

THE REVIVAL OF THE ATHENIAN POLITICAL AND MILITARY MORALE IN THE TIME OF LYCURGUS

Abstract: Through a thorough examination of the aspects associated with Athenian Democracy, the present paper aims at highlighting the motives as well as the consequences of the reforms of Eubulos from the deme Probalinthos, mainly regarding the theoric fund, and of Lycurgus from the deme Boutadai. The Athenian citizens, after 338 BCE¹, experience a new promising era for their state under Lycurgus as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τῶν χρημάτων* (*in charge of the financial administration*), who, through his extensive building policy in Attica, revives the political and military morale of the Athenian citizens, preparing them to defend once more the Greeks' autonomy -by opposing the Macedonians, who were conceived as barbarians, and to reclaim consequently their lost hegemony in the Greek world.

Keywords: *Eubulos; Lycurgus; Democracy; Chaeronea; theoric fund; Pnyx; building policy; political identity; national consciousness.*

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INTRODUCTION

Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον· δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα ἐν τῷ

τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι.

τὴν γὰρ χώραν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες

διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' ἀρετὴν

παρέδοσαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ

πατέρες ἡμῶν· κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσιν

ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον.

τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἶδε οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες μάλιστα

ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπηυξήσαμεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς

πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην ἀνταρ-

κεστάτην. ὣν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα

ἐκτήθη, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα

πολέμιον ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἠμυνάμεθα,

μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος ἕασω²

¹ All provided dates are BCE.

² *I shall begin with our ancestors: it is both just and proper that they should have the honor of the first mention on an occasion like the present. They dwelt in the country without break in the succession from generation to generation, and handed it down free to the present time by their valor. And if our more remote ancestors deserve praise, much more do our own fathers, who added to their inheritance the empire which we now possess, and spared no pains to be able to leave their acquisitions to us of the present generation. Lastly, there are few parts of our dominions that have not been augmented by those of us here, who are still more or less in the vigor of life; while the mother country has been furnished by us with everything that can enable her to depend on her own resources whether for war or for peace.*

In this brief passage from his famous *Epitaph* in honor of the dead Athenians of the year 431/0, Pericles, before praising the power of Democracy, highlights some of the most important aspects of the Athenian political life and identity: autochthony, the value of freedom, bravery, honour of the great ancestors, the construction of their hegemony in the Aegean, the military might, the fighting against the barbarians and the other rival Greek city-states. As the present paper aims to demonstrate, the building policy of Eubulos and later on of Lycurgus has as its main purpose to boost the democratic constitution and the military confidence of the Athenian citizens, highlighting the exact same aspects of their political identity, in order Athens to claim once more the hegemony of the Greek world, which seems to have been lost forever after its humiliating defeat at Chaeronea by the Macedonians. Before analyzing though the remarkable financial recovery of Athens in the decades of 350's and 40's, associated with Eubulos and his reform regarding the theoric fund, as well as the political rebirth of the Athenian state in the decades of 330's and 20's (until the Lamian War) under the administration of Lycurgus, it is highly important that we have a brief overview on the sociopolitical circumstances of the fourth century Athens.

Even though Athens enjoys a new brief promising period in the early 4th century with Conon and the Corinthian war, it will not succeed though to reestablish its position as a ruler in the Greek world; a role that is preserved by the Spartans until 371/0 and the battle of Leuctra, and then briefly by the Thebans³. The foundation of the second Athenian League in 378/7⁴ does not have the expected results. Even though the Athenians expect this time to enjoy the unanimous support of their allies, through their admittedly more moderate –in comparison to the fifth century- foreign policy, the social war breaks out in 356/5.⁵ There is no official end of this second league until 338/7, but the Athenians now face great financial and military losses that prevent them of even hoping of reestablishing their hegemony in the Greek world after 355.

The financial situation in Athens is difficult, considering moreover the participation of the Athenians in the third sacred war during the years 357-352.⁶ However, the biggest problems within the Athenian state lie in the extensive disappointment of its citizens, caused by their failing military enterprises in the attempts to reclaim the hegemony of the Greek world since 394, as well as the gradual abandonment of their aggressive foreign policy. Moreover, the rich Athenian citizens can no longer stand

That part of our history which tells of the military achievements which gave us our several possessions, or of the ready valor with which either we or our fathers stemmed the tide of Hellenic or foreign aggression is a theme too familiar to my hearers for me to dilate on, and I shall therefore pass it by. But what was the road by which we reached our position, what the form of government under which our greatness grew, what the national habits out of which it sprang; these are questions which I may try to solve before I proceed to my panegyric upon these men; since I think this to be a subject upon which on the present occasion a speaker may properly dwell, and to which the whole assemblage, whether citizens or foreigners, may listen with advantage (Thucydides, 2.36.1-4)

³ Regarding the 4th century see in general CARLIER 1995; RHODES 2010; SCOTT 2009.

⁴ On the second Athenian League see CARGILL 1981; DREHER 1995; RHODES 2010, 263-278; SEALEY 1957.

⁵ Diodorus 16.7.21-22.

⁶ Diodorus 16.23-38; 56-61. See also in general BUCKLER 1989.

the military expenses, the so-called εἰσφορὰν,⁷ and above all the liturgies, the τριηραρχίαι, meaning the obligation to fully equip a trireme.⁸ The law of Periander in 358/7 on the τριηραρχικαὶ συμμορίαὶ⁹ does not reduce dramatically the extensive -to all the social classes- abandonment of political ambition for reclaiming the former Athenian military glory.

In around 355, two representative works make their appearance in the Athenian political stage, expressing the common -by that time- opinion regarding the policy Athens should follow from now on. There are no others than the *Περὶ Εἰρήνης* (*on Peace*) of Isocrates, suggesting to the Athenians to abandon their hegemonic claims and to enjoy prosperity within their own city-state, by remaining militarily defensive,¹⁰ and the *Περὶ Πόρων ἢ Προσόδων* (*Ways and Means; on Revenues*) of Xenophon, which suggests to the Athenians measures for increasing the incomes of their state. The most important financial proposition of Xenophon, which becomes an actual reality in Athens during the following years and leads to prosperity, is the extensive exploitation of the rich silver mines of the Laurion/Thorikos region.¹¹

EUBULOS PAVING THE WAY TO LYCURGUS' POLICY

Within this historical framework, Eubulos,¹² from the deme Probalinthos, passes his law regarding the so-called theoric fund.¹³ The fundamental idea upon which Eubulos, with the help of his friends, bases his reform is the abandonment of the aggressive foreign policy and the concentration of the Athenian state on its internal prosperity, maintaining peace with the Macedonians. He does manage an impressive financial, for the standards of the 4th century, prosperity,¹⁴ when he succeeds a law to be passed, which gives the right to the theoric fund to receive the surpluses of the Athenian incomes.¹⁵ Until the time of Themistocles, the Athenians used to share the surplus among them. In 483 though, the surplus of the mines of Laurion was used for the expansion of the Athenian fleet that finally defeated the Persians. It seems that it became ever since a common

⁷ THOMSEN 1964, 243-245.

⁸ See in detail RHODES 2010: 368-371.

⁹ Twenty teams, consisted of the 1200 richest citizens, who would from no on bear the costs of equipping a trireme. On Periander's law as well as Demosthenes' trierarchic law (18.105) see CANEVARO 2013, 267-274; KREMMYDAS 2012, 20-23; McDOWELL 1986; RUSCHENBUSCH 1978; WALLACE 1989.

¹⁰ See NÄF 1997, 317-340.

¹¹ On the analysis of Xenophon's *Poroi* see in detail a forthcoming study of mine. On the Laurion mines see HOPPER 1953, 200-254; 1968, 293-326.

¹² On Eubulos and his financial policy see especially CAWKWELL 1963, 47-67 with further references; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1997, 95-105; MOTZKI 1903.

¹³ See Aeschines III, *Ctesiphon* 25; Harpokration s.v. Θεωρικά; BUCHANAN 1962; ROSELLI 2009, 5-30, and commentary on Harpokration's reference p. 11-13; WILSON 2011, 41.

¹⁴ [Plutarch], *Moralia* 812f.

¹⁵ On dating the theoric fund in the time of Eubulos see Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 33; Suda s.v. δραχμή χαλαζῶσα (δ 1491 Adler), Scholia on Aeschines III, *Ctesiphon* 24 (65 Dilts), 25; Theopompus F. 99. See also Hesychius s.v. δραχμή χαλαζῶσα (δ 2351 Latte) who implies that there were theoric distributions earlier, when Diophantes was archon (in 395/4). The majority of historians nowadays accept the creation of the theoric fund by Eubulos, and not in the time of Pericles: i.e. BADIAN 1995, 100; BUCHANAN 1962, 53-60; CAWKWELL 1963, 55 fn. 53; FARAGUNA 1992, 208f; ROSELLI 2009, 7. On the board of the Theorikon see AP, 43.1, 47.2 and RHODES 1972, 235-240, 1993, 514-516.

unofficial practice for the Athenians to use this amount for their military enterprises, and finally in 378 Callistratos created an official army fund (στρατιωτικόν).¹⁶ The theoretic fund on the other hand, was the fund, the creation of which is dated in the fourth century, which paid grants to the Athenian citizens covering the cost of the theatre tickets at the major festivals.¹⁷ By receiving the surpluses, this fund could finance the poor citizens of Athens by ensuring in fact their sustenance.

Eubulos enjoyed an extensive support, not only by the rich citizens that could now concentrate on their prosperity by not financing military activities of their state, but most importantly by the poor Athenians that saw their basic financial needs covered by the state. The Athenians at that time also created a body responsible for the theoretic fund, the so-called ἀξιωματούχοι ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ, in which ten members would be elected every four years. Eubulos and his friends succeed to be elected several times as ἀξιωματούχοι, and, through this office, Eubulos manages to promote his plans for internal prosperity by controlling actually the whole financial administration of the city. As Aeschines mentions: *Because of your thrust in Eubulos, those elected to control the theoretic fund, before Hegemon's law was passed, controlled various financial offices, were responsible for various building projects, and had virtually the whole financial administration of the city.*¹⁸ In other words, as controllers of the theoretic fund, Eubulos and his friends could spend the substantial surplus for purposes that only they approved.

Eubulos supports an extensive building policy in Athens and Piraeus, which we will see later in detail in the time of Lycurgus, as we cannot be sure not only of when exactly the related to this policy archaeological material is dated, but also because of the fact that only in the time of Lycurgus this building program is expanded and completed. The most important measure though of Eubulos, as Deinarchus¹⁹ and of course Aeschines²⁰ inform us, is the creation of triremes as well as of ship-sheds and the so-called σκευοθήκη (storehouse) of Philon,²¹ measures that support the recovery of the Athenian fleet.²²

¹⁶ Demosthenes, LIX Neaera 4-5.

¹⁷ Demosthenes 18, 28. See also CSAPO/WILSON 2014, 393-424; PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE 1946, 266. All the Athenian citizens also receive regularly, since 403, a payment in order to attend the meetings of the assembly, the so-called ἐκκλησιαστικόν. On the assembly pay see *AB* 41.3; Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazousai* 180-188, 204-207, 282-208, 289-292, 300-310, 377-393. See also BURKE 2010, 410-411; HANSEN 1983, 19 fn. 70; 1989, 143-152; MARKLE 2004, 95-131. The lead tokens, dated in the fourth century and found at the northern side of the Athenian Acropolis and close to the Dionysian theatre, now in the Numismatic museum at Athens, were the so-called σύμβολα (*IG I² 1749.76*) that the συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου gave to the ἐκκλησιασταί, and probably also to the people who went to the theatre.

¹⁸ διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβούλον γενομένην πίστιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν χειροτονημένοι ἦρχον μὲν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι, τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφῆος ἀρχὴν, ἦρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀπὸ δεκτῶν, καὶ νεωρίων ἦρχον, καὶ σκευοθήκην φικοδόμουν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὄδοποιοί, καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως (Aeschines 3.25). On the Hegemon's law see *IG I² 1628 line 300*; CAWKWELL 1963, 54 fn. 48.

¹⁹ ποῖα γὰρ τριήρεις [triremes] εἰσὶ κατασκευασμένα διὰ τοῦτον, ὥσπερ ἐπ' Εὐβούλου τῆ πόλει; ἢ ποῖοι νεώσοικοι τούτου πολιτευομένου γεγόνασι... (Deinarch 1.96).

²⁰ 3.25.

²¹ On the skeuothekē of 330/29 see *IG I² 1627*, lines 352-354.

²² See WIRTH 1999: 85-99, 1999b. Eubulos is probably responsible for improvements in the walls (Aeschines III, 27-31; *IG I² 244* on the walls of Mounichia and Etioneia) and constructions of several wells and streets; see

In the years 357-354 the Macedonian King drives away the Athenians from the lands next to his kingdom. The loss of Amphipolis in 358/7²³ made it clear that the Macedonians threaten directly the vital Athenian interests. Athens avoids fighting back the Macedonians and in 346 the Athenians make peace with Philip, the so-called Peace of Philocrates.²⁴ It is the time when Eubulos is in charge in Athens, and stresses constantly that Athens must maintain a defensive position. Demosthenes does not succeed, despite his three, in total, *Olynthiakoi* speeches, to convince the Athenian demos to transfer the surpluses to the army fund in order to intervene to the offensive policy of Philip, not at least until 341/0.

We could say that the law of Eubulos was a disaster for Athens, at least as far as its foreign policy is concerned. This law may have secured some peaceful years and a temporal prosperity in the state, and also provided to some extent the means to Lycurgus to follow his extensive building policy later, but it actually opened up the doors for Philip's parade towards southern Greece. It was during this critical moment that Philip could be stopped, but the powerful military Athenian machinery was chained by Eubulos' reform. Any rhetor that was willing to suggest the use of the surpluses for military activities against Philip would automatically face the threat of a γραφή παρανόμων. Therefore, Athens should remain defensive while -in the meantime- Philip marched and expanded over Greek territories. Therefore, the Athenians in the time of Eubulos seem to turn their back to one of their greatest political virtues, dictated by the democratic constitution: the defense of liberty and autonomy, not only for themselves, but most importantly for the other Greek states, whose interests Athens defended from the early fifth century by opposing the Persian Empire.

THE ATHENIAN DEFEAT AT CHAERONEA

In October 340 Athens finally declared war against Philip, after Demosthenes' abetment.²⁵ In 338 the Athenians and the Thebans fought the Macedonians in Chaeronea.²⁶ The terms of treaty on behalf of the victorious Macedonians in 337²⁷ were as mild as could be for the Athenians. The

Scholia on Demosthenes 3 (*Olynthiakos* 3), 29; *IG I² 1627*, 352-354. However, in the time of Eubulos the piracy continued to be an obstacle in the free flow of the commercial traffic in the Aegean; see Aeschines 2.12; Demosthenes 18.145, 23.166; [Demosthenes] 7.2, 12.2-5, 13.

²³ Diodorus 16.8.2. See also HAMMOND/ GRIFFITH 1979, vol. 2, 230-237; PRITCHETT 1980, 298 fn. 2.

²⁴ See in detail LEWIS/BOARDMAN/HORNBLOWER/OSTWALD 1994, 751-759 with references.

²⁵ Demosthenes convinced his fellow Athenians to oppose Philip by projecting mainly the barbaric descentance of the Macedonians and the possible danger that Democracy faced, as it was closely associated with freedom from external control (a danger the Athenians faced because of the arrival of the Macedonians in southern Greece). There is no use to discuss here whether Demosthenes' arguments are based on true facts or not. Demosthenes addresses the Athenian assembly and makes an extent use of political concepts that appeal to the Athenian democratic identity, for his goal is to convince the Athenians to defend their political freedom. Of course there is an exaggeration in his speeches, but as it is stressed in the present paper, the political identity of Athens has been constructed -to a great extent- according to myths, and political concepts that cannot be separated from the actual facts. On Demosthenes see CARLIER 1990; HANSEN 1991; JAEGER 1939; LEHMANN 2004; PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE 1914; SEALEY 1993; WORTHINGTON 2013.

²⁶ On the battle see MA 2008 with full bibliography.

²⁷ On the treaty see Andocides III Peace, 17, 34, *IG IV 556*. See also in detail

Athenians had of course to dissolve their naval league, which had lost any power whatsoever by that time, and to join the Corinthian one,²⁸ but the Macedonians were not going to intervene to the internal affairs of the Athenian state. Democracy was not doubted, the Athenians would maintain their clerouchies in Samos, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros as well as the administration of the sanctuary of Apollo in Delos. The Athenians also received the region of Oropos, which belonged before to Thebes. However, as the historian Justin stresses:²⁹ *For the whole of Greece, this day [when Philip prevailed at Chaeronea] marked the end of its glorious supremacy and its ancient independence.* And yet, the Athenians will once more, for the last time, try to reclaim their former supremacy, defending their political independence that will be inevitably -sooner or later- doubted by the Macedonians.

THE REVIVAL OF THE ATHENIAN MORALE UNDER LYCURGUS

After the Athenian defeat at Chaironeia Lycurgus is in charge of the financial administration in Athens, as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει τῶν χρημάτων* (*in charge of the financial administration*),³⁰ initiating a massive building program across Attica. In the period ca. 336-324 he, the son of Lykophron, from the deme Boutadai³¹ and the priestly clan of Eteoboutadai,³² is elected to supervise the public finances of Athens.³³

Athens under the administration of Lycurgus experiences its so-called “silver age”, as it has often been stressed,³⁴ by comparison with the golden age of Pericles. Through his extensive building program,³⁵ he makes so-to-say injections of confidence to the most crucial aspects of the Athenians’ political consciousness, after the humiliating defeat in Chaeronea, and promotes extensively the Athenian collective as well as cultural memory.³⁶ Pnyx, the place where

OBER 2015, 276-277; RHODES 2010, 224-238; RYDER 1965.

²⁸ On the league of Corinth see again HABICHT 1997, 12; RYDER 1965.

²⁹ 9.3.71.

³⁰ This office is however absent from the list of elective offices in Athens in AP, 43.1.

³¹ See DÜRBACH 1890; HUMPHREYS 1985, 199-252; MITCHEL 1970, 11-13.

³² “the real Boutadai” as his clan was renamed after the reforms of Cleisthenes, in order to distinguish themselves from the citizens of the new deme of Boutadai.

³³ In 337/6 Demosthenes is the theoretic treasurer (Aeschines III, Ctesiphon 24). On Lycurgus and his office see COLIN 1928, 189-200; DÜRBACH 1890; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1997, 105-109; JOHNSON 1915, 424-452. See also [Plutarch], *Moralia*, 852b. Lycurgus will remain in charge of the financial administration for twelve years in total (see Diodorus 16.88.1; [Plutarch], *Moralia* 841b). An impressive growth of the annual revenue to the average of 1200 talents over these twelve years is noticed; see Andreades 1933: 377 fn. 4.

³⁴ MITCHEL 1970, 28. On the Lycurgan era and his program see in general BURKE 2010, 393-423; FARAGUNA 1992; 2003; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1997; MITCHEL 1970.

³⁵ On the revenues of Athens in the time of Lycurgus see in detail BURKE 1985, 251-264; BURKE 2010, and especially 393 fn. 1 with further bibliography.

³⁶ In order to interpret properly the most important aspects of the building program of Lycurgus and the way he managed to revive the Athenian political and military morale of the Athenian citizens, we should bear in mind the following: first, the power of symbolism: all the public monuments in the antiquity, and especially in the classical period of Greece, convey the ideology of the citizens of a polis; in other words they are symbols of the way the ancient ones perceive their political Self. Through its building constructions, a political body projects its self-image and also its political claims. Therefore, a monument not only depicts the past, as a pillar of the political identity in a city-state, and functions as “the physical construction of memory within a community” (SCOTT 2013, 8), but also articulates political beliefs and

the Athenians citizens as a whole are gathered in order to make political decisions in a sovereign way, is remodeled. The first phase of Pnyx is securely dated after the reform of Kleisthenes in the year 501/0.³⁷ The construction of Pnyx constitutes one of the most important ways the Athenians expressed, through their building policy in the late sixth century, the fact that the Demos as a whole was -from now on- the ruler in the decision-making process in the Athenian state. The second phase of Pnyx is dated in 404/3 during the reign of the thirty tyrants.³⁸ As Plutarch (*Themistocles*³⁹) informs us: *Therefore it was too that the bema [speaker’s platform] in the Pnyx which had stood so as to look off the sea, was afterward turned by the Thirty Tyrants so as to look inland, because they thought that rule of the sea fostered Democracy, whereas farmers were less likely to be bothered by Oligarchy.*

Here it is stressed a focal democratic idea: Democracy is strictly connected with the military strength, and especially the naval power. That’s why perhaps the thirty tyrants turned the position of the bema as to look the inland.⁴⁰ This inevitably reminds us the reform of Eubulos, who turned the

expectations; second, the “national” consciousness as a vital part of the political identity and the ideal of fighting “barbarism” (on the case of the Athens see in detail KRIKONA 2016; 2018); third, the ideological link between military might and democratic constitution as well as the political connotations of the religious practices under Democracy (see in detail KRIKONA 2019); and forth, the crisis of the democratic constitution in the fourth century: there is an underlying crisis, associated mainly with the Athenian democrats themselves, even though the democratic constitution -more than ever- is fully functional according to a well-reorganized system (on the way fourth century Athenian Democracy works see in detail BLEICKEN 1987, 257-283; EDER 1995; ENGELS 1992, 5-29; HANSEN 1991; MOSSÉ 1973). There is a deep political disunity, not only because of the rival between democrats and oligarchs, which from the year 403 onwards actually ceases (mainly because after the thirty tyrants’ regime nobody active in politics can openly admit to being an opponent of Democracy), but because of the two opposite sides, those in favor of the Macedonians, i.e. Aeschines; Isocrates, and the making of peace and those against them, i.e. Demosthenes and Hyperides (on the politicians of the fourth century see HANSEN 1989, 1-24, 25-33; HARRIS 1995; KNOX 1985, 132-161; MITCHEL 1970, 11-27; OBER 1989, 112-118; PERLMAN 1963, 327-355; WIRTH 1999B), and consequently in favor of an aggressive foreign policy and the reestablishment of Athens in its former glorious military status as leader defender of the Greek autonomy against the common barbarian enemy (in this case the Macedonians). The Athenians have also lost most of their finest qualities, such as political confidence and courage; they have become defensive, abandoning their former aggressive foreign policy. In other words, the Athenians are not willing to defend their democratic values, especially the notion of freedom, which is strictly associated with their autonomy, and the autonomy of the rest Greek world. In addition, the political theories on the revival of the ancestral constitution that try to undermine the power of Democracy of their time worsen the extensive common feeling of political disappointment among the Athenians, who fail to revive the glory of their past (i.e. when they established their second naval league without regaining the hegemony in the Greek world; see CAWKWELL 1981). Within this political framework, one would expect that Chaeronea would be the gravestone of any further ambitious political hope. As MITCHEL (1970, 9-10) so vividly stresses: “The Athenians were now truly alone, with Thebes destroyed and Sparta knocked out-alone with their bad consciences and with ever increasing feelings of frustration and helplessness in the face of the waxing power of Macedon”.

³⁷ KOUVROUNIOTES/THOMPSON 1932, 90-217; on the chronology see especially 107-113 and DINSMOOR 1933, 181.

³⁸ FORSÉN/STANTON 1996 in detail; KOUVROUNIOTES/THOMPSON 1932, 90-217 and especially 113-138.

³⁹ 19.4. See also BOERSMA 1970, 94: “either the collapse of part of the terrace necessitated the immediate reconstruction of the site, or the Tyrants wished to exert more effective control over the people entering the Ecclesia”. On the second phase of Pnyx see in detail HANSEN 1983, 1-20; 1989, 143-152; MOYSEY 1981, 31-37.

⁴⁰ On an alternative interpretation for this change regarding the position of the bema see BOERSMA 1970; KRENTZ 1984: 230-231; MOYSEY 1981.

Athenians' attention into the inside of their state. Of course, Eubulos' intentions were different from those of the tyrants, but the political result of his reform was to weaken the democratic morale of the Athenian citizens as well as their military confidence and ambition.

In the time of Lycurgus⁴¹ Pnyx is enlarged, from ca. 2600 m² to ca. 5550 m² and it can now host max. ca. 13.500 citizens (in comparison to the ca. 7000 of the phase II). Moreover, a large stepped speakers' platform (bema) is quarried out of the ridge at the southwest. The auditorium is supported by a large curved retaining wall, consisted of massive trapezoidal blocks, some of the biggest ever quarried in Athens, and two stoas also are constructed on the ridge above, but they are never finished.⁴² This astonishing remodeling of Pnyx in the time of Lycurgus comes as an additional proof that Democracy during his time, not only is not in decline, as it was traditionally believed,⁴³ but is better organized and further developed. In this way Lycurgus encourages his fellow Athenians to participate more actively in the decision making process. Moreover, in 337/6 the Athenian Nomothetai pass a law against tyranny that guarantees immunity for anyone who would kill people who would be plotting to overthrow the Democracy and establish tyranny in the city. Two copies are inscribed beneath reliefs of the personified Demokratia crowing the demos, and these stelai, the so-called Eukrates stelai (named after Eukrates Aristodemou, who proposed it), are installed at the entrances to both the Areios Pagos and the Ecclesia.⁴⁴

In addition, from 333/2 onwards a statue of Demokratia stands before the Bouleuterion.⁴⁵ Moreover, the monument of the Eponymous heroes is relocated from the southwest corner of the Agora in the third quarter of the fourth century and stands until now (only the foundations) just across from the Metroon (archive building) and the Bouleuterion.⁴⁶ The monument reflects the tribal structure, initiated by Kleisthenes in the late sixth century, who had managed to

⁴¹ If of course we accept the year ca. 335 as a terminus post quem for the third phase of Pnyx, advocated by Thomson and others.

⁴² On the third phase of Pnyx see HANSEN 1983, 1-20; 1989, 129-141; 1996; KOUVROUNIOTES/THOMPSON 1932, 90-127; McDONALD 1943; ROTROFF/CAMP 1996, 263-294; THOMPSON/SCRANTON 1943, 269-301; THOMPSON 1982, 133-147. In the third century onwards the Athenian citizens prefer to gather regularly at the theatre of Dionysus, and not on the Pnyx hill, where it is used once in a year by the electoral assembly only; see Pollyx 8.133.

⁴³ i.e. by FINLEY 1973, 49-50.

⁴⁴ The decree that was found in the Agora stresses: *In the archonship of Phrynichos, in the ninth prytany of Leontis for which Chairestratos, put the question to a vote; Eukrates, son of Aristodimos, of Piraeus, made the motion: with good fortune of the Demos of the Athenians, be it resolved by the Nomothetai: If anyone rises up against the Demos for tyranny or join in establishing the tyranny or overthrow the Demos of the Athenians or the Democracy in Athens, whoever kills him who does any of these things shall be blameless. It shall not be permitted for anyone of the Councillors of the Council from the Areios Pagos -if the Demos or the Democracy in Athens has been overthrown- to go up into the Areios Pagos or sit in the Council or deliberate about anything. If anyone -the Demos or the Democracy in Athens overthrown- of the Councillors of the Areios Pagos goes up into the Areios Pagos or sits in the Council or deliberates about anything, both he and his progeny shall be deprived of civil rights and his substance shall be confiscated and a tenth given to the Goddess. The secretary of the Council shall inscribe this law on two stelai of stone etc.... (Agora I 6524); on the law of Eukrates see ENGELS 1988, 181-209; RICHARDSON 2003, 332-337.*

⁴⁵ See RAUBITSCHKE 1962, 238-243. The cult of Demokratia must have been introduced in Athens after the restoration of Democracy in 403 with annual sacrifices on the 12th of Boedromion; see DEUBNER 1932, 39.

⁴⁶ AP, 53.4; Pausanias 1.5.5 and SHEAR 1970, 145-222, especially 181-186.

unify old with new citizens and make them define themselves as part of a political whole. Every citizen was enrolled in one of the ten tribes and thereby had an ancestral hero on a par with the aristocrats.⁴⁷ The monument consists of a long base carrying the bronze statues of the ten heroes after whom the ten Athenian tribes were named. The base of the monument serves also as a public notice board, with announcements concerning members of a given tribe posted on the face of the base beneath the statue of the hero. The political message this monument carries hardly needs any further explanation.

These above-mentioned actions in the time of Lycurgus aim directly at making the Athenian citizens remember the power of their constitution and the power of being politically active. If the Athenians are politically conscious again, in other words if they believe once more in their Democracy and the need of its protection, they will be ready to reclaim the rule in the Aegean, in order to protect their freedom, and consequently the autonomy of the rest Greek world, as they did in the early fifth century.

However, Lycurgus promotes also an extensive building program concerning the religious ritual and practices throughout Attica. At his time, the temple of Apollo Patroos (ancestral) is built in its present form, next to the temple of Zeus Eleutherios.⁴⁸ A monumental statue of Apollo dressed as a kithara player was found nearby. It is presumably the one Pausanias saw, done by Euphranor.⁴⁹ According to [Plutarch],⁵⁰ Lycurgus concerns himself with an altar of Apollo in the Agora, as he *made a proposal to crown Neoptolemos, son of Antikles, and to set up a likeness of him because he offered to gild the altar of Apollo in the Agora in accordance with an oracle of the god*. This Neoptolemos from the deme Melite, friend of Lycurgus, is associated with other religious dedications and public works. A relief of a scene in the cave of Pan, found south of the Agora, carries his name as dedicator. He also finances the reconstruction of the temple of Artemis Aristoboule,⁵¹ the meaning of which must be interpreted in conjunction with the old temple that was erected by Themistocles after Salamis but destroyed by the Athenians after Themistocles' ostracism.

At this point we should highlight the meaning of *Patroos* as part of Apollo's identity. According to Arpokraton, the Athenians worship Apollo as *Patroos*, because he was father of Ion. When Ion was installed in Attica, according to Aristotle, the Athenians were named Ionians and gave the name *Patroos* to Apollo.⁵² If we want to have a closer look at it, we would say that the Ionian *genos* was an *ethnos* that was originally Pelasgian, but became more Hellenic over time than the Dorian *genos* which was a Hellenic *ethnos*. The Athenians, a formerly Pelasgian population, became Ionian (and thus eventually Hellenic) due to the arrival of Ion at Athens.⁵³ But why Lycurgus initiates the construction of Apollo Patroos

⁴⁷ On the selection of the ten eponymous heroes see PARKER 1996, 172 and fn. 59.

⁴⁸ [Plutarch], *Moralia* 843f. For the temple see THOMPSON 1937, 77-115; on the altar especially 110-111; on the date of construction 102-104.

⁴⁹ Pausanias 1.3.4.

⁵⁰ *Moralia* 843f.

⁵¹ On the temple of Artemis see THREPSIADES/VANDERPOOL 1964: 26-36.

⁵² Harpokration, *Apollon Patroos*. On the cult of Apollo *Patroos* in Athens see HEDRICK 1988: 185ff.

⁵³ See *Hdt.* 1.56.2. Cf. *Hdt.* 1.57.3 on the Athenians, a formerly Pelasgian population, becoming Ionian thanks to Ion.

in the Agora? What aspect of the Athenian identity does he project? We have already seen how the Athenians defined and presented themselves in the early fifth century; they were Athenians and Ionians, and this *syngeneia* the Athenians had with the Ionians supported their claims for ruling in the Aegean. Moreover, the power of the notion of autochthony,⁵⁴ along with other political notions, cults and festivals, was of great importance regarding the self-definition of the Athenian citizen, which supported Athens' constitution and consequently the Athenian military supremacy. Having this cultural framework in mind, we should interpret some further initiations of Lycurgus. An acanthus column (of ca. 8.80 m high) is dedicated at this time (330-324) in the Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi,⁵⁵ depicting the so-called dancers, probably daughters of Cecrops or Erechtheus.⁵⁶ The relation of Lycurgus' clan with Erechtheus is well known,⁵⁷ but Erechtheus, mythical King of Athens, is above all closely associated again with the myth of autochthony.

Lycurgus also supports, through his building policy, the two greatest Athenian festivals, celebrations of the whole citizenry, the Great Panathenaea and the Great Dionysia, by building a Panathenaic stadium (southeast of the city, across the Ilissos river)⁵⁸ and by giving to the theatre of Dionysos its monumental form⁵⁹ respectively. In comparison to Pericles, Lycurgus encourages rich individuals to make contributions in exchange for honours, such as Neoptolemos, as we have already seen, Xenocles, epimelete of the Mysteries in 321/0, who built a bridge on the sacred way from Athens to Eleusis,⁶⁰ and we have also a decree of Lycurgus honours Eudemus of Plataea in 329, who helped with the theatre and the stadium.⁶¹ Earlier, both the theatrical and athletic contests of Panathenaea seem to have been held in the Agora. Lycurgus also enhances the splendor of the Panathenaic procession, by arranging for gold and silver processional vessels, and gold adornment for one hundred basket bearers (*kanephoroi*).⁶² This expansion of the festival promotes the "national" consciousness of the Athenians, meaning the fact that are all equal Athenian citizens, as the Panathenaea constitutes the supreme ceremonial expression of their collective identity. The works in the Dionysian theatre includes the replacement of the temporal and small constructions of the fifth century, made of wood, by restructuring a grander and more elegant performance space as well as expanding the theatre's seating capacity.⁶³ By 346, in the time of Eubulos, there was a building

⁵⁴ On the importance of the ancestral worship in the time of Lycurgus see also MITCHEL 1970, 44-45.

⁵⁵ FD III 4 462.

⁵⁶ BOUSQUET 1964, 655-675.

⁵⁷ The hereditary priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus belonged always to the clan of Eteoboutadai; Lycurgus himself held this office; see [Plutarch], *Moralia* 843a-c, e-f.

⁵⁸ Hyperides Orat., Fragmenta: Fr.118; [Plutarch], *Moralia*, 841c-d; 852c.; Photios, *Lexigogr., Scr. Eccl., Theol., Bibliotheca*, codex 268, Bekker p.497a 10-15.

⁵⁹ See in detail PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE 1946, 134-174.

⁶⁰ IG II² 1191, 2840; *Anthologia Palatina* IX, 147.

⁶¹ *Resolved by the people; Lycurgus, son of Lykophron of Boutadai proposed it. Since Eudemus in former times announced to the people a gift of 4.000 drachmas for the war if needed, and now has provided for the construction of the Panathenaic stadium and the theatre a thousand pairs of draft animals and arranged all things for the procession before the Panathenaea as he promised; resolved by the people to praise Eudemus* (IG II² 351).

⁶² *Agora* XVI 1997, 75. See also MITCHEL 1970, 36 fn. 136, 137.

⁶³ IG II² 457b; 6f; Justin, *apparatuque ludorum*, Epit. 6;9; [Plutarch], *Moralia* 852c (cf. 841 c-d).

overseer (*ἀρχιτέκτων*), who organized the seats of honor (*proedria*) and managed also the general admission seats.⁶⁴

The efforts of Lycurgus to shape and control the Athenian theatrical heritage are not limited in the reconstruction of the Dionysian theatre. During his time, definitive texts of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides are edited, as the product of the great Athenian past and its values, which should now remain permanently in the hands of the state. Lycurgus also initiates the construction of a bronze statue group of the great tragedians, which is erected and displayed at the eastern parodos of the Dionysian theatre: τὸν δέ, ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν, Αἰσχύλου Σοφοκλέους Εὐριπίδου καὶ τᾶς τραγωδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραμμαμένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις.⁶⁵ Together the careers and lifetimes of these three tragedians go throughout the fifth century, during which the Athenian power was at its pick. This triad was therefore a group that was rooted in the idea of celebrating the Athenian identity as well as the past glorious days of the "Empire".⁶⁶ A further interpretation on the care Lycurgus showed regarding the Athenian theatre and its plays is provided by three of the most important orations of the year 330 (Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates*, Aeschines' *Against Ctesiphon*, and Demosthenes' *On the Crown*), which bear witness of a variety of ideas on the role of classical tragedy in the education of the demos,⁶⁷ the importance of the Dionysian theatre as a historical monument to the festival's past and the significance of the Great Dionysia as a means of Athenian self-presentation to both citizens and foreign visitors.

Lycurgus also plays a pivotal role in restoring the Acropolis' golden *Nikai* statues, symbols of the great military past of Athens, which had been melted down for coins after the Peloponnesian war, as well as in constructing a monumental water clock (*klepsydra*) in the Agora, a parallel of which is to be found at Oropos in the sanctuary of Amphiaraios.⁶⁸ As we have mentioned, Oropos after Chaeronea is under Athenian control and the Athenians, through this water clock parallel, and smaller building works in the sanctuary as well, confirm the current political state of affair, meaning that this area now belongs to them.⁶⁹ In the time of Lycurgus the Asklepieion, adjacent to the Dionysian theatre, seems also to receive special attention as well as the temple of Zeus phratrios and Athena phratria, close to the Apollo Patroos' temple in the Agora.⁷⁰ This small temple, reconstructed in the time of Lycurgus, underlines the oldest aspect of the Athenian civic identity, the phratries, which constituted the foundations of the citizenry's organization (phratries and orgeones) since probably the time of Draco.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Demosthenes 18, 28; Aeschines II, 55. See also CSAPO 2007: 108-115. On the finance and organization of the Athenian theatre in the time of Eubulos and Lycurgus see CSAPO/ WILSON 2014.

⁶⁵ [Plutarch], *Moralia*, 841f.

⁶⁶ See in detail HANINK 2014.

⁶⁷ meaning the theatre provides the demos models of morality.

⁶⁸ On the water-clock see CAMP 1986, 157-159; on the sanctuary at Oropos HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1997, 54-55.

⁶⁹ On the attention devoted to the cult of Amphiaraios at Oropos after its return to Athens see IG VII 4252, 4253, 4254; *Agora* XV 1974, 49.

⁷⁰ See in detail HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1997, 48-50 with references.

⁷¹ On the law of Philochoros see FGrHist 328, F35a; on the phratries see ISMARD 2007, 28-30; LAMBERT 1993, 29-30.

In addition, Lycurgus continues the building program of Eubulos in Eleusis⁷², and initiates also the construction of the Eleusinion in the southeast corner of the Agora, close to the Panathenaic Street.⁷³ These works are associated with the strict ties Athens traditionally has with Eleusis. Lycurgus aims at projecting this close relation between Athens and the Eleusinian sanctuary, the Mysteries of which enjoy *Panhellenic* prestige.⁷⁴

Therefore Lycurgus, through his extensive building program on the Pnyx hill, in the Agora and in other parts of the Athenian *asty*, revives the religious past of Athens, and projects aspects of its glorious political and military history as well, in order to strengthen the foundations of the democratic constitution, meaning the political equality and unity, and to remind also to the Athenian citizens their finest political qualities, the most important of which are confidence and bravery in the protection of their political and military freedom. He also promotes the “national” identity of the Athenians, which was associated in the past with the defence of all Greeks against the “barbarians”, in order to underline the contrast to their current *barbarian* tyrannical enemies, the Macedonians, whom they must now oppose.⁷⁵

Lycurgus aims also to provide the means through which the Athenians will be able to reclaim the role of the protector of the Greek states’ autonomy. Towards this aim, he expands and completes the military projects in Piraeus, which Eubulos had initiated⁷⁶, meaning the replacement of ship sheds at the three harbors (Kantharos; Zea; Mounichia), which were dismantled by the thirty tyrants. In the year 325 the Athenians manage to have 390 ship-sheds in total.⁷⁷ Lycurgus also completes the storehouse in Zea for the hanging tackle of the fleet, the ropes and the sails, designed by Philon of Eleusis (who was also responsible for the Prostoon of the Telesterion in Eleusis).⁷⁸ Moreover, he initiates the construction of a temple of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira,⁷⁹ as protectors of the sea journeys, and he also introduces the quadriremes and quinqueremes (ships with more than one man too an oar, more stable but slower).

Lycurgus though, apart from the naval power of Athens, also takes care of the land army. Many boarder demes of Attica were already fortified by the time of the Peloponnesian war. All these forts and supplementary towers are now maintained and new installations are built

⁷² The Prostoon, meaning the construction of a huge marble porch on the east façade of the Telesterion, the architect of which was Philon, and the Ploutonion, sanctuary of Pluto (*IG II² 1672*, lines 168-187).

⁷³ Pausanias 1.14.1.

⁷⁴ Here we could recall the lost *Panhellenic* prestige that the Panathenaea had in the fifth century. On further cult changes such as the revival of the ancestral custom of collecting first fruits for Demeter see MITCHEL 1970, 45 with references.

⁷⁵ According of course to the democratic narrative of that time, as it is mainly expressed through the *Philippikoi* speeches of Demosthenes.

⁷⁶ Photios, *Lexicogr., Scr. Eccl., Theol., Bibliotheca*, codex 268, Bekker p.497a 10-15: Χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως κατερρηκόντα ἐπανάλαβε, καὶ τριήρεις τῷ δήμῳ ὑ’ παρεσκεύασε. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἡμιτελῆ παρειληφώς εἰς τέλος παρήνεγκε, νεὸς τε οἴκους ἐδείματο, καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην ἐπεσκευάσατο.

⁷⁷ In 357/6 Athens possessed 283 ships (*IG II² 1611* line 9); in 353/2: 349 (*IG II² 1613*, line 302); in 330/29: 392 (apart from the quadriremes; *IG II² 1627*, line 269).

⁷⁸ *IG II² 1675*.

⁷⁹ HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1997, 18.

as well.⁸⁰ In addition, the Athenians after Chaeronea tried desperately to improve their fortifications around the *asty*.⁸¹ Demosthenes himself served as one of the wall builders.⁸² It is perhaps at this time that the outer wall (*proteichisma*) and dry moat are added outside the original line, impinging on burials made near the wall in Kerameikos.⁸³ Furthermore, a two year program of military training for the youth of Athens, the *ephebes*, is formalized under Lycurgus (in 336/5).⁸⁴ Young men of eighteen are expected to spend two years in military service. For part of that time they are also assigned to duty in one of the big forts. Lycurgus, as we have mentioned above, was very much concerned about the education of the Athenian citizens. Therefore, he initiates the renovation of the Lykeion,⁸⁵ the construction of its Palaistra,⁸⁶ and the plantation of trees in the area.⁸⁷

THE MOTIVES OF LYCURGUS

Lycurgus believes in the glory of the Athenian ancestral past, he actually idealizes it, one could say, and tries to bring it into his present in order to make democratic Athens powerful again. Therefore, there is a great distinction between his motives and the motives of the 4th century political theorists (Plato; Aristotle; the author of *Athenaion Politeia*; Isocrates), who undermine Democracy by stressing to the Athenians the need of returning constitutionally to an ancestral glorious era, in order to justify actually the reestablishment of an oligarchic regime.⁸⁸

Secondly, Lycurgus continues -to some extent- the building program of Eubulos, but his goals are obviously different. Eubulos gives space to the Macedonian King to march and expand his power over Greek territories by making the Athenian citizens abandon the ideal of defending the Greek autonomy and freedom. This political ideal along with military confidence and strength, in other words a distinctive part of the Athenian political identity, is lost under Eubulos, who makes the majority of the citizens, the Thetes, military “numb” by providing them the money, through the theoric fund, that would normally go to the stratiotic fund. Lycurgus, on the contrary, has no other choice but to keep the peace with the Macedonians, waiting for the right time to strike back, by maintaining in the meantime Athens’ military preparedness and awakening the Athenian citizens’ democratic morale, through an extensive religious revival, in order for them to seize the opportunity, when it arises, to claim the hegemony of the Greek world once more. However, Eubulos indeed secures some necessary funds for the internal prosperity of Athens, but the Athenian political and therefore military ambitions are being forgotten under

⁸⁰ CAMP 2001, 201-202 (in 2009 ed.).

⁸¹ See HABICHT 1997, 10-12.

⁸² Aeschines III, Ctesiphon 17, 31; Demosthenes XVIII, *Crown* 113.

⁸³ See in detail OBER 1985.

⁸⁴ On the *ephebeia* AP, 42; see also in general FARAGUNA 1992, 274-280; HABICHT 1997, 16-17; PELEKIDIS 1962. As RHODES 2011, 29 stresses: “the reform of the *ephebeia* in the mid. 330’s was a contribution to Athens’s patriotic needs and its military needs”

⁸⁵ Gymnasium for the education of the youth in the city; from 335 Aristotle has founded there his famous school. Pausanias 1.29.16.

⁸⁶ [Plutarch], *Moralia* 843f.

⁸⁷ [Plutarch], *Moralia* 841d.

⁸⁸ See in detail FUKS 1971, 104-105; KRİKONA 2017 with further references; MOSSÉ 1978; RUSCHENBUSCH 1958.

his administration.

EPILOGUE

The Athenian political and military morale is revived in the time of Lycurgus, thanks to his extensive building program throughout Attica and beyond, and when Alexander dies, Athens rises against the Macedonians in order to reestablish her autonomy by force. The main fight takes place near Lamia in Thessaly, where the Macedonian cavalry finally prevails.⁸⁹ Negotiations follow between Athens and Antipater, who demands the handing over of Demosthenes, who manages to escape from Athens, and flees to Calauria, where he prefers to commit suicide rather than fall in Macedonians' hands, and also of Hyperides, who is sent to Macedon and being executed. Back in Athens, a Macedonian garrison is established as well as an oligarchic regime.⁹⁰ According to Plutarch,⁹¹ the Athenians in 280/79 erect a bronze statue in honour of Demosthenes and his political confidence in defying the Macedonian "imperialism" with the following inscription: εἴπερ ἴσῃν γνώμῃ ῥώμην Δημόσθενης ἔσχες, οὐποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἤρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδόν.⁹² The end of classical Athens has come; the end of the Greek polis as an autonomous, independent political unit has inevitably arrived.

ABBREVIATIONS

Agora: Inscriptions of the Athenian Agora

AP: [Aristotle's] *Athenaion Politeia* = Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens: facsimile of Papyrus CXXXI in the British Museum, 2nd edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891.

FD: Fouilles de Delphes

FGrHist: F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin-Leiden 1923-1958.

Hdt.: The History of Herodotus, trans. G. C. Macaulay, Kindle Edition: Evinity Publishing Inc, 2009.

IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*

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⁸⁹ On the Lamian war see in general Diodorus XVIII 8-18.

⁹⁰ On the constitutional situation in Athens after the defeat in the Lamian war see BAYLISS 2011; RHODES 2011, 30.

⁹¹ Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 30.5; [Plutarch] *Moralia* 847a-c; Cicero, *Brutus* 286.

⁹² If only your strength had been equal, Demosthenes, to your wisdom, never would Greece have been ruled by a Macedonian Ares. On the statue see in detail WORTHINGTON 2013, 337-339.

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