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# Writing Past and Present in Hellenistic Athens: The Honours for Demosthenes

As counsellor, Demosthenes recommended many other good things to the *demos* and, of all his contemporaries, he conducted political matters the best for freedom and democracy; and, when the *demos* was overthrown, he was exiled by the oligarchy and he died on Kalauria on account of his good will towards the *demos*; when soldiers were sent against him by Antipatros, he continued in his good will and intimacy towards the people and he did not surrender to the city's enemies nor did he do anything unworthy of the *demos* in this time of danger.<sup>1</sup>

So Demochares, the son of Laches, of the Athenian deme Leukonoe summed up the career of his late uncle Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paiania in his request to the *boule* and the *demos* for posthumous honours. The reward which Demochares hoped to gain was the highest which the Athenians could offer: “a bronze statue in the Agora and *sitesis* in the Prytaneion and front-row seats for him and the oldest of his descendants in perpetuity”.<sup>2</sup> He no doubt thought that it was a fitting recompense for all the many good things which Demosthenes had done for the *demos* of the Athenians and which were enumerated in the request. In due course, the *boule* and the *demos* approved this request and did, indeed, grant Demosthenes the highest honours which the city could award.<sup>3</sup> At first sight, we might take this document to be yet another honorary decree for yet another worthy citizen, albeit one with quite a well-known name who surely deserved some honours, and we might then pass

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1 [Plut.] Mor. 851C. 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, 484; MacDowell 2009, 425; Luraghi 2010, 258.

2 [Plut.] Mor. 850F. Incidentally, Demochares was the nephew of Demosthenes, not his grandson; [Plut.] Mor. 847C–D; contra: Zanker 1995, 85.

3 As we know through the existence of the statue in the Agora; see e.g. Plut. Dem. 30.5–31.2; [Plut.] Mor. 847A, D; Paus. 1.8.2–4.

on to other issues. In 281/0 B.C., when the honours were awarded, however, Demosthenes was no longer alive and had been dead for some forty-one years.<sup>4</sup> Although his rewards were one of several such awards voted after the Athenians regained their freedom from the Macedonian King Demetrios Poliorketes in 286 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> Demosthenes had taken no part in these events, unlike the other honorands, and so he was not necessarily the most obvious candidate for such benefits. We must ask, therefore, why the Athenians chose to honour him in this way at this time so many years after his suicide in 322 B.C.

Once the Athenians had recovered their freedom from the Macedonians, they had to work out how they would restore the democratic city and how they would remember the events of the preceding years when the city had not only been subject to a foreign power, but she had also been ruled by non-democratic regimes.<sup>6</sup> As part of this process, the Athenians awarded highest honours both to Demosthenes and also to some of the democracy's most ardent supporters, Philippides of Kephale, Demochares of Leukonoe, and Kallias of Sphettos, as we know from their honorary decrees or from the requests for their honours.<sup>7</sup> Demosthenes, consequently, found himself in a distinguished company. Scholars working on the city's highest honours have generally been content to leave him there without much further discussion.<sup>8</sup> In considering the Roman copies of the statue, specialists of Greek sculpture and ancient art have tended to place the statue in a general early Hellenistic context without further detailed discussion.<sup>9</sup> More recent studies have focused more closely on its loc-

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**4** The date of the award is given by [Plutarch] as ten years before the archonship of Pytharatos in the archonship of Gorgias; [Plut.] *Mor.* 847D–E. Since Pytharatos is firmly fixed in 271/0, Gorgias has long been located in 280/79 despite the problems which this placement created; Osborne 2009, 88 with further references; Osborne 2012, 114, 132. Byrne has now shown that Gorgias is actually a corruption of the rare name Ourias, the archon for 281/0, and he is to be followed by Telokles, while Gorgias was never archon; Byrne 2006/7, 169–175; Osborne 2009, 87 note 21; Osborne 2012, 131–132. Thus our request belongs in the archonship of Ourias in 281/0. For Demosthenes' death, see Plut. *Dem.* 28.1–30.6; [Plut.] *Mor.* 846E–847B.

**5** I have argued for this date elsewhere and I have demonstrated that the Great Panathenaia of 286 was, in fact, cancelled; Shear 2010, 135–152; cf. Shear (forthcoming) n. 2. Anyone wishing to adopt Habicht's and Osborne's chronology and to place the revolution in 287 must explain why the festival of 286 was cancelled and they must also account for the letter traces actually preserved on the stone of Kallias' decree, rather than the ones which they wish it preserved; Habicht 1979, 45–67; Osborne 1979; Habicht 1997, 95–97; Osborne 2012, 162–163.

**6** On these regimes, see Shear 2012a, 278–281 and cf. Bayliss 2011, 64–66. On the process of recreating the city and remembering the revolution, see Shear 2012a; Shear (forthcoming).

**7** IG II<sup>2</sup> 657 (Philippides of Kephale); [Plut.] *Mor.* 851D–F (Demochares of Leukonoe); SEG XXVIII 60 (Kallias of Sphettos).

**8** E.g. Gauthier 1985, 79–92; Kralli 1999–2000; Luraghi 2010 who focuses on the creation of intentional history rather than the context of particular decrees.

**9** E.g. Pollitt 1986, 63; Ridgway 1990, 224–225; Zanker 1995, 83–86; cf. Stewart 1990, 199 and Smith 1991, 37–38 who are more specific about the political context, but go no further.

ation in the Agora and have emphasised its role as the “face of the 280s”, but they have not brought the statue and the request closely together nor have they considered the oddity of honouring Demosthenes at just this moment.<sup>10</sup> In order to understand what the Athenians were doing, we must bring the text of the request, the monument, and its setting(s) closely together. As I shall argue, honouring Demosthenes in 281/0 created a very particular picture of the honorand as a fighter of Macedonians and a democratic martyr. The composite memorial created by the honorary decree and the figure allowed the city to claim Demosthenes as an exemplary Athenian and the standard against which good citizens should be measured. It also permitted the Athenians to link the current democratic regime with the fourth-century past and to elide the difficult years between 322 and 286, when the city had not always been democratically ruled. The imagery presented in this composite monument, like the events of the past, may now have seemed fixed, but the erection of other structures and subsequent political developments were to demonstrate its mutability and instability. These changing circumstances not only required the past to be rewritten in the present, but they also changed the ways in which different monuments will have been perceived by viewers and readers.

## 1 The Politics of the Request

In order to persuade the Athenians to award highest honours to the now deceased Demosthenes, Demochares had to present a request to the *boule* which explained why the potential honorand merited this reward.<sup>11</sup> To make his case, Demochares had to rehearse the good deeds which Demosthenes had performed on behalf the city and he had to demonstrate that his candidate for these honours really was an exemplary citizen.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, there could be nothing haphazard about the request because otherwise it would be unconvincing and its presenter would immediately fail in his efforts to gain the rewards. If the *boule* looked with favour upon the request, in due course, it would become the basis for the honorary decree to be presented to, and hopefully approved by, the *demos*. Thus the request and the subsequent decree provide us with invaluable evidence of how the proposer wished his candidate’s actions to be perceived; eventually, as John Ma has pointed out, they would also frame viewers’ interpretation of the statue.<sup>13</sup> In Demosthenes’ case, as with other such attempts to gain highest honours, Demochares carefully composed his request in order to create

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Dillon 2006, 102–104, 112–113; von den Hoff 2009; Ma 2013, 276–279. I borrow the “face of the 280s” from Ma 2013, 278.

<sup>11</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 850F–851C.

<sup>12</sup> Compare Bayliss 2006, 123; Culasso Gastaldi 2007, 134; Luraghi 2010, 252; Shear (forthcoming).

<sup>13</sup> Ma 2013, 59.

a very specific image of the honorand as a good democrat active on behalf of the city. Indeed, he was such a good citizen that he actually died on behalf of the *demos* and so became a martyr for the democracy.

Initially, Demochares justified his request by stating that Demosthenes was worthy of the reward “because he was a benefactor and counsellor (εὐεργέτη καὶ συμβούλῳ) and did many good things for the Athenians”, as he goes on to explain.<sup>14</sup> This specific description of Demosthenes as providing (good) counsel to the Athenians is not limited to the beginning of the request because Demochares used the term *sumboulos* to mark divisions between the major sections of his request: the second section is introduced with the statement that he was a benefactor and counsellor (εὐεργέτης γενόμενος καὶ σύμβουλος), while the final section describes him as a counsellor (συμβούλῳ).<sup>15</sup> Structured in this way, the request demonstrates that Demosthenes spent his whole career providing good counsel and benefactions to the city.

His efforts, however, do not remain in the realm of vague abstraction. Instead, Demochares has chosen to be very specific about how exactly Demosthenes helped the Athenians. He begins with Demosthenes’ financial contributions to the city which form the first section of the document.<sup>16</sup> Not only did Demosthenes spend his own money on behalf of the city, but his contributions were for specific occasions: he contributed money and a warship (τριήρη) when the city sent an expedition to Euboea and warships on two subsequent occasions and he ransomed many prisoners captured by Philip at Pydna, Methone, and Olynthos. Later, he armed citizens without arms and, when elected to the board overseeing the repairs of the fortifications, he not only supplied funds at his own expense, but he also dug two trenches around the Peiraieus. After the battle of Chaironeia, he donated both a talent and a second talent specifically for the grain supply. It was during this time, too, that he supplied a men’s chorus for his tribe when no one else was willing to do so. Reminding us that Demosthenes was a benefactor and counsellor of the city, Demochares then moves on to the second section about Demosthenes’ career which concerns various peoples whom he brought into alliance with the *demos* and so also secured foot-soldiers, cavalry, and money for the war against Philip II.<sup>17</sup> Subsequently, he prevented the Peloponnesians from going to the aid of Alexander at Thebes. While this list details the honorand’s various financial contributions to the city, it also focuses our attention on the particular contexts, which are described: except for the men’s chorus for his tribe, all the benefactions are connected with military activities, whether for expeditions, for

<sup>14</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 850F.

<sup>15</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 851B, C.

<sup>16</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 850F–851B.

<sup>17</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 851B–C. The text does not seem to be as secure as we would like; see the text and apparatus criticus of Mau’s Teubner edition and compare Cuvigny’s text in the Collection des Universités de France.

defence, or in the aftermath of military engagements. The alliances, too, were for war and Alexander's actions against Thebes were also martial. In this way, Demochares presented the honorand as a military man active on behalf of the city, even though he never held a generalship.<sup>18</sup> This image is reinforced by the omission of any mention of civic offices. Thus, Demosthenes is shown to have met the standards set by the generals of the earlier fourth-century, men like Konon, Iphikrates, Chabrias, and Timotheos, who had all been honoured by the city and had their statues set up in the Agora.<sup>19</sup>

Unlike these men, Demosthenes' claim to highest honours did not rest simply on his military exploits. As the beginning of the final section of the request brings out, the honorand also had a particularly close relationship with the democracy itself: not only was he a counsellor of the *demos*, but "of all his contemporaries, he conducted political matters the best for freedom and democracy".<sup>20</sup> This phrase suggests that Demosthenes was considerably more zealous in protecting the rule of the people than his contemporaries and it fits together nicely with the earlier focus on his military contributions. Here, Demochares is signalling that Demosthenes not only contributed to the city's martial endeavours, but he was also a good democrat. The rest of this final section strongly reinforces this image.<sup>21</sup> We learn that Demosthenes was exiled by the oligarchy when the democracy had been overthrown and that he died on Kalauria on account of his good will towards the *demos*. When soldiers were sent against him by Antipatros, he continued in his good will and intimacy (οἰκειότητι) towards the people and he did not surrender to the city's enemies nor did he do anything unworthy of the *demos* in this time of danger. In this last part of the request, Demochares emphasises that Demosthenes died because of his devotion to the *demos*. While other men could be described as displaying their *eunoia* (good will) towards the people, Demosthenes also had *oikeiotes* (intimacy) towards them. This word is unusual for an honorary context and its use here sets Demosthenes apart from other men who might also have wished to receive highest honours.<sup>22</sup> In this context, it brings out just how close his association was with the *demos*. At the same time,

<sup>18</sup> Thus it is incorrect to speak of Demochares emphasising Demosthenes' "intellectual aid" to the city; contra: von den Hoff 2009, 201.

<sup>19</sup> Konon: Isoc. Or. 9.56–57; Dem. Or. 20.69–70; Paus. 1.3.2–3; Iphikrates: Dem. Or. 23.130; cf. Schol. Dem. 21.62; Aeschin. 3.243; Chabrias: Nep. Chab. 1.2–3; SEG XIX 204 = Agora XVIII C148; cf. Aeschin. 3.243; Timotheos: Paus. 1.3.2–3; Nep. Timoth. 2.3; cf. Aeschin. 3.243; Shear 2007a, 107–111; Shear 2011, 275–283.

<sup>20</sup> Above n. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Above n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Oikeiotes*: IG II<sup>2</sup> 456.b14–15; 653.50–51; 703.12; SEG III 108.16–17; SEG XXIX 12790–91; Agora XVI 286.8; ISE 23.26. None of these examples is particularly close the usage of the request. In contrast, *eunoia* is very common in an honorary context; for some selected contemporary examples, see e.g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 646.25; 651.21; 653.35, 46; 654.38; 6579, 59; SEG XXVIII 60.23, 90–91.

Demochares has omitted some important details in his description of the end of the honorand's life: we are never told that Demosthenes committed suicide.<sup>23</sup> Instead, by invoking enemies, soldiers, danger, and surrendering, the request suggests that we are dealing with military action and it constructs Demosthenes as someone who died on behalf of the city, just like men who died fighting in war. Since the war-dead were good Athenians *par excellence*, assimilating Demosthenes to them identifies him as the very best sort of democrat, one who was so devoted to the city that he died on her behalf.

By focusing on Demosthenes' financial contributions for military ventures and on his death at Kalauria, Demochares has created a very strong image of the honorand: he was a military man and good democrat who died on behalf of the *demos*. The stress on his particularly close connections with the *demos* and the implication that his death came at the soldiers' hands adds further elaboration to this image and they make Demosthenes into a man who was a martyr for democracy. The long final section devoted to the honorand's death performs a further important role because it sets Demosthenes apart from other potentially worthy Athenians, who might also have wished to receive rewards from the *demos*, and it marks his actions as unusual, hence Demochares' request. Faced with such devotion to the rule of the people, the *boule* in 281/0 could do no less than to recommend to the *demos* that it pass the proposal to grant highest honours to Demosthenes. In due course, the honorary decree, based on the text of the request, was, indeed, inscribed and set up, presumably next to the statue.<sup>24</sup>

## 2 The Text, the Statue, and the Agora

This image of Demosthenes as a significant contributor to the city's military endeavours and as a good democrat was reinforced by the bronze statue which was erected in the Agora. There, the inscribed decree, the figure, and the base created a composite monument which not only presented the honorand as an exemplary Athenian, but also interacted with the larger setting of the market square in ways which further brought out Demosthenes' positive achievements on behalf of the city and marked him out as particularly worthy of highest honours. As we shall see, the individual parts of this ensemble may not have initially seemed to present identical images of

<sup>23</sup> Above n. 4.

<sup>24</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 847E. Inscribed decrees are frequently set up next to the statues which they authorise; see e.g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 682.87–89; SEG XXVIII 60.105–107; SEG XLV 101.48–50; Oliver 2007a, 195, 196; Ma 2013, 59, 120. The honorary decree is very unlikely to have been inscribed on the statue's base because Athenians in the third century did not use this format; contra: von den Hoff 2009, 204.

the honorand, but they actually all worked harmoniously together towards a single overall presentation of Demosthenes.

Neither the base nor the original bronze statue are now preserved, but both are described in our ancient sources. The appearance of the statue is also known from Roman copies which include not just busts, but also three renditions of the full-length portrait (fig. 1).<sup>25</sup>



**Fig. 1:** Roman marble copy of the statue of Demosthenes by Polyeyktos © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, inv. 2782. The original was made of bronze and set up in the Agora in 281/0 B.C. © Courtesy of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

<sup>25</sup> Richter/Smith 1984, 108–113; Zanker 1995, 358–359 n. 63.

We have, therefore, a fairly good idea of the appearance of the overall monument. For our ancient sources, the base was significant for its epigram. In his *Life of Demosthenes*, Plutarch describes it as “frequently quoted” and provides the text as follows: “if you had had strength equal to your resolve, Demosthenes, Macedonian Ares would never have ruled the Greeks”.<sup>26</sup> It appears in a number of our other sources, sometimes with minor variation in the word order.<sup>27</sup> The epigram on the base, accordingly, clearly presented the honorand as a fighter of Macedonians.<sup>28</sup> The reference here to these northern enemies also picks up on the named opponents in the last section of the request: the soldiers sent by Antipatros, the Macedonian general.<sup>29</sup> In 281/0, these events will have been in the living memory of the Athenians who heard the request read out. Subsequently, when they looked at the composite monument created by the statue and the inscription, these viewers will have seen that the two texts reinforced each other and emphasised the honorand’s exemplary nature and worthiness for highest honours. At the same time, however, they also presented slightly different images: while the request brings out Demosthenes’ assimilation to the war-dead, the epigram stresses his ultimate lack of success, a detail missing from the request and so, presumably also, the inscribed decree. The honorand’s positive accomplishments inevitably had to be clearly brought out so that the honours would be awarded, but history could not be completely rewritten and it was impossible to ignore entirely the period of Macedonian domination of both Athens and Greece. Had Demochares done so, his version of events would have been too different from other renditions known to viewers and readers to be believable. In Arjun Appadurai’s helpful formulation, it would not have been “interdependent” enough with other accounts and so it would not have had enough credibility to be accepted.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast to the epigram on the base, the statue did not focus viewers’ attention on Demosthenes’ martial achievements. As we know from the Roman copies, it showed him, not in armour, as was appropriate for a general, but in a himation (fig. 1). The copies indicate that the figure wore just a himation without a tunic underneath it. By 281/0, such a costume would have looked old-fashioned because the contem-

<sup>26</sup> Plut. Dem. 30.5: εἴπερ ἴσῃν γνώμῃ ῥώμῃν Δημόσθενες ἔσχες, οὐποτ’ ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. [Plut.] Mor. 847A; Suda s.v. Δημοσθένης; Phot. Bibl. 494b, 29–33.

<sup>28</sup> Its anti-Macedonian nature has sometimes been noted by scholars, e.g. von den Hoff 2009, 204; cf. Pollitt 1986, 63.

<sup>29</sup> Above n. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Appadurai 1981, especially 203. As he has demonstrated, the past is a finite resource governed by four formal constraints which require cultural consensus and constitute “a minimal universal structure for the cultural construction of pasts”. These limitations concern: the authority of the sources of information about the past; the continuity with these sources; the depth or “the relative values of different time-depths”; and the interdependence between different versions of the past. For another application of this model to early Hellenistic Athens, see Shear (forthcoming).

porary style was to wear both a himation and a tunic.<sup>31</sup> Showing Demosthenes in this way would have reminded viewers that he was not a contemporary, but an individual who belonged to an earlier phase in the city's history. At the same time, such attire was extremely appropriate for a man who was being celebrated in his inscription as a counsellor, a role which he would have fulfilled largely in the Bouleuterion and the assembly when civilian, not military, attire would have been appropriate.

The pose of the statue also fits with the epigram. Demosthenes looks down in intense concentration, as his furrowed brows indicate, and his hands are loosely clasped in front of him.<sup>32</sup> Despite the position of the hands, the overall figure is not relaxed; instead, we have the sense that his limbs and body are being held tightly under control, as scholars have often noted.<sup>33</sup> This concentration and control complement the resolve celebrated in the epigram on the base and they make Demosthenes' determination immediately visible.<sup>34</sup> This resolve also appears in the final section of the request where we are told that Demosthenes did not surrender to his enemies, even though such action would presumably have prevented his death.<sup>35</sup> In this way, this same determination also kept him from doing "anything unworthy of the demos in this time of danger", as Demochares put it in the request.

The intensity and resolve of this figure together with its unique pose make it particularly distinctive and mark it as different from the ordinary portrait statue of the ordinary Athenian. Since citizens awarded highest honours by the city were also not ordinary, the appearance of this figure is appropriate and it works together with the images of the epigram and the request to emphasise Demosthenes' standing as an exemplary Athenian. Such an individual naturally spent his whole life serving the city, exactly as the honorand is presented in the request, while the lined face of the statue reinforces this image of a man grown old labouring on behalf of Athens. The civilian garb also complements the focus in the request on the honorand's financial contributions to the city and his actions in building the alliance with the Euboians, Corinthians, and various other peoples.

This image of Demosthenes as active in the city's military actions and as a good citizen was further reinforced by the composite monument's setting in the Agora.

<sup>31</sup> Dillon 2006, 74–75, 110–112; von den Hoff 2009, 206; cf. Ma 2013, 267 with further references. For an example of the contemporary style, see e.g. the statue of Aischines which we know from a Roman copy; Museo Nazionale, Naples, inv. no. 6018; Richter/Smith 1984, 73–74, 75 fig. 40b; Dillon 2006, 61–62 with n. 8, 63 fig. 63.

<sup>32</sup> The hands on the Roman copies are not preserved. Their position is known from Plutarch's description: "the statue stands with interlocked finger (τοὺς δακτύλους ... δι' ἀλλήλων)"; Plut. Dem. 31.2. On the various restorations of the hands of the copy in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, see Moltesen 2003, 209–210.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. Pollitt 1986, 63; Zanker 1995, 85; von den Hoff 2009, 206–210.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Stewart 1990, 199; Zanker 1995, 86; von den Hoff 2009, 210.

<sup>35</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 851C.

Although its base is no longer preserved, our ancient sources describe its locations and reveal that it had a rather more complex history than scholars have hitherto recognised. Pausanias places Demosthenes' statue quite specifically: after the Eponymous Heroes come Amphiaraios, Eirene carrying Ploutos, Lykourgos, Kallias who gave his name to the fifth-century peace, and "here also is Demosthenes"; near this figure is the temple of Ares.<sup>36</sup> In contrast, *The Lives of the Ten Orators* reports that, when Demosthenes had taken refuge on Kalauria, asking for a writing tablet, he wrote,

as Demetrios the Magnesian says, the epigram which the Athenians later inscribed on his statue: "if you had had strength equal to your resolve, Demosthenes, Macedonian Ares would never have ruled the Greeks." The statue stands near to the *perischoinisma* and the Altar of the Twelve Gods; it was made by Polyektos. But others say [...].<sup>37</sup>

Scholars have either given priority to Pausanias' location or they have attempted to meld the two descriptions together, even though the topography of the Agora makes it clear that the two different locations are involved (fig. 2).<sup>38</sup> The passage in *The Lives of the Ten Orators* suggests that Demetrios the Magnesian not only linked the epigram and the statue, but also quoted the inscribed text and gave the location of the statue. Such excerpting fits with current scholarly understandings of *The Lives of the Ten Orators* which stress its "open" nature and the different strata of information preserved in it.<sup>39</sup> From references in Cicero's letters to Atticus, we know that Demetrios of Magnesia was active in the middle of the first century B.C.: in June of 55, Cicero mentions Demetrios' book, while later in February and March of 49, he refers on three different occasions to Atticus' copy of his work *On Concord* which the author had dedicated to Atticus.<sup>40</sup> The passage alluded to in *The Lives of the Ten Orators*, consequently, must reflect the location of Demosthenes' statue no later than the middle of the first century B.C. Since the area around the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the northwest corner of the Agora was not affected by the construction of the Stoa of Attalos, South Stoa II, and the Middle Stoa (with the attendant relandscaping) in the second century B.C., it is very likely that the statue of Demosthenes was originally erected near the Altar of the Twelve Gods, as described by Demetrios (fig. 2).<sup>41</sup> The Agora was, of

<sup>36</sup> Paus. 1.8.2–4.

<sup>37</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 847A.

<sup>38</sup> Pausanias: Worthington 1986; von den Hoff 2009, 202–204; Ma 2013, 104, 276; melding together: Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 129–130, 159; Ridgway 1990, 224; Zanker 1995, 85.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. Cuvigny 1981, 27–34; Pitcher 2005; Martin 2014; cf. Faraguna 2003, 482–484.

<sup>40</sup> Cic. Att. 4.11.2; 8.11.7, 12.6; 9.9.2.

<sup>41</sup> Construction in Agora: Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 65–70, 103–107. Keil argued that all descriptions of monuments in *The Lives of the Ten Orators* were taken from the works of Heliodoros of Athens, active in the second century B.C.; Keil 1895, 199–214, 235–237. As perusal of Heliodoros' fragments in FGrHist 373 shows, Jacoby did not accept this attribution. Even if correct, it does not affect my argument here.

course, the location of major building projects during the reign of Augustus and this work, together with the attendant relandscaping,<sup>42</sup> provides the most likely occasion when the statue of Demosthenes was moved south to the spot along the road on the west side where Pausanias saw it in the middle of the second century A.D.



**Fig. 2:** Plan of the Agora in the second century A.D. © Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

In 281/0, when the composite monument was set up near the Altar of the Twelve Gods, this location placed Demosthenes’ figure in the northwest corner of the Agora and not far from some of the city’s major battle monuments, particularly the Stoa Poikile with its paintings of the battle of Marathon and other campaigns and the Stoa of Zeus

<sup>42</sup> Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 111–114, 160–165; Shear, Jr. 1984, 33–36.



The military connections of the monuments in the northwest corner will also have brought out Demosthenes' own military contributions and his image as a fighter of Macedonians, exactly the images being conveyed in both the request and the epigram on the statue's base.

Erecting the composite group near the Altar of the Twelve Gods further placed it opposite the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (fig. 3). This setting picked up on the request's statement that Demosthenes "of all his contemporaries, conducted political matters the best for freedom (ἐλευθερίαν) and democracy". In this way, the text and the setting emphasised Demosthenes' commitment to the city's freedom, the same freedom of which Zeus himself was the patron. In conjunction with the image of him as active in the city's military activities, the text and the setting further presented him as a fighter on behalf of that freedom. This association was reinforced by the other monuments in front of the stoa. According to Demosthenes, Konon's decree stated specifically that the honorand had "freed the allies of Athens" so that together his text and the location configured him, too, as a bringer of freedom to the city, as I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>46</sup> When Demosthenes' monument was erected nearby, the setting will have emphasised the roles of both men in maintaining the freedom of the Athenians and it will have brought out the parallels between them so that the orator would have been understood as having imitated the earlier general, as the good Athenian ought to do, hence his subsequent rewards. Since Zeus Eleutherios was also Soter, the juxtaposition may further have suggested that Demosthenes was a saviour of Athens, an image also in play in the monuments of Konon and Euagoras.<sup>47</sup> Astute viewers and readers, however, will have noticed that such an interpretation of Demosthenes' actions actually pulled against the epigram which presented the honorand as unable to prevent the Macedonians from ruling the Greeks, hardly the deeds of a true saviour of the city. For us, this tension brings out the complications and difficulties of representing and rewriting the past, which was not infinitely malleable.<sup>48</sup> The version presented here had to remain interdependent enough with other pre-existing histories, if it was to be accepted by viewers.

Deciding to place Demosthenes' composite monument in the Agora will also have located the honorand's statue in a setting in which, when he was alive, he had himself been especially active, particularly as counsellor of the Athenians, one of the reasons why he was honoured. In this capacity, Demosthenes would have worn civilian, not military, dress and so the costume of the statue was particularly appropriate. These activities will have taken place in part in the Bouleuterion which was also located on

<sup>46</sup> Dem. Or. 20.69–70; Shear 2007a, 107–108; Shear 2011, 277–278. Konon's honorary decree, which is no longer extant, was most likely set up next to his statue; Shear 2007a, 99, 107; Shear 2011, 246; cf. Wycherley 1957, 213, no. 261.

<sup>47</sup> Konon and Euagoras: above n. 19.

<sup>48</sup> On the finite nature of the past, see Appadurai 1981.

the west side of the Agora and not too far from the statue (fig. 3). Thus viewers might imagine the statue as showing the honorand pausing deep in thought on his way to advise the *boule* in the council house.<sup>49</sup> The road on the west side of the Agora continued south, around the west end of the Areiopagos, and so gave access to the Pnyx.<sup>50</sup> Thus, Demosthenes could also be imagined as on his way to address the Athenians in the assembly. The north side of the Agora was the home, too, of the city's courts, another venue in which Demosthenes had been particularly active when he was alive. Viewers might further imagine him as on his way to fight some important legal case in the nearby courts, which, in 281/0, would have been housed in the Square Peristyle (fig. 3).<sup>51</sup> Depending on exactly where the statue was located, viewers may even have been able to look from the figure to the structure, a design which would have made these connections explicit.

Counselling the Athenians, being a member of the *boule*, taking part in the assembly, and being active in the courts are all the actions required of the democratic Athenian. In this way, the larger setting emphasises the democratic nature of Demosthenes' activities and it stresses that he was a good democrat, an important criterion for attaining the status of an exemplary citizen. This image was reinforced by the text which especially brings out Demosthenes' status as a good democrat in the final section, as we saw earlier. In this larger context, it was natural that such an ardent democrat would have been exiled by oligarchs after the democracy had been overthrown and so, in 281/0, the text, the statue, and the setting in the Agora repeatedly reinforced each other.

Erecting Demosthenes' composite monument in the market square also brought one further monument into play, the decree and oath of Demophantos which prescribed how the good Athenian should act when the democracy had been overthrown and had been set up in front of the Metroon in 410/9 (fig. 3).<sup>52</sup> Under such circum-

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**49** For the "incipient movement" of the statue, see Ridgway 1990, 225. Since speeches to the assembly were not given in the Agora, we should resist the temptation to understand Demosthenes as being about to give such a speech; contra: Stewart 1990, 199; Zanker 1995, 86–88; Dillon 2006, 75.

**50** Stroud 1998, 106 fig. 7.

**51** The Square Peristyle was built ca. 300 B.C., although not apparently as it was originally designed; Townsend 1995, 90–103.

**52** And. 1.96–98. I remain unconvinced by Canevaro's and Harris' attempt to prove that this document is not genuine; Canevaro/Harris 2012, 98–100, 119–125; contra: Sommerstein 2014. Their approach is extremely problematic methodologically: it assumes that ancient quotation practices were identical to the modern practice of exact quotation (complete with quotation marks and footnotes) and that the surviving inscribed Attic decrees (and laws) provide a good dataset for comparison. That ancient quotations were not exact in our modern sense is clear from two examples. At Onomastikon 8.91, Pollux reports the information provided by Aristotle at Aristot. Ath. Pol. 58.1, but where a synonym exists, he uses it and he also employs a usage of his day which was not used in the fourth century B.C.; on these passages, see further Shear 2012b, 108. When Lykophron, the son of Lykourgos, sought to claim the rewards due to him as the son of man awarded highest honours, he quoted the

stances, the good Athenian was to kill with impunity anyone who overthrew the democracy, held office after it was overthrown, set himself up as tyrant, or helped to set up a tyrant. The oath specifically states that, in so doing, he is to act “both by word and by deed and by vote and by my own hand”, that is by all possible means.<sup>53</sup> If the good Athenian died in the attempt, he and his descendants were to receive the Tyrannicides’ benefits, the same benefits on which the city’s highest honours had been modelled.<sup>54</sup> Since Demosthenes was exiled by the oligarchy after the democracy was overthrown, he obviously did not hold office at that time, nor was he involved in setting up a tyranny. Indeed, he died on behalf of the demos, as the final section of the request explicitly tells us.<sup>55</sup> The statue’s civilian costume also recalls the ways in which Demophantos in his oath permits the good Athenian to act: not only by deed and by his own hands, but also by word and by vote. The juxtaposition of the

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decree for his father; his text, however, is not identical to the inscribed remains of the decree; [Plut.] Mor. 851F–852E; IG II<sup>2</sup> 457. Since the preserved decrees largely concern external and religious matters, they are not comparable to the much broader subject matter of the laws. For example, Canevaro and Harris object to the phrase καθ’ ἱερῶν τελείων in Demophantos’ decree as nonsense; Canevaro/Harris 2012, 123–124. Had they investigated more broadly, they would have discovered that the term τέλειος (τέλειος in fifth-century spelling) means ‘full-grown’ or ‘adult’ and is standard in sacrificial contexts; e.g. IG I<sup>3</sup> 250.A18, B23–24; SEG XXXIII 147.21–22, 24, 27, 37, 38, 40–41; left side 31; right side 12; SEG LII 48 fr. 8A col. 2.3, 5, 8, 12; Lambert 2002, 382. I agree with Sommerstein that it is also highly unlikely that a forger would have been able to get the dating information correct in the prescript; Sommerstein 2014, 53. The absence of references to oligarchy and the emphasis on tyranny make it extremely unlikely that this text can date to the period after the Thirty; cf. Shear 2011, 250, 259–260. Further discussion lies beyond the scope of this essay.

The location of the *stèle* is described by Andokides as ἔμπροσθεν ... τοῦ βουλευτηρίου and by Lykourgos as ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ and εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον; And. 1.95; Lycurg. Leok. 124, 126. On this basis, Sommerstein unconvincingly wants to understand two different documents; Sommerstein 2014, 50. Perusal of Liddel’s lists of the places of publication of state decrees shows that ἐν + a place in the dative or ἐν + an article + a place in the dative regularly refers to a(n open-air) precinct and not to the interior of a building; Liddel 2003. The phrase ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ, which occurs regularly in prytany decrees after 280/75, does not contradict this observation; Liddel 2003, 89. These inscriptions were set up, not in the Tholos, which has no room for them and no bases for *stelai*, but in the enclosure around the building; cf. Meritt/Traill 1974, 3 with n. 13. With the special exception of the Stoa Basileios, the archaeological evidence shows that Athenian buildings did not have bases inside them for *stelai*. Thus, Lykourgos means that the decree was set up ‘at’ the Bouleuterion, not ‘in’ it; Shear 2011, 89 n. 78. The memory politics which he describes also require an easily accessible location, not one inside the restricted space of the Metroon, as does the influence which the document had after the revolution from Demetrios; Shear 2011, 101–102, 160–161, 163; Shear 2012a, 286–289. Further discussion of these issues also lies beyond the scope of this essay.

53 Shear 2007b, 152.

54 Harmodios and Aristogeiton received bronze statues in the Agora and a cult; for the cult, see Shear 2012c with further references. Their descendants were given *sitesis*, *proedria*, and *ateleia*; Isae. 5.47; Dem. Or. 20.18, 127–130; IG I<sup>3</sup> 131.1–9; Shear 2007b, 152, 252–253 n. 23 with further references. Tyrannicides as models for honours: Gauthier 1985, 81, 92–94.

55 Above n. 1.

two monuments in the Agora particularly brought out Demosthenes' worthiness for highest honours: unlike other men honoured in the square, he had actually fulfilled the requirements of Demophantos' decree. He was, therefore, without any question, a good democrat and an outstanding example of proper behaviour for other citizens. He deserved highest honours as very few other Athenians did.

The statue, its base, and its larger setting in the Agora, accordingly, reinforced the imagery present in the request and so also the honorary decree which derived from it. Demosthenes was presented as a fighter of Macedonians who had died on behalf of the *demos*. He was also shown to have been a good democrat who had taken an active part in the city's civic life in the very setting in which his statue was erected. Indeed, the statue might almost have been thought to have been animated by the setting. While initially the image of Demosthenes as a fighter of Macedonians might seem to have clashed with the civilian image of the statue, in fact, the two images complemented and reinforced each. The setting in the Agora also juxtaposed the composite monument with Demophantos' decree and oath, which had been passed by the *demos* many years before in 410/9. Bringing these two texts together showed that Demosthenes was actually one of the very few Athenians who really met the criteria which Demophantos had laid out, unlike other honorands in the square. Demosthenes, accordingly, richly deserved his highest honours which were almost the same as the benefits extended to the Tyrannicides and their descendants. In turn, these honours marked him out as a particularly exemplary Athenian on whom other citizens ought to model their behaviour.

### 3 Demosthenes and the Revolution from Demetrios Poliorketes

The Athenians clearly believed that Demosthenes deserved his honours and so they passed the necessary decree which was duly inscribed and they set up his bronze statue in the Agora.<sup>56</sup> In 281/0, however, Demosthenes had been dead for many years and he had certainly not taken part in the revolution from Demetrios Poliorketes. At this moment, he was not necessarily the most obvious candidate for such honours, yet the Athenians proceeded to make just such an award. In order to understand their decision, we need to ask how the honours fit into the larger context of Athens after the revolution and what work they were doing for the city. As we shall see, they formed part of the larger process of remaking Athens as democratic and they served to link Demosthenes closely with the post-revolutionary present. In the space of the Agora, the composite monument provided a new, democratically sponsored structure which

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<sup>56</sup> Above n. 3.

served to overwrite and to update the existing Macedonian memorials. Meanwhile, the honours permitted the democrats not only to claim Demosthenes as a good model of behaviour, but also to (re)construct the city's recent history so that it was suitable for the city which was now once again democratic.

In 281/0, the emphasis which we have seen on Demosthenes' commitment to maintaining the city's freedom and his presentation as a fighter of Macedonians fit well into the ways in which the Athenians were responding to the revolution from Demetrios and remaking the city as democratic. The honorand's focus on the liberty of Athens would have linked him particularly closely with the present because the revolution was also configured as the return of freedom to the city. In 285/4, the honorary decree for King Audoleon of Paionia described him as having joined in working "towards the freed[o]m of the [c]ity" at the time of the revolution, as the text makes clear.<sup>57</sup> In the honorary decree for Philippides of Kephale, which was passed in 283/2, we learn that, "when the *demos* recovered its freedom, he continued saying and doing what was beneficial for the safety of the city and he begged the king (Lysimachos) to help with both money and grain so that the *demos* might remain free".<sup>58</sup> As *agonothetes* in the year of Isaios (284/3), Philippides added additional games for Demeter and Kore "as a memorial of the [freedom] of the *demos*".<sup>59</sup> The Athenians continued to use these terms as late as 266/5, as we learn from the honorary decree of a certain Strobichos who had been a soldier in Demetrios' forces: "when the *demos* took up arms on behalf of its free[do]m and ask[e]d even the soldiers to come ov[er] t]o the side of the city, he yielded to the *demos* on behalf of freedom [an]d he took up arms with the city".<sup>60</sup> Similarly, the Athenians decided to dedicate the shield of the dead Leokritos, the son of Protarchos, who was the first to scale the wall of the fort on the Mouseion, to Zeus Eleutherios.<sup>61</sup> In so doing, the Athenians figured Leokritos as a bringer of freedom to the city, just like the various generals honoured in the area of the stoa, as we saw earlier.<sup>62</sup> In 281/0, this emphasis on the city's newly recovered freedom would have drawn readers' attention in the request to the freedom which

57 IG II<sup>2</sup> 654.15–17 and compare 32–35 which record his future support for the recovery of the Peiraiæus and the freedom of the *demos*. The decree is dated to the archonship of Diotimos; Meritt 1977, 173; Woodhead 1997, 255; Osborne 2009, 86.

58 IG II<sup>2</sup> 657.31–35. The decree is dated to the archonship of Euthios; Meritt 1977, 173; Woodhead 1997, 256–257; Osborne 2009, 87.

59 IG II<sup>2</sup> 657.38–39, 43–45. For Isaios' archonship, see Meritt 1977, 173; Osborne 2009, 86.

60 IG II<sup>2</sup> 666.9–12. The decree is dated to the archonship of Nikias of Otryne; Meritt 1977, 174; Osborne 2009, 89.

61 Paus. 1.26.2. Before the revolution, the Mouseion was the location of the city's Macedonian garrison.

62 Shear 2010, 149. The Athenians presumably made this decision very soon after they regained their freedom from Demetrios. These ideas will have been in play, consequently, before we first see them 285/4 in the honours for King Audoleon.

Demosthenes' worked to preserve and it would have suggested that there had actually been a positive result of his efforts: the current free state of the city. In this way, Demosthenes was shown also to have played some part in the revolution and he and his actions were closely linked to the present. These connections between the past and the present will have been reinforced by the decision to honour Demosthenes as a fighter of Macedonians, an external enemy, because, in other venues in the city, the events of 286 were being presented as external war, rather than civil strife, as I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>63</sup>

That Demosthenes was not simply a worthy Athenian from the past, but also a figure with connections to the present had further implications for the ways in which his composite monument interacted with other, recent memorials in the Agora. At this time, the market square included two gilt statues of Demetrios Poliorketes and his father Antigonos Monophthalmos standing in a chariot, a group which had been set up next to the Tyrannicides after Demetrios "liberated" the city in 307.<sup>64</sup> A second statue of Demetrios may be represented by the left leg, sword, and drapery fragments of gilt bronze equestrian statue found in the Agora in the public well near the Crossroads Enclosure in the northwest corner (fig. 4).<sup>65</sup> Such statues were extremely rare and it seems likely that it showed a king.<sup>66</sup> Perhaps the most plausible location for it is the monumental gate built ca. 300 B.C. at the west end of the Stoa Poikile to commemorate a cavalry victory over Pleistarchos, the brother of Kassandros, as Pausanias reports (fig. 4).<sup>67</sup>

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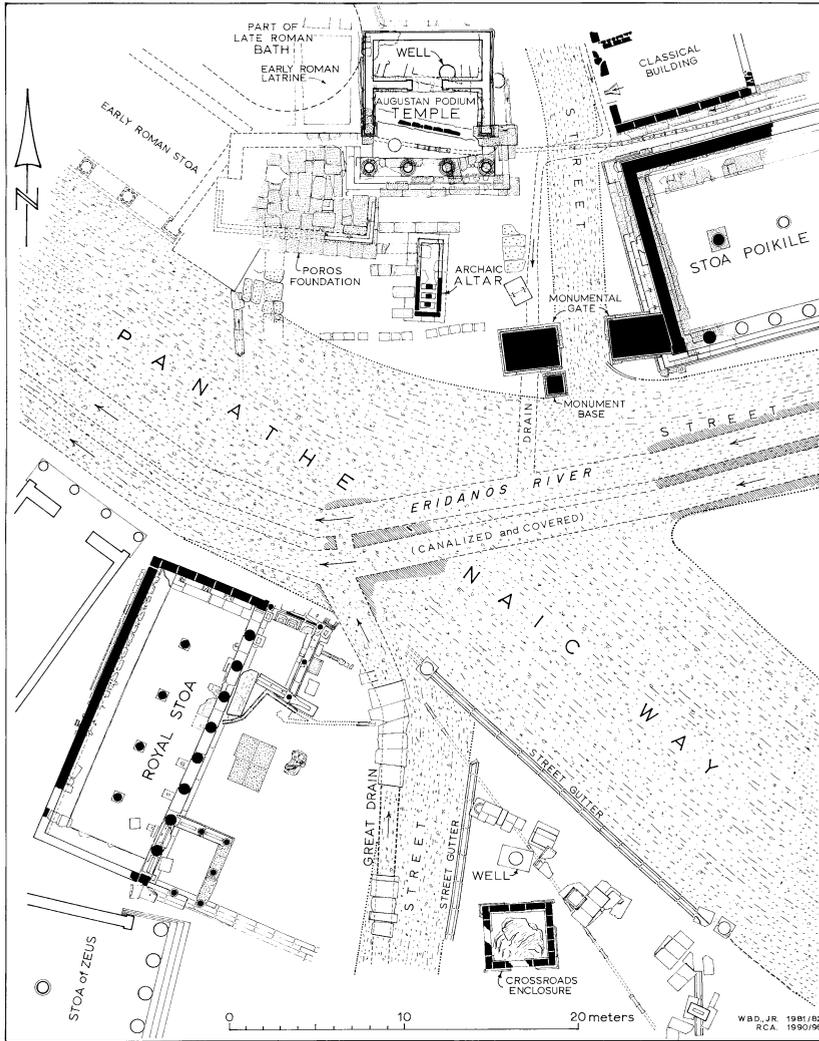
<sup>63</sup> Shear 2012a.

<sup>64</sup> Diod. 20.46.2.

<sup>65</sup> Shear, Jr. 1973, 165–168, pl. 36.

<sup>66</sup> It can not be the statue of Demetrios set up by the Athenian Select Volunteers in perhaps 303/2 because that figure was not gilt; ISE 7.13–14.

<sup>67</sup> Paus. 1.15.1; Shear, Jr. 1984, 19–24.



**Fig. 4:** Partially restored plan of the northwest corner of the Agora. The fragments of the bronze statue found in the well just north of the Crossroads Enclosure probably stood on the Monumental Gate immediately west of the Stoa Poikile © Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

Certainly, the figure was standing in 281/0 because the layer in which it was found included pottery dating to ca. 200 B.C.<sup>68</sup> It must, therefore, have been removed in 200 when the Athenians destroyed the monuments of the Macedonian kings and erased references to them in public inscriptions as part of the declaration of war

<sup>68</sup> Shear, Jr. 1973, 166.

against Philip V.<sup>69</sup> Its presence in the Agora in the years after 286 suggests that the gilt statues of Demetrios and Antigonos were also still standing beside the Tyrannicides, even though such figures were certainly not appropriate for the free city which was now being remade as democratic. In this context, the statue of Demosthenes had an important role to play. It juxtaposed a fighter of Macedonians against the Macedonian kings themselves so that Demosthenes' struggle against these northern enemies could be understood as perpetually being carried out in the Agora. Rather than marking the city's subjugation, the Macedonian figures were now brought into relationship with the new statue for Demosthenes which had been erected by the free and democratic Athenians to reward a man who had struggled to keep the city free. Since the honorand was otherwise linked to the present, as well as to the past, the juxtaposition enhanced the sense that he had fought not only Philip II, but also, in some way, his successors who no longer controlled the city. By setting up this figure in the Agora, the Athenians wrote the democracy's possession of the city quite literally onto the topography of the market place and they overwrote, as it were, the earlier memorials with Demosthenes' new monument. At the same time, they also strengthened the ways in which the structure and the honorand were relevant to and linked with the present.

Recreating the city after the revolution was not achieved simply by honouring one deceased Athenian and setting up a statue of him in the Agora because the years preceding the events of 286 had included periods of tyranny and oligarchy.<sup>70</sup> Demochares himself had been banished "by the men who overthrew the *demos*" and he did not return to Athens until he was recalled by the *demos* in 286/5, as we know from his (posthumous) request for highest honours.<sup>71</sup> The Athenians were apparently divided by their political differences and there seems to have been civil strife in the time immediately before the revolution.<sup>72</sup> What it meant to be a good Athenian had inevitably also been brought into question. Consequently, the Athenians now needed new models of proper behaviour.<sup>73</sup> Since Demosthenes was an ardent democrat and he also did meet the criteria set out in Demophantos' decree, he was a perfect candidate for promulgating the proper behaviour of the good Athenian. Despite his links with the present, his death in 322 meant that he could not actually have taken part in the events before the revolution and so he would have been acceptable to men on all parts of the political spectrum. Choosing him as a model left room for oligarchs and supporters of Demetrios to be(come) good citizens; in contrast, choosing one of

<sup>69</sup> Liv. 31.44.4–9; Habicht 1997, 196–197; Habicht 1982, 142–150; Flower 2006, 34–40; Byrne 2010.

<sup>70</sup> Above n. 6.

<sup>71</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 851E. The request dates to the archonship of Pytharatos in 271/0; Meritt 1977, 174; Woodhead 1997, 268; Osborne 2009, 88.

<sup>72</sup> As I have discussed elsewhere; see Shear 2012a, 278–281; cf. Bayliss 2011, 64–66.

<sup>73</sup> For the remaking of the city after the revolution, see Shear 2012a.

the important protagonists of the revolution, such as Kallias of Sphettos, would have excluded these men.<sup>74</sup>

Demosthenes' own career will also have increased his attractiveness as a model at this moment. As Demochares brought out in the final section of the request, Demosthenes was exiled by the oligarchy after the democracy was overthrown. He had, therefore, a career which was quite parallel to those of men who had actually been involved with the revolution. Demochares, as we noted, was also exiled and only returned to Athens in 286/5.<sup>75</sup> The end of his request further specifies that "he was exiled on behalf of the democracy and he took no part in the oligarchy and he did not hold any office after the *demos* was overthrown [...] and he never did anything against the democracy either by word or by deed".<sup>76</sup> From the decree for Kallias of Sphettos, we learn that

on behalf of the fatherland Kallias could not at any time endure [- 8 -] when the *demos* [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.<sup>77</sup>

This passage indicates that Kallias, too, was in exile after the overthrow of the democracy, as commentators have noted.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Philippides of Kephale, who "never [d]i[d any]thing agains[t the d]emocracy [e]ith[er by word or] by deed", also seems to have been in exile in the years before the revolution.<sup>79</sup> Had these men been in Athens under the oligarchy, they could not have been described in their decrees and request as never having done anything against the democracy; very astute readers may have noticed the parallel with Demophantos' decree which proscribes all regimes other than democracy.<sup>80</sup> That Demosthenes was also exiled by the oligarchy will have emphasised the parallels between himself and men who were involved in the revolution.<sup>81</sup> At the end of the request, Demochares brings out the similarity by adding that Demosthenes did not "do anything unworthy of the *demos* in this time of danger". The

<sup>74</sup> Kallias' honours: above n. 7.

<sup>75</sup> Above n. 71.

<sup>76</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 851F.

<sup>77</sup> SEG XXVIII 60.79–83. The decree dates to the archonship of Sosistratos in 270/69; Shear, Jr. 1978, 12–13; Osborne 2009, 88.

<sup>78</sup> See e.g. Shear, Jr. 1978, 48–49; Paschidis 2008, 146; cf. Shear 2012a, 286.

<sup>79</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 65748–50 with Gauthier's restoration of [πέρραχ]ε[v] in line 49; Gauthier 1982, 222 n. 28. Philippides seems to have already been in exile with King Lysimachos at the time of the battle of Ipsos in 301; on his exile, see e.g. Shear, Jr. 1978, 49; Paschidis 2008, 117–118.

<sup>80</sup> Shear 2007b, 150. Since Demophantos' decree served as a point of reference for Demochares' request and the decrees for Philippides of Kephale and Kallias, such a comparison is not unlikely; Shear 2012a, 287–289.

<sup>81</sup> Since these regimes are simply characterised as 'the oligarchy', readers needed to remember their history in order to realise that difference oligarchic regimes were involved.

immediate context is his death on Kalauria, but, at the same time, the phrase recalls the description in Philippides' decree which was passed in 283/2. In this way, Demosthenes is shown to have acted in ways quite similar to men active in the revolution; the effect is not only to emphasise the honorand's exemplary status, but also to reinforce his links to recent events in the city, ones in which he had actually never taken part. In this way, the honours for Demosthenes served to create a connection between the post-revolutionary present and the fourth-century city which had opposed Philip II and the Macedonians and had, of course, been a major political power.

The work of the honours and the composite monument, however, was not limited merely to connecting the past and the present because they also allowed the Athenians to (re)construct the city's recent history. When the composite monument was erected in the Agora, it made the links between the present and the fourth-century past both visible and concrete. In this space, it suggested that the city's history ran directly from the present to the period of Demosthenes. The monument endowed the newly democratic city with an appropriate past and good roots and it implied that the rule of the *demos* was a stable regime which would prosper and last. At the same time, it de-emphasised the non-democratic regimes which had held power in the intervening period. This move was reinforced by the text of the epigram which does not mention any particular political system and focuses on the Macedonian rule of the Greeks, rather than the Athenians. In this way, the Athenians elided the difficult years between 322 and 286 and they suggested that the city had actually been democratically ruled for this whole period. This (re)creation of the past will have been reinforced by presentation of the revolution as external war and not civil strife in other monuments in the city. Now, the period between 322 and 286 was presented as one of internal democratic rule and external military operations against the Macedonians, a process which culminated in the events of 286.

In 281/0, consequently, Demosthenes was actually a rather more obvious candidate for highest honours than he initially appears to us. Rather than simply being a worthy Athenian from the city's past, he also had relevance to the present after the revolution. In this context, he provided a new model of the proper behaviour for the good Athenian: he was a democrat who fought Macedonians to maintain the city's freedom. Since Demosthenes had not, in fact, taken part in the revolution, his example was appropriate for citizens from all parts of the political spectrum. At the same time, the parallels between his career and the men involved with the revolution linked Demosthenes to the present and implied that, in some way, he, too, had been involved in fighting not just Macedonians, but Demetrios in particular. In the space of the Agora, his monument continually carried out this struggle, while it also updated the market square and emphasised its democratic connections. Together, the honours and the composite structure allowed the Athenians to rewrite the city's history so that oligarchy and civil strife were elided and the present ran directly to the democratic past of Demosthenes' own day.

## 4 Pasts and Presents in Hellenistic Athens

In this way, Demosthenes was presented as an exemplary Athenian who had fought Macedonians, had died on behalf of the *demos*, and was now the standard against which good citizens should be measured. The request and composite monument further enabled the Athenians to rewrite the city's past between 322 and 286 so that it now became a period of democratic rule and internal stability. Presented in monumental form, this imagery may have seemed firmly fixed in 280, but the erection of subsequent memorials in the Agora demonstrated its instability. They presented events before 286 in a rather different way so that readers and viewers now received conflicting versions of what had occurred. At the same time, these structures provided new exemplary Athenians so that visitors in the Agora had to consider which honorand was the best model for their conduct. In the course of time, the imagery of these monuments also became unstable, as it was overtaken by subsequent political events and more recent memorials, but it did not become completely irrelevant, hence the relocation of Demosthenes' statue in the Augustan period.

At the end of the 270s, the Athenians decided to award highest honours to further Athenians for their services to the city. The two recipients, Demochares himself and Kallias of Sphettos, had both been active in 286 and the preceding years; now, their composite monuments presented rather different images of the events than Demosthenes' did so that they contrasted with his presentation. As we have already seen, both Demochares' request from 271/0 and Kallias' honorary decree of 270/69 were explicit that, between 322 and 286, there had been oligarchy, as well as democracy, in the city.<sup>82</sup> Kallias' text describes his military actions in the revolution at length: leading Ptolemaic forces, he not only fought on behalf of the *demos*, but he was even wounded!<sup>83</sup> Now, fighting Macedonians required specific and concrete actions, not simply the abstracts of strength and resolve, as it did with Demosthenes' monument. Comparison between Kallias' and Demosthenes' memorials will have brought into question not only what events had actually taken place, but also what precisely identified the exemplary Athenian. Faced with these conflicting images, readers and viewers going from one monument to another will have had to reconstruct the city's history for themselves and they will have had to decide what actions the truly model citizen ought to perform.

The contrasts between these recipients will also have played out in the space of the Agora where the bronze statues of all three men were erected.<sup>84</sup> The stress on Kallias' martial actions in his decree suggests that his figure will have shown him

<sup>82</sup> Above n. 71, 75, 76.

<sup>83</sup> SEG XXVIII 60.11–32.

<sup>84</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 847E, 851D; SEG XXVIII 60.95–96. Subsequently, Demochares' statue was transferred to the Prytaneion; [Plut.] Mor. 847D, E.

in military dress.<sup>85</sup> Since his inscription was found reused as a cover slab over the Great Drain in front of the Stoa Basileios, it seems likely that both the decree and the statue were erected not far away (fig. 4).<sup>86</sup> Such a location would have placed Kallias' composite monument near many of the military monuments in the Agora and also the statue of Demosthenes close by the Altar of the Twelve Gods (fig. 3). The juxtaposition will have encouraged viewers and readers to compare these two exemplary Athenians. In comparison with Kallias, however, Demosthenes will not have appeared to be quite so martial a figure, even if he had died on behalf of the *demos* and was presented as one of the war-dead. Demochares' statue will also have affected how viewers now perceived Demosthenes. It showed the honorand in a himation with a sword, as he was said "to have addressed the *demos* when Antipatros was demanding the [surrender of the] orators" in 322, a group which included Demosthenes.<sup>87</sup> The sword was explicitly martial and implied that he had contributed to the revolution by military deeds.<sup>88</sup> The original location of Demochares' figure is unknown; if it was in the northwest corner, it will have come into association with Demosthenes' statue and so replicated visually Demochares' defence of the orators. In this configuration, Demosthenes will no longer have seemed to be on his way to counsel the Athenians or to fight in court. Instead, he will have been fixed in one moment in time, when the city was under Macedonian threat and he had not yet died on behalf of the *demos*. His lined face and still pose will have been particularly appropriate for this arrangement depicting a specific moment near the end of his life. In this context, it will have been much harder to ignore Demosthenes' lack of success against the Macedonians and, in contrast to Kallias and Demochares, he will have seemed like a much less martial figure. Of course, his honorary decree still made it clear why he had been awarded highest honours, but now the really exemplary Athenians were the democrats who had successfully fought the Macedonians. In the space of the Agora, their statues will have dominated not only Demosthenes' figure, but also those of the Macedonian kings, so that the overwriting of these enemies, which began with Demosthenes' monument, was now continued and extended.

The fortunes and imagery of Kallias' and Demochares' statues proved to be no more stable than Demosthenes' had. When the city capitulated to King Antigonos Gonatas, the son of Demetrios Poliorketes, in the summer of 262, she once again came under close Macedonian control and lost her independence.<sup>89</sup> Now, fighting Mace-

<sup>85</sup> Shear (forthcoming). For the different options, see Dillon 2006, 107–109, 110.

<sup>86</sup> Shear, Jr. 1978, 1–2 with n. 1; Shear 2012a, 292; Shear (forthcoming).

<sup>87</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 847D. On the date, see Dillon 2006, 104.

<sup>88</sup> Shear 2012a, 291; Shear (forthcoming).

<sup>89</sup> On the Chremonidean War, see Habicht 1997, 142–149 and Oliver 2007b, 127–131 with further references. The war began in Peithodemos' archonship, now placed in 269/8, and ended late in the archonship of Antipatros, dated to 263/2; IG II<sup>2</sup> 686 + 687; Osborne 2009, 89; Osborne 2012, 127–129; Byrne 2006/7, 175–179; Apollodoros FGrHist 244 F44 with Dorandi 1990, 130; Osborne 2009, 90.

donians became an inappropriate image so that neither Kallias and Demochares nor Demosthenes appeared to be quite so exemplary. Instead, the new political circumstances opened up opportunities for other men, most especially Kallias' brother Phaidros, to claim honours from the city. Since Phaidros had been very active in the city in the 290s and 280s and had taken part in the revolution, securing highest honours for him required considerable rewriting of the city's history and the creation of a different set of imagery for the honorand, as I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>90</sup> When his composite monument was erected in the Agora,<sup>91</sup> it will have been juxtaposed with the existing monuments, including the memorials for Kallias, Demochares, and Demosthenes. The resulting competition called into question the image of Phaidros as an exemplary Athenian and required readers and viewers to choose between different versions of events in the 280s.<sup>92</sup> They also had to ask what exactly it meant to be a good Athenian who modelled the appropriate behaviour for citizens. For us, this competition brings out the instability of the imageries of all the composite monuments and the extent to which they were affected not only by the erection of subsequent structures, but also by the city's changing political fortunes.

The imagery of the exemplary Athenian and, consequently, the presentation of these various honorands will have changed again in 200 B.C. when the Athenians declared war on Philip V and the Macedonians. At this time, they destroyed royal monuments and the erased references to the kings in inscriptions.<sup>93</sup> In these circumstances, fighting Macedonians was once again appropriate and Phaidros was deemed entirely too friendly with the enemy, hence the large sections of text which were erased from his inscription.<sup>94</sup> Now, Demosthenes once again looked liked a good model and the imagery created in 281/0 was relevant in the current political circumstances when the Athenians were at war with the Macedonians. The current citizens should follow his example, both in terms of their financial contributions, but also, and more importantly, in their resolve against this old enemy of the city. In that way, they might gain success, just as Kallias and his compatriots had in 286.

Even greater changes for Demosthenes came in the Augustan period when the statue seems to have been moved to the road along the west side of the Agora. Now he stood near Eirene and Ploutos, Lykourgos, and Kallias the fifth-century statesman (fig. 2).<sup>95</sup> If the *stele* with Demosthenes' honorary decree was not moved with his statue, then viewers' perceptions will have depended largely on what they previously knew about the honorand and what they could infer from the current setting. Obviously, he

<sup>90</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 682; Shear (forthcoming).

<sup>91</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 682.80–81.

<sup>92</sup> Shear (forthcoming).

<sup>93</sup> Above n. 69.

<sup>94</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 682.6, 37–38, 40–41, 42–44, 47–52; Shear (forthcoming).

<sup>95</sup> Above n. 36. Some or all of these other statues may also have been moved to this location at this time.

was one of a series of exemplary Athenians, but now he was presented as a bringer of peace, as various scholars have noted,<sup>96</sup> and his role as a fighter of Macedonians was de-emphasised. This new context brought out his service in a civic capacity, a role reinforced by the decidedly civic attire of his figure. Siting Demosthenes north of the Eponymous Heroes and south of the Temple of Ares removed the figure from its previous proximity to the Stoa of Zeus and eliminated the honorand's role as a bringer of freedom to the city. Now, the new location near to the war god's sanctuary picked up on the Macedonian Ares mentioned in the statue's epigram. The god in the market place, however, was certainly not Macedonian and, under the peace brought by the Romans, he could hardly be said to be ruling the Greeks. Rather, Eirene and Ploutos now had the upper hand and the god of war was kept firmly in check. These juxtapositions also brought out the failure of the Macedonians because they no longer controlled Athens and had been defeated many years before by the Romans. In this current context, Demosthenes' own inability to ward off the Macedonians may have been rather less obvious to viewers than the text of the epigram might initially suggest to us. Shifting the focus away from the epigram would further have reinforced the presentation of Demosthenes as a bringer of peace who had contributed to Athens in a civic, rather than martial, capacity, quite the opposite image of the one originally created in 281/0! Of course, under the Roman Empire, this emphasis on peace-bringing was much more appropriate than fighting (now conquered) Macedonians and thus the Hellenistic past had to be rewritten for the Roman present.

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<sup>96</sup> Worthington 1986; von den Hoff 2009, 204–205.

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