

Week 13: Twilight of the Polis

Lecture 23, **Theban Hegemony**, Key Words

Boeotian League
Plataea
Epaminondas
Pelopidas
Sacred Band
Naxos
Delos
Locris
Tegyra
Jason of Pherae
Polydamus of Pharsalus
Common Peace
Agesilaus
Leuctra
Cleombrotus
Spartiates
Mantineia
Arcadia League
Megalopolis
Phocis
Aetolia
Acarmania
Euboea
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Arcadians
Laconia
Messenia
Sherman
Arcadia
Cicero

Chronological Table for the Theban Hegemony 371-362

371-362 Theban Hegemony; following its victory at Leuctra, Thebes, in addition to strengthening the Boeotian League with Orchomenus, receives allies from most of central Greece – the Phocians, the Aetolians, the Acarnanians, the eastern and western Locrians, several communities bordering on the Malian Gulf and the cities of Euboea.

371/0 Athens invites all cities except Thebes to share the King's Peace, with guarantees of autonomy and military support to any city, if it were attacked; Sparta and most of the Peloponnesian states present; Thebes not invited; Athens replaces Sparta as the defender of the King's Peace and the autonomy of individual cities.

370 Mantinea, urged on by democrats, begins to reassemble its constituent villages into a single city again; the cities of Arcadia, with the Mantinean Lycomedes as chief advocate, unite in a league. Thebes incorporates Orchomenus into the Boeotian League. Jason of Pherae assassinated; before he can perform the elaborate sacrifice he had planned for the Pythian festival at Delphi; possibility of Thessalian hegemony over Greece ends.

370-367 Construction of Megalopolis—Great City, the capital of the new Arcadian League; near northwestern boundary of Laconia, as a barrier against the Spartans; city surrounded by a double wall five and a half miles long; houses citizens of the city-state, federal buildings and barracks for the permanent army; a Boule with representatives from the 10 member cities and an assembly of Ten Thousand hoplites; the *damiourgoi* make up the working committee of the Boule, like the prytaneis at Athens; the 10 cities provide *damiourgoi* in proportion to their population; the chief executive of the league and the commander of the federal army is the *strategos*; the Arcadians enlist help from Thebes in forming the league after Athens refuses.

370/69 Thebans win or receive as allies most of central Greece, with alliances from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas—the Phocians, the Aetolians, the Acarnanians, the eastern and western Locrians, several communities bordering on the Malian Gulf and the cities of Euboea; they dispatch Epaminondas and Pelopidas with a Boeotian and allied force (at Mantinea they are joined by Arcadian, Argive and Elean contingents) of 50,000 to 70,000 men for an unprecedented invasion of Laconia; Agesilaus enrolls 6,000 helots as soldiers with promise of freedom; Epaminondas raids area and returns to Arcadia with his allies and much booty.

369 Epaminondas leads his army from Arcadia to Messenia and helps helots in establishing a new city-state by Mt. Ithome, Messene; enforces the principle of autonomy, and, after two centuries, all Messenia except for the *perioecic* towns of the coast, regains its independence from Sparta; Epaminondas enforces the principle of autonomy; Sparta loses one-third of its territory and half of its helots—the foundation of its social and economic system;? Measure of Epitadeus permits a Spartiate to alienate his ancestral *kleros*: land increasingly in the hands of the few and growing number of 'inferiors'; Athens sends out Iphicrates, who fails to prevent Epaminondas and his army from returning to Boeotia in spring; Athens forms an alliance with Sparta, alternate command every five days; second Peloponnesian expedition of Epaminondas accomplishes little; Epaminondas and Pelopidas are tried for remaining in the Peloponnesus beyond the terminal date of their command and acquitted; Pelopidas reorganizes the League of the Thessalians.

Alexander of Pherae assumes power after the murder of Jason's successor; he ruthlessly tries to maintain a united Thessaly; the Aleuadae of Larissa ask Alexander II of Macedon to liberate Thessaly from the domination of Pherae; Alexander II then takes control of Larissa and Crannon and holds them with his own garrisons instead of liberating them; Thebes sends Pelopidas to

Thessaly; he helps reorganize the Thessalian League and establishes concord among the various cities of Thessaly.

368 Pelopidas' concord in Thessaly fails; Alexander of Pherae attacks the Thessalian cities again and Ptolemy the Alorite murders Alexander II in Macedon; Pelopidas sent to use diplomacy to assist Thessaly and Macedon; Iphicrates settles matters for Ptolemy in Macedonia in the interests of Athens; Pelopidas immediately goes to Macedon and makes alliance with Ptolemy; Philip surrendered to Thebes as a hostage; Epaminondas fails to be elected as Boeotarch; Athens votes honors for Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, and his sons; Arcadians defeat Athens and Corinth in the Argolid and then march into Messenia and overcome the Spartan garrison at the perioecic town of Asine; Archidamus in southern Arcadia annihilates Arcadians in 'tearless battle'; therefore, the Arcadians complete the construction of Megalopolis to prevent further Spartan incursions. Persian emissary, Philiscus of Abydos, comes to Greece to negotiate a Common Peace for the Greeks assembled at Delphi; Thebans refuse to allow Messenia to be subject to Sparta again; Philiscus hires a mercenary force for Sparta; Iphicrates patrols the sea around Amphipolis; Athens makes anti-Spartan alliance with Alexander of Pherae; votes honors for Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse.

368-365 Philip sent to Thebes as a hostage; learns political and military lessons from Epaminondas and Pelopidas; exposed to Greek culture; witnesses current condition of Greek political life.

367 Epaminondas, Boeotarch again, rescues Pelopidas; Athens makes alliance with Dionysius and his sons; Dionysius wins first prize for tragedies at the Lenaea in Athens; Sparta sends envoys to Susa; Pelopidas travels to Susa; Spartans, Athenians, Arcadians, Argives, Eleans and Thebans compete for the favor of the Great King; Artaxerxes makes Pelopidas and the Thebans his agents.

366 Greeks reject Theban attempt to confirm new King's Peace: Sparta wants to hold on to Messenia, Athens insists on keeping its fleet and the Arcadians want independence from Thebes; Epaminondas makes an alliance with the Achaeans; Athens loses control of Oropus, town on the northeastern boundary between Attica and Boeotia (important for receiving supplies from Boeotia); Themison, tyrant of Eretria, having captured the town from Athens, yields it to Thebes; under threat of war with Thebes, Athenians make alliance with Arcadia; Athenians put Callistratus and his close associate, the general Chabrias on trial for treason, claiming that their negligence was responsible for the loss of Oropus; both men acquitted. Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, revolts from Artaxerxes; Timotheus sent to Asia with 8,000 mercenaries; sails to Samos, which the Persians hold, in violation of the King's peace; he lays siege to city.

366/5 Athenians elect Timotheus general and begin a much more aggressive and imperialistic foreign policy.

365 Timotheus captures Samos from Persia after a 10 month siege and expels Samian oligarchs; Athenians dispatch 2,000 cleruchs to Samos—Samos not part of the Second Athenian League but this still violates the spirit of the clause in the decree of Aristoteles; Ariobarzanes, the rebel satrap, grants Timotheus Sestos and Crithote in the Thracian Chersonese for assisting him. Epaminondas convinces the assembly that Thebes should attempt to gain mastery of the sea. Perdicas assumes the throne of Macedon after slaying the regent Ptolemy. Eleans renew alliance with Sparta.

364 Timotheus recalled from the Hellespont and ordered to capture Amphipolis in Chalcidice, lost in 424; fails to seize Amphipolis but captures Methone and Pydna, and forces them to join

the Athenian League; Timotheus is unable to take Olynthus with the help of Perdiccas, though he takes Torone and Potidaea from the Chalcidian League, “he took Samos, Methone, Pydna, Potidaea, and twenty other cities in addition” (Deinarchus, 1.14); Athenians send *cleruchs* to Potidaea; Arcadians defeat Eleans and take control of the sanctuary at Olympia; decide that Pisatans supervise the Olympic festival. Epaminondas sets sail with 100 triremes and rouses anti-Athenian sentiment among members of the Athenian League such as Byzantium, Chios, Rhodes and Ceos.

July 364 Pelopidas dies in battle of Cynoscephalae fighting Alexander of Pherae.

363 Alexander is forced to admit defeat and remain confined to the territory of Pherae, and agree to serve with the Theban army when needed (Diodorus, 15.80-81; Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 35.1-2); Thebans, while Epaminondas absent with fleet, march against Orchomenus, take the city, slay all the adult males and sell the women and children into slavery; Thebans contribute to suppression of *stasis* in Delphi by helping expel the pro-Phocian Delphians.

363/2 Arcadians restore all their conquests, except Triphylia, to the Eleans as part of peace agreement; loss of access to Olympic treasures makes it difficult to support permanent military force of 5,000 men; Epaminondas fears wealthy military elite in Arcadia might come to terms with Sparta and jeopardize Theban influence in the Peloponnesus; so he marches southward with his allies from central Greece.

362 Battle of Mantinea: largest battle that ever occurred between Greek forces, with 20,000-30,000 combatants on each side; Epaminondas initiated the confrontation with Sparta to restore Theban influence in the Peloponnesus; he brings allies from central Greece and forces from Messenia, Argos, Sicyon, Tegea and Megalopolis to fight against Mantinea, Sparta, Athens, Achaea, Elis and Phlius; he employs tactics similar to the ones the Thebans used at Leuctra; in the battle, Epaminondas is mortally wounded as he pursues the retreating enemy; he advises the Thebans to make peace with the enemy, before he dies; his troops make peace based on the *status quo*; the autonomy of Messenia recognized; all sign the Common Peace except Sparta; Athens now leading state. Xenophon comments on the battle of Mantinea at the end of his *Hellenica*:

For since well-nigh all the people of Greece had come together and formed themselves in opposing lines, there was no one who did not suppose that if a battle were fought, those who proved victorious would be the rulers and those who were defeated would be their subjects . . . While each party claimed to be victorious, neither was found to be any better off, as regards either additional territory, or city, or sway, than before the battle took place, but there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle than before. Thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another.

The Theban Hegemony

BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY:

Syntaxeis, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Timotheus, Iphicrates, Chabrias, Naxos (376), Mantinea (362), boetarch, Tagus, Lycomedes

CONSIDER:

1. How had Thebes developed the strength used to beat Sparta at Leuctra? Why did the Theban army choose to fight there? How did it win?
2. What were the alternative policies open to Thebes after its victory? To what extent was there dissent about the choices?
3. How did Thebes treat the rest of Boeotia?
4. What was Thebes' Peloponnesian policy? What were its relations with Messenia and Arcadia?
5. Why and how did Athens oppose Thebes? Was this opposition successful?
6. What was Thebes' northern policy? Why did Thebes choose to get involved?
7. What led to the battle of Mantinea? What was Thebes' position afterward?
8. Was Thebes attempting to win hegemony over all of Greece, just over central Greece or only over Boeotia itself during this period? Were Thebes' external expeditions defensive in purpose or evidence of an imperialistic policy? Was Thebes' policy consistent or did it vacillate?

Lecture 24, **Philip, Demosthenes, and the fall of the Polis**, Key Words

Macedon
Feudal
Homeric
Ethnos
Hellenic Status
Argive Descent
Alexander
Perdiccas
Archelaus
Thebes
Epaminondas
Hanson
Pangaeus
Amphipolis
Chalcidians
Thessaly
Thrace
Athenian Commerce
Social War
Sacred War
Phocis
Onomarchus
Thessaly
Theoric Fund
Eisphora
Symmories
Mercenaries
Hawks
Doves
Hitler
Churchill
Philippics
Olynthians
Olynthiacs
Peace of Philocrates
Amphictyonic Council
Pythian Games
Euboea
Megara
Achaea
Acarmania
Leucas
Chersonese
Hellespont

Perinthus
Byzantium
Amphissa
Elatea
Thermopylae
Theoric Fund
Chaeronea
Chalcis
“the fetters of Greece”
League of Corinth
Droysen
Ancient Mediterranean
Rome
Christianity
Goering

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The Lion of Chaeronea

Chronological Table for Macedonian History

1100-800 Dorian tribes inhabit both sides of the northern extension of the Pindus mountain range; in time those on the western slope migrate to Epirus.

700 Dorians on the Pindus' eastern side, called "Makednon" people (*ethnos*) by Herodotus (1.56; 8.43) move eastward under the Argead clan in search of land; these "wandering Macedonians" take possession of the Thracian stronghold, Edessa, and name the captured fortress Aegae (Justin 7.1); the Macedonians expel the Illyrians and establish Aegae as the capital and burial place of the Argead kings; from Aegae the Macedonians overpower or expel Thracians, Illyrians, Paeonians and other peoples, and, occupying the western and northern shores of the Thermaic Gulf, push inland as far as Edessa (Lower Macedonia).

700-600 emergence of the Argeads; over many generations of migrations and conquests the kingdom of Upper and Lower Macedonia comes into existence, but it does not achieve its position as a strong state with distinct borders until the rule of Philip II; under constant threat from princes of the districts of Upper Macedonia, from Illyrian, Paeonian and Thracian marauders on their western, northern and eastern boundaries, from Persia and from Greek states such as Athens; Perdiccas becomes the first king of the Macedonian tribes; kings conquer land and grant it to their loyal supports (*hetairoi*) as fiefs; Macedonian *hetairoi* serve in king's army as horsemen in return for land grant; *hetairoi* cavalry have free access to king and many serve as his advisers and officials; the commoners—the farmers, shepherds, artisans and free workers—live on royal lands and fiefs of the *hetairoi* and pay tax to their overlord; unlike the Greeks who moved south in the second millennium and, under Mediterranean influence, developed the polis, Macedon developed into a Homeric society. Perdiccas becomes the first king of the Macedonian tribes.

556-546 Athenian tyrant Peisistratus active in the area of the Thermaic Gulf and of Mt. Pangaeus to the east during his second exile; he probably has some negotiations with the Macedonians.

514 Amyntas, king of Macedonia, forced to become a vassal of Darius the Great on the first Persian expedition into Europe.

510 Amyntas offers Hippias, exiled from Athens, the district of Anthemus, north of Chalcidice.

481-479 Argead king Alexander I, successor of Amyntas, forced to cooperate with Xerxes during his invasion of Greece, was a "*proxenos* and benefactor" of Athens; perhaps supplied timber for Themistocles' fleet; secretly advised Greeks at Tempe and Plataea; attacked Persian army on its retreat as it crossed the Strymon River, dedicated a golden statue to Apollo at Delphi from the spoils; great admirer of Greek civilization.

479 Alexander I, freed from Persia, strengthens his kingdom in lower Macedonia; forces Macedonian tribes living on the eastern slopes of the Pindus range to acknowledge dependence on the Argead kingdom of Lower Macedonia; first Macedonian king to issue coins in his own name; gains privilege to compete in Olympic Games by convincing managers of the festival that his family, the Argeads, were descended from the Temenids of Argos (Hdt. 5.22, Thuc. 2.99); from then on the Macedonian royal family was recognized as Hellenic through alleged connection with the Argives, though many Greeks protested the idea. Fourth-century historian Anaximenes says that Alexander "accustoming the most distinguished men to serve in the cavalry called them *hetairoi* [companions], and dividing the masses and infantry into companies . . . called them *pezetairoi* [foot-companions] in order that each group by sharing in the royal *hetairia* [companionship] should continue to be most zealous" (Jacoby, 72, fragment 4); the *pezetairoi*, the foot-companions of the king, became a national force rather than merely

provincial dependents of great nobles, which increased their morale and status; infantry could help king deal with insubordinate nobles.

470 Argives destroy ancient Mycenae; Alexander I receives one-half the displaced population.

450 Perdiccas II, Alexander's son, becomes king of Macedon.

446 Perdiccas II welcomes the refugees from Hestiaea in Euboea after the Athenians under Pericles capture the city.

437 Athenian empire gains control of the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalcidic peninsula and establishes the colony of Amphipolis near the mouth of the Strymon; Macedon must export timber and pitch on the terms of the Athenians.

424 Athenians lose Amphipolis to Spartan Brasidas, who makes city independent; timber for fleet becomes an urgent problem for Athens.

422 alliance made between Perdiccas and Athens, Archelaus one of the signers.

413-399 Archelaus is king of Macedon; an able and enlightened ruler, especially active in opening Macedonia to Hellenic influences; moves the burial place of the royal family to Pella, closer to the Aegean; brings famous painter Zeuxis to Pella to paint frescoes in the new palace; established games, at Dium at the foot of Olympus, in the region of Pieria sacred to the Muses, including athletic, musical and dramatic contests to demonstrate hellenization of the Macedonian kingdom to the Greeks; he invites the dithyrambic poet Timotheus of Miletus, Agathon, the Athenian tragic poet and Euripides.

410 Pydna, having had its rights of coinage taken away, revolts from Archelaus; Athenian fleet temporarily besieges Pydna.

410-400 amenities of city-state life begin to take root in Lower Macedon.

407/6 Athenians honor Archelaus for his services, especially his granting them timber.

408-406 Euripides in Macedon at the end of his life; honored as a *hetairos* of the king and produced his last play the *Bacchae*; also produced *Archelaus* which depicted Archelaus, the son of Temenus and the grandson of Heracles, as founder of the Macedonian kingdom rather than the usual Perdiccas.

400/399 Archelaus, in response to an appeal from the oligarchs in Larissa, takes possession of that Thessalian city; in conflict with Spartan desire to establish a hegemony throughout Greece; possible conflict with Sparta prevented by the death of Archelaus; after the king's death, the Macedonians withdraw from Larissa; confusion among Macedonians.

399-392 Macedonians experience violent dynastic struggles, barbarian invasions over the frontiers and the aggressive growth of the Chalcidian League to the east.

393/2 Amyntas III accedes to the throne; makes a defensive alliance with the Chalcidians to ensure peace on his eastern border, while he confronts the Illyrians in the west; Illyrian invasion forces Amyntas to evacuate Macedonia; to protect the inhabitants from the Illyrians, he gives some of his eastern territory to the Chalcidians.

385 Amyntas asks the Chalcidians to return the territory he had ceded to them; Olynthians refuse, overrun Macedonia and support the claims of a pretender, Argaeus, to the throne; Amyntas flees.

384-382 Argaeus rules as king; Amyntas appeals to Sparta for help.

382 Amyntas, with Spartan assistance, regains his throne and frees himself from the Chalcidian League; Philip is born.

382-379 Spartans campaign to break up Chalcidian League and force its members to become their military allies.

378/7 Athens establishes Second Athenian League.

376 Athenians defeat Spartan fleet off Naxos.

374/3 Amyntas allies himself with Athens to protect against Spartan aggression and the threat of a reviving Olynthus; provides access to Macedonian timber.

373/2 Amyntas makes an alliance with Jason of Pherae (Diodorus, 15.60.2); Macedonian prestige rises in the Greek world.

371 Battle of Leuctra; in peace conference at Sparta a representative of Amyntas supports the Athenian claim to Amphipolis (Aeschines, 2.2).

370 Alexander II, Amyntas' eldest son, succeeds to Macedonian throne; Jason dies; Alexander of Pherae succeeds Jason and tries to enforce his authority throughout Thessaly; the Aleuadae of Larissa appeal to Alexander for help; but instead of restoring the Thessalian nobles, Alexander places his own garrisons in Larissa and Crannon.

369 Alexander attempts to extend Macedonian influence in Thessaly; Pelopidas of Thebes assists the Thessalians; frees Larissa and Crannon from Macedonian garrisons; Pelopidas arbitrates dispute over throne in Macedon in favor of Alexander over his brother in law Ptolemaios; Ptolemaios, under influence of Alexander's mother Eurydice, murders Alexander; Pausanias, a kinsman of the royal family, attempts to seize the throne; Eurydice appeals to Iphicrates, who drives out Pausanias; but Pelopidas, summoned to Macedon by friends of the dead Alexander, achieves an alliance between Ptolemaios and Thebes for Ptolemaios to rule until Eurydice's eldest son, Perdiccas comes of age; Perdiccas' younger brother, the future Philip II, taken to Thebes as a hostage.

368-365 Philip hostage at Thebes; learns many political and military lessons from Epaminondas and Pelopidas; becomes imbued with Greek culture and observes Greek political conditions.

365 Perdiccas kills Ptolemaios and establishes himself as king; Timotheus replaces Iphicrates to command the "Thracian" area and adds Methone and Pydna, formerly under Macedonian control, to the Athenian League.

364 Pelopidas dies; Theban influence reduced in north; Perdiccas joins the Athenian attacks on the Chalcidian League and Amphipolis; Timotheus takes Potidaea and Torone from Chalcidian League; Athenians send *cleruchs* to Potidaea; Epaminondas sets sail with 100 triremes and rouses anti-Athenian sentiment among members of the Athenian League such as Byzantium, Chios, Rhodes and Ceos.

361 Athenians send a *cleruchy* to Potidaea, requested by pro-Athenian element; Perdiccas, with Athens, the Chalcidian League and Amphipolis mutually hostile, withdraws his support from Athens, leaves troops in Amphipolis and turns his attention to problems in west (i.e., Illyrians).

359 Illyrians defeat and kill Perdiccas, slay 4,000 Macedonians (Diodorus, 16.2.4-5); incursions into Macedon by Illyrians, Paeonians and Thracians; Philip, at the age of 24, acclaimed king amid dynastic confusion; Philip removes dangers from other claimants to throne; makes gifts of money to Paeonians; withdraws his troops from Amphipolis when Athens backs Argaeus at Methone; defeats Argaeus completely; releases captured Athenians without ransom; sends peace embassy to Athens (Diodorus, 16.2.6-4.1).

359-357 Athenians in Boule (?) make secret deal with Philip to receive Amphipolis for granting him Pydna (Theopompus, fragment 30). Athenians wanted Amphipolis back, though the city was independent since they lost it to Brasidas in 424.

358 Philip settles situation within Macedon; defeats Paeonians in north; in Upper Macedonia he defeats Illyrians in major battle in plain of Monastir; slays 7,000 Illyrians; Illyrians forced to evacuate Macedon and accept boundary between them at Lake Lychnitis; Alexander of Pherae dies but his successors continue policy against Thessaly; Philip wins goodwill from Thessalian nobles by supporting them against the tyrants of Pherae.

350s Athenian fleet grows to 350 triremes; Athens has difficulties financing the large fleet and places a heavy burden on the trierarchs; Athenian generals violate the autonomy of league members in collecting *syntaxeis*, adding to dissatisfaction with Athens.

357-355 Social War (War of the Allies); Mausolus, satrap of Caria, encourages the opposition to Athenian leadership by promising assistance to rebellious states: Rhodes, Cos, Chios and Byzantium, followed by other states, break from the Athenian League.

357 Philip assaults and captures Amphipolis with nearby rich gold and silver mines of Mt. Pangaeus; Athens declares war with Philip over Amphipolis, but Athenians having trouble with the revolt of Byzantium, Chios, Rhodes and Cos from league; Athenians recover Euboean cities.

357/6 Philip captures Pydna; Olynthians appeal to Athens but Philip offers them Anthemus and the territory of Potidaea; Olynthus signs alliance with Philip, who sends to Athens the *cleruchs* at Potidaea without ransom; Philip and Olynthians agree, with support of Delphi, to wage war in common against Athens.

356 Thasian town in the Pangaeus mining district, Crenides, threatened by Thracians, asks Philip for help; Philip drives back Thracians, takes control of town and renames it Philippi (first Greek city named after a ruler); Philip develops mining possibilities and soon receives 1,000 talents of gold annually from Pangaeus (Diod. 16.8.6); coins gold staters based on Attic standard; Philip changes Macedonian coinage to the Chalcidian standard and enters into extensive trade with the Chalcidians.

July 356 Athens makes an alliance (Tod, 157) with the kings of the Thracians, Paeonians and Illyrians; Philip completely defeats them; he makes Paeonia a vassal kingdom, fixes Macedonian borders, marries princess Olympias in Epirus, makes Thrace recognize Nestus River as boundary line and enters into good relations with aristocrats in various Thessalian cities.

356-346 Third Sacred War; although included in the Theban alliance after the battle of Leuctra, the Phocians sought to sever all political connections with the Boeotians; therefore, to maintain their hegemony, the Thebans struck at the Phocians through the Delphic Amphictiony; the council of this league, dominated by the Thessalians and their *perioecic* states, hostile to the Phocians, voted a heavy fine upon the Phocians for a religious offense against Delphi at the spring meeting 356; the Phocians refuse to pay and in the fall meeting of 356, the Thebans persuade the Amphictionic council to declare a sacred war on 'sacrilegious' Phocis; both Sparta and Athens support the Phocian resistance to the Amphictiony; the ensuing war in central Greece provides Philip with an opportunity to involve himself in the affairs of the whole Greek world.

354 Philip, though blinded in one eye by an arrow, captures Methone and clears the Thermaic Gulf region of the Athenians; now controls Amphipolis with its rich trade and easy access to Mt. Pangaeus; makes agreement with Thracian King Cersobleptes at Maronea; by this time Philip has developed the Macedonian phalanx into a standing professional army with heavy infantry (*pezetairoi*) mastering use of long thrusting sword (*sarissa*), *peltasts*, various types of light armed troops and especially his *hetairoi* cavalry (mainly members of Macedonian aristocratic families and clans, who reside in Pella). Pherae, under new leadership, resumes the aggressive policy of Alexander against the cities of Thessaly, which appeal to Philip for aid; Boeotians receive 300 talents from King Artaxerxes to carry on war against Phocis.

353 Philip marches directly against Pherae and its port Pagasae and defeats Phayllos but forced to return to Macedonia by large force of the Phocian Onomarchus; Athens sends Chares with a fleet into the Chersonese; he captures Sestos, executes all adult males and sells women and children as slaves; Athenian *cleruchs* sent to Chersonese in their place; Cersobleptes assures Athens he will abandon his claims to Chersonese, except Cardia, and help them win Amphipolis.

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The Macedonian Phalanx

352 Philip, as supreme commander of the Thessalians as well as of his Macedonians, forces the Phocians into battle in the Crocus plain near the Pagasaeon Gulf; the Thessalian and Macedonian cavalry lead the rout and slaughter of Phocians and Onomarchus, and end the tyranny of Pherae; Philip assumes role of champion of Apollo and leader of the “crusade” to subdue the sacrilegious Phocians; Macedonians take part of Pagasae.

Summer 352 Philip marches on Thermopylae to oust the Phocians from Delphi; Athens, on the motion of Eubulus’ faction, send 5,000 hoplites and 400 cavalry to Thermopylae to stop Philip; they are joined by forces from the Spartans, the Achaeans and Phocians; Philip withdraws to Macedonia (Diodorus, 16.37-38.1-2) and stays out of Greek affairs and Sacred War for several years; Thessalians elect Philip archon for life. Philip arrives in region north of the Propontis (center for Cersobleptes) helped by Byzantium, Perinthus and a Thracian king to oppose Cersobleptes.

Fall 352 Chalcidians send envoys to Athens to arrange peace, but Philip meets with Chalcidian League and makes peace.

351 Philip campaigns in Propontis (timber and grain interests); establishes friendships with Byzantium and Perinthus; renews alliance with Cersobleptes whom Athens had abandoned.

Summer 351 Demosthenes attacks Philip in his *First Philippic*, “a Macedonian is triumphing over Athenians and settling the destiny of Hellas”; Athenians, under influence of Eubulus’ policy of avoiding “unnecessary wars” refuse Demosthenes’ policy of waging war on Philip as a threat to Greece and Athens.

349 Demosthenes, in his *First Olynthiac Oration*, attempts to persuade the Athenian assembly to take over Amphipolis.

348 Eretria urges Athens to send help against the Macedonian troops infiltrating Euboea; Athenians dispatch Phocian in February with a small force; Phocian, faced with revolt in Chalcis, barely escapes with army, loses garrison he had left behind in Athens; in treaty of June or July Athenian League loses much of Euboea, except for Carystus at the southern tip.

Summer 348 Philip lays siege to Olynthus, which appeals to Athens for third time; Athenians send Chares but he arrives late; Olynthus surrenders to Philip; city razed to the ground and the population enslaved; Philip executes his 2 half brothers and divides territory among Macedonian nobles. **June** Athenians declare Philocrates’ motion to allow Philip to send envoys to Athens to discuss peace unconstitutional; fine of 100 talents proposed; Philocrates acquitted.

348/7 embassies of Eubulus fail to win allies for a common war against Philip.

346 Isocrates (5.20) remarks, “Has not Philip converted the Thessalians, whose power formerly extended over Macedonia, into an attitude so friendly to him that every Thessalian has more confidence in him than in his own fellow-countrymen?” **March** Athenians send first embassy to Philip to discuss peace; Philocrates proposes sending a commission to Macedonia to explore possible terms of peace; 10 ambassadors sent, including Philocrates, Demosthenes and Aeschines (adherent of Eubulus).

Peace of Philocrates: Athenians accept a bilateral peace and alliance to avoid war; Demosthenes argued for bilateral agreement to buy time for Athenians to prepare for subsequent war with Macedonia; he opposed the Common (*Koine*) Peace advocated by Aeschines; Philip wanted to exclude the Phocians from the agreement to satisfy Thessaly’s and Boeotia’s desire to crush Phocia; territorial *status quo* (i.e., Athenians acquiesce in Philip’s control of Potidaea, Amphipolis, Pydna and Methone; Phocians and Cersobleptes excluded from peace; assembly approves peace with Philip; threaten Athenian military action unless the Phocians surrender Delphi to the Amphictions; Thermopylae surrendered to Philip; Third Sacred War ends; Amphictionic/Common Peace: Phocians expelled from the Amphictiony and their two votes in the council assigned to Philip and his descendants; Amphictions vote that Philip should preside over the Pythian games in fall; Philip now has a foothold south of Thermopylae and membership in a purely Greek Amphictionic Council; he has strengthened relations with Thebes and Thessaly, who regain their former dominance in Amphictionic Council; **July 346** Isocrates publishes open *Letter to Philip* urging him to lead the Greeks in a campaign against Persia.

346-342 Philip regulates affairs in Macedonia and in neighboring areas; establishes various colonies or settlements on troublesome frontiers in Macedonia and settles both Macedonians and Greeks from the cities he conquered in Chalcidice and Thrace.

345 Philip solidifies western frontier of Macedonia in a campaign against the Illyrians.

344 Philip settles Thessaly by driving out the “tyrants”; bases Thessalian League on the four old territorial divisions (*tetrads*); in each of which a tetrarch, elected by league from supporters of Philip, has control over civil and military matters; Philip controlling figure in Thessaly as archon with the tetrarchs directly responsible to him. Athens sends envoys, including Demosthenes, to Peloponnesus to counteract the growing Macedonian influence among the Argives, Arcadians and Messenians; embassies unsuccessful.

344/3 (July or August) King Artaxerxes sends envoys to greatest cities in Greece seeking mercenaries for campaign to reconquer Egypt; Athenians refuse to contribute mercenaries; embassies also arrive in Athens from Philip, and Argos and Mantinea; Demosthenes delivers his *Second Philippic*.

343 Philip makes expedition into Epirus to place Alexander (brother of Olympias) on the throne; *stasis* in Euboea, Megara and Elis; Philocrates, prosecuted by Hyperides with support of Demosthenes, leaves Athens and is condemned to death *in absentia* as a traitor; Aeschines acquitted by thirty votes in trial. Athens sends *cleruchs* to Thracian Chersonese under Diopeithes (father of the future dramatist Menander) to aid in defense of region; Cardia rejects Athenian cleruchs; Athens refuses Philip’s request for arbitration; Philip sends military support to Cardia.

343/2 Artaxerxes recovers Phoenicia and Egypt.

342-339 Philip campaigns continuously in Thrace and against the Scythians.

342 Athenians obtain Argives, Messenians, Arcadians and Megalopolis as allies against Philip; Philip rejects Athenian envoys (*On Halonnesus*), who seek to revise the wording of the Peace of Philocrates from “each party to retain what it possessed” to “each party to retain what was its

own” (i.e., raising their old claims to Amphipolis, Potidaea and Pydna). In summer Philip conquers Thrace from the Nestus River eastward to the Black Sea (timber, minerals and grain); exerts pressure on Athens’ grain supply from the Black Sea area; deposes Cersobleptes and establishes military colonies; invites Aristotle to Pella to tutor his 14-year old son, Alexander; alliance between Athens and Chalcis; Macedonian generals establish “tyrants” favorable to Philip in Eretria and Oreos (Euboea).

341 (early spring) Diopieithes invades and plunders parts of Thrace under Macedonian control; in May or June Demosthenes delivers his *Third Philippic* urging Athens to gain allies and prepare for war against Philip, “All the faults committed by the Spartans in those thirty years, and by our ancestors in their seventy years of supremacy, are fewer, men of Athens, than the wrongs Philip has done to the Greeks in the thirteen incomplete years in which he has been coming to the top—or rather, they are not a fraction of them.”

Fall 341 Demosthenes secures alliance with Byzantium; Persian King makes no alliance with Athenian envoys, but sends money to Diopieithes in the Chersonese.

341/0 Demosthenes and the Chalcidian Callias secure the Megarians, Achaeans and Arcarnania as allies against Philip.

340 Philip lays siege to Perinthus and Byzantium and captures 180 Athenian grain ships off Hieron, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and then he delivers an “ultimatum” to Athens.

October 340 Athenians vote to destroy marble stele on which the Peace of Philocrates was inscribed and, on the motion of Demosthenes (Demosthenes, 18.73), officially declare war.

339 (early spring) Athenians dispatch fleet under Phocian to the Bosphorus; Philip abandons his sieges of Byzantium and Perinthus (and Selymbria), removes his fleet from the Black Sea and, after battling Scythians and Thracians, reaches Macedon in late summer; Amphictionic Council declares **Fourth Sacred War** on Amphissa and appoints Philip to carry on war; Philip marches south and fortifies Elatea; his appearance in central Greece alarms Athens and Thebes; assembly approves Demosthenes’ proposal to ally with Thebes and to use all of the surplus revenue from the Theoric Fund for military purposes.

338 (spring) Philip captures Amphissa and takes possession of Delphi; Greeks retire to plain of Chaeronea in western Boeotia; Philip’s suggested peace negotiations refused by Athens and Thebes under the influence of Demosthenes.

August 338 Philip commands 30,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry (all trained veterans) at Chaeronea; Greeks, including the Athenians, Thebans, mercenaries and allies, field equivalent numbers but only Thebans and mercenaries are experienced soldiers.

Battle of Chaeronea: Theban Sacred Band annihilated by the *hetairoi* cavalry led by Philip’s eighteen year old son, Alexander; Macedonian phalanx feigns retreat and Athenians pursue in such disordered fashion that Philip, when he orders an advance, easily routs them; elsewhere Macedonian phalanx overwhelms the Greeks; 1,000 Athenians killed, 2,000 captured; end of Greek freedom. Philip establishes the Hellenic League/League of Corinth based on a Common Peace.

336 Philip assassinated.

Philip, Demosthenes and the End of the *Polis*

BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY:

Aeschines, Alexander the Great, Amphipolis, Chaeronea (338), Chares, Demosthenes, Eubulus, Isocrates, Mausolus, Olynthus, Peace of Philocrates (346), Phocian, Social War (= War of the Allies, 357-54), Third Sacred War

CONSIDER:

1. During the fourth century, was the polis an institution in terminal decline, or was it just going through a rough period at a time when Macedonian was able to take advantage of the situation?
2. How stable was Macedon before Philip? If he had died in 352, would Macedon still have dominated Greece? What were the strengths and weaknesses of Macedon's position?
3. Was Demosthenes a patriot or a self-interested politician exploiting a situation for his own advantage?
4. Assuming that either had succeeded, would the policies of Demosthenes or Aeschines have been beneficial to Athens in the long run? Which would have been more beneficial? How did their policies differ? Was Demosthenes a pan-Hellenist, or is this merely a ploy as part of an anti-Macedonian policy?
5. Whose fault was the renewal of hostilities after the Peace of Philocrates? Did Demosthenes force Athens into a war, or had Philip's self-aggrandizement led the Athenians to reject his assurances of good faith? Should Athens have gone to war?
6. Could the Greeks have beaten Philip at Chaeronea? What brought about their failure? What would have happened if they had won? Why did not all the Greek states, especially Sparta, send forces?
7. Was Philip a barbarian?
8. Was the unification of Greece inevitable?