but, like the embassy to Ptolemy I which follows,⁴⁰ they must have taken place before the next dated office: Phaidros’ tenure as hoplite general in 288/7. Most probably, they were also held after 296/5 because the order seems to be chronological.⁴¹ Thus, Athens was again under oligarchy when Phaidros held these offices, but, as with his father, the nature of the regime is not clear in the text. Furthermore, if he held only one generalship at a time, then the ‘many times’ that he was elected general over the countryside actually turn out to be at most four occasions and only one more time than he was general for mercenaries! In contrast to the section describing his father’s career, here there is no indication of the enemies against whom he led the Athenian forces.

Line 30 marks the beginning of a new and more detailed section about Phaidros’ career and his two hoplite generalships.⁴² Immediately noticeable here is the theatre of conflict: not abroad, but at home in Athens and Attica. Unlike his father, who captured named individuals, the town of Kythnos, and ships, Phaidros ‘continued fighting on behalf of the common safety and, when difficult times encompassed the city ... he preserved the peace in the countryside’.⁴³ Otherwise, his exploits were not martial: he advised the *demos*, ‘he handed over both the city, free, democratic, and autonomous, and the laws sovereign to his successors’, ‘he continued both saying and doing as much good as possible on behalf of the *demos*’; when he was hoplite general in 287/6, ‘he continued to do everything according to both the laws an[d] the decrees of the *boule* and the *demos*’.⁴⁴ Despite all this apparent detail, what exactly was going on in Athens is obscure. Some of this obscurity is due to

³⁸ *IG II²* 682.21–8 = *IG II³.1* 985.21–8. On the date of the archonship of Nikias (*Hysteros*), see Osborne (1985); id. (2006) 69–76.

³⁹ For these regimes and the oligarchy which followed, see Habicht (1997) 81–95; Osborne (2012) 25–36; above, n. 3.

⁴⁰ *IG II²* 682.28–30 = *IG II³.1* 985.28–30.

⁴¹ See above, n. 33.

⁴² *IG II²* 682.30–52 = *IG II³.1* 985.30–52. The generalships are dated by the archons Kimon (288/7) and Xenophon (287/6): Osborne (2009) 86.

⁴³ *IG II²* 682.32–5 = *IG II³.1* 985.32–5.

⁴⁴ *IG II²* 682.36–7, 38–40, 41–2, 46–7 = *IG II³.1* 985.36–7, 38–40, 41–2, 46–7.

the large amount of text which was erased in 200 BCE when the Athenians, in declaring war on the Macedonians, ordered the erasure of references to their kings, an episode to which we shall return (fig. 2).⁴⁵ As Sean Byrne has shown, such erased passages fall into three categories: references to the Macedonian tribes Antigonis and Demetrias; members of the Macedonian royal family included among the beneficiaries of the city's sacrifices; and Macedonian kings in positive (or neutral) contexts.⁴⁶ These erased lines, consequently, will have concerned Demetrios and his name will originally have featured prominently and positively. In lines 37–8, the Athenians were probably urged to complete or accomplish something which Demetrios wanted done and, in lines 42–4, the person to whom Phaidros 'continued both saying and doing as much good as possible on behalf of the *demos*' should also be the king.⁴⁷ Lines 47–52 very likely recorded Phaidros' activities in 286/5, hence their separation from what preceded them by a vacant space, actually the same textual layout which was used in line 44 for the entry for 287/6.⁴⁸ Here, too, Demetrios must have been mentioned by name prominently and positively: Phaidros cannot have been described as fighting against the king.⁴⁹

Whatever exactly was taking place in Athens in 288/7 and 287/6, all was certainly not well: the phrases 'fighting on behalf of the common safety', 'when difficult times encompassed the city', preserving 'the peace in the countryside' are both unusual and loaded. They are also surprisingly vague: 'difficult times' can mean many things and the individuals against whom Phaidros was fighting are never identified. Instead, the narrative focuses on Phaidros, who is described as 'always giving the best possible account of himself',⁵⁰ and his actions, especially his activities on behalf of the city. Stressing his deeds done for the city, and especially for the *demos*, brings out his status as a good Athenian, as does the phrase 'he continued doing everything according to both the laws an[d] the decrees of the *boule* and the

⁴⁵ Livy 31.44.4–9; Habicht (1997) 196–7; id. (1982) 142–50; Flower (2006) 34–40; Byrne (2010) with the addition of *IG II³.1* 1023; cf. Traill (1986) 64–74. On erasing and amending inscriptions more generally, see Low, above, ch. 6.

⁴⁶ Byrne (2010) 161–2. Inscriptions with hostile contexts, such as Kallias' decree, were not erased; cf. Byrne (2010) 172.

⁴⁷ Lines 37–8: cf. Osborne (1979) 187; Habicht (1979) 56–7; Paschidis (2008) 141 and 142 n. 6; note also Bringmann and von Steuben (1995) (Ameling's text, no. 15 [E]). Of course, how one restores the erased text in this part of the inscription depends directly on how one understands the date and course of the revolution.

⁴⁸ On the mason's use of *vacats* in this inscription, see the helpful remarks of Bayliss (2006) 125.

⁴⁹ Hence the absence of honours for him in the years soon after the revolution. With his career and his contacts with Demetrios, honours only became possible after the Chremonidean War; cf. Kralli (1999–2000) 159; Luraghi (2010) 255. In turn, this delay must be factored into our understanding of Phaidros' actions in the 280s.

⁵⁰ *IG II²* 682.34–5 = *IG II³.1* 985.34–5.

demos'. The reference to the free, democratic, and autonomous city suggests that Phaidros played some role in bringing Athens to this state, as we might well expect from the hoplite general.

This image of Phaidros as the good Athenian who holds important offices and is active on behalf of the city continues in the final section about his career.⁵¹ He served as *agonothetes* in the archonship of Nikias in 282/1 and, later, he aided his son Thymochares when he was *agonothetes* in the archonship of Euboulos, probably in 265/4.⁵² As *agonothetes*, he took care 'of the games so that they [migh]t be the best possible and worthy of the munificence of the *demos*', while, in helping his son, he displayed 'in all things his conspicuous good will which he had towards the *demos*'.⁵³ More vaguely, he also undertook all the other financial contributions to the city 'zealously' 'and, for all this, he was crowned by both the *boule* and the *demos*'.⁵⁴ Particularly noticeable in this final section are the repeated references to the *demos* and Phaidros' actions in relation to it. They also serve to obscure the actual situation: Phaidros only held one office after the revolution and the return of the democracy. Helping out his son is not really something to brag about,⁵⁵ but it increases his visibility after 286, as does all the emphasis on his financial contributions to the city.

In this section of the decree, accordingly, Lyander has carefully constructed the careers of Phaidros and his father Thymochares to present them as exemplary Athenians and to bring out Phaidros' worthiness for highest honours. The narrative about Thymochares stresses his military deeds and his activities abroad against the city's external enemies; the career of his own father Phaidros in lines 1–3 seems to have been presented in similar terms. The remaining text reports that he besieged some (originally named) city 'which was in the allianc[e] of the enemies'.⁵⁶ This episode is usually associated with the destruction of Styra in Euboia by forces under the senior Phaidros' command as general in 323 and it certainly fits with the

⁵¹ *IG II*² 682.53–64 = *IG II*³.1 985.53–64.

⁵² Archonship of Nikias: Osborne (2009) 87. The identity of this archon named Euboulos is disputed. One man named Euboulos was certainly archon in 274/3, but this date seems too early to fit with the rest of Thymochares' career. Another man of this name appears to have held this office in 265/4, but he is not well attested to say the least: this entry provides the best evidence for his existence. On the problems, see Henry (1988) 215–22; Osborne (1989) 227–8 with n. 90; id. (2004) 207–10; id. (2012) 129–30.

⁵³ *IG II*² 682.54–6, 59–60 = *IG II*³.1 985.54–6, 59–60.

⁵⁴ *IG II*² 682.61–2, 63–4 = *IG II*³.1 985.61–2, 63–4.

⁵⁵ Compare Osborne (1989) 228 n. 90. Given all his military experience, the absence of such offices in the years after 286 is both particularly striking and suggestive.

⁵⁶ *IG II*² 682.2–3 = *IG II*³.1 985.2–3.

inscribed text.⁵⁷ The tenure in military office of Phaidros the honorand is also stressed and he did, indeed, do some fighting. Phaidros is particularly shown to have been active on behalf of the *demos* and to have abided by the laws and decrees of the city. As in the narrative for his father Thymochares, the text suggests that the city's ancestral practices were being followed and they are specifically invoked in line 55 in connection with Phaidros' sacrifices as *agonothetes*. In the careers of both men, Lyander has successfully obscured the nature of the regimes ruling the city, hence the different chronologies of the revolution and scholars' various interpretations of Phaidros' role in it.⁵⁸ Of course, such details were irrelevant to Lyander who needed to ensure that Phaidros was deemed worthy of the highest honours which he desired.

4. (Re)constructing the Past

As presented in this decree, accordingly, Phaidros served the city with distinction and he is worthy of the proposed honours. Creating this image, however, involved not just the careful crafting of his biography, but also the (re)construction of the past. This process is particularly evident in the narrative about the revolution against Demetrios because, as we have already seen, Kallias' own inscription presents a different version of the events. It particularly stresses martial actions and especially those undertaken by the honorand on behalf of the Athenian *demos*. Kallias himself is configured as a democrat who fights on behalf of the city against external enemies. This presentation of the events conforms to the city's dominant collective version in the years immediately after the revolution. Comparison between the narratives in Kallias' and Phaidros' decrees brings out the very different treatment of the same events and lets us see how Lyander has (re)presented them.

Lyander's (re)construction of the past is not limited to this section of Phaidros' career: his *agonothesia* in 282/1 has also been rewritten. According to the text, 'he took care both of the sacrifices, in order that they might *all* be celebrated according to ancestral custom, and also of the games, so that they might be the best possible and worthy of the munificence of the *demos*'.⁵⁹ The emphasis here on 'all' the sacrifices suggests that Phaidros was the only *agonothetes* in this year. In fact, there was a second *agonothetes*, Glaukon, the son of Eteokles, of Aithalidai, as we know from the choregic monument commemorating his *agonothesia* and the victory of the tribe Leontis in the men's

⁵⁷ Str. 10.1.6; Davies (1971) 525; Develin (1989) 408; Bringmann and von Steuben (1995) 38 (by Ameling). Perhaps one or more of his other generalships also appeared before lines 2–3; above, n. 27.

⁵⁸ See above nn. 2 and 7.

⁵⁹ *IG II²* 682.54–6 = *IG II³*.1 985.54–6.

dithyramb.⁶⁰ Since only one tribe was victorious in the men's event, the festival in question must be the City Dionysia.⁶¹ Phaidros, consequently, was certainly not involved with this celebration and his only significant office held after the revolution was actually rather less important than Lyander has presented it. Furthermore, unlike his contemporary Philippides of Kephale and some other *agonothetai*, Phaidros does not seem to have spent large amounts of his own money in the process.⁶² These details, however, are not evident in Phaidros' decree.

Lyander has also presented a very different version of the revolution from Demetrios than we see in Kallias' earlier honorary decree (see Table 1, below, p. 284). As we have already observed, in Kallias' decree, military action is stressed and Kallias is presented as continually acting on behalf of

⁶⁰ *IG* II² 3079 = *IG* II^{3.4} 528. As the inscription records, Glaukon's *agonothesia* was performed in the archonship of Nikias. Traditionally, this archon has been identified as Nikias who was in office in 282/1; e.g., Shear, Jr (1978) 38; Tracy (2003) 86; Kirchner in *IG* II² (when the archon was dated to 280/79); cf. Humphreys (2007) 70. The archon ought not be Nikias of Otryne, who held office in 266/5, because his name is normally given with the demotic in order to differentiate him from the archon of 282/1; Shear, Jr (1978) 38 n. 94; Osborne (2006) 73; Paschidis (2008) 511. If there is any validity to the categorisation of this monument as a public one, as, for example in *IG* II^{3.4}, then we should expect the text to follow the same rules as other public inscriptions: if the archon were Nikias of Otryne, his deme would have been indicated. A date in 282/1 also accommodates the history of the team tribal events at the Great Panathenaea and the *anthippasia* more generally, all of which I discuss elsewhere, but a date in 266/5 does not. Furthermore, in the archonship of Nikias of Otryne, Deinias of Erchia was [- - 9-10 - - Παν]αθηναίων, as we know from a list of officials of this year; *SEG* LI 144.3 and cf. Osborne (2015) 71–2. As a single official, he cannot have been part of the board of *athlothetai* nor can he have been the treasurer of the Panathenaea because this office is not attested until the third quarter of the century and the title is too short to fill the space; *IG* II^{3.1} 1023.13, 39; cf. *SEG* XXXII 169.2 where the office should be restored, as Osborne has rightly seen; Osborne (2015) 73; id. (2016) 91. Deinias' title must, therefore, have been [ἀγωνοθέτης Παν]αθηναίων, as it has traditionally been restored; e.g. Meritt (1968) 284–5; Oliver (2007b) 243 n. 72; Paschidis (2008) 512; *contra*: Osborne (2015) 72; id. (2016) 91. If there was an *agonothetes* for Athena's festival, there must also have been a second *agonothetes* for the other festivals, probably Lysimachos of Athmonon who is recorded immediately after Deinias; *SEG* LI 144.4; cf. Meritt (1968) 285; Oliver (2007b) 243 n. 72; *contra*: Osborne (2015) 71–2. Glaukon himself seems to have been hoplite general in this year; *SEG* LI 144.5–6; cf. Osborne (2015) 71–2. Consequently, two *agonothetai* are clearly attested in a Great Panathenaic year in this period and Glaukon is also unlikely to have been both hoplite general and *agonothetes* in the year of Nikias of Otryne; cf. Paschidis (2008) 512. Further discussion of the complications of the Great Panathenaea and the *agonothesia*, which can never have worked well together, lie beyond the scope of this essay and I discuss them elsewhere. Nevertheless, Osborne and Humphreys date the archon Nikias of *IG* II² 3079 = *IG* II^{3.4} 528 to 266/5; Osborne (2009) 89; Humphreys (2007) 70–2; Osborne (2015) 66; *contra*: Paschidis (2008) 510–13, although I do not share his certainty that Glaukon's crowns were presented in chronological order.

⁶¹ At the Thargelia, pairs of tribes competed; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.3; Antiph. 6.11; Wilson (2007) 156–7. That the fragments of *IG* II² 3079 = *IG* II^{3.4} 528 were found in the Theatre of Dionysos also points to the City Dionysia; Kirchner in *IG* II².

⁶² *IG* II² 956.17–19; 958.15–16; 968.43–5, 54–5; *SEG* XXXIX 125.18–19 = *IG* II^{3.1} 991.

Table 1: Actions in the Revolution from Demetrios

Phaidros	Kallias
<p>elected hoplite general in 288/7</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘continued fighting on behalf of common safety and, when difficult times encompassed the city, he, always giving the best possible account of himself, preserved the peace in the countryside’ • brought in the harvest of grain and other crops • advised the <i>demos</i> to complete [[- -]] • ‘handed over both the city, free, democratic, and autonomous, and the laws sovereign to his successors’ • [[----- - -]] • ‘he continued both saying and doing as much good as possible on behalf of the <i>demos</i>’ • [[----- - -]] <p>elected hoplite general in 287/6</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘he continued to do everything according to both the laws and decrees of the <i>boule</i> and the <i>demos</i>’ <p>[[- - - events in 286/5 erased? - - -]]</p>	<p>when the revolution took place and before the expulsion of the Macedonians from the Mouseion and the arrival of Demetrios and his army</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • came to the aid of the <i>demos</i> with 1,000 soldiers paid at his expense • acted according to the good will of King Ptolemy toward the <i>demos</i> • ‘making every effort’, with his soldiers protected the harvest to bring as much grain as possible into the city <p>when Demetrios was besieging the city</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fought on behalf of the <i>demos</i> • ‘attacking with his soldiers, although he was wounded, he did not any moment shrink from any danger on behalf of the safety of the <i>demos</i>’ <p>when King Ptolemy sent Sostratos to make peace on behalf of the city</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • yielded to the generals and the <i>boule</i> and served as envoy on behalf of the <i>demos</i> • ‘did [ev]erything in the interests of the city’ • ‘remai[n]ed in the city with his soldiers until peace w[a]s concluded’ <p>‘A[nd - - 15–16 - -] on behalf of the fatherland Kallias could not at any time endure [- 8 -] when the <i>demos</i> [ha]d been overthrown, but h[is own] property he also allowed to be confiscated in the oligarchy so as no[t] to do [anything a]gainst either the laws or the democ[rac]y of all the Athenians’</p>
Source: <i>IG</i> II ² 682.30–52 = <i>IG</i> II ³ .I 985.30–52	Source: <i>SEG</i> XXVIII 60.11–40, 78–83 = <i>IG</i> II ³ .I 911.11–40, 78–83

the *demos*.⁶³ He is the good Athenian democrat who fights for the city and goes into exile when the democracy has been overthrown. Phaidros' decree, in contrast, presents quite a different picture of the events. The narrative clearly covers a longer period of time and a more complicated situation.⁶⁴ Oligarchy is neither mentioned nor juxtaposed with democracy and Phaidros fought 'on behalf of the common safety' rather than democracy.⁶⁵ He was also not concerned with 'all the Athenians', as Kallias was.⁶⁶ Instead, we hear about keeping the peace, conforming to the laws and decrees, continuing to do and say as much good as possible, and giving the best possible account of himself. Although Phaidros was hoplite general, military actions play a very small role in this account and the enemy is both conspicuously unnamed and not clearly external. The version presented here is quite different from the narrative of Kallias' decree, and, despite the references to the *demos*, the *boule*, the laws, and the decrees, it suggests a much more complicated situation. There is also an element of justification here, as if Lyander was aware that some Athenians might say that Phaidros really had not acted properly or had not done enough to warrant highest honours. In writing this account, Lyander had to push against the city's dominant collective tradition of the revolution with its stress both on fighting against Macedonians, an external enemy, and the return of the exiled democrats who had had no part in the oligarchy. This version was inappropriate for Phaidros, not least because he had clearly not been in exile, and so Lyander had to construct another version which would help to secure highest honours for Phaidros.

5. The Competition of Traditions

The city's dominant story about how the Athenians came to be freed from the Macedonians was not simply embedded in a few decrees which perhaps no one read. Instead, it had become part of the city's collective memories through the very process of approving these decrees, perhaps some eleven to twelve years before Lyander proposed the decree for Phaidros.⁶⁷ These memories were reinforced by the honours awarded: bronze statues of the honorands in the Agora and inscribed decrees. In this setting, these rewards interacted both with Leokritos' shield, another monument connected with the revolution from Demetrios, and with the Agora itself, which had been reconfigured as the space of the democratic citizen at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries BCE. Phaidros' own decree and his

⁶³ *SEG* XXVIII 60.11–43 = *IG* II³.I 911.11–43.

⁶⁴ See above, n. 42.

⁶⁵ *IG* II² 682.32 = *IG* II³.I 985.32.

⁶⁶ *SEG* XXVIII 60.82–3 = *IG* II³.I 911.82–3.

⁶⁷ Laches' request for Demochares is dated to 271/0 (archonship of Pytharatos), while Kallias' decree belongs in 270/69 (archonship of Sostratos); [Plut.] *Mor.* 851D; *SEG* XXVIII 60.5 = *IG* II³.I 911.5; Shear, Jr (1978) 12–14; Osborne (2009) 88; id. (2012) 114.

bronze statue were also erected in the marketplace so that the competition between the city's dominant collective tradition and Lyander's alternative version, which took place during the approval of Phaidros' honours, continued to be played out in the city's topography. In this way, the setting made explicit the issue of the interdependence between Lyander's version of events and the city's dominant tradition, so that viewers could not avoid it.

The honorary decrees for Kallias, Demochares, and Phaidros will all have gone through the same process of approval.⁶⁸ First, a request had to be submitted to the *boule*.⁶⁹ For Demochares' honours, we have the request and not the decree, although we know the award was, in fact, granted. As this document shows, the request explains in detail why the honorand was worthy of the proposed honours. After discussion and, potentially, debate, if the council was in favour of the award, as in the case of our three honorands, it voted to make the award and drafted a resolution to be brought to the *demos*, as Phaidros' decree among others makes clear.⁷⁰ After the legally mandated time had elapsed, the decree was presented and discussed in the assembly before it came up for vote. On each of these occasions, the request or draft decree would have been read out in public and so the history encapsulated in the documents will have been rehearsed twice in the case of highest honours. The subsequent and mandatory scrutiny will have added a third such opportunity. A citizenship decree like that for Strombichos will have first been presented to the *boule* which, on approval, will have recommended it to the *demos*; it, too, required subsequent scrutiny.⁷¹ The history which it narrated will have been read in both the council and the assembly. Decrees concerning other matters will also have been brought first to the *boule* and then to the *demos*. The decisions to bury the dead from the assault on the Mouseion in the Demosion Sema and to dedicate Leokritos' shield to Zeus will have needed such authorisation and this process will have provided further opportunities for rehearsing how the Athenians came to be free from Demetrios.⁷² Consequently, when Phaidros made his original request and Lyander presented the necessary decree,⁷³ their (re)constructed history of the revolution will have been read more than once to men who will have heard the standard public version many times before and must have recognised the rewriting which was going on. Evidently, presenting quite a different version of an event still in living memory did not pose an insurmountable problem and it did not prevent the award from being recom-

⁶⁸ For the process, see Osborne (2012) 71–4; Gauthier (1985) 83–9.

⁶⁹ On the important role of the *boule*, see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 45.4; Rhodes (1981) 543; Osborne (2012) 67–70.

⁷⁰ *IG II²* 682.66–71 = *IG II³.1* 985.66–71.

⁷¹ Strombichos: above, n. 17.

⁷² Burial of dead: above, n. 15; Leokritos: above, n. 16.

⁷³ See above, n. 8.

mended and approved. At this time, it successfully met enough of the formal constraints to which the past is subject. The vagueness of the text, its periphrases and economies, and its emphasis on Phaidros as an exemplary Athenian will all have made this process easier.⁷⁴ At the same time, the decree also brings out the malleability of memory and the ways in which memory can accommodate competing versions of events.⁷⁵

The competition between these different versions of the revolution did not cease when Phaidros' honours were approved. Instead, it was continued through the rewards themselves and it played itself out in the Agora (fig. 3). Phaidros' decree specifies that his bronze statue was to be set up in the Agora with the inscribed decree next to it.⁷⁶ Together, they formed a composite monument. In this location, Phaidros' statue and decree joined a number of other monuments, including the bronze statues of Kallias and Demochares. Kallias' decree was certainly erected next to his statue and it is very likely that Demochares' inscribed document was also placed beside his figure.⁷⁷ In the early 250s, Phaidros' statue came into a particularly loaded setting because, at the end of the fifth century, as part of the public, collective responses to the oligarchies of 411 and 404/3, the Athenians changed the Agora from multi-use space into an area now focused on the democratic citizen.⁷⁸ After the revolution from Demetrios, the Athenians reused many of the strategies from the responses to the fifth-century oligarchies: among other things, they set up the statues of Demochares and Kallias in the Agora. In 269, when Kallias' figure was new, these two statues and their accompanying inscriptions will have presented the two men as good democrats and exemplary Athenians; in so doing, they will have repeated some of the dynamics, although probably not the appearance, of the figures of Konon and Euagoras which were erected in front of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios to commemorate their military victory over the Spartans at Knidos in 394/3.⁷⁹ In that year, the setting up of these statues marked the end of the process of turning the Agora into the space of the democratic citizen and the beginning of its life as a location for statues of good generals, as Lykourgos identified it in 330 BCE.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ As will the political situation immediately after the Chremonidean War; see briefly the discussion below.

⁷⁵ Malleability of memory: e.g. Young (1993) 29; Alcock (2002) 17; Cubitt (2007) 158–9, 202–3, 214.

⁷⁶ *IG II²* 682.80–1, 87–9 = *IG II³.1* 985.80–1, 87–9.

⁷⁷ Kallias: *SEG XXVIII* 60.95–6, 104–7 = *IG II³.1* 911.95–6, 104–7; Demochares: [Plut.] *Mor.* 847E, 851D; Shear (2012) 290–1. Compare more generally Oliver (2007a) 196; Ma (2013) 59, 120.

⁷⁸ Shear (2007); ead. (2011) 112–22, 132–3, 263–85.

⁷⁹ *Isoc.* 9.56–7; *Dem.* 20.69–70; *Paus.* 1.3.2–3; Shear (2007) 107–9; ead. (2011) 274–81; ead. (2012) 291.

⁸⁰ Lycurg. *Leoc.* 51; Shear (2007) 113–15; ead. (2011) 283–5.

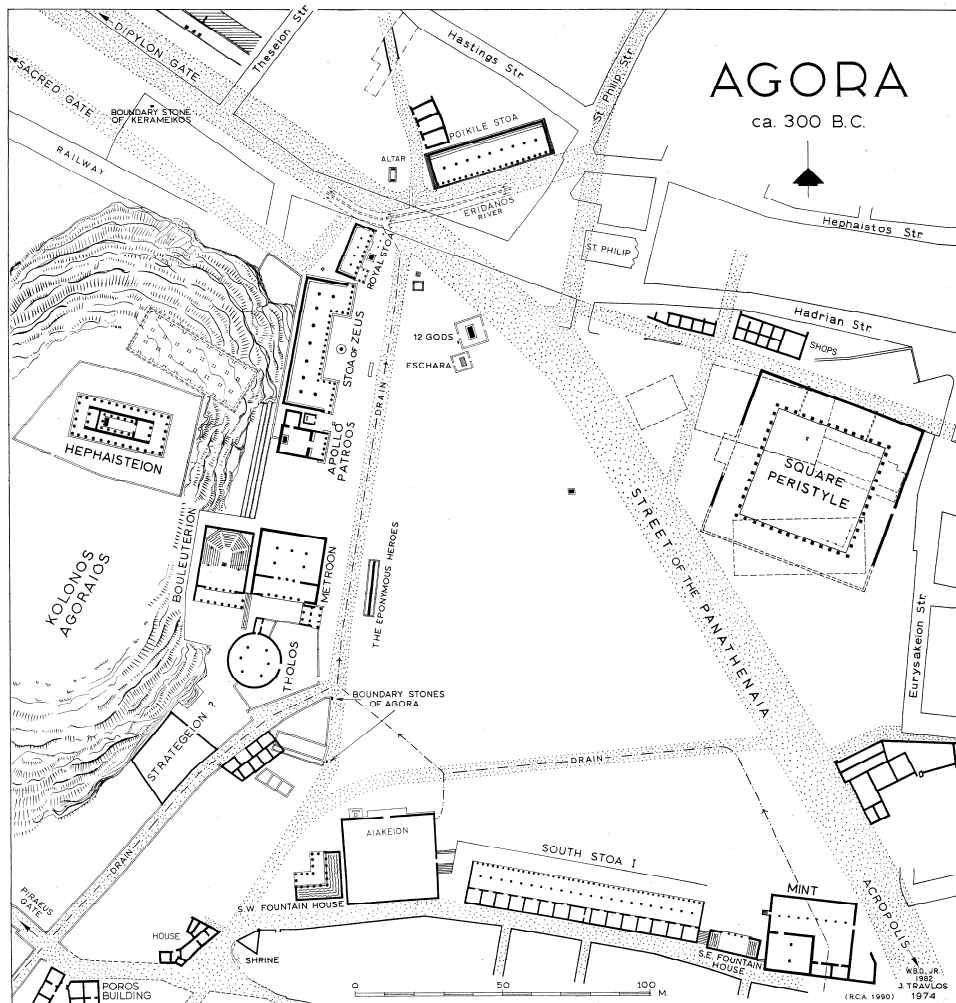


Fig. 3: Plan of the Agora in ca. 300 BCE. (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).

We know that Demochares' statue showed him wearing a himation and a sword, the attire which he wore as he addressed the *demos* when Antipatros was demanding the surrender of the orators in 322.⁸¹ Since the himation was 'civic dress', as it were, it emphasised Demochares' actions as a statesman, the same image as his decree, but the sword was decidedly martial.⁸² It connected him with the various military monuments in the Agora, particularly the Stoa Poikile, which commemorated the battle of Marathon among other engagements, and the memorials in and around the Stoa of

⁸¹ [Plut.] *Mor.* 847D; for the date, see Dillon (2006) 104.

⁸² Shear (2012) 291. Civic dress: Dillon (2006) 74, 110–12. As Dillon notes, in the Hellenistic period, the himation was typically worn with tunic or chiton beneath it.

Zeus, where Leokritos' shield was also dedicated (fig. 3).⁸³ This sword further suggested that Demochares had contributed to the revolution against Demetrios by acting in some martial capacity.⁸⁴ We know less about Kallias' bronze statue, but it cannot have shown him on horseback because, in such cases, the decrees are explicit;⁸⁵ he must have stood upright, like the vast number of honorific figures. His decree configures him not only as a democrat, but also as a man active on behalf of the safety of the *demos* and his actions make him into a saviour of the people.⁸⁶ This strategy was borrowed from the early fourth-century statues of Konon and Euagoras who were presented as saviours of the city through their location in front of the Stoa of Zeus Soter (fig. 3).⁸⁷ The parallels between their statues and Kallias' figure may have been reinforced by the setting: Kallias' decree was found reused as a cover slab over the Great Drain in front of the Stoa Basileios.⁸⁸ This repair dates to the fifth century CE; before that time, the *stele*, together with the figure, may have been erected not far away.⁸⁹ Such a location would have placed it near both the Stoa of Zeus and the statues of Konon and Euagoras so that the relationships between the three figures were clearly visible.⁹⁰ Since Kallias' most important services were military, it is likely that he was shown in armour or with a short tunic and short cloak, the two options for 'military dress', as it were, and this choice will have reinforced the connections with the military monuments in the area and the statues of earlier generals.⁹¹

In the early 250s, Phaidros' statue and decree were erected in this potent space. Both the alternative history of the revolution in his decree and the statue itself will have been superimposed on the existing structures and memorials. How exactly Phaidros' statue will have fitted into this setting will have depended on its appearance, which is not specified in the decree. If he was shown in a himation and chiton, then the statue will have emphasised his political contributions and it would have reinforced the decree's image of him as particularly active on behalf of the *demos* and as doing 'everything according to both the laws an[d] the decrees of the *boule* and the *demos*'.⁹² The composite monument would have brought out his status as an exemplary

⁸³ Shear (2012) 291. Military monuments: Shear (2007) 105–6, 111–12 with further references.

⁸⁴ Shear (2012) 291.

⁸⁵ *IG II²* 450.7–10; 654.57–8 = *IG II³.1* 871.57–8; *IG II²* 983.5–6; *ISE* 7.13–14.

⁸⁶ Shear (2012) 292.

⁸⁷ Shear (2012) 292; ead. (2007) 107–8, 110; ead. (2011) 277–8.

⁸⁸ Shear, Jr (1978) 2.

⁸⁹ Location: Shear, Jr (1978) 1–2 n. 1; Shear (2012) 292. The date is provided by the coin *BF* 405 and the pottery (lots *BF* 285, 286) is consistent with this date.

⁹⁰ Shear (2012) 292.

⁹¹ Military dress: Dillon (2006) 107–9, 110.

⁹² *IG II²* 682.46–7 = *IG II³.1* 985.46–7.

Athenian who was worthy of the honours awarded, particularly the bronze figure, which viewers saw, and the gold crown now permanently represented by the sculpted version below the text of the decree. A statue of Phaidros in military dress would have complemented the generalships which he held in the earlier parts of his career. Such a figure, however, would have conflicted with the decree's narrative which does not stress Phaidros' military exploits and, indeed, suggests that he actually saw relatively little combat despite all those generalships. Since generals remained the exemplary Athenians in the middle of the third century and figures of them were well represented in the Agora at this time,⁹³ such an image of Phaidros would still have presented him as a good Athenian who deserved his honours.

His image would have been reinforced by the larger setting of the Agora. In the years after 403, the reconfiguration of the market square particularly made it into a place where large numbers of Athenian citizens came to do their civic duty, especially in the courts.⁹⁴ This focus continued in the third century when the Square Peristyle, constructed about 300 BCE, remained in use as a facility for the courts (fig. 3).⁹⁵ The overall setting of Phaidros' monument, accordingly, will have reinforced his image as an Athenian who supported the rule of the *demos* and it will have picked up on specific clauses in the narrative of the revolution which explicitly report his support. In this way, Phaidros, like the Athenian citizens coming to the Agora, did his duty on behalf of the city and, like them, he followed the laws and decrees of the city. The stress on following the laws and decrees which we see in the inscription will have been further reinforced by the physical presence of the laws in the great display installed in the Stoa Basileios at the end of the fifth century and in the city's archives in the Metroon which also housed the city's decrees.⁹⁶ Furthermore, as Graham Oliver has shown, the Agora in the early Hellenistic period was space explicitly controlled by the *demos* and the *boule* and that control, in turn, reinforced the identity of the *boule* and the *demos* as the principal authorities of the city.⁹⁷ This aspect of the square will have worked together with the references to the *demos* and the *boule* in Phaidros' inscription to emphasise further the honorand's status as an exemplary Athenian.

When Phaidros' statue was erected in the middle of the third century, the Agora had become the primary spot in the city for erecting honorary statues.⁹⁸ Consequently, Phaidros' monument became one more element in the series of exemplary Athenians. Both generals and statesmen were repre-

⁹³ As the relevant section of the list of honorary statues in Oliver (2007a) 184–8 suggests.

⁹⁴ Shear (2012) 264–8, 270–4.

⁹⁵ Although not as originally designed; Townsend (1995) 90–103.

⁹⁶ Shear (2011) 85–96, 117–18, 240–5; Sickinger (1999) 114–38.

⁹⁷ Oliver (2007a) 197–8.

⁹⁸ Oliver (2007a) 196, 197 with 184–6.

sented: among others, Konon, Iphikrates, Chabrias, and Timotheos had all been honoured for their military exploits,⁹⁹ while Demades, Lykourgos, and Demosthenes were rewarded for their political contributions.¹⁰⁰ Thus, irrespective of the attire of Phaidros' figure, its relationship to these earlier statues will have been clear and the juxtaposition will have reinforced Phaidros' identity as a good Athenian worthy of the honours instantiated in part in the composite monument.

In the space of the Agora, Phaidros' ensemble will have stood out from these other, earlier monuments because of the unusual shape of the block on which his decree was inscribed: it was very tall and thin and especially thick. As now preserved, the *stèle* is 0.371 m. wide and 0.246 m. thick with a preserved height of 1.827 m. (fig. 2). Since the preamble and the beginning of the entry for Phaidros' grandfather are not preserved, we may estimate that a minimum of nine lines are now lost and thus the original inscription stood at least 1.88 m. tall.¹⁰¹ It was hardly a standard Attic *stèle*, such as the inscribed decree for his brother Kallias, which measures overall 1.655 m. x 0.536 m. x 0.122 m. (fig. 1).¹⁰² Such an unusual *stèle* did not come about by chance; rather, it represents a conscious decision to make Phaidros' inscription especially noticeable. While his overall monument will have located him in relationship to the earlier exemplary Athenians, the shape of his inscribed block will have ensured that he did not simply blend in with them and their memorials. Instead, the unusual shape will have forced viewers to notice Phaidros' structure in particular and it will have drawn their eyes to the text which documented the honorand's achievements on behalf of the city. The texts for other honorands, in contrast, will not have been so noticeable because they would all have been about the same size and shape. Set apart in this way, Phaidros' *stèle* will have looked both new and different,

⁹⁹ Konon: above, n. 79; Iphikrates: Dem. 23.130; cf. schol. Dem. 21.62; Aeschin. 3.243; Chabrias: Nepos, *Chab.* 1.2–3; *SEG* XIX 204 = *Agora* XVIII C148; cf. Aeschin. 3.243; Timotheos: Paus. 1.3.2–3; Nepos, *Timoth.* 2.3; cf. Aeschin. 3.243; Shear (2007) 110–11.

¹⁰⁰ Demades: Dein. 1.101; Lykourgos: [Plut.] *Mor.* 843C, 852E; Paus. 1.8.2; *IG* II² 3776; Demosthenes: Plut. *Dem.* 30.5–31.3; [Plut.] 847A, D, 850F; Paus. 1.8.2, 4; on the archon date, see Byrne (2006/7) 172–3.

¹⁰¹ On the basis of *Agora* XV 89.1–6 = *IG* II³.1 983.1–6, I would restore the text as follows:

ἐπὶ Φιλίνου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [tribe = 8–12] [prytany number = 5–8]	37–44 letters
πρυτανείας ἢ Θεότιμος Στρατοκλέους Θεοραϊεύς ἐ-	41 letters
γραμμάτευεν [month = 10–14] [day of month = 9–18]	30–43 letters
[day of prytany = 5–19] τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλησία κυρία	31–45 letters
τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν [name of president = ca. 20]	ca. 41 letters
[name con. = ca. 10–14] καὶ συμπρόεδροι ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευ-	ca. 39–43 letters
καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ Λυσιάνδρου Λυσιάνδρου Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν	43 letters
ἐπειδὴ Φαῖδρος μὲν ὁ πάππος Φαῖδρου [- - - - -]	30 letters
[- - - - -]	
[. . . 7. . .]εἰσαν[. . 3.]ασε[- - - - -] = <i>IG</i> II ² 682.1; cf. <i>IG</i> II ³ .1 985.1	

¹⁰² Shear, Jr (1978) 2.

just as his honours had been awarded by a political regime which was new and different from those which made the grants to the earlier honorands. It was a modern *stèle* for the current political situation. Since other Athenians do not seem to have been so honoured at this time in the Agora, the inscription will have also suggested that Phaidros was particularly worthy of his honours.

While these comparisons between Phaidros' figure and the other honorary statues in the Agora emphasised his status as a good Athenian, the same would not have been true with Demochares' and Kallias' statues, the two most recently erected monuments in this area. If Phaidros was shown in a himation, then Demochares was the obvious point of comparison. If he was in armour, the obvious reference point was his brother Kallias, who is pointedly *not* mentioned in Phaidros' decree. Another comparison was provided by the shield of Leokritos in the Stoa of Zeus, a location and context which emphasised that Leokritos had actually died fighting against the Macedonians and so helped in a most concrete fashion to make the city free and democratic.¹⁰³ In all three of these cases, comparison will have brought out the (re)construction of the revolution which was going on in Phaidros' decree and monument. These juxtapositions undermined the positive images of Phaidros' composite memorial. Readers of the text and viewers, especially those who remembered the debates in the assembly, will have been encouraged to ask what exactly Phaidros had been doing in the 280s. They may have wondered whether his actions had really been exemplary and if he really did deserve the highest honours bestowed upon him. If Phaidros was shown in armour, then these viewers and readers may also have compared him again with the other generals and linked him to the other military monuments commemorating the city's successes in war: was he really in the same class as the earlier Athenians commemorated in these ways, they may have asked themselves. At the same time, the overall setting of the Agora with its focus on the good citizen suggested that he actually was an exemplary Athenian, the image of Lyander's decree with its sculpted (gold) crown, and, perhaps, even a democrat.¹⁰⁴

Awarding highest honours to Phaidros, consequently, was not a simple process; rather, it required the repeated (re)construction of the city's past. This rewriting was competitive and, therefore, open to contestation. This competition was not limited to the *boule* and the assembly where men hostile to Phaidros and/or Lyander may have asked difficult questions or refused to conform to their rewritten version of the city's past. Instead, it continued after the rewards had been made because the relationship of Phaidros' statue to its setting in the Agora required readers and viewers repeatedly to play one version of the revolution against the other. In effect, they continually had

¹⁰³ See above, n. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Phaidros' political orientation has been the subject of much (heated) scholarly discussion; see, e.g., the bibliography in n. 115, below.

to (re)construct the city's history for themselves as they moved from one memorial to another. At the same time, the monumental landscape brings out what the decree carefully ignores: that Phaidros' brother Kallias played an important role in the revolution and his actions were perhaps more significant than those of the honorand.

6. The Past and the Future

In order to secure highest honours for Phaidros, accordingly, Lyander had to rewrite the city's past. In the decree, this process is clearest in his description of Phaidros' tenure as *agonothetes* in 282/1, but it is also present in the narrative of Phaidros' services to the city in the period of the revolution from Demetrios. The text presents the honorand as an exemplary Athenian worthy of the highest honours requested and it focuses on his deeds, rather than on events in the city. At the moment of writing first the request and then the draft of the decree, Phaidros and Lyander had to push against the city's dominant collective version of the events and the texts and monuments in which it was instantiated. They were also constrained by the actualities of Phaidros' career: he had been very active in the city in the years before the revolution and he had not been in exile, unlike Demochares, Kallias, and other ardent democrats. The political circumstances in the years immediately after the Chremonidean War will also have influenced how the past could and could not be rewritten. The city had just been defeated by Antigonos Gonatas, the son of Demetrios Poliorketes, and she seems to have been under close Macedonian control.¹⁰⁵ The king's power would have been made particularly explicit at each meeting of the assembly when the *prytaneis* announced the (good) outcome of the sacrifices which they had made before the meeting: now they offered not only 'for the health and safety of the *boule* and the *demos*', but also 'on behalf of King Antigonos and Queen Phila and their children'.¹⁰⁶ This formula made the king (verbally) present at the meeting, as if he, too, had the opportunity to approve of the Athenians' decisions. Under these circumstances, dissenters might have thought twice before expressing contrary views and opinions. Certainly, the city's dominant version of the revolution was not going to be popular with the king! Rewriting the past was, therefore, a complicated business and neither Phaidros nor Lyander had a clean slate on which to write. Instead, they had

¹⁰⁵ Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 44 with Dorandi (1990) 130; Habicht (1997) 150–7 with id. (2003) 53–4; Tracy (2003) 15–25; cf. Oliver (2001) 50: 'after the Chremonidean war, Gonatas was the most potent force in Athens. He chose to exert that power'.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., *Agora XV* 89.6–13, 27–9 = *IG II³.I* 983.6–13, 27–9 with Mikalson (1998) 161 n. 73; id. (1998) 113–16, 160–1; Meritt and Traill (1974) 4–5. In this period, public sacrifices were regularly also made on behalf of both the Macedonian royal family and the Athenians: e.g., *IG II³* 776.6–10 = *IG II³.I* 1026.6–10; 780.7–12 = *IG II³.I* 995.7–12; *IG II³.I* 1023.8–11, 32–4; *SEG XXXIII* 115.19–25 = *IG II³.I* 1002.19–25; Mikalson (1998) 160–1.

to produce a narrative of the events which coincided with (some of) Phaidros' deeds, presented him as an exemplary citizen, brought out his good relations with the father of the present king, and was interdependent enough with the dominant tradition to be credible to the men who would vote on it.

Writing the request, however, was merely the first step in the process. The proposal and then the decree had to be approved by men who will have been very familiar with the city's dominant collective version. In at least their memories, if not those of the assembly itself, the different versions will have competed with each other. That contestation played itself out clearly in the topography of the Agora as the different texts and monuments were juxtaposed with each other and with other structures. Now, the interplay involved called into question Lyander's new version of the past and it showed that the earlier texts and monuments, and therefore the past which they presented, could not be overwritten with impunity. Indeed, the setting forced viewers and readers continually to (re)construct the city's past for themselves and to decide which Athenians were really exemplary and worthy of highest honours.

These dynamics will not have remained stable indefinitely. While the city remained under Macedonian control, Phaidros' and Lyander's rewriting of events provided the city with a history which included the revolution and other difficult periods in the early third century, but now it did so within a framework which saw the Macedonians in a positive light. That the episodes reflected the personal experiences of the honorand who had requested the award himself will have endowed this version with an authority which was reinforced by the decision of the *boule* and the *demos* to approve the decree. At the same time, the elisions and periphrases of the text made this (rewritten) history interdependent enough with other versions visible elsewhere in the city so that it was accepted as a way, perhaps even *the* way, of understanding what had happened in the 290s and 280s.

Early in 229 BCE, however, the Athenians' relationship with Macedon changed when the king, Demetrios II, died and left a young son as his successor. The city was able to persuade the royal governor Diogenes to surrender the Piraeus, Salamis, and the forts at Mounichia and Sounion to the Athenians and to accept 150 talents to pay off his troops.¹⁰⁷ In this way, the Athenians regained their freedom, but without either a revolution or internal strife. In light of recent events, the details about the revolution from Demetrios in 286 may no longer have been especially important, except when the oldest descendants of men honoured for their actions in it wished to claim their free meals in the Prytaneion.¹⁰⁸ Since the Agora became an

¹⁰⁷ Plut. *Arat.* 34.5–6; Paus. 2.8.6; *IG II²* 834.10–14; Habicht (1997) 173–4, 179–80 with id. (2003) 52–3; id. (1982) 79–84; Osborne (1983) 187–8.

¹⁰⁸ Phaidros' family still seems to have existed at this time: his grandson Phaidros, the son of his son Thymochares, was an ephebe in the archonship of Menekrates in 219/8; *IG*

increasingly popular place for the erection of inscriptions in the years after 229, the earlier decrees now had further competition for readers and viewers and they may not have been as noticeable as they had been earlier in the century.¹⁰⁹

For the memory of Phaidros' deeds, a more dramatic turn of events took place in 200 BCE. In that year, the Athenians declared war on Philip V and the Macedonians. As part of the process, they voted to abolish the two tribes Antigonis and Demetrius, which had been named after the Macedonian kings in 307, to destroy the royal monuments, and to expunge the names of the kings from their public documents.¹¹⁰ Now, the extensive favourable references to Demetrius and his father were erased from Phaidros' inscription (fig. 2), while the negative references in Kallias' decree were allowed to remain (fig. 1).¹¹¹ With a few strokes of a chisel, Phaidros' text was irrevocably changed, so much so that we no longer know exactly how he and Lyander presented his actions during the revolution. At a time when good Athenians were again fighting Macedonians, their version was no longer interdependent enough to maintain credibility in the face of other narratives, particularly the dominant collective tradition of the period between 286 and 262, which was still presented in Kallias' decree and other monuments. Instead, Phaidros appeared to have been entirely too cosy with the Macedonians and their kings, while Kallias had behaved in an appropriately martial fashion, to the extent that he was even wounded during the fighting.¹¹²

At the same time, the extensive erasures marked an absence of text which, because of its content, could not be allowed to remain (fig. 2). Visually, the now empty spaces emphasised the Athenians were deliberately expunging from memory the deeds once recorded here. As the inscription in the Agora most heavily affected by this process of removal,¹¹³ it now became visible in a way in which it had not previously been. Readers and viewers could easily see that, in contrast to other *stelai* in the area, quite a lot of text was now noticeably missing. They may have wondered what exactly Phaidros had been doing in those archonships in the 280s. Evidently, his actions were not those of an exemplary Athenian and they had not been so beneficial to the city after all. Had they been the deeds of a good Athenian, they would have recorded fighting against the Macedonians and so the text would have been allowed to remain. Indeed, the erasure of so much text suggested that

II³.1 1158.13; Davies (1971) 528; cf. Perrin-Saminadayar (2007) 79–80, 96. On the date of the archon, see Osborne (2008) 85–9.

¹⁰⁹ Popularity of Agora: Liddel (2003) 81, 88–90.

¹¹⁰ See above, n. 45.

¹¹¹ Phaidros: *IG* II² 682.6, 37–8, 40–1, 42–4, 47–52 = *IG* II³.1 985. 6, 37–8, 40–1, 42–4, 47–52; Kallias: *SEG* XXVIII 60.16–18, 27–8, 34–6 = *IG* II³.1 911. 16–18, 27–8, 34–6.

¹¹² See above, n. 1.

¹¹³ Byrne (2010) 162–3.

Phaidros had now become a model of how an Athenian should *not* act.¹¹⁴ In this way, the erasures deconstructed the image presented in the rest of the decree, that the honorand had deserved his honours which were in part instantiated in the composite monument. Now, the overall structure with its text asked readers and viewers to make a judgement about the honorand without any reference to other memorials or the larger setting in the Agora,¹¹⁵ while previously the different elements had worked together to present him as worthy of the honours awarded by the Athenians and thus also as a model of good behaviour.

In contrast, Kallias' decree remained unamended so that the absence of erasures marked the approval of the contents and their image: the honorand as fighter of Macedonians (fig. 1). While, in the years after the Chremonidean War, he may not have seemed like the most exemplary Athenian, his actions now fit the changed political circumstances. The lack of erasures brings out his role as a particularly exemplary citizen who set the model for how Athenians should react to the current war against an external enemy. This status would have been enhanced by the overall composite monument which included not only the bronze statue with its arms, but also, on the *stèle*, a representation in gold paint of the crown awarded to Kallias by the grateful *boule* and *demos*.¹¹⁶ Comparison between his structure and others in the Agora will further have brought out just how good a model Kallias was. Demochares, for example, had not actually fought in the revolution, while the generals of the early fourth century had engaged with other enemies, who were not particularly relevant to the current war. Comparison with his brother will have made viewers acutely aware of the erasures to Phaidros' text and the new and negative image of the honorand will have been especially brought to their attention. Clearly, the good Athenian should model himself on Kallias and, like him, fight against Macedonians.

The actions of the Athenians in 200, accordingly, had consequences which went well beyond the present venting of their anger against the

¹¹⁴ This image is the (unintentional) by-product of the decision to remove the names of the Macedonian kings, a process officially decreed by the *demos*, as Livy's narrative makes clear: above, n. 45. For some similar examples from other political circumstances, see Ma (2013) 49. Taking Phaidros' *stèle* down would have indicated that the honours had been annulled and it would have required a separate decree of the people; Low, above, ch. 6. Such a proposal would undoubtedly have elicited objections from the descendants, at least one of whom was very likely still alive in 200: above, n. 108. Since one of the functions of honorary decrees was to encourage others to emulate the honorand and so benefit the city, it was not in the city's interests to annul honours; cf., e.g., *IG II² 657.50–2 = IG II³.1 877.50–2*; *IG II² 682.64–6 = IG II³.1 985.64–6*; and especially *SEG XXVIII 60.83–6 = IG II³.1 911.83–6*; see also Ma (2013) 58–9; Miller (2016) with further bibliography.

¹¹⁵ As modern scholars have not hesitated to do! E.g., Shear, Jr (1978) 10–11, 67; Habicht (1979) 58–62; Gauthier (1982) 225; Dreyer (1996) 66–7; Habicht (1997) 155–6; Dreyer (1999) 105–7; Paschidis (2008) 144–5; Luraghi (2010) 255; Bayliss (2011) 15, 43, 55–6, 127, 220–1 n. 51 with further references; Osborne (2012) 23, 42.

¹¹⁶ Crown on the *stèle*: Shear, Jr (1978) 7. It will have surrounded lines 1–4.

Macedonians and their king. The city's pasts were also brought into play and their credibilities called into question. Previously, the two different versions of the revolution from Demetrios Poliorketes had been able to co-exist both in the setting in the Agora and in the minds of Athenians. Phaidros' and Lyander's rewriting of the events continued to be interdependent enough with the other and earlier collective tradition to maintain its credibility. In 200, however, the erasures highlighted text which had been removed and so was absent. They demonstrated that the rewritten version had to be rewritten yet again, but they also stressed that the Athenians were deliberately forgetting the narrative which had been presented by Phaidros and Lyander in the early 250s. Now, the events in 286 could only be remembered as a successful war against the Macedonian king and only fighters of Macedonians were exemplary Athenians. Not surprisingly, when Plutarch and Pausanias later came to write about the events and the participants, they found a history focused on fighting Demetrios and without mention of internal strife.¹¹⁷ By the second century CE, Phaidros' and Lyander's version had disappeared completely from the city's traditions as if they had never rewritten the events. Meanwhile, in the Agora, some sharp-eyed reader or viewer may have wondered exactly what Phaidros had done and why so much text had been erased. So difficult was it for Lyander to rewrite the inconvenient past.

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¹¹⁷ Plut. *Demetr.* 46.1–4; *Pyrr.* 12.6–8; Paus. 1.26.1–3, 29.13.

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