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Emma Taylor April 7, 2016

Athletics and the Macedonian Search For Greek Identity

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Abstract
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Much has changed in the time between Alexander the Great and our modern society, yet the fundamentals of athletics and competition have maintained a similar relevance over the millenia. Due to biases from ancient authors and many modern scholars, not a large amount of archaeological attention has been attributed to the topic of Macedonian athletics. A lack of physical evidence has induced either guesswork or an avoidance of scholarship altogether. Additionally, the *agones* from King Philip II and Alexander III's careers have been treated has isolated events and not as phenomena related to politics, the military, and cultural identity. This work will implement an interdisciplinary approach such as archaeological material culture, architecture, sight lines, and landscape archaeology in order to incorporate data from physical remains and analyze the symbolic communication of ancient sports in this specific time period. Though it may be impossible to fully comprehend the complete extent to which athletics contributed to Macedonia's pursuit of Greek identity, I believe that this course of study is a new academic route to understanding the impact of the *agones* on larger societal issues and the transmission of Greek culture over time and space.

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Introduction

The Theoretical Approach

One of the most magical experiences any baseball fan can describe is the moment one enters through the tunnel beneath the stands and walks up the ramp toward the field. The stadium slowly unveils itself as a vision of green grass, brown - red dirt, and a fuzzy encircling view of the crowd. Slowly but surely more and more is revealed until you are finally standing outdoors, surrounded by the lights, the sights, the smells and the anticipation of the competition.

In our modern society, many thousands of people every day or night will flock to the Bronx during the season to watch the Yankees contend against their latest opponent. Excitement and drama is palpable throughout the crowd, especially on a crisp October night when their heroes fight for the glory of a Championship after a grueling and often debilitating season of victories and defeats. When the team's captain strides up to the batter's box, all eyes are riveted in anticipation. Not only would a successful outing and victory bring honor to him and his teammates, but a championship in New York for the fans, or any other major league city for that matter, instills an immense sense of pride for their city as well as an overwhelming feeling of unity.

Ancient Greeks never had national broadcasting for their games or a megatron to keep track of the score, yet the fundamentals of competition, spectatorship, rules of play, and even the accolades have maintained a similar relevance over the millenia. Accordingly, there must be components to athletics that make them central to society and a popular subject for scholarship. From the beginning, *agones* were a popular setting for rites of passage as well as representations of manliness and the male ethos. On the Pentecost Islands, men would partake in "land-diving," a ritual in which they dove off towers head first with vines attached to their ankles which grow

taught just before their heads hit the ground. This daring sport, incorporating extreme elements of risk and ritual is just one example of expressing the Greek ideal of masculinity. National athletic events and cultural spectacles such as these enable denizens to display their aptitudes and daring as well as participate in longstanding rites of passage still expressed in one form or another in society today.

The majority of sports historians believe that the characteristics of agonism, such as competitiveness, rivalry, bravery and aggressiveness are innate to human nature, which has allowed athletic competition to continue to survive through many eras. A "Modernist" school of thought, however, believes that our comprehension of ancient games has been influenced by the industrial revolution and modern societal concepts such as fairness and organization. Thus, as a result of our society being affected by values that did not exist thousands of years ago, such as the specialization of labor developed by factory work, modern scholars are not capable of comprehending the influence of *agones* on ancient societies with whom we do not share equivalent principles.[1] If athletics at their most rudimentary level are innate to human nature, then many similarities must exist between the implications of games on modern societies and those of ancient contests and their culture. As a result, we are even more obliged to understand the importance of athletics in ancient society as the origin of experiences that we interact with in everyday life.

Problems

While I maintain ancient games had an effect on different facets of societies, the understanding of these relationships has been severely hindered by the methods of "traditional

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[1] Don Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World,* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 13.

sports history."[2] According to Don Kyle, this school of thought bears similarities to processual archaeology and concentrates primarily on individual sports, the chronological story of a participant or team, data, and the appreciation of "anecdote over analysis."[3] This method falls short, however, in that it only treats athletics as statistical and scientific data and not as a dynamic product of culture. Yet, new work following the archaeological post-processual line of thought has begun to focus on the contextualization and subjective interpretation of the material evidence of athletics to study their impact on the societies in which they were prevalent.[4] Instead of treating the *agones* as isolated events, I believe we must appreciate and approach ancient athletics as being interrelated with the wider issues of politics, culture, and social implications that represent a society much like it does today. My aim for this work is to examine athletics with an emphasis on these connections, implications and in particular, the ways it affected the creation and revision of Greek identity[5] in the ancient Greek world.

Evidence and New Methods

While a plethora of literary evidence exists including "history, myth, poetry, drama, and philosophy,"[6] referring to the ancient Greek *agones*, relying solely on these extant sources would prove to be a mistake. In certain circumstances, especially concerning the 4th century BCE and the careers of King Philip II and Alexander III of Macedonia, we lack an adequate supply of primary sources and instead must consult secondary and tertiary authors such as Arrian, Plutarch, and Pausanias. Unfortunately, their credibility is weakened by time and their own political

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2 Ibid. 13
3 Ibid. 3.
4 Ibid. 13.
5 Zahra Newby, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World: Victory and Virtue*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1.
6 Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World,* 9.

agendas which introduce biases in their works. Even Pausanias, who is cited in this work and is noteworthy for his wide range of descriptions of locations and architectural features is accused by Kyle as passing on legends and folklore with his own post-classical agenda.[7] Furthermore, literary evidence belonging to these authors on Philip and Alexander's *agones* does not exist in great quantities. Consequentially, this gap in data creates a formidable obstacle for modern researchers interested in this subject.

Limiting this work's evidence to these questionable literary sources could result in inaccurate reconstructions. To counter this possibility, I will implement additional methodologies that incorporate data from physical remains in order to analyze the symbolic communication of ancient sports in this specific time period. Through an interdisciplinary approach, this work will examine archaeological material culture, architecture, sight lines, and landscape archaeology. A closer analysis of archaeological features such as the statue base of the Philippeion in Peter Schultz's scholarship has much to offer to our comprehension of an athletic setting and its relation to political and social circumstances.

A New Point of View

Vast amounts of artifacts and material culture have been extracted from the major Panhellenic sites of Olympia, Nemea, Delphi, and Isthmia. Through numerous excavations, scholars have been able to piece together their significance and undeniable influence throughout the ancient Greek world. The same amount of athletic evidence, however, does not exist for the Macedonians, whose festivals at Dion have even been likened to the Olympics. Due to biases from ancient authors and until very recently, many modern scholars, the same amount of

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[7] Ibid. 10.

archaeological attention has not been paid to the inhabitants of the north, presenting a severe lack of physical evidence which has induced either guesswork or an avoidance of scholarship altogether.

My work is an effort to break away from these traditional explorations. In the 4th century BCE, both Philip II and Alexander III implemented athletics in political, military, and cultural contexts in order to revise their exclusion from Hellenicity and gain acceptance into the "Greek" world (a definition that is dynamic and eludes scholars still to this day.) My emphasis on post-processual archaeological theory draws upon various circumstances throughout the careers of these two significant figures in an effort to revise past norms of approaching contests as separate unconnected events. The wide range of experiences I will explore throughout this work emphasizes the vast scope of influence that athletics maintained in seemingly unrelated aspects of ancient Greek society.

Alexander's Traveling Circus

When Alexander the Great crossed the Hellespont in 334 BCE, no one could have possibly anticipated how tremendously successful he would be. His army procured such immeasurable wealth from the east that even the most common Macedonian nobles lived as kings. With their travels and conquests, Greeks and Macedonians did not just take, however, but reciprocated in the exchange of ideas and culture. The movement of the army throughout Egypt, southwestern Asia, Mesopotamia, and the Middle East opened trade routes that were characterized by a re-thinking in government systems, art, and architecture.[8] I would like to draw attention to a component of Greek culture and a Hellenizing force that inspired the economic, intellectual, and cultural impact of Alexander's army abroad: athletics.

[8] Philip Curtis, *Cross Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 80.

Our ancient sources and modern scholars have mostly overlooked agonistic contests in favor of a military-centric discussion, thus yielding minimal knowledge and understanding in this area. I believe, however, that this oversight leaves room for an analysis of the numerous appearances of athletics on Alexander's campaigns in order to better understand their military, social, and political influences throughout the continuously expanding geography of the Greek Empire.[9]

The Olympics were the first of the Panhellenic games to be established and over time evolved into a setting of vast geospatial reach and Greek cohesion that aside from this event was hardly ever replicated. From humble roots in the Archaic age all the way up to its illustrious reputation during the Late Classical era, the games heralded increasing levels of wealth and prestige, which attracted Alexander's attention as he aimed to achieve a similar influence for his own kingdom. I believe the young Macedonian king understood the integral role athletics played in Greek culture and identity, which is why it assumed such a vital role as a medium for cultural conversation. Though Olympia was a fixed location, according to Droysen in Edmund Bloedow's article, Alexander's employed Greek artists and athletes "in order to demonstrate how henceforth what was foreign was to become at home,"[10] and those things that were foreign were "to become respected by foreigners,"[11] illustrates his desire to take the games with him, which was a completely innovative and unprecedented act. The games transported Hellenicity across boundaries and were also a means for displaying an extraordinary excess of wealth, celebrating victories, and connecting the force to one of the most important deities in Macedonian society.

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[9] Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 100 no. 1 (1971): 46.
[10] Edmund Bloedow, "The Significance of the Greek Athletics and Artists at Memphis in Alexander's Strategy after the Battle of Issus," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica, New Series* 59 no.2 (1998), 132.
[11] Ibid. 132.

Though the distance was great between themselves and Greece, certain significant members of the army did not allow it to hinder the practice of their choice contests but actually used them as a symbol of their elite status and economic success. Perdikkas and Kraterus were high ranking generals under Alexander, both affluent enough to equip themselves with a heavy infantry panoply and according to Athenaeus, "had men follow them with hides fastened together, so as to cover a place an entire stade in extent."[12] Pack animals in the baggage train carried sand, so when a location for the camp was chosen, the hides were set up as an awning and the two men could practice combat sports in a palaestra and track and field events in the stade.

In a similar fashion, Plutarch claims that Leonnatus, another officer in the Macedonian army, had κόνιν "for his gymnastic exercises brought to him on many camels from Egypt."[13] The transportation of these materials was a symbolic communication of the economic prosperity of Greek culture and a representation of daily life in a polis. Gymnasia were among the oldest institutions in any Greek city-state and were constructed even in the most remote locations, such as Ai-Khanoum, a Greco-Bactrian city in Afghanistan. They were the setting for education, economic exchange, military training, socialization and exercise.[14] Though carrying their own gymnasium seems extravagant, outrageous, and maybe unnecessary, Alexander's army was actually bringing their own polis with them on their travels.

Inhabitants of the regions Alexander pursued soon realized how prevalent the *agones* were to the Hellenes and altered their craft production to satisfy the demand. So great was this market that craftsmen in India who made strigils and oil-flasks (common accessories in Greek

[12] Athenaeus 12.539c.
[13] Plutarch, *Lives of Alexander*, 40.1.
[14] John Karavas, "The Gymnasium," (Lecture, College Year in Athens, Athens, Greece, March 3 2015).

gymnasia,) "arose in great numbers."[15] Even if Strabo has augmented this approximation of men due to the amount of time separating himself from Alexander (approximately two centuries,) the mere fact that he chose to include this statement suggests the phenomena was indeed significant and noteworthy after so many years. Thus, athletics provided an arena for economic exchange and cultural mediation. Such was the importance athletics held amongst the most visible high ranking individuals in Alexander's army and were a medium both to display their immense wealth earned on campaign and join with cultures dissimilar from their own.

Athletic games held as victory celebrations are not clearly recounted in Alexandrian secondary sources but are one of the most common instances of contests held abroad during Alexander's campaigns and accomplished different outcomes dependent on the situation. There are much earlieraccounts of festivals celebrating Greek military victories such as the Eleutherian games following the victory at Plataea in 479 BCE. These games celebrated "the honor of freedom (*eleutheria*)"[16] and honored those who fell in battle by using the festival to create a virtual *tropaion* in the minds of those who attended. With such a strong precedent for victory and freedom, it is no surprise that Alexander would implement contests continually while abroad to invoke these sentiments as a promise to take vengeance on the Persians. Though there are numerous examples of such demonstrations, I will specifically refer to two of them which are noteworthy.

The first occurred in Memphis at the end of 332 BCE when Mazaces capitulated to Alexander and the city was handed over without conflict. According to Arrian, Alexander sacrificed to the Egyptian gods (specifically Apis) and employed some of the most esteemed

[15] Strabo, *Geography*, 15.67.
[16] Pauline Schmitt Pantel, "Memory of the Dead," in *A Companion to Ancient Greek Government,* ed. Hans Beck (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 443.

athletes and musicians from Greece to put on a spectacle.[17] In scenarios such as this, Alexander's *agones* in newly acquired territories were an attempt to showcase the wonders of their Hellenic culture and inspire natives to embrace and incorporate it into their own cultures.

Under much more hostile circumstances of resistance, the games tended to take on a much more antagonistic tone. An example of such a festival was held at Tyre when upon the arrival of Alexander's army, the Tyrians accepted "no Persian or Macedonians in their city"[18] until they knew the outcome of the war. What transpired next was a seven-month siege resulting in a Macedonian victory. Alexander stormed the temple of Melkart, the ancestor of Tyre and Phoenecian parallel to Herakles according to the Greeks, from whom Alexander's family claimed descent and Greek identity. As Alexander made sacrifices to Herakles[19], he inserted his own Hellenism into their culture. He held a parade of armed forces and review of his fleet in addition to the traditional athletic contests and torch races within the sacred precinct. In this case, Alexander's intentions were more provocative than an amicable introduction and incorporation of cultures. In fact, Frank Zarnowski cites evidence that Pindar was aware of games dedicated to Melkart at Tyre dating to the 5th century, (yet he argues that they did not have any major influence on the Olympics.)[20] Instead, Alexander's games were an effort to boast the superiority of his own Greek culture over others who dared to resist him. Thanking Herakles through sacrifices was a demonstration of his profitable relationship with the gods and an imposition of the Greek divinities even over their Phoenecian counterparts.

Finally, Greek athletic contests were consistently held within the context of religious festivals, such as the four major Panhellenic games and Panathenaia in Athens. Alexander's

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[17] Arrian 3.1.4.
[18] Arrian 2.16.7.
[19] Arrian 2.24.
[20] Frank Zarnowski, *The Pentathlon of the Ancient World,* (North Caroline: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2013), 105.

employment of contests in honor of the gods was a deft ploy to convince his own men as well as other people across his campaigns that he was favored by the divine. Such was the case at Tyre, as well as the second set of games held at Memphis in 331 BCE after Alexander returned from visiting the oracle at Siwa and was supposedly recognized as the son of Zeus-Ammon. Lavish festivals abroad were an effective way of portraying the magnanimity of the Greeks and demonstrating the benefits of adapting a Greek identity.

Though athletics served all of these functions abroad, we should not simply accept them at face value or as an entirely separate circumstance. Rather, I propose that we examine them in a new context in relation to larger concerns: the Greek identity of Macedonian kings, life and culture in a military camp, and the relationship between a military soldier and athlete. Before analyzing these factors in connection to the overseas function of the games, I believe my method of analysis should first be applied to the semantics of the *agones* in mainland Greece and its association to heralding the Greekness of the Macedonian nobility.

In my first chapter, I will examine King Philip II's efforts to assert himself into Greek culture through his participation in the Olympic games. His victories in the chariot races earned him the respect of many nobles, yet his patronage of the Philippeion within the Altis was met with contempt. I will attempt to prove that the entire construction of this precinct was under his reign, placing responsibility on him alone, and not his son as many modern scholars believe. Additionally, through setting, sculpture, and architecture, the Macedonian king endeavored to elevate his ethos by incorporating longstanding myth to reflect a direct relationship between himself, his dynasty, and the Greek gods, firmly establishing his Greek identity and legacy.

In my second chapter, I will analyze the *agones* at Dion in 334 BCE as a precursor to Alexander's Persian campaign. While at that time he had only recently inherited the throne,

Alexander established his ability to unite a force of Greeks and Macedonians and create an environment that was attractive to both groups. Appealing to shared aspects of these societies (the religious and competitive proceedings of a festival) Alexander created a setting that just like any other of the Panhellenic games, transcended physical boundaries and emerged as a cross cultural landscape of Hellenicity, to which he undoubtedly belonged.

My last chapter will examine the lead up and proceedings of the Exiles Decree that was promulgated at the Olympics games in 324 BCE. At this late stage of his career, Alexander found his hold on his empire jeopardized and nearly lost. Yet, just like his father, Alexander was familiar with the capabilities of athletics when employed in propagandistic situations and its effects on culture, politics, and personal reputation. I will argue that not only was his dissemination of the Exiles Decree a display of absolute power over all of Greece, but also an ingenious and unprecedented counter-strike to the forces threatening his influence and supremacy over the Macedonian-Greek empire he established.

Though all of these instances have been extensively examined over the years by noteworthy academics, I believe scholarship lacks a cohesive review and analysis of how the strategic displays and occurrences of the athletic games contributed to Alexander's profile and prestige during his successful campaigns. For this reason, I would like to propose the beginning of an extensive investigation into the role athletics played in the Macedonian royal houses' pursuit of an acceptance into a Greek identity.

Chapter 1 The Philippeion

Introduction: Monument and Scandal

Philip II's campaign in Greece reached its culmination at Chaeronea in 338 BCE when his Macedonian army faced off against a force comprised primarily of Thebans and Athenians. Following his decisive confrontation and victory, Philip made the aggressive decision to pursue his ultimate ambition of becoming the leader of all of Greece. Philip showed a "kindly face to all in private and in public"[21] and "represented to the cities that he wished to discuss with them matters of common advantage,"[22] according to Diodorus Siculus. Specifically, he had plans to wage war on the Persian Empire as revenge for their destruction of Greek temples. At a gathering of the League of Corinth he won the support of the city-states' representatives and was elected hegemon of Greece and secured his hold over the entire Hellenic world.[23]

Philip was by no means met with unanimous support for his endeavors. The Athenian politician and orator Demosthenes was Philip's most vocal and passionate opponent. Between approximately 351 BCE to 341 BCE Demosthenes composed his three so-called "Philippics" to voice his grievances to fellow Athenian statesmen concerning Philip's military actions and urge the Athenian government to first prepare a resistance against the Macedonian king, then to outwardly defy Philip with acts of violence.

While met with this outward antagonism we can assume Philip knew that in order to be successful he would have to appeal to the Greeks through less martial means. He understood the crucial role Olympia played for the reputations of his predecessors, such as Alexander I and Archelaus, and felt it could have a positive influence on his own foreign policy as well. Since the Olympics were quintessentially Greek in origin and rooted with the most athletic Greek

[21] Diod. 16.89.2.
[22] Ibid. 16.89.2.
[23] Ibid. 16.89.1-3.

mythological hero (Herakles), it made for a perfect setting to construct a vital piece of propaganda.

As the oldest of the four Panhellenic games, the Olympic games occurred every four years (with few exceptions) for 1,170 years, until the Christian Byzantine Emperor Theodius abolished them in 393 AD for their pagan celebrations. During the month of the Olympiad, Truce-Bearers, or *spondophoroi* travelled to every city-state to institute the Olympic Truce, promising conflict-free passage from all over the Greek world to Olympia to partake in the festivities.[24] This ensured a wide range of participation and attendance of the games spanning from modern day Italy to Asia Minor.

The popularity of the Olympic games along with their religious significance and prestigious *agones* created a center where "the very essence of Greek heritage was regularly reaffirmed."[25] Every four years, several thousand Greeks descended upon the site en masse with such force that Judith Swaddling could only equate it to a combination of Wembley Stadium and Westminster Abbey.[26] Ever since its inception in the 8th century BCE, agricultural pastoralists made the pilgrimage to Olympia in order to dedicate votive offerings for fertility and vegetation.[27] With the progression of time and the establishment of the games, the Altis was embellished with "temples, treasuries, halls, elaborate altars, and literally hundreds of marble and bronze statues"[28] to give thanks to the gods for both athletic and military achievements on behalf of city-states and individuals alike. Olympia was the backdrop for physical trials in which men, from their successes were likened to the gods and heroes of epic myth. The fact that the

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[24] Judith Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games* (London: The British Museum, 1999), 12.
[25] Synthia S. Slowikowski, "Power, Propaganda, and Policy: Philip II's Use of Sport," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 20, no. 1, p1 (May 1989): 49.
[26] Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games,* 7.
[27] Nigel Spivey, *The Ancient Olympics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 235.
[28] Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games,* 8.

laudandus in Pindar's epinician odes, according to Bruno Currie, "is to be sung in the same breath as the gods"[29] creates questions about the proximity to which Pindar places the victorious prize bearer with the mythological heroes, suggesting that the two must have something in common. Following this large range of historical significance and influence, Philip's choice to commission such a conspicuous military victory monument at the very heart of the land that he conquered- "an unparalleled intrusion"[30] introduced the most controversial building at the Pan-Hellenic site- the Philippeion. (Figure 1)

The scandal of the Philippeion was partially due to the setting itself, but also because of *who* was constructing it. Demosthenes claimed in his "Philippics" that the Macedonian king was "no Greek, nor related to the Greeks, [and] not even a barbarian from any place that can be named with honor, but a pestilent knave from Macedonia."[31] Additionally, Demosthenes declared that Philip perpetrated activities against the Greeks such as unrestricted movement of his army and unrelated military action like the campaign against the Cassopaeans, *παραβαίνειν*[32] the Peace of Philocrates, a term which can connote a broad range of meanings according to the LSJ, from a mild "overstep" to a more volatile offensive. Philip moved swiftly throughout the Greek world and was known to be "calmly plundering and stripping the Greeks one by one, and... attacking their cities and reducing them to slavery."[33]

In order to incite a more visceral response from his audience, Demosthenes capitalized on Philip's hold of Thermopylae to evoke the Athenian's memories of the Persian Wars- the last time a foreign entity employed a military force at that geographical location. Demosthenes

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[29] Bruno Currie, introduction to in *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[30] Robin Lane Fox, "Philip: Accession, Ambitions, and Self-Presentation," in *Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*, ed. Robin Lane Fox (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 366.
[31] Demosthenes, *Philippics*, 3.31.
[32] Ibid., 3.6.
[33] Ibid., 3.22.

employs the memory of the Persian invasion to remind the Athenians "at the price of submission to the Great King... (they) refused to entertain that proposal, conveyed to them by Alexander, the ancestor of Philip's line."[34] The "rousing appeals," says Gottfried Mader, "to historical paradigms and the canonical Athenian virtues"[35] recalls to his audiences' minds the memory of just a century and a half earlier when Athenian democracy was endangered by the Persians. Demosthenes effectively draws a clear line separating Athenians from the enemy, which includes not only the hated Persians, but also Philip's ancestral lineage, in hopes of not only denouncing Philip, but also shaming "the Athenians out of political paralysis"[36] and into physical resistance.

It is inevitable that at least some of the Greeks shared Demosthenes' sentiments towards Philip, so his eventual choice to commission the Philippeion in order to glorify his victory at Chaeronea in itself would have been offensive. To make matters worse, Philip erected this monument at Olympia, among the very few Panhellenic locations, not to mention the most sacred area of the site, the Altis, Though Pindar considered it a "place open to all,"[37] the Altis was intended to be a "God-given enclave of ultimate trust,"[38] accessible to all Greeks no matter where they were from in the *oikoumene*.[39] In the eyes of some Greeks, where the Philippeion was situated within the Altis a constant and abhorrent reminder of their defeat at the hands of "οὐδέ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλόν εἰπεῖν."[40]

Though many perceived these acts as outrageous, it can also be argued that Philip's actions were not barbaric but rather within the norm of Greek customs. Τρόπαια

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[34] Demosthenes, *Philippics*, 2.11.
[35] Gottfried Mader, "Praise, Blame and Authority: Some Strategies of Persuasion in Demosthenes, "Philippic" 2," *Hermes* 132, (2004): 57.
[36] Ibid., 57.
[37] Pindar, *Olympian* 6.63.
[38] Nigel Spivey, *The Ancient Olympics, A History,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171.
[39] Ibid. 171.
[40] Dem., *Philippics*, 3.31.

were historical and sacred monuments erected following the conclusion of a Greek military victory, dating all the way back to the Persian Wars. In the archaic period, trophies were set up at the turning point, or where the enemy force dissolved. These trophies were comprised of the enemy hoplite panoply, including helmets, cuirasses, and shields. The bronze limbs of the defeated would remain on the field as an ethnic marker, suggesting by the style of their armor that we could interpret them to remember the dead, rather than the victors. These would stand until the next campaign season to mark the place the enemy turned in defeat. During this time, mass dedications of weapons from the spoils of the battle were also deposited in sanctuaries.[41]

With the progression of time, however, these temporary monuments gave way to "secondary trophies"[42] which were constructed with either bronze or marble at a Panhellenic sanctuary such as Olympia or Delphi in order to increase the prestige of the victorious city-state. At Delphi, another Panhellenic site, a series of treasuries built by Greek city-states line the Sacred Way leading from the entrance to the Temple of Apollo, commemorating military victories over each other through inscriptions and artifacts. In juxtaposition with the previous τρόπαια, these monuments, close to or within sacred precincts ostentatiously immortalized the victors' successes in close proximity to the gods. Such structures held votive offerings to the gods, as well as a tithe, or tenth of the spoils won from the battle. These were particularly prevalent for historical battles in which the victors anticipated the outcome to have long-term consequences,[43] and perhaps by the time of Philip would have been considered quite normal and acceptable. (Figure 2)

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[41] Jutta Stroszeck, "Greek Trophy Monuments," in *Myth and Symbol II, Symbolic Phenomena in ancient Greek Culture,* ed. S. des Bouvrie, 303-31. Bergen, 309.
[42] Ibid. 303.
[43] Stroszeck, *Myth and Symbol II, Symbolic Phenomena in ancient Greek Culture*, 320.

One such permanent monument belonged to the Eleans, who according to Pausanias set up a bronze trophy following a victory over the Spartans. Although the location of the battle and the date of the encounter is disputed based on a discrepancy between Pausanias and Xenophon's *Hellenica*[44], what is critical to note is that the sculpture was placed in the center of the Altis at Olympia. The archaeological museum at Olympia today attests to the fact that victors were constantly bringing mass quantities of their defeated foes' armor and equipment as offerings for the gods, proving Olympia was not only a site for athletic *agones,* but a place to recognize military successes. Therefore, though figures such as Demosthenes were infuriated by Philip's assertiveness, we must consider the probability that this foreign figure was in fact acting like any other Greek in order to claim his own Hellenicity. The Philippeion was just one of many related to over a century old tradition of setting up a military trophy, especially here where similar constructions already existed.

Modern Debate

Writing from the 2nd century AD, Pausanias remains our only ancient extant source on the Philippeion, but due to the vast amount of time between himself and monument's construction, his account raises questions and debates among modern scholars. His writing draws attention to the question of the patronage of the monument and sculptures set up within Philip's precinct, which ultimately point to the greater offence of the structure within the Altis and Philip's ultimate intention. In order to better understand the meaning of the monument, we must first ascertain if the patron was Philip II or his son, Alexander III. Even this seemingly obvious inquiry, considering the building is in fact named the "Philippeion," is subject to debate amongst modern scholars.

[44] Ibid., 313.

Within the round structure survives a semicircular base made of Parian marble with an inscription that, according to Pausanias, reads: "Φιλιππῳ δε εποιηθη μετα το εν Χαιρονεια την Ελλαδα ολισθειν."[45] This marks the first point of contention. Φιλιππῳ is in the dative, which suggests a range of possible translations for the text. One scholarly position advocated most recently by Peter Schultz considers Philip the agent of the structure, which allows us to interpret it as "by Philip." In this case, the inscription implies that he was in control of the construction from start to finish without interruption. On the other hand, scholars like Kenneth Lapatin interpret the inscription as "for Philip," implying that there was a disruption during the construction phase (most likely Philip's assassination), which forced Alexander III to complete the undertaking. During a disruption such as this the original purpose of the building could potentially have been altered by the second patron.

Some archaeological evidence does exist, however, which may resolve this dispute. According to Schultz, three physical characteristics belonging to the statue base in the Philippeion reject the theory of multiple building phases for the monument.[46] First, consistencies in the grain size, presence of silver-grey bands, and identical sunlight reflection is evidence that the marble was extracted from the same Parian marble quarry and "suggest that the base and building could belong to the same project."[47] Second, the tooling patterns for the statue base, floor, and gutters are identical, "most clearly demonstrated by the use of a similar law chisel"[48] on the base and architectural elements. Finally, the pi-clamp cuttings in the statue base are the same as those cut into the rest of the Philippeion. Though pi-clamps are common throughout

[45] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 5.20.10.
[46] Peter Schultz, "Divine Images and Royal Ideology in the Philippeion at Olympia, " in *Aspects of Ancient Greek Cult*, ed. Jesper Tae Jensen, George Hinge, Peter Schultz, and Bronwen Wickkiser (Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 2009), 130.
[47] Ibid., 130.
[48] Ibid., 130.

Greek history, Schultz claims that the identical dimensions of these "suggests fast, 'batch-ordering,"[49] and not the multi-phased extended project argued for by Lapatin.

If Philip's unexpected demise in 336 BCE occurred before the completion of the building's construction it would have forced Alexander to take responsibility of completing the project. Leaving it abandoned and unfinished for a period of time in the middle of the Olympian Altis would prove disgraceful and mar the appearance of the entire surrounding area, as Schultz asserts. Yet, he believes this threat to Philip's reputation actually motivated him to finish construction as soon as possible and supports the belief that the Philippeion was finished during Philip's lifetime.

This is based on the hard evidence of dates and material. First, the 111th Olympic games were due to be held in 336 BCE. As the building's site was the center for his propaganda and his concern for his reputation among the Greeks was paramount, Schultz argues that we can be fairly certain Philip would have hastened work on this monument, not only for aesthetic purposes, but also because an incomplete tholos "would have been a straightforward embarrassment for the Macedonian king."[50] Given the option, Philip would not have allowed his victory monument to make its public debut at the Olympic festival as a pile of rubble.

Furthermore, analysis of the construction material points to steps Philip might have taken to ensure completion of the monument before the start of the Olympics. The "limestone and conglomerate [used] are much easier (and thus much quicker) to work than marble,"[51] claims Schultz. A closer look at the architectural moldings hint at hasty execution, according to Lucy Shoe Merritt, which suggests Philip had a goal for a completion date that would have demanded a sense of urgency among his architects and laborers. Greeks had a good track record for

[49] Ibid., 131.
[50] Ibid., 133.
[51] Ibid.,132.

finishing noteworthy monuments in a timely manner, including the Parthenon which was completed in just nine years[52], most of the Propylaia which was done in five[53], and Alexander the Great's mole at Tyre which was finished in an astonishing seven months.[54] Under pressure, the Greeks would have been able to complete a "modestly adorned"[55] feature within two years. Considering all of the evidence above, the Philippeion may well have been finished during Philip's lifetime, and therefore, any purpose or intention associated with the building belonged to Philip alone.

Pausanias' description of Olympia which is delayed by centuries raises yet another debate- this time concerning the composition of the five portraits of Philip flanked by his son Alexander III and wife Olympias on his right, and father Amyntas III and mother Eurydike on his left. Pausanias writes that the images of Philip, his father Amyntas, and his son Alexander III were portrayed in the chryselephantine style- reserved for cult imagery and made from ivory and gold. Lapatin notes, however, in his analysis of the statue base, that "these cuttings, however, are not the deep rectilinear or circular cuttings for anchoring an armature that we have come to expect for chryselephantine statues, but rather large, irregular, shallow, rough-picked cuttings of the sort which often accommodate marble plinths."[56]

Schultz presses further on this issue, comparing exact dimensions of the cuttings for the posts in the Philippeion statue base to what the cuttings should actually be for chryselephantine statues and lack of traces for fastenings.[57] He concludes that there is no way that Philip and his family were portrayed in gold and ivory. This mistake could have very easily been made as

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[52] *IG* I^3 436-44.
[53] *IG* I^3 462-66.
[54] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 24.3-25.2.
[55] Schultz, *Aspects of Ancient Greek Cult*, 132.
[56] Kenneth Lapatin, *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Mediterranean World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 116.
[57] Schultz, *Aspects of Ancient Greek Cult*, 153.

painting, polishing and secondary gilding were traditional for Macedonian royalty, evidenced by statuary of Alexander I at Delphi and Olympia and Alexander III at Olympia as well.[58] We know that Philip as the undeniable patron did not use the gold and ivory commonly implemented to depict the gods, but this does not mean that he did not create impressive figures intended to astonish visitors who entered the sacred precinct. In addition to the materials, the images themselves and the manner in which they were displayed were certainly intended to evoke the divine and connect the mythic and heroic figures with the Argead dynasty.

One of the best proponents for this argument is the portrayal of the royal family by Philip's enlisted sculptor, Leochares, which provides the monument mythic with a dynastic function. As the symbolic leaders of the gods, Zeus and Hera are obvious choices for association as heads of the Greek pantheon, especially when concerned with proving Hellenicity. A ruling couple themselves, they also provide a metaphor for the heads of the Macedonian dynasty. We lack definitive evidence regarding the images of the statues but Peter Schultz suggests another figure of Eurydike, found in Vergina, may offer some answers. That portrait from Vergina, with the "broad back mantle, hang of the *apoptygma,* heavy *kolpos,* and the columnar verticals of the lower peplos"[59] is reminiscent of a "heroic and retrospective guise."[60] Schultz suggests that if this image existed in the periphery of the Mediterranean world, it may also have been reflected at Olympia, a site that receives far more visitors, in order to portray Eurydike in the role of Queen Mother.

Another direct connection between the Macedonian royalty and legendary myth can be established between Alexander and the legendary Achilleus, who he was associated with even

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[58] Ibid., 154.

[59] Peter Schulz "Leochares' Argead Portraits in the Philippeion" in P. Schultz and R. Von den Hoff, eds., *Early Hellenistic Portraitue: Image, Style, Context* (Cambridge 2007), 217.

[60] Ibid. 217.

from his youth.[61] Considering Alexander's generalship and major role in the victory at Chaeronea, as well as his own father's blatant attempts at divinization, it would be tempting to accept his representation as the spear bearer Doryphoros, an argument which Schultz comprehensively summarizes. (Figure 8) Yet, following his rationalization that images of the royal family in Macedonia could have been copied at Olympia, he raises the point that Alexander may have been portrayed as Achilleus, a character he had been likened to in Pella since birth.[62] Philip's intentions to connect his son to the heroic figure- a legendary conqueror and staple in Greek myth and culture, and heroize the entire royal family would have bestowed honor and divine recognition to the Macedonian dynasty. In this iconic guise and placed within the context of the war memorial, the "appropriation of ...a quintessential Greek (and specifically Argive) form would have accorded perfectly with... the Macedonian quest for racial legitimacy...a quest that began at Olympia"[63] with Alexander I.

Outside Influences

The shape of the Philippeion itself suggests that Philip intended for the monument to connect himself and his family to the divine. As a circular enclosure with a semi-circular base, the structure alludes to the Achaian dedication of Onatas of Aigina, not 200 meters away. The semi-circular base of the Onatas dedication (Figure 9) "facilitates a narrative"[64] in a way that it depicts the characters from the Iliad drawing lots from Agamemnon's helmet, which is held by Nestor, to decide who would face Hector in the monomachia.[65] Nestor's image, separated from the rest of the men, is situated in the exact spot where a visitor to the Philippeion would enter the

[61] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 2.1.
[62] Schultz, *Aspects of Ancient Greek Cult*, 150.
[63] Schultz, *Aspects of Ancient Greek Cult*, 151.
[64] Ibid., 139.
[65] Ibid., 139.

enclosure, effectively placing Philip and his family in the location where the heroes themselves stood. The mortals who enter the Onatas dedication or the Philippeion experience the similar phenomena of separating themselves from the "real world" and entering the mythical space of the Iliad or Macedonian dynasty, respectively.

The form of the statue base may also have emerged in order to emulate the double semi-circles of the Argive dedications at Delphi and the semi-circular Achaian dedication at Olympia, which were well-known to both Philip and Leochares.[66] Since Alexander I first declared direct lineage from the Argive kings, it would be an obvious decision for Philip to create visual ties to these already established dedications at Delphi and Olympia for propagandistic purposes. As a result, Philip hoped to create another tangible connection between himself and his family and his Argive ancestors, most notably, Herakles.

Location and Sight Lines

The first type of sacred space Philip implemented at Olympia is the concentric ritual space, which "created both a focus for ritual and an arena for spectacle and group introspection."[67] The enclosed architectural design created by a roof, as well as the inward facing circles of tholoi such as the Philippeion are reminiscent of theaters, which were traditionally utilized during festivals such as the Pythian games in recognition of the gods, to Apollo, and celebrations in honor of Dionysus. After ascending the three steps and entering the circular precinct through the only open doorway (Figure 6), the curved walls would have channeled the attention of the attendee toward the semi-circular base situated at the far end of the building where the statues of Philip and his family were elevated. In directing the gaze of the

[66] Ibid., 136.
[67] Williamson, *Locating the Sacred: Theoretical Approaches to the Emplacement of Religion*, 90.

observers within the small and windowless inner precinct, the Philippeions's intimate setting reinforced the sanctity of his own monument, as well as the singular focus of the dynasty and cult of the royal Macedonian family with himself at the very epicenter. Philip utilized both types of ritual space, linear and concentric, within the Altis at Olympia to create ties between the mortal world and the divine.

The placement of the monument itself is also critical because location is always "proactive and determinative."[68] This means that Philip's poignant choice for a location in such close proximity to the gods was decidedly deliberate and with the potential to facilitate communication between the mortal world and the divine. Though we do not know the exact purpose of the Philippeion, or if Philip ever intended for there to be one, the location, architecture, and ritual space not only creates a monument with a dynastic function that emphasizes the elite status of the royal family's lineage, but also plays a significant role in drawing connections between the ruler responsible for the monument and the divine, thus creating a relationship between the two for the public to interpret for themselves.[69]

Situated within the sacred precinct at Olympia called the Altis, the Philippeion was the first structure at Olympia to take the name of a mortal benefactor, and the only one dedicated to a human within the Altis.[70] (Figure 3) It is positioned "conspicuously"[71] in the direct line of sight of the Temple of Hera and the Pelopion, the burial-mound dedicated to the hero Pelops.[72] Most significantly, Philip's own statue stood in the direct line of site of not only the Temple of Zeus,

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[68] Claudia Moser, "Linear Reflection," in *Locating the Sacred: Theoretical Approaches to the Emplacement of Religion,* ed. Claudia Moser and Cecelia Feldman (Oxfordshire: Oxbow Books, 2014), 27.
[69] Christina Williamson, "Power of Place," in *Locating the Sacred: Theoretical Approaches to the Emplacement of Religion,* ed. Claudia Moser and Cecelia Feldman (Oxfordshire: Oxbow Books, 2014), 105
[70] Thomas Scanlon, "Olympia and Macedonia: Games, Gymnasia, and Politics," Lecture, "*Dimitria" Annual Lecture,* Toronto, Ontario, October 3, 1996.
[71] Ibid., 7.
[72] Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games,* 21.

but the chryselephantine statue of the deity seated within.[73] As a result of imposing an image of himself with the physical manifestations of these three mythological figures for the visitors of his monument, Philip evokes a propagandistic genealogy connecting his reputation with the history of the site.

The placement of the Philippeion within in the Altis suggests Philip's intentions to elevate himself to the level of the divine, supported by the fact that the monument's situation in relation to its neighbors creates its own sacred area. The linear sight lines drawn between the structure and the Temple of Hera, (Figure 4) Pelopian (Figure 5), and between the statue of Philip and the cult statue of Zeus in the Temple of Zeus invokes a relationship between the gods receiving ritual and the mortals who provided the offerings. Sight lines such as these, Christina Williamson claims in her essay "Power of Place" creates a common focus as "the gaze of the public eye was fixed on points of meaning to the [ruler] who designed the architectural space."[74] In the case of the Philippeion, Philip connected the remote points of the surrounding deities with his own monument in order to draw relationships between his family and the divine heritage that he and his predecessors claimed to hail from.

Pelops, on the other hand, has a slightly less clear connection with Philip. The Macedonian royal house claimed descent from the Temenids, namely Herakles when Alexander I made his case to participate in the games. Just like Herakles, Pelops also lays claim to the title of "founder" for the Olympic games. As a member of the house of Atreus, Pelops was Herakles' great-grandfather[75] and as such, also an ancestor of Philip and the Macedonian royal house.

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[73] Robin Lane Fox, *Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*, 366.
[74] Williamson, *Locating the Sacred: Theoretical Approaches to the Emplacement of Religion*, 105.
[75] Adrienne Mayor, *The First Fossil Hunters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 103.

War and Sport

The Philippeion was a site that combined in one distinct symbol two factions that shared a complicated relationship. Though it has now been established that its purpose was to serve as a military victory monument, Philip was also a three time Olympic victor in equestrian events and the implication is that he intended to tie these previous athletic triumphs into the monument's commemoration. After his first victory, an athlete was permitted to set up a generic dedication. After the second, he could erect another monument, this time with his name. Following the third, however, the victor was allowed to raise any sort of construction he wished, even in his own likeness with his name labeled on it, a privilege Philip would have been granted after his successes.

However, linking his victories in the military and athletics was unusual and raises questions concerning Philip's underlying intentions for this structure. Traditionally, the military and athletics existed in very separate spheres of ancient Greek society, especially following the rise of hoplite warfare in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E[76], and the recession of Homeric heroes' man-on-man combat, coincidentally also reflecting the typical confrontation found in the *agones*. Hoplites, or "heavily armed men with shields and spears in massed battle formations,"[77] relied on teamwork and interdependence for survival and success. They mostly came from a modest background in which they could only afford the very basic armor. They were "experienced in every sort of wandering and irregularity, and especially able to bear easily lack of food and sleeplessness,"[78] according to Plutarch.

[76]Thomas Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 14.
[77] Ibid., 14.
[78] Plutarch, *Philopoimen,* 3.2-4.

In comparison, athletes led a much more luxurious life, "guarding their condition against every lapse or deviation"[79] and "were always fortifying themselves with a lot of sleep, perpetual stuffing of their stomachs, and fixed periods for motion and rest."[80] They were also typically more well-endowed in terms of money, which provided them with the luxury of being able to take time away from their farms and other occupations in order to train and participate in the agones. Although athletic games could be implemented into ritual such as for the Spartan agoge, and represent actual military training, ultimately, "military benefits of gymnic exercises were mostly indirect,"[81] according to Dr. Thomas Scanlon. The heavy sports of boxing, wrestling, and pankration were considered irrelevant to military maneuvers and virtually useless skills, which depended heavily on the unity and power of the group, instead of the reliance on a single individual.

The honors afforded to athletes historically drew resentment, as expressed by Tyrtaeus, the 7th century BCE Spartan lyric poet. Tyrtaeus scorned contestants of the games in fragment 12, claiming that he "would not μνησαίμην or attach importance"[82] to an athlete with fake virtue. The Greek interpretation might imply perhaps meaning "to remember," or according to LSJ, even "to make famous" suggesting their name did not deserve renown or preservation. Even the best of the runners and wrestlers would not qualify as a courageous soldier "if he does not dare to look at the bloody killing and to attack the enemy from close up."[83] Spurred by the shift from individual military maneuvers to hoplite warfare, city-states (particularly the fierce Spartans) valued teamwork over the Homeric style of gallantry encouraged by athletic exploits.

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[79] Ibid., 3.2-4.
[80] Ibid., 3.2-4.
[81] Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics,* 14.
[82] Tyrtaeus, frag. 12; 1.
[83] Tyrtaeus, frag. 12; 11-12.

Later in the 5th century BCE Euripides expressed a similar sentiment in his satyr play *Autolykos*, which only exists today in fragments 282-284. Though the plot is unknown, fragment 282 is a 27-line speech on the "evils of athletes."[84] Euripides poignantly criticizes the athlete, jesting "what man who has wrestled well... has defended his ancestral city by winning a wreath? Are they going to fight enemies with a discus...? No one is this μωραίνει when standing near a sword!"[85] Instead, this oldest Athenian criticism of athletes emphasizes the importance of crowning the "ἄνδρας χρὴ σοφούς τε κἀγαθοὺς,"[86] especially in the wake of the Peloponnesian War. Even the most successful athletes, the ones who receive crowns at the Pan-Hellenic games could not be considered qualified to execute one of the most crucial responsibilities in ancient Greek society, protecting one's own homeland. If this was the case and there was such a large discrepancy between these two livelihoods, which historically evoked contempt and ridicule dating all the way back to Tyrtaeus, then why would Philip choose to combine these two seemingly distinct spheres with a single monument? Did such a large chasm between the two actually exist, or were Philip's motives rooted in an even deeper political context?

According to Scanlon, athletes and soldiers found a common ground in their concept and pursuit of *arete*. Whether it was among the ranks of an army or in the gymnasium or stadium, men strove to embody the excellence and moral values portrayed by heroes of the past, which continued to be cherished within their society. In proving his excellence by evoking these two virtues, as well as the audacious placement of the monument itself, Philip was separating himself from the common man and into the realm of the most revered heroes and gods.

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[84] John E. Thorburn, Jr., *The Facts on File Companion to Classical Drama* (New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2005), 79.
[85] Euripides, *Autolykos,* frag. 282; 14-22.
[86] Ibid., 23.

The Hero Cult

The next logical next step would be to assume that Philip was intent on depicting himself as a member of a hero cult. Hero cults are "the cult worship of a particular group of superhuman beings whom the Greeks described as heroes from the time of Homer"[87] and were an essential aspect of ancient Greek religion. These cults worshipped a dead man at his tomb or at a designated shrine for his extraordinary deeds. One such figure was Polydamas, son of Nikias of Skotoussa, a pankratiast who won the crown at the Olympic games in 408 BCE. In addition to his athletic success "his ambition to rival the labors of Herakles[88] drove him to commit militaristic deeds of strength, such as on "Mt. Olympus [where he] killed a lion, a huge and powerful wild beast, without the use of a weapon,"[89] a scene depicted on the extant portion of his statue base at Olympia, created by Lysippus. (Figure 7) In the presence of the Persian King Darius Nothus, he slew three Immortals, the highest level of elite warrior in the army, whom also defeated the Spartans at Thermopylae.[90] His great "heroic might and *arete* afforded his memory a degree of supernatural or superhuman power,"[91] which continued to impact the public even after his death. According to Pausanias, "the statue of the athlete Polydamas cures those who have fevers at Olympia,"[92] even overshadowing the altars of Apollo. The statue was given dedications and Polydamas was worshipped as a divinity. It is possible that with the Philippeion, this was the sort of combination between military and athletic prowess that Philip wished to embody.

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[87] Fritz Graf, "Hero cult," *Brill's New Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, 2005, accessed 20 December 2015, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/hero-cult-e511460.
[88] Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* 6.5.1-9.
[89] Ibid., 6.5.1-9.
[90] Joseph Fontenrose, "The Hero as Athlete," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 1, (1968), 87.
[91] David J. Lunt, "The Heroic Athlete in Ancient Greece," *Journal of Sport History*, 36, no. 3 (2009), 381.
[92] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 6.64-6.

In developing a cult for himself, Philip would aim to elevate his own status to something above mortality and strengthen his connection to the gods, just as Polydamas did. Philip might hope to obtain the reverence and adoration of the public by augmenting his character as a hero to reflect men like Polydamas, and thus earn their trust and loyalty in his future endeavors. In return for Greek support, Philip while still alive, might not be able to promise any posthumous miracles, but during his lifetime could provide the assurance of something in return- strong leadership and the protection of his army. The fault in this theory was that at the conception of this building, Philip was not yet dead. He did not have a tomb, inhumed remains, nor an altar for people to worship him. Considering what does or does not exist in this archaeological record at Olympia, the most fundamental rituals occurring at a hero-cult were animal sacrifices, which means that some sort of *bomos* (altar) or *eschara* (hero-altar) would have to be present in direct proximity to the monument. According to Dr. Gunnel Ekroth of Uppsala University, the "*eschara* could also refer to a simple ash altar located directly on the ground."[93] To this date, however, archaeologists have not revealed such a crucial and defining feature in any relevant proximity to the structure. Without this essential piece of evidence, we must accept that a hero cult was not among Philip's intentions for constructing this building.

Despite the lack of physical evidence supporting intentions for a hero cult, Judith Swaddling suggests that incorporating the Philippeion within the sacred precinct indicates "the desire of the Macedonians to establish themselves as cult figures in the Greek world."[94] I believe Philip's ambitions surpassed even this and can be taken one step further. Peter Schultz's analysis of the portraiture, shape, and allusions to other similar structures ultimately suggests Philip

[93] Gunnel Ekroth, "Heroes and Hero-Cults," in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, ed. Daniel Ogden (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007,) 106.
[94] Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games*, 21.

wished to not only enhance his reputation as a hero, but also to encourage the Greeks to acknowledge him as a god.

The Immortal Reputation

It is important to note that throughout Philip's career, the Philippeion is not the only case in which the Macedonian king intended to evoke the gods by means of his own images and reputation. According to Arrian in his *Anabasis*, the Ephesians created a statue to Philip within the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. This does not necessarily mean that people worshipped Philip as a cult figure, but according to Diodorus, "because of the greatness of his rule he had counted himself alongside the twelve gods."[95] As co-occupant of the temple with one of the Olympians, Philip's status was immediately elevated from mortal to divine. Further evidence for Philip's intended apotheosis comes from Aegae.

In the month of October in 336 BCE, Philip held a large festival complete with athletic and musical competitions to celebrate his marriage to Cleopatra.[96] As he prepared to enter the theater through a tunnel, he was accompanied by a procession of intricately wrought "statues of the twelve gods... to strike awe in the beholder."[97] Along with these statues Philip added a thirteenth, a production of himself "suitable for a god"[98] so that he would be *sunthronon*[99] amongst the most notable immortals in all of Greece. As Philip was about to enter the theater in full glory, Pausanias confronted him and delivered the fatal blow to bring an abrupt end the king's life.

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[95] Diod. 16.95.1.
[96] Ibid., 16.92.1.
[97] Ibid., 16.92.5.
[98] Ibid., 16.92.5.
[99] Ibid., 16.92.5.

Conclusion

Given all of this evidence, it is still almost impossible to determine beyond a reasonable doubt the exact purpose Philip intended for the Philippeion within the Altis at Olympia. Yet, it is clear that this military victory monument stood for more than just his success at the Chaeronea. The Macedonian hegemon was desperate to prove his mettle as leader of the Greeks, especially when taking into account his intentions to mobilize his forces and move east against the Persians Empire. For this reason he chose the most sacred hub of Greece as his main focal point for propaganda and self-aggrandizement. The Philippeion, proven by archaeological evidence to have been under Philip's scrutiny from start to finish, is the physical manifestation of his efforts to elevate his ethos to reflect the divine. By bestowing upon his own character the *arete* and *kleos* of successful athletes and military personnel, as well as utilizing the unique setting of the Altis and ties to figures rooted in myth, Philip's decisions point to a pivotal effort to establish for himself and his family to his Argead lineage Greek identity.

Chapter 2 Dion

Alexander's Accession to the Throne

Alexander's outstanding military feats are legendary in their own right, yet it is also vital that we examine another remarkable aspect of his campaign that is sometimes glossed over: the *agones* as a symbol of cultural identity. Following his accession to the throne, Alexander immediately implemented a series of judicial and military measures to frighten and subdue his adversaries and gave new life to his father's ambitions and the ritual agones as a method of persuasion to bolster the loyalty of his followers. The new king apprehended his father's murderers and showed no mercy to demonstrate his intolerance for schemes. With the formalities of the royal funeral tended to, Diodorus states that he "established his authority far more firmly than any did in fact suppose possible."[100] Despite the stark contrast in their personalities and historically tumultuous relationship, which included a famous account of Philip charging his son with a drawn sword, who consequentially withdrew to Illyria for a time,[101] Alexander matched his father in military genius. City-states including Thebes, Sparta, and Argos, reckoning the new hegemon was "quite young and for this reason not uniformly respected"[102] began preparations to reclaim their independence. Alexander moved "impressively and swiftly,"[103] subduing the kingdom his father left to him by means of πειθοῖ, ὁμιλίας, φόβῳ, and "τινὰς δὲ βίᾳ χειρωσάμενος."[104] Alexander defeated the Greeks and quashed the rebellious tribes to the north in a military movement known as his Balkan Campaign. Satisfied by the successful subordination of his subjects, Alexander found himself secure enough to finally turn his sights

[100] Diod. 17.2.2-3.
[101] E. A. Fredricksmeyer, "Alexander and Philip: Emulation and Resentment," *The Classical Journal* 85, no.4, 1990, 302.
[102] Diod. 17.2.2.
[103] Diod. 17.3.3
[104] Diod. 17.3.6

eastward and towards the ultimate goal conceived by his father: conquest of the Persian Empire. Alexander proved his legendary capabilities as a military leader time and time again, such as during his Balkan Campaigns when he implemented the counter measures against the Thracians' cart tactic and crossed the Danube in the middle of night without any casualties.[105] Feats such as these contributed a great deal to his successes abroad throughout the remainder of his reign and life.

Alexander utilized and exploited athletics episodically throughout his campaigns in different settings and circumstances to his advantage with tremendous guile. The first major case in which we see this is the festival at Dion, which took place in 334 BCE. The use of *agones*, which from a Homeric definition denote both "assembly and competition,"[106] provided a framework to combine multiple facets of Greek society including politics, the military, and athletics by attracting members of these components to one significant setting. Such a diverse conglomeration demonstrates that Alexander, just like his father, understood the great influence and potential for propaganda that athletics offered the Greeks. His decision to hold contests in such a Greek fashion prior to his largest military undertaking up until that point was a deliberate display of Hellenicity in Macedonia's policy, which in turn would ultimately promulgate his worthiness as leader and ensure his survival, prosperity, and legacy.

Just as with Philip, Archelaus and Alexander I before him, the Macedonian royal house under Alexander III struggled to convince its neighbors to the south of its Hellenicity. According to Klaus Freitag, ἔθνος has many definitions, but fundamentally refers to participation

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[105] James Ashley, *The Macedonian Empire: The Era of Warfare Under Philip II and Alexander the Great, 359-323 B.C.,* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1998), 174.
[106] Wolfgang Decker. "Sports Festivals." *Brill Online Reference Works*. February 15, 2016. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/sports-festivals-e1119780?s.num=2&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=sport festivals.

in a city-state or region based on an individual's genetic makeup.[107] In the eyes of the Greeks, Macedonia was not one of those approved territories, and men like Demosthenes (*Philippic,* 3.31) and Isokrates *(Philip,* 105-108) "drew rather careful distinctions"[108] between themselves and the Macedonians. Alexander's strategy for using the games at Dion for his own purposes was not completely unprecedented, but was actually cast within a preexisting mold shaped by and wrought with tradition. His invocation of Olympia and exhibition of a comparable ritualized festival demonstrated that while Macedonians were not considered akin to Greeks on a biological level, their participation in these *agones* proved these people were in fact of one culture to be shared rather than of a fragmented populace. Dion was thus a propagandistic and psychological production to achieve Alexander's ultimate goal of winning acceptance not only from his men but all of Greece.

Landscape and Meaning

Even from the very base of Mt. Olympus, the ability to see the peak where the Olympian gods resided is not always visible. Clouds and mist shroud Mytikas, the highest peak of the Olympian mountain range and obstruct the line of site even on the best of days. The Pierean mountain range, which includes Olympus, defines the border between Macedonia and Thessaly and "provides a year-round backdrop of forested mountain outliers leading to craggy and snowy summits."[109] (Figure 10) Far below on the coastal plain the land is marshy due to the constant run-off, creating a sparsely populated landscape of three cities: Methone, Pydna, and Dion.

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[107] Klaus Freitag. "Ethnos." *Brill Online Reference Works*. February 15, 2016. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/ethnos-e12221690?s.num=3&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=ethnicity.

[108] Eugene N. Borza, "Athenians, Macedonians, and the Origins of the Macedonian Royal House," *Hesperia Supplements* 19 Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History, and Topography 1982, 11.

[109] Eugene Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus: The Emergence of Macedon.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 174.

Today, Dion is a remote archaeological park characterized by still flourishing vegetation and pools of water that reflect statues and extant architecture. On a clear and quiet day, the site gives no outward indication that during the times of the Macedonian kings it was one of the most significant locations in Macedonia and a "dramatic location"[110] for a festival dedicated to the Olympian Zeus and the Muses.

Landscape archaeology, landscape was once viewed as a passive element of a society's setting, forcibly incorporated into its culture, but archaeologists now approach it as an active entity and "world of cultural product"[111] that forms relationships between nature and the people inhabiting the land.[112] Beneath the summit of Mt. Olympus, Dion is a perfect example of this phenomenon. Macedonians used the ritual landscape seething with "history, legend, knowledge, and power"[113] to create a relationship between themselves and the gods, which was further emphasized during national festivals. The spatial distribution of ritual features like monuments and temples dedicated to the deities with the mountain range in the background developed one of the most pious locations in the Macedonian empire.

More importantly, a ritual landscape "which community members perceive and with which they interact"[114] according to Ancheutz, Wilshusen, and Scheick, provides a platform for which "meaningful cross-cultural dialogue"[115] may occur for that location and those like it. For Alexander I, Archelaus, Philip II, and Alexander III, who continuously struggled to earn the acceptance of the Greeks, this was a crucial conversation to invoke because it emphasized the similarities between themselves and the Greeks. Publically and prominently displaying these

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[110] Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus, The Emergence of Macedon*, 174.
[111] Kurt F. Anschuetz, Richard H. Wilshusen and Cherie L. Scheick, "An Archaeology of Landscape: Perspectives and Directions," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 2 (2001): 160.
[112] Ibid. 158.
[113]Ibid. 178.
[114]Ibid. 178.
[115] Ibid. 163.

parallels might alter the notion of the Macedonians belonging to a barbarian race, and instead place them among the most advanced societies of that time.

Toponyms and Mythological Significance

Nestled at the foot of the most revered mountain in both Greece and Macedonia, the region Pieria and the city Dion (the name derived from "Dios" or Zeus,) was regarded by Macedonians as sacred ground. At least four narrative paths rooted in both fiction and reality laid the groundwork for the emerging prominence of the site and the fundamental role it played in the foundation of Macedonia as a whole.

Dion is first intrinsically tied to the significance of Macedonia for serving as the home of its namesake. According to the *Catalogue of Women*, "Μακεδονία ἡ χώρα ὠνομάσθη ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Θυίας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητής."[116] Furthermore, Hesiod fixes this family further into the history of Greece and Greek identity by citing Deucalion, the son of Prometheus, who was in his own right an integral character in foundation mythology as the man chosen by Zeus to survive the Flood that ended the Bronze Age. As the most prominent toponym of the entire kingdom, the name Makedon has the ability to evoke powerful images and connotations of the past as a "vehicle for... wider networks of memory"[117] by emphasizing Dion's national importance and role in the initial foundation of all of Greece. By melding history and geography, Macedonia's name brought "distinction and

[116] Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women*, 1.7.
[117] Derek H. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity,* ed. Brian J. Graham and Peter Howard (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 195.

status"[118] to the landscape and provided the inhabitants with a socio-cultural identity which they believed was very tightly interwoven with that of mainland Greece.

In the context of mythology, Pieria was the location for the meeting between Mnemosyne (Memory) and Zeus who lay together for nine nights, according to Hesiod, and after a year gave birth to nine daughters, the Muses.[119] Furthermore, the location plays an integral role in the myth of Orpheus, the legendary singer, poet, and prophet who had the ability to charm all living things with his music. Though there are many variations to the story relating to his demise, the natives of Dion believed that the wives of the Thracians plotted his death when he convinced them to follow in his wanderings. The women tore him apart in the Olympian foothills,[120] but when they went to wash their hands in the river, the water sunk into the ground and reappeared purified of their blood. Known in antiquity as the Baphyras, the Helopotamos River moves underground in the foothills of the sacred mountain and surfaces again just outside the east wall of Dion.[121]

The Rise of Dion

The significance of its role in foundation mythology and presence in Hesiod's literature dates back to the 8th century BCE. Additionally, architectural evidence such as the Sanctuary of Demeter at Dion "[dating] as early as the late Archaic period"[122] implies that the area was occupied as early as the fifth century. The oldest written account of Dion belongs to Thucydides who notes that in Brasidas' day (424-423 BCE) Dion was nothing more than a Macedonian

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[118] Ibid. 196.
[119] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 51-54
[120] Pausanias, *The Description of Greece*, 9.30.7.
[121] Spencer P.M. Harrington, "Sanctuary of the Gods," *Archaeology*, March/April 1996, 30.
[122] S.A. Paspalas, "Classical Art," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*, ed. Robin J. Lane Fox (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 182.

town.[123] It did not gain its widespread renown until a decade later when King Archelaus I ascended to the throne in approximately 413 BCE and assumed the responsibility of "giving new roles- at a 'national level'- to at least three important cities."[124] These primary three, Dion, Pella, and Aigai, represented the religious/festival, administrative, and burial centers of the Macedonian kingdom, respectively.

King Archelaus is characterized as a philhellene for his great appreciation of Greek culture, which was considered more sophisticated than that of his own people. Following the move of the Macedonian capital from Aigai to Pella, Archelaus extended his welcome to great Greek artists and poets, one of whom was Euripides, who composed the tragedies *Archelaus* and *The Bacchae* while residing in his court. Furthermore, the king is known for either launching or at the very least reorganizing the “Olympia" at Dion, a festival comprised of athletic, musical, and "dramatic contests in honor of Zeus and the Muses,”[125] lasting a total of nine days with each day dedicated to an individual Muse. The common setting and historical relevance established at Dion provided a recognizable landscape of Hellenicity for Macedonians and Greeks alike.

Ernst Badian doubts whether Archelaus intended to add another specifically "philhellenic embellishment"[126] to his kingdom, which he calls the "counter-Olympics."[127] What's important to note here is that Macedonia opened its doors to outside influences and assimilation to Greek culture at this time. Rather than focus on Badian's concerns, it is important instead to appreciate the success Archelaus achieved in developing a prominent religious center within his kingdom and the manner in which these games were put together and presented to the public. Designed as

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[123] Thucyd. 4.78.6.
[124] M. Mari, "Archaic and Early Classical Macedonia," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*, ed. Robin J. Lane Fox (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 92.
[125] Diod. 17.16.
[126] Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus, The Emergence of Macedon*,174
[127] Ernst Badian, "Greeks and Macedonians," *History of Macedonia,* February 15, 2016, http://www.historyofmacedonia.org/AncientMacedonia/badian.html.

what Manuela Mari refers to as a "πανήγυρις,"[128] these games were according to Diodorus "*ta Olympia*,"[129] which intensely emphasizes a direct relationship to the traditional Panhellenic games in the Peloponnese and mainland Greece.

After Archelaus' time, subsequent Macedonian kings utilized Dion for the same religious and celebratory purposes, as well as the symbolic significance of the history of the site. During Philip II's conquest of Greece he besieged the Chalcidians at Olynthus in 348 BCE.[130] After winning quickly and decisively he asserted his dominance by "[razing] the city, [selling] its surviving inhabitants into slavery and [dissolving] the [Chalcidic] League."[131] Upon his return to Macedonia, Philip celebrated his successes and held "splendid competitions"[132] in the Olympic style at Dion in a manner reminiscent of a military triumph. Dion's rich history of religious piety and monumental military successes provides a clear case for why Alexander would take a keen interest in this setting. Additionally, this interest and attention proves that Alexander was well-educated in both the mythoogy and political history of his kingdome, which would prove crucial in the years to come.

Archaeology

Western archaeologists initially had little interest in excavating the north of Greece since Demosthenes gave the impression that Macedonians were cultureless and far inferior to barbarians. The Ottomans, who held the territory until 1912, also limited access to the site and slowed investigatory progress. Manikos Andronikos extinguished any "doubt about the cultural

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[128] M. Mari, "Traditional Cults and Beliefs," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*, ed. Robin J. Lane Fox (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 456.
[129] Diod. 17.16.4
[130] S. Psoma "The Kingdom of Macedonia and the Chalcidic League," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*, ed. Robin J. Lane Fox (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 134.
[131] Ibid. 134.
[132] Harrington, "Sanctuary of the Gods," 32.

sophistication of these ancient peoples"[133] in 1978 when he discovered the famed royal tombs at Vergina.

Though Dimitris Pandermalis has been excavating at Dion since 1970,[134] discovery of the sanctuaries did not occur until 1978. At the time they were completely submerged in mud, evidence that Dion was similar to many other ancient "cities of opulence and celebrity situated in the most unhealthy spots."[135] Though the site where the athletic contests took place has yet to be determined by archaeologists,[136] the multitude of religious altars and "quality of epigraphical materials, bronzes, sculpture, and votive figures"[137] attests to the religiosity of the Macedonians and bears a striking resemblance to the esteemed site of Olympia.

The stark contrast between archaeological expectations and reality illustrates just how drastic the prejudices were that Alexander and his family faced. Orators such as Demosthenes produced hateful and demeaning speeches, which reduced the Macedonians to "οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν."[138] As a result of his prestige and perhaps even good luck, his words as well of those of many other discriminatory Greeks have survived for almost 2,500 years. Such a vast span of time attests to just how powerful these biases were against the Macedonians as well as to the extent that they influenced the perceptions of many modern scholars. Provided with the misconception that Macedonia would never yield worthy archaeological finds, academics such as Andronikos and Pandermalis have only recently revised this thinking and have given the region the attention it deserves.

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[133] Ibid. 31.
[134] Ibid. 33.
[135] Ibid. 30.
[136] Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus, The Emergence of Macedon*, 174.
[137] Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus, The Emergence of Macedon*, 174.
[138] Demosthenes, *Philippic*, 3.31.

Architecture

Though Dion's building program was not as extensive as its counterpart at Olympia, the "holy city of Dion"[139] lays claim to a number of significant sanctuaries where at least twelve Greek divinities were worshipped. Constructed outside of the city with ease of access in mind for pilgrims, evidence of sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter (whose walls date back to 500 B.C.E and are the "oldest remains of cult buildings in Macedonia,"[140]) Asklepios, Athena, Kybele, Hermes, Dionysos, Aphrodite Hypolimpidia and Isis (with earlier phases dedicated to Artemis) have been detected throughout the site.

The significance of Zeus as previously mentioned was evidenced by the presence of a precinct of Olympian Zeus where gilded statues of the Macedonian kings stood alongside royal offerings. A monumental 22-meter long altar was the site of sacrifices of a hundred oxen, or a hecatomb, which was an essential "element of the public cult of Zeus."[141] (Figure 11) Furthermore, a sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos ("Highest") was comprised of a court "surrounded by colonnaded galleries with rooms."[142] Though it was only a single-room temple, we know that it was lavishly decorated with a marble eagle and an intricate floor mosaic. Most importantly, there stood a cult statue of Zeus in the Pheidian type (Figure 12), a replica of the one sitting on an ornate throne in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.[143] Phidias' work is "the most famous of all ancient statues"[144] and the Greeks believed he succeeded in capturing the image of Homer's Zeus. The similarities between the iconography at Dion and Olympia significantly implied a singular image of Zeus, despite the vast distance separating the locations. The condensation of

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[139] Mari, "Traditional Cults and Beliefs," 458.
[140] Harrington, "Sanctuary of the Gods," 28.
[141] "Sanctuary of," *Διον*, February 15, 2016, http://ancientdion.org/.
[142] "Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos," *Διον*, February 15, 2016, http://ancientdion.org/.
[42] Ken Dowden, *Zeus,* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 58.
[144] Eugene Vanderpool, "Olympia," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* February 24, 2016, http://www.britannica.com/place/Olympia-ancient-site-Greece.

these images into one ethereal concept erased this distance for both Macedonians and Greeks, and the sites were collapsed into one ethereal landscape.

There is a plethora of archaeological remains belonging to Zeus, yet the same cannot be said about the Muses. Semeli Pingiatoglou admits that the sanctuary of the Muses at Dion has not been uncovered as of 2010 but there may be several explanations for this phenomenon. There is reliable evidence pointing to worship in close proximity to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, but there is also another figure we should look to for evidence. In an inscription "dating to the period of the last Macedonian King,"[145] it is stated that worshippers offered the statue to the Muses *and* Dionysus. These worshippers, called "Mousaistai"[146] honored both the Muses and Dionysus, providing significant evidence that the Muses may have been honored in close proximity to the sanctuary of Dionysus, which was also located near the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus. Furthermore, Pingiatoglou postulates that it is plausible that the female deities might have been worshipped "along with Zeus or Dionysus in the same sanctuary,"[147] especially since they have been associated with the king of the gods since their invocation in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Archelaus' resolution to connect his kingdom to these figures was an intentional decision that would have created a strong bond between the figures being honored and the festival. Through similarities in building program, iconography, and invocation of ancient mythology, Archelaus' celebrations simultaneously pointed the visitor to Olympia and reminded everyone of the King's Hellenic pedigree.

At the Peloponnesian site, the Pelopion marked the burial of the demi-god Pelops and his cult. As a hero and organizer of the Olympics as funeral games in honor of King Oinomaos, a

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[145] Semeli Pingiatoglou, "Cults of Female Deities at Dion," *Kernos,* February 15, 2016, http://kernos.revues.org/1578.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.

monument commemorating Pelops was an integral component to the Altis. It established a deep-rooted connection between the mythological origins of the games, the region, and the reoccurring contests held every four years. By drawing on the origins of their own landscape and accentuating the importance of a seat just below Mount Olympus, King Archelaus implemented the same propaganda that Olympia had taken advantage of since the 8th century. Such close proximity to the divine emphasized the prominent place each festival held in the eyes of the gods.

Alexander's Pep Rally

With its vital location and aforementioned distinctive history set by his predecessors and profound religious traditions, it is not surprising that Alexander III took advantage of Dion several decades later in 334 BCE. According to both Diodorus and Arrian,[148] just prior to embarking on his campaign against the Persian Empire, Alexander called his men to Dion and with "dramatic contests in honor of Zeus and the Muses... he celebrated the festival for nine days."[149] As the Macedonian hegemon of Greece and commander of the active army, this was a tactical decision to hold what can only be considered in modern terms as a pep rally.

Festivals and rituals directly connected to warfare were common in the Greek classical world, which further proves the argument that Alexander was building on previous precedents for incorporating Greek culture into Macedonia. The typical facets of these activities include "festivals and games with their mixture of piety, patriotism, and merrymaking,"[150] and were the proper setting for competition mixed with military training. These festivals, though specifically

[148] Arrian claims in 1.11.1 that Alexander held contests at Aigai, but there is speculation that he may have misplaced the games and was actually referencing the same as those Diodorus Siculus mentioned in his work.
[149] Diod. 17.16.3-4.
[150] William Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War, Part 3,* (London: University of California Press, 1979), 154.

militaristic "[differed] little from those of the traditional festivals,"[151] yet had the potential for having a very different effect. Following a momentous military victory, the *agones* were a setting for victors to thank the gods for their aid and cement a "bond of union"[152] amongst brothers in arms, something that would have appealed to Alexander to create within his own army. A perfect example of this type of occasion is the Greek festival in the Eleutheria at Plataiai, which will be discussed later on.

In addition to the competitive aspect of the games discussed by Pritchett, piety was expressed through the act of sacrifices. These typically took place before a battle in order to determine the most opportune time of action for a general[153], but also when the battle was already underway and impossible to avoid.[154] According to A.W. Gomme, sacrifice was one of the "indispensable preliminaries of a Greek battle,"[155] so it is no surprise that Alexander, a habitually superstitious leader, according to Plutarch, would adhere to these practices, especially while poised at the threshold of the greatest militaristic move of his career. Hosting the Greek army, "friends and officers, as well as the ambassadors from the cities"[156] for a festival with "lavish sacrifices... a tent to hold a hundred couches... [a] banquet" and contests was a crucial technique for instilling confidence in his men and reinforcing the advantage of the Greeks against the Persians in the coming conflict.

As mentioned previously, Diodorus states that Alexander invited "friends and officers, as well as the ambassadors from the cities,"[157] to Dion, but the "element of the state" he focused the most attention on was his men who would accompany him for the next twelve years of his life.

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[151] Ibid. 154.
[152] Leonhard Schmitz, "Eleutheria," *Penelope*, February 15, 2016, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/SMIGRA*/Eleutheria.html.
[153] William Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War, Part 1,* (London, University of California Press, 1974), 111.
[154] Ibid. 110.
[155] Ibid. 109.
[156] Diod. 17.16.3-4.
[157] Diod. 17.16.3-4.

The entertainment of the contests and the distribution of sacrificial animals, which "put his army in a fine humor"[158] alone would have provided him with a positive reputation, but his presence undoubtedly elevated his image in the eyes of his force. Prior to Philip II, Greece did not recognize one leader, and therefore the Panhellenic games (and even the Panathenaic games, since Athens stood as a democracy) were never a setting for a nation to recognize a single individual. Dion on the other hand provided the Macedonian and Greek armies with an occasion to form a personal relationship with a man of great prestige, who they were also expected to serve. Their first-hand experience of his generosity and piety, unparalleled anywhere else in the Greek world, evoked a crucial sense of loyalty that Alexander would rely on throughout his campaigns and for the remainder of his life.

It is important to note the differences between the archetypal military festivals put on throughout Greece, and those held by Alexander at Dion. Victors' lists from the Eleutheria at Plataiai record events for gymnastic contests, a hippios contest, and a hoplitodromos race.[159] Yet, it is also recorded that these games featured a "commemoration"[160] and ceremonies celebrating the victory at Plataiai, which clearly indicates that the Greeks waited until their defeat of the Persians to revel in their success. Why would Alexander choose to hold a celebratory event *before* any achievement evoking some sort of triumph? Though his decision is puzzling, we can theorize that perhaps his audacity was a method for focusing the attention of his men on the upcoming challenge by drawing out and reinforcing their competitive instincts.

According to the famous Dutch historian Johan Huizinga in his book Homo Ludens or "Playing Man," ancient Greek athletics had the potential to influence societies' perception of

[158] Diod. 17.16.4.
[159] Pritchett, *The Greek State at War, Part 3,* 154.
[160] Pritchett, *The Greek State at War, Part 3,* 155.

reality. By establishing a difference between the natures of "ludic"[161] and serious sports, the *agones* instituted a sense of gravity for the most crucial of circumstances.[162] For example, ancient Greeks generally tried to establish a distinction between the *paidia* and *agon*. The lines often blur and their definitions were by no means set, yet often a *paidia* tended to refer to child's play, while *agon* denotes a more of serious contest or challenge.[163] Referring back to both Arrian (1.11.1) and Diodorus (17.16.3), we will notice that both historians use the term *agon* when describing the games Alexander hosted at Dion. This subtle differentiation from the more superfluous term reveals the graver implications of the Macedonians' festival leading up to their greatest undertaking. Athletic festivals were a "commercial exchange"[164] where Greeks sacrificed offerings and dedications to the gods in return for favors and protection. Including athletics in these sacrificial rites did not produce material goods, yet the athletes themselves were the sacrifices to the gods. In the Olympic games, the victor of the foot race was given the honor and responsibility for igniting the Olympic sacrificial flame as a "sign of self-sacrifice"[165] to the gods. For Alexander's men at Dion, participation in the *agones* provided the army with a situation in which they could offer themselves to the gods in hopes of being repaid with divine favor in the coming years.

Dion and the Other Games

Even in name, perhaps the most superficial level of comparison, the relationship between the Olympia festival at Dion and the Olympics is obvious. As the oldest and most significant of

[161] Frias Lopez, Javier Francisco, Emanuele Isidori, "Sport and democracy: Philosophical trends and educational challenges in contemporary society," *Cultura, Ciencia y Deporte* 9 no. 27 (2014): 190.
[162] Ibid. 190.
[163] Ibid. 190.
[164] Ibid. 190.
[165] Ibid. 170.

the Panhellenic festivals, the Olympics had deep-rooted traditions that provided contestants, attendants, and virtually everyone else in the Greek world with a sense of intense nationalistic pride. Alexander recognized the launch of his Persian expedition as a crucial step in his career and by following the precedent established by his father, Archelaus, and Alexander I, he utilized the positive connotations associated with the Olympic athletic contests to promote the reputations of the Macedonian people as well as the entire kingdom.

On the other hand, Don Kyle asserts that the games at Dion most closely emulated the Panathenaic Games held in Athens every year and the Greater Panathenaia held every four years. As a philhellene, Archelaus showed "generous support"[166] for Greek culture during his reign by welcoming a variety of artists and poets to his court, including Zeuxis, Euripides and Agathon.[167] While the Olympics primarily focused on athletic contests, Kyle speculates that King Archelaus intended to emulate the festival held specifically for Athenians. Despite the overriding similarity in both the Olympics at Olympia and the Panathenaia, it is important to recognize an underlying difference that sets Dion apart from its counterparts. Above all else, the *Olympia* had a specifically "Macedonian character [which] can be seen in the opportunity it gave to the king to meet periodically with the representatives of each element of state,"[168] an occasion Alexander was sure to take advantage of in 334 BCE.

Instead of identifying the differences between these settings, it is more important to examine Dion and the other games as a unified whole. I do not believe Alexander intended to emulate one specific event more closely than another, but attempted to evoke the concept of the well-established contests for his own in Macedonia. These Panhellenic games, per their title, spanned the entire Hellenic world by attracting participating athletes, musicians, orators, and

[166] Mari, "Archaic and Early Classical Macedonia," 92.
[167] Mari, "Archaic and Early Classical Macedonia," 92.
[168] Mari, "Traditional Cults and Beliefs," 456.

spectators from "as far away as Iberia (Spain) in the west and the Black Sea (Turkey) in the east."[169] These gatherings initiated an exchange of micro cultures that otherwise would have been virtually impossible due to hindering factors such as divisive geography and warfare. At the end of each festival these ideas and experiences were then disseminated as people returned home and interacted once again with their own societies. As a result, these games did not solely exist as physical manifestations, but transcended physical boundaries with the capability of inspiring influence long after the last sacrifice had been made and the last race run. I firmly believe that this is the effect that Alexander strove to achieve as he held the Olympic games in 334 BCE. Though putting on a momentous spectacle was certainly an important aspect of his agenda, the festival as a whole was not about replicating other similarr celebrations as Badian and Kyle have suggested. For Alexander, it was about demonstrating the compatibility between Greek and Macedonian cultures and contributing to the effort of creating a united force against the Persian Empire with himself at the helm as their absolute leader.

Conclusion

Following the death of Philip II in 336 BCE, Greeks anticipated the formation of a power vacuum. How could a young prince, militarily tested yet still relatively untried in political circumstances hold together a kingdom fractured by nature, which after many centuries only his father, considered a genius, was able to unite? Against the odds, however, Alexander III used judicial, military, and ritual means to quell the risk of revolution. This let him turn his attention eastward in order to address up his father's unfinished business. From the onset of his Persian Campaign Alexander created an environment at Dion that appealed to two previously divided populations in an effort to engender loyalty, filial sentiments and unity within his army.

[169] "The Games," *Penn Museum*, February 15, 2016, http://www.penn.museum/sites/olympics/olympicorigins.shtml.

The *agones* appealed to the competitive instincts and need to maintain morale, which were fundamental to military life. Beneath the surface of these displays, however, the games invoked the significance of the site's geography, mythology, and historical tradition, which proved to the Macedonians their leader's cultural knowledge and undeniable right to lead their kingdom. For the Greeks, the games were an evocation of the familiar: the Panhellenic games, which were an essential facet of their culture since the 8th century BCE. By taking up the cause of his ancestors, Alexander attempted to prove to skeptical Greeks that the Macedonians did in fact belong to their society and were not a separate (and subordinate) entity.

While some scholars attempt to identify which games the Olympia most closely resembled, I believe this is where a new type of historiography demands to be developed. Instead, we must analyze athletics as a phenomenon and cultural practice for the Greeks, Macedonians, and most noteworthy, Alexander. Athletics and the experiences they created at such festivals do not manifest in any physical form (except for perhaps a victor's wreath). Instead, they transcended the boundaries of the settings where they were held. The *agones* were a platform for the dissemination of ideas and tolerance and assimilation of cultures. Most importantly, they established a landscape of Hellenicity and opened a door for Alexander to enter the Persian Empire accompanied by both Macedonians and Greeks.

Chapter 3 The Exiles Decree

Both Philip II and Alexander III made decisions that were vigorously questioned by the Greeks. Yet, Philip's Philippeion at Olympia and Alexander's games at Dion were in truth not unprecedented and conversely fit into a preexisting mold initially established and upheld by Hellenes throughout history. As hegemon like his father before him, Alexander exerted complete control over the Greeks, a notoriously divided people prior to their conquest. Thus, unlike any single individual preceding him, Alexander wielded the power to make decisions that would affect a large number of city-states at once.

Once he had attained such extreme power through the process of his military campaign, however, Alexander's realistic capacity to rule came into question. This struggle is startling, considering Alexander was taught by Aristotle and would have received a rounded education including ethics, rhetoric, politics, and foreign policy. (Figure 13) In 324 BCE, the social and political systems of Greece wavered, calling into question the king's remaining influence over his subjects. As a response to the "unprecedented and apparently insoluble"[170] issues at hand, Alexander designed a pivotal event, which was unparalleled in the Greek world. We will first address the historical background leading up to the occasion before examining the contents of the Exiles Decree. Furthermore, we will analyze the complicated relationship between Alexander, Athens, and the larger mercenary social group with whom Greece had a complicated relationship. Finally, we will investigate the setting Alexander chose to exploit for such an occasion in an attempt to ameliorate the perilous situation and the significance it holds in such an influential time of Alexander's reign.

The Lead Up

[170] Ernst Badian, "Harpalus," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 81 (1961): 30.

Alexander's legendary successes in the Near East and absorption of the Persian Empire leave no room for doubt in his military capabilities. Towards the close of these trials, however, the king began to test the reliability of his companions on campaign and the Greek city-states back home, due to a series of decisions he made. These choices span a variety of intrapersonal and interpersonal levels and their consequences suggest that even though the king had a firm handle on cracking the code to military achievement and winning campaigns, perhaps this knowledge did not transfer to cultural wars.

By 330 BCE Alexander began to adopt conspicuous physical changes in his own appearance such as the traditional Persian royal dress of a diadem, girdle, and striped tunic.[171] In 327 BCE, he began to alter the intrapersonal relationships with those surrounding him when he introduced *proskynesis* (Figure 14)- the prostration of a visitor dependent on his rank before the king- a display that was widely accepted and appreciated by the new Persian subjects. The traditional Macedonians and Greeks, however, abhorred this practice and chaffed at the implications of being reduced to absorbing the customs of those they had conquered. The gradual feeling of abandonment by their leader was worsened when Alexander instituted yet another change that crossed ethnic boundaries and began to compromise the cultural makeup of the most integral division of his army. The introduction of foreign cavalry into their ranks of the Companions[172] and the discharge of those who were "unfit for service because of age or wounds,"[173] were interpreted as efforts to disengage the Macedonian population from his army. These sentiments sparked hostility within the camp, which began to question their king's

[171] Jona Lendering, "Alexander the God," *Livius,* February 16, 2016, http://www.livius.org/aj-al/alexander/alexander_z3.html.
[172] Arr. 7.8.2.
[173] Ibid.

leadership capabilities as he was beginning to straddle two very different and opposing cultures. Their anger culminated with a mutiny at Opis.

Despite these difficulties, not all of Alexander's troubles revolved around the soldiers accompanying him. At the same time, according to Peter Green, a "far more urgent problem... was that of the countless unemployed Greek mercenaries still at large"[174] in the country he had not seen in over a decade. Whether they were exiled from their native Greek city-states, chose to leave in search of a better income, or both, thousands of men throughout the entire Mediterranean were nationless and had no choice other than to offer their services as outlaws to the Persian King Darius. Though Alexander had made attempts to ameliorate the situation by enlisting as many men as possible into his force in addition to establishing garrisons in the Far East, many remained staunch opponents of the Macedonian king and would refuse to serve him even if given the chance.[175] To make matters worse, Alexander issued an emergency decree by the time he reached Susa on his way home,[176] which ordered satraps to disband their private armies and executed those he charged with "neglect of duty."[177] Consequentially, this produced scores of additional mercenaries who shared strong adverse opinions of their king because of his elimination of their source of income.[178]

Friends No More

As we have just seen, Alexander faced challenges that though they were on a relatively impersonal scale, affected the entire Greek mainland. In other cases, however, this scope can be

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[174] Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon, A Historical Biography*, (London: University of California Press, 1991), 449.
[175] Ibid. 450.
[176] Raphael Sealey, *Demosthenes and His Time: A Study in Defeat*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 212.
[177] Diod. 17.108.6.
[178] Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon, A Historical Biography*, 450.

narrowed down to a single city-state and individual. Alexander induced increased dissent after the conquest of the Achaemenid Empire when he decided to turn his sights farther east instead of west towards home and embarked on his Indian campaign in 326 BCE. In Babylon- his capital of the East- Alexander left his childhood friend[179] Harpalus- who was exempt from military service due to a lame leg- in command of the treasury. According to Diodorus, very few believed Alexander would ever return to them,[180] thus upon his departure, Harpalus "gave himself up to comfortable living,"[181] which included the embezzlement of thousands of talents worth of funds, the abuse of women, and "incontinent pleasures."[182] Contrary to most expectations, however, Alexander did not perish in India and on his return to Babylon, as noted above, discovered a great amount of corruption at the hands of his satraps. These local rulers were native to the Persian Empire and chosen by Alexander to preside over small portions of the empire in order to encourage loyalty from both subjects and other leaders. To resolve the situation, Diodorus says that Alexander ordered the execution of the satraps who had been charged with neglect of duty, an order which Harpalus feared would apply to himself as well. With more than 30 ships, 5,000 talents, and 6,000 mercenaries, Harpalus absconded to Athens in search of asylum.

Though he was initially refused entrance, Harpalus deposited his men at Taenarum (Figure 15) in the south Peloponnese- a location that quickly establishing itself as an "anti-Macedonian recruiting center"[183] where soldiers since the later half of the 4th century, "released from service... began assembling from all directions."[184] Appropriately, this army that was

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[179] A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The reign of Alexander the Great,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 22.
[180] Diod. 17.108.4.
[181] Diod. 17.108.4.
[182] Diod. 17.108.4.
[183] Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon, A Historical Biography*, 450.
[184] Diod. 17.111.1-2.

threatening and empire with death and destruction was based at a site which in Greek mythology was also the location of a cave through which one could enter the Underworld. Following the reduction of his force, Harpalus was admitted at some point in what Ian Worthington believes to be mid-June of 324 BCE. Thus began the Harpalus affair, the "final struggle against Macedonian hegemony."[185] It was under these tense conditions that Alexander's messenger delivered the Exiles Decree at Olympia in the summer of 324 BCE.

The Contents and their Effects

"King Alexander to the exiles from the Greek cities. We have not been the cause of your exile, but, save for those of you who are under a curse, we shall be the cause of your return to your own native cities. We have written to Antipater about this to the end that if any cities are not willing to restore you, he may constrain them."[186]

Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων φυγάσι. τοῦ μὲν φεύγειν ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, τοῦ δὲ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα πλὴν τῶν ἐναγῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ περὶ τούτων, ὅπως τὰς μὴ βουλομένας τῶν πόλεων κατάγειν ἀναγκάσῃ.

It seemed inevitable that unless Alexander took immediate action, tensions would come to a head and perhaps pose a significant threat to his control over his empire. According to Ernst Badian, "he could not disband the concentration of desperadoes... the only solution was to send them home."[187] In this way, Alexander spoke the "language of autocracy"[188] in a more absolute manner than any of his predecessors. Nicanor of Stagira, Aristotle's adopted son,[189] was sent as an envoy during the spring of 324 BCE to deliver the groundbreaking message at the upcoming

[185] Ian Worthington, *Alexander the Great: A Reader*, ed. Ian Worthington (London: Routledge, 2003), 91.
[186] Diod. 18.8.4.
[187] Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon, A Historical Biography*, 451.
[188] Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The reign of Alexander the Great,* 221.
[189] Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon, A Historical Biography*, 451.

Olympic games which would not only upend the organization of several major city-states but in the words of Worthington, "blatantly [disregard] the autonomy of the Greek states."[190]

Technically, the decree and interference in the affairs of Greek city-state was an "open violation of the covenants of the League of Corinth,"[191] (Figure 16) the coalition Philip II established in 338 BCE/337 BCE to facilitate all matters pertaining to governing Greece as a whole.[192] Over the previous fourteen years, however, Alexander had revolutionized the Greek empire, which demanded a different strategy for maintaining control, yet this breach came with significant widespread repercussions that inevitably initiated a "whole spate of litigation and administrative tangles."[193] Athens would be forced to return Samos to its native citizens whom they had expelled in 364 BCE, thousands of communities were required to accept and compensate estranged families, and the political and economic structure of each city-state was placed under extreme pressure. So great was the degree of Alexander's interference in Greece's political structure, Badian claims, it stands apart from any other sort of intervention in individual states that we know of.[194] His blatant disregard for his effects on city-states and their past agreements, however, suggests that Alexander was lacking in the established cultural code of the Greeks and was perhaps instead following his own rules. For these reasons alone the "act of statesmanship was and is unparalleled"[195] in ancient Greek history.

Although Alexander invoked the ire of his subject city-states, the Exiles Decree was a deft effort to shift the blame for the plight of the exiles away from himself (suggesting this was a common accusation he was anxious to rid himself of) by claiming that he was not "the cause" for

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[190] Ian Worthington, *Alexander the Great: A Reader*, 91.
[191] Sviatoslav Dmitriev, "Alexander's Exiles Decree," *Klio* 86, no. 2 (2004): 348.
[192] "League of Corinth," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* February 15, 2016, http://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Corinth.
[193] Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon, A Historical Biography*, 451.
[194] Badian, "Harpalus," 30.
[195] N.G.L. Hammond, *The Genius of Alexander the Great,* (London: The North Carolina University Press, 1997).

their exile, but through implication made Antipater, who had been ruling at Pella and essentially governing in his stead the entire time, the scapegoat for their tribulations.[196] The insistence, however, that he would be responsible for their return suggests that Alexander was "avid for the glory of a general restoration."[197] As always, according to Bosworth, his passion to publicly portray his magnanimity and provide any evidence that he was a benefactor of the masses influenced his work, which was accentuated at Olympia.

Furthermore, Alexander's gesture of ruling in favor of the exiles, many of whom were also mercenaries, was a clear indication that he was willing to go through great lengths in order to supersede the anger they held towards him and undercut the loyalty they held for Harpalus. This decree was irrefutable benefaction that hopefully would secure partisans throughout Greece, lessen their hostility, and ultimately diminish the mercenary force at Taenarum posed against him. Yet, we can not immediately assume that this decree was an immediate elimination of negative sentiments towards these people, even if he did want them on his side. In the first sentence, Alexander uses the term "φυγάσι" to indicate the exiles, which incidentally has very dishonorable connotations. According to the Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon, the word also refers to "one who flees" from either his country or perhaps worse to the Greeks, the battlefield. Furthermore, Alexander refused to repatriate those "who are under a curse," or ἐναγῶν. This word indicates a man who has polluted himself with "bloodshed," (i.e. murder,) yet in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*[198] it denotes a person who has betrayed a friend. If Alexander intentionally chose this term, it could be interpreted as a slight to the mercenaries who had betrayed their king for the promise of pay.

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[196] Green, *Alexander of Macedon, A Historical Biography*, 451.
[197] Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The reign of Alexander the Great*, 1.
[198] Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus,* 656.

Worthington cites two schools of thought concerning Harpalus' objectives following his entrance into Athens while still adequately funded with 700 talents and a central leader of the mercenaries stationed in the Peloponnese.[199] Although he entered Athens as a "suppliant,"[200] Worthington, who sides with the "orthodox" school, claims Harpalus had the intention of stirring up a revolt to oppose the Macedonian rule. Athens, who was privy to the demands of the Exiles Decree perhaps by the time when Harpalus entered the city, experienced extreme resentment and rebellious inclinations- emotions that Harpalus may well have exploited. This school of thought, however, relies on Demosthenes' advice persuading the Athenians to imprison Harpalus instead of using his forces to turn against the Macedonians.[201]

On the other hand, N.G. Ashton in "The Lamian War- A False Start?" claims that even prior to Harpalus' arrival the Athenians had plans for a military resistance movement well under way. In this scenario, Harpalus did not attempt to instigate a revolt "since war between Athens and Alexander was imminent over the decree, and this revolt was common knowledge when Harpalus fled."[202] Whatever the case may be, both the Worthington and Ashton agree that the Harpalus affair was not only "an episode in the disintegration of Alexander's regime"[203] but must also be juxtaposed with the crisis faced by the Athenian following the announcement of the Exiles Decree. It is now clear that in addition to the insoluble social problem, Alexander was facing an "unprecedented political and military problem."[204] A conflagration seemed to be imminent between Alexander and Athens, but he was now also forced to deal with a small army of men with nothing to lose, who were willing to use their professional military training against

[199] Green, *Alexander of Macedon, A Historical Biography*, 450.
[200] Worthington, *Alexander the Great: A Reader*, 91.
[201] Ibid. 91.
[202] Ibid. 91.
[203] Ibid. 91.
[204] Badian, "Harpalus," 30.

him. These mercenaries whom Alexander had always been uncomfortable with, exposed his "ultimate political failure,"[205] perhaps for the first time in his reign and ultimately compelled him to promulgate an unparalleled announcement at Olympia in 324 BCE.

Mercenaries

Mercenary, or *misthophoros* in Greek originally indicated someone who was paid a salary for their labor, but the term's definition quickly evolved to denote a professional soldier who did not fight for his own city-state, but could be hired for any partisan cause. For the sake of efficiency and my argument, I would like to distinguish a professional soldier in a standing army from a mercenary, since sentiments geared towards the two are fundamentally very different.

It is difficult if not impossible to identify the factors that made an ancient Greek "Greek," yet a member of a city-state is easier to define. A citizen in the Classical fifth-fourth century BCE city state was a "free [man] who lived in a defined territory"[206] and shared with those around him the mutual goals of "independence (*autarcheia*) and freedom (*eleutheria*)."[207] Traditionally these men worked their farms, participated in public affairs, and defended their homelands through military service. As warfare became more time consuming and prominent in daily life, citizens lost the ability to split their time evenly between these demands and furnish themselves with an adequate panoply or equipment required for a heavy infantryman. A standing military "flouted the amateur nature of the farmer-soldier,"[208] who was unable to fight

[205] Badian, "Harpalus," 30.
[206] Matthew Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander*, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 29.
[207] Ibid. 29.
[208] Ibid. 29.

in a phalanx, execute complicated maneuvers, or use special weaponry.[209] Though a professional force reduced the independence of the common citizen who now relied on others for safety and the security of their homes, the efficiency of the state's military as a whole improved. Philip II was not the first to establish a standing army, but there is no doubt that his success was in large part due to the use of his military as such a tool. In many cases, standing professionals were viewed skeptically since they posed the threat of a coup. As Philip's force was both professional *and* national, they not only had tremendous training but also felt a responsibility for defending their homes and families, a visceral element which proved to be invaluable in many scenarios. In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle states that while the courage of the citizen-soldier comes first, portrayed by Diomede and Hector in the *Iliad*,[210] mercenaries "prove cowards and when the danger proves too great... they are the first to flee."[211]

On the other hand, we may observe a more adverse relationship with Greeks and mercenaries dating at least a century prior to the development of a professional force. Scholars are not convinced of exactly when the first Greek mercenaries appeared and no literary evidence for them exists in Homer's *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.[212] The very first recognizable mercenaries, according to Trundle, appeared in the Archaic age overseas in the service of Pharaoh Psammetichus.[213] During this time, these soldiers were not comparable to what we associate with the traditional connotations that come with the term "mercenary." Philip Kaplan states that in addition to the presence of a "socio-economic crisis...to explain the availability of professional

[209] Ibid. 7.
[210] Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics,* 3.8.9.
[211] Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics,* 3.8.9.
[212] Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander,* 4.
[213] Ibid. 4.

soldiers,"[214] the service was primarily an "elite phenomenon."[215] Support on this subject comes from the two lyric poets Archilochus and Alcaeus, and the latter's brother Antimenidas:

ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γᾶς ἐλεφαντίνανλάβαν τὼ ξίφεος χρυσοδέταν ἔχων.[216]

You have come from the ends of the earth with the hilt of your sword ivory bound with gold.

These three men all qualified as members of the elite class and could afford their own weapons, military training, and luxury to leave their farms for a significant part of the year.[217] Although Nino Luraghi does not completely agree with these stipulations since the "presence of upper-class individuals as officers, and even in the rank and file of a mercenary army"[218] was a relatively common phenomenon,[219] this broad assessment of mercenaries contrasts starkly with those who emerged in the Classical era.

The Greek Grudge

Even through the modern day Greeks are well known for their concept of *xenia*, or "gift-giving culture."[220] In the Classical world, imparting gifts to one another, especially amongst the upper classes was a widely accepted and appreciated practice. This was not, however, extended to wage earning, which placed the recipient in a subservient role to the employer- not the worthy occupation of an aristocrat. In addition to the change in this concept between the Archaic and Classical ages, the rise of the Pisistradids in the late 6th century BCE cast even more negative light on the work of a hired soldier. Pisistratus and his sons, the Athenian *tyrannoi*, employed

[214] Nino Luraghi, "Traders, Pirates, Warriors: The Proto-History of Greek Mercenary Soldiers in the Eastern Mediterranean," *Phoenix* 60, no. 1/2 (2006), 22.
[215] Ibid. 22.
[216] Alcaeus fr 350.
[217] Ibid. 23.
[218] Ibid. 23.
[219] Nino Luraghi cites historical parallels to this case, such as the Swiss and South-German (*Landsknechte*) infantry in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
[220] Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander,* 28.

mercenaries whom in the opinion of the Athenian citizens, "helped to establish and maintain Pisistratid tyranny over a disarmed and disenfranchised community."[221] For this distinct reason, by the 5th century, *misthophoroi* had become so interconnected with tyranny that when the Pisistratids were ousted and democracy took its place, citizens hated mercenaries solely based on their association with monarchy and were regarded by Isocrates as "κοινοῖς ἐχθροῖς."[222]

Mercenaries ignited additional hatred with instances where they experienced unanticipated successes that were interpreted as disgraceful defeats for the opposition. During the Corinthian War in 390 BCE the Athenian general Iphicrates employed peltasts and mercenaries against a Spartan hoplite regiment at Lechaeum when he saw the soldiers returning to the Peloponnese unaccompanied by long distance troops. The defeat, recounted by Plutarch in his *Life of Agesilaus*, was the "greatest disaster," because the Spartans lost *andres agathois* to men specifically named *misthophoroi*, even though the Lacadaemonians were hoplites and Spartiates themselves.

Furthermore, mercenaries experienced large-scale successes even greater than the victory at Lechaeum. Between 356 and 346 BCE, the small city-state Phocis seized the Temple of Apollo at Delphi and all of the treasures held within. Though they were historically not a power nor influential state, the riches supplemented by the temple were melted down and minted into coinage which provided Philomenus, their leader, with the resources to hire a substantial mercenary force and "ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ ποιήσας ἡμιολίους."[223] The fact that he was forced to increase the wages of the soldiers, which Trundle estimates very roughly based off of

[221] Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander,* 28.
[222] Isocrates, 8.46.
[223] Diod. 16.25.1.

Diodorus' equation totaled to approximately 1,622 talents for the ten years of war[224] suggests that even the men were perhaps tentative to invoke the wrath of both the gods and the city-states. If the masses experienced the same sentiments as Isocrates, who described these men "τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν,"[225] it is likely that these *misthophoroi* had become the most unpopular men in Greece, perhaps aside from Philip. Ironically, the Greeks might have been forced to succumb to this seemingly endless supply of manpower had they not appealed to the relatively new king on the Macedonian throne: Philip II, who according to Trundle was "the only victor of the Third Sacred War."[226] Philip was successful in utilizing the opportunity to insert himself in Greek affairs for good.

On the most basic cultural level, the *misthophoroi* were the subject of criticism from citizens for their perversion of the concept of Greek identity. No matter the city-state, male citizens were expected to willingly make sacrifices for and fight for their own homes. This is portrayed most profoundly by the fiercely courageous Spartans and constituted the soldier ideal. The same can be said for athletes, who like the military represented their own nations, this time by competing at the Panhellenic games. The agones, just as a city-states' army, was a fundamental designation that an individual belonged to the Greek world. As outlaws, however, *misthophoroi* were stateless and thus incapable of participating in these designated systems. Their status of exclusion was a dishonorable symbol of their abandonment of their people and most importantly, their Greek identity.

Alexander and the Mercenaries

[224] Matthew Trundle, "Coinage and the Transformation of Greek Warfare," in *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare,* ed. Garrett G. Fagan and Matthew Freeman Trundle (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 249.
[225] Isocrates, *To Philip*, 5.55.
[226] Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander,* 8.

The examination of the brief and certainly not comprehensive history and sentiments towards ancient Greek mercenaries has not only raised awareness of the somewhat "outlaw" role *misthophoroi* played in Greek society, but also the full impact that hired troops demonstrated in times of war. This provides an explanation for why Alexander treated these troops so oppressively in ambiguous situations where loyalty was called into question. At both the Battle of Granicus and Battle at Issus, Alexander displayed caution and distrust, which we will survey before finally turning back to the Exiles Decree.

In May of 334 BCE Alexander was moving east through the Persian Empire when he had his first major encounter with Persian forces at Granikos. Though ancient sources vary, it is now commonly accepted that the Persians were traveling with 10,000 cavalry and 5,000 Greek mercenaries, of whose presence Alexander was fully aware.[227] It is imperative to mention that as Alexander crossed the river and repelled the enemy army, he decided not to pursue the Persians, but turned to the Greek mercenaries, "οὗτοι δὲ πρός τινι λόφῳ συστάντες ᾔτουν τὰ πιστὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον."[228] Plutarch remarks that he does not know whether he was motivated by anger or reason, but Alexander charged on his horse and massacred the suppliants. As a result, the Macedonians lost more men there than they had during the battle, demonstrating the king's lack of tolerance for disloyalty and his unwillingness to allow so-called Greek traitors to escape, even more so than the initial Persian enemy. Following the battle, Alexander ordered his court sculptor Lysippus to create bronze statues of the 25 Companion cavalrymen who died, which were erected at the Dion.

In November of 333 BCE, the Macedonians met the Persian army for their second major engagement and the first time Alexander would come face to face with Darius III. According to

[227] Donald Wasson, "Battle of the Granicus," *Ancient History Encyclopedia,* 20 December 2011, http://www.ancient.eu/Battle_of_the_Granicus/.
[228] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 16.13.

Ruth Sheppard's estimation based on ancient sources, Darius had with him at Issus between 300,000 to 600,000 men, as well as 30,000 Greek mercenaries, though this is highly disputed even today.[229] Despite this tremendous opposition, however, Arrian reports that Alexander gathered his generals before the battle to remind them "it will be a fight of free men against slaves,"[230] and though Greeks would fight Greeks, they would not fight for like causes, as one would fight for his nation and "those with Darius will be risking their lives for pay, and poor pay too."[231] Alexander's speech effectively praises the nationalistic motives of his men and criticizes the mercenaries' motives for fighting in the service of the Persian enemy.

Alexander successfully used the wedge formation with his Companion Cavalry to break the Persian left wing and intimidated Darius into turning and fleeing the battlefield. Since his own left wing under the command of Parmenion was still under pressure, the king turned "ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τε τοὺς μισθοφόρους"[232] who were forced to protect themselves against both Macedonian wings and the phalanx.[233] Just as before, Alexander made thorough work of these Greeks who dared to cross him. According to Jona Lendering, the carnage lasted until sunset with only one battalion escaping through the Macedonian phalanx.[234] Throughout the extent of the Alexander's Persian campaigns we can estimate that King Darius III employed approximately 50,000 such troops against the Macedonian force,[235] who were met with very little to no mercy. There is the possibility that Alexander felt bloodlust during the heat of battle, which is alluded to by Plutarch, and thus turned on the weakest point of the Persian army. Given the scale of dissent both he and his father experienced from the Greeks and the example Philip made by drowning

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[229] David Wasson, "Battle of Issus," *Ancient History Encyclopedia,* 24 November 2011. http://www.ancient.eu/Battle_of_Issus/.
[230] Arr. 2.7.4.
[231] Arr. 2.7.4.
[232] Arr. 2.11.1.
[233] "Issus," *Livius*, 10 August 2015. http://www.livius.org/articles/battle/issus/issus-3/.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander,* 8.

the Phocian mercenaries after the Battle of Crocus Field, Alexander would be tentative to let any dissidents survive unscathed and instead imitate his fathers' harsh punishment.

Alexander's Decree

For approximately two millennia, Alexander has been heralded as a military genius whose guile aided him in overcoming abysmal odds with minimal casualties in several situations. For this reason, his willingness to risk the lives of his troops in order to reprimand insurgent Greeks while allowing Persians to escape is truly noteworthy and indicates he regarded the *misthophoroi* as far more inferior than their initial enemies. Yet, if Alexander held these men in such low esteem as Greeks had for centuries, how does one justify such an uncharacteristically conciliatory gesture as the Exiles Decree? Though he may have been quick to act and in some cases brash, it would be unfair to claim that Alexander acted without forethought in one of the most pivotal moments of his career. This is what makes the decree at Olympia so puzzling, and why any reasonable explanation is steeped in guesswork and conjecture.

By the year 324 BCE Alexander was faced with opposition from Athens, who historically presented the Macedonian royalty with resistance. Additionally, Harpalus seemed to be looking for confrontation with the support of thousands of mercenaries stationed at Taenarum. Alexander's record against the Greeks was impressive and had he been home, the city-states would have feared the threat of another defeat like the one at Chaeronea. His long absence, however, allowed room for dissent that he was not in the position to personally stymie. Although Badian believes Alexander was strong enough to "run the relatively smaller risk of antagonizing the states,"[236] Alexander was forced to practice unforeseen clemency in an effort to create his own counteroffensive. By installing sympathizers in city-states throughout the Greek

[236] Badian, "Harpalus," 30.

world and hopefully sending home some exiled mercenaries stationed at Taenarum, the decree is a subtle reinforcement against Athens, Harpalus, and their future plans. The Exiles Decree is proof that Alexander like Philip before him saw the contests at Olympia as the perfect opportunity to institute propaganda- this time unprecedented in his sentiments geared towards coping through indirect means with a traditionally detested faction in society.

The Setting

Thus far attention has focused primarily on the dramatic situation Harpalus caused and the effects of the decree, which have caused us to overlook perhaps one of the most fundamental aspects of the entire affair: the setting. Even during the most mundane days, Olympia was a site weighted with the significance of history and mythology, as we learned while examining Philip's Philippeion. Just as the Philippeion had been his father's propagandistic symbol of dominance, Alexander's use of Olympia as the setting for the dissemination of his decree was a deliberate and premeditated act of propaganda demanding to be scrutinized. Yet, what are the implications of the decree if Alexander was not even there in person at the time when his announcement was made? What does this truly say about his cognition of Greek culture and his ability to wield it?

Alexander successfully implemented athletic contests throughout his career, though he always kept his distance from the most essential Panhellenic site in Greece. Alexander never set foot in Olympia, though according to Plutarch people enquired whether he would be interested in participating in the foot races due to his remarkable speed. He replied that he would "if I could have kings as my contestants."[237] Although Plutarch also speculates that Alexander was "averse to the whole race of athletes,"[238] it is obvious that just like his father, he recognized the political

[237] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander,* 1.4.10.
[238] Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 1.4.11.

value of the *agones* and the opportunity to manipulate them for his own propaganda. Just as he chose the Isthmian Games as the setting to announce his plan to lead an expedition against Persia,[239] the Olympic games, the largest of the Panhellenic gatherings and an event "ideally suited to propaganda,"[240] was the most ideal location to promulgate another significant declaration.

Though Alexander's absence from the Olympics seems like a questionable decision, further scrutiny reveals an appealing solution. Throughout his reign, Alexander consistently declared he was a descendent from Herakles according to his Temenid lineage and a son of Zeus-Ammon, a notion he claimed was reinforced by the oracle at Siwa and popularized (though posthumously) on his coinage such as the "Porus" coins. These were struck, according to Andrew Scott around 327 BCE and (Figures 17 and 18). On the obverse stands Alexander Keraunophors (the Thunder-Bearer), a metaphor for his father Zeus, with a Nike flying above to "drive the point home."[241] The site certainly emphasizes Alexander's Greekness and authenticated his right to use the location for promulgating consequential news, yet his nonattendance effectively drew attention away from himself and redirected it to another entity. The Olympics were never intended to focus on one mortal individual, but were a celebration of the foremost deity in Greek religion: Zeus. Alexander's absence can be interpreted as a relinquishment of overwhelming attention while simultaneously implementing Olympia as the optimal figurative soapbox from which to reach out to his entire kingdom.

Despite the fact that the decree was promulgated from Mesopotamia, we can in no way doubt how realistic the numbers of attendance were for neither their magnitude nor the capacity

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[239] Thomas Scanlon, "Olympia and Macedonia: Games, Gymnasia, and Politics," Lecture, "*Dimitria" Annual Lecture,* Toronto, Ontario, October 3, 1996.
[240] Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The reign of Alexander the Great*, 221.
[241] Andrew F. Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), 203.

of Olympia to accommodate them. According to Bosworth, from the moment Nicanor left the Macedonian camp "the nature of his mission was public knowledge."[242] Furthermore, Alexander's intention for returning Samos to its native population was "announced in the camp before an audience of Greeks,"[243] and a broader overview of the decree must have been publicized in a similar fashion. For this reason we should not be surprised when Diodorus reports that the announcement delivered by the victorious herald at that year's games was received by 20,000 exiles "mustered specially for the occasion."[244] Though the number might seem excessive, it is by no means unrealistic. The concourse at Olympia, according to George Cawkwell, "must have been large"[245] since we know that it was also the setting of many other orations by noteworthy Greeks, including Hippias of Elis, Gorgias in his call to arms against Persia, and Isocrates.[246] Furthermore, it is probable that these numbers only include the exiles that were close enough to Olympia to travel there for the games. In actuality, there may have been an innumerable number of exiles not accounted for at that specific time. It is clear from the preliminary declarations and weighty choice in venue that Alexander had deliberately created an event of national importance.

On its most fundamental level, Olympia was a gathering place where aggressions and hostilities were left behind, and instead cultivated a feeling of oneness. Its primary function as a religious and athletic festival draws attendants from all over the Mediterranean, which ensures for a remarkable phenomenon in the case of broadcasting information. Alexander might have even dispatched couriers to the individual city-states with a "*diagramma* containing detailed

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[242] Ibid. 221.
[243] Ibid. 221.
[244] Scanlon, "Olympia and Macedonia: Games, Gymnasia, and Politics."
[245] George Cawkwell, *Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 124.
[246] Ibid. 124.

instructions"[247] for his decree, yet the effect of gathering all of the exiles together at Olympia unequivocally played in his favor. Instead of solely relying on many messengers to promulgate the decree, Alexander's choice of one setting as a locus for mediation drew upon the overriding sentiment of "oneness" experienced by the men and ensured the unification of a significant portion of the individuals he was targeting. We can be sure that Alexander's primary motive for this was not guaranteeing the personal happiness of the exiles. Instead, the overwhelming desire for home amongst the 20,000 would have united them beneath a shared passion that would hopefully supersede their revolutionary inclinations against the king.

Additionally, sending a personal member of Alexander's army (Nicanor) to Olympia provided the exiles with an artificial sense of face time with their King. Though it was impossible for Alexander himself to attend, a trusted member of his entourage in such a culturally symbolic setting provided the attendants with the notion that their leader still cared for them even after so many years. This sense of cultural weightiness, newly established bonds uniting the force, and the granted wish to return home was Alexander's ultimate device for ameliorating the tenuous situation that he himself had created.

Conclusion

In addition to his legendary military record, Alexander III's ability to recognize fragile situations and address them in a manner that he could exploit for his own advantage was remarkable. Just like Philip, Alexander understood the consequences of athletics in Greek culture, the influence they held in furthering reputations, and their application to political conditions. For this reason, he implemented the same athletic festival that his father had as the

[247] Worthington, *Alexander the Great: A Reader*, 78.

setting for a major propagandistic play at the end of his career in hopes of winning popular support and securing his control over those who threatened him with insubordination.

Alexander's decision to promulgate his Exiles Decree at Olympia was a display of absolute power never before experienced by the Greeks. At a site deemed to be equal playing ground across the social strata and city-states, Alexander utilized the draw of the cultural and religious factors of the event in order to impose a counter to the power slipping away from him. By mollifying the exiles and mercenaries who threatened his empire, Alexander assumed his absolute power and aimed to institute a counter-fortification against Athens and Harpalus. This type of unprecedented political scenario and display of cultural authority the Olympic games leant Alexander provided the means for attempting to regain control of his territory. Unfortunately, the full effects of this maneuver will never be fully known, as the king passed away in 323 BCE before every potential consequence could develop.

Conclusion

Plutarch, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus all recount in their writings the significant role athletics played during Alexander's campaigns throughout the East. Aspects of an entirely new culture were introduced to whomever the army encountered and established a Greek identity farther than anyone could ever have anticipated at the onset of the King's undertakings. Before Alexander (or any Macedonian for that matter) had the ability to spread Greek culture, tradition, and identity to others, however, they first had to attain and define it for themselves. Throughout this analysis, I have endeavored to isolate instances in which the phenomenon of athletics with roots firmly embedded in the 8th century BCE were implemented as a semantic force by the Macedonian royal house in order to assert their own Greekness in a new world and earn acceptance amongst a culture that they had long experienced from the periphery.

Since Greeks still considered Macedonians "not even a barbarian from any place that can be named with honor"[248] at the time of Philip's reign, many may have perceived the construction of the Philippeion within the Altis at Olympia as an unprecedented "non-Greek" cultural intrusion. Yet, through the military in conjunction with athletics, historical, and architectural comparisons concerning space, material, and execution, I have established that on the contrary, military victory monuments were the norm amongst the Greeks. Additionally, the images of Philip and his immediate family produced by Lysippus recalled a Greek style invoking their own Gods and mythology. As a result, Philip firmly planted himself and his reputation in a context that Greeks were able to identify with and ultimately paved the way for his son to do the same.

When Philip was assassinated in 336 BCE, Alexander III assumed his father's cause by uniting the city-states and taking on the role of *hegemon* of Greece. Having once again established a secure hold over his father's territory, I suggest that Alexander's Olympia at Dion

[248] Demosthenes, *Philippic,* 3.31.

was a tactical bid to inspire through athletic and military heroics as well to inspire a meaningful landscape to unite two historically hostile people under his command. The combination of the seriousness from the military, the buoyancy of athletics, and the religious divinity of Mt. Olympus and numerous temples in the surrounding area elevated the event above the corporeal world and transcended the cultural boundaries of what was "Greek" and "Macedonian." As a result, Alexander's pep rally leading up to his Persian campaigns was a unifying force which drew together what were two separate cultural identities under the umbrella of Hellenicity.

Finally, I emphasized that Alexander's choice to deliver the Exiles Decree at Olympia in absentia was a powerful demonstration of his hegemony when it was otherwise threatened by Athens, mercenaries throughout the Greek world, and his longtime friend Harpalus. Though certain vocabulary in the speech suggests a longstanding grudge between Greeks and mercenaries, Alexander's efforts portrayed by the ancient authors to ameliorate a perilous social, political, and military situation is a testament to his understanding of culture and leadership, which resulted in an unprecedented measure to counter those that threatened his kingdom.

Though significant in their own right, these scenarios, as well as those mentioned in my introduction, can no longer be treated as separate events. Rather, we must develop a new method of examining these athletics by reviewing them in a triangular context along with the military and politics. As a result of examining the *agones* as interconnected occasions, we may expose their relationship to larger concerns: specifically, the status of the Macedonian royalty's Greek identity.

In future work, I believe it will be crucial to examine the various festivals outside of the Greek mainland and on Alexander's campaigns east, emphasizing the interactions he had with already established cultures with athletics, such as Tyre, and the effects of this exchange.

Furthermore, I believe it would be highly insightful and advantageous to survey cities that have undergone high levels of Hellenization due to Alexander's influence, such as Alexandria in Egypt, in order to better understand the changes he affected, such as the introduction of the gymnasium. Though it may be impossible to fully comprehend the complete extent to which athletics contributed to the development of Macedonia's assumption of Greek identity, I believe that this course of study, as well as its assimilation by cultures on the periphery, is a new academic route to acknowledge and explore in order to understand the larger issues of the transmission of Greek culture over time and space.

Chapter 1 Images

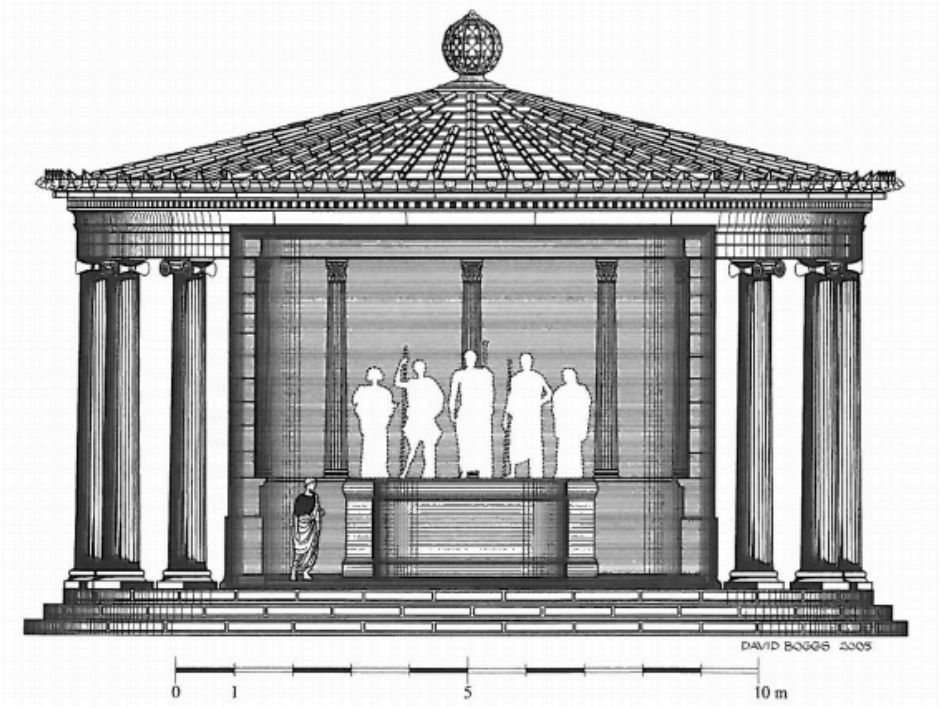

Figure 1: Recreation of the Philippeion
Boggs, David. In "Leochares' Argead Portraits in the Philippeion" in *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context,* edited by P. Schultz and R. Von den Hoff, 205-34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Figure 2: Athenian dedication at site of Marathon
Archaeological Museum of Marathon, "Ionic column (5th century B.C.) built to commemorate the Battle of Marathon." Marathon Museum.

http://www.visitmarathon.gr/index.php/en/archaeological-museum-of-marathon/item/%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%87%CE%B1%CE%B9%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C-%CE%BC%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%83%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BF-%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%B1%CE%B8%CF%8E%CE%BD%CE%B1

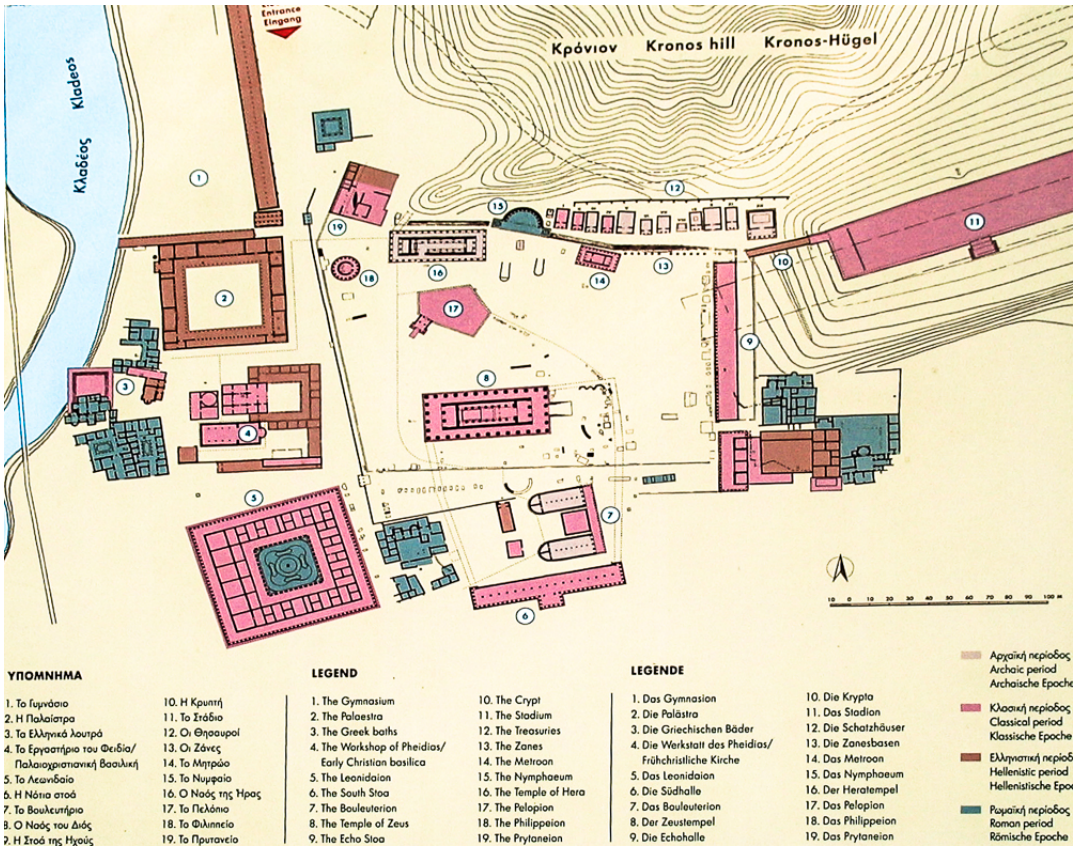

Figure 3: The Altis at Olympia

"Olympia Archaeological Site." Digital Image. 2002-2016 Published. Accessed April 7, 2016. http://ancient-greece.org/archaeology/olympia.html.

Figure 4 The Heraion at Olympia
Taylor, Emma. *The Heraion at Olympia.* February 13, 2015. Olympia, Greece.

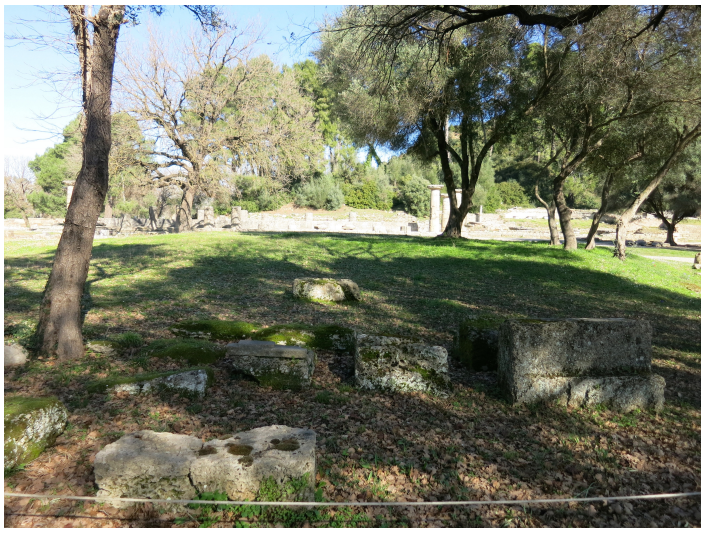

Figure 5: The Pelopion at Olympia
Taylor, Emma. *The Pelopion at Olympia.* February 13, 2015. Olympia, Greece.

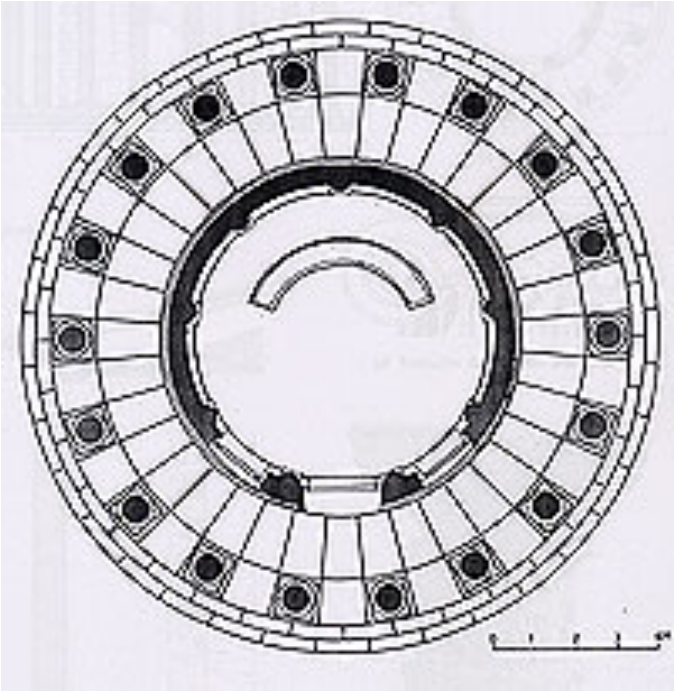

Figure 6: The floorplan of the Philippeion
"Plan of Philippeion." Digital Image. Philippeion. April 7, 2016. http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/3/eh352.jsp?obj_id=538.

Figure 7 Statue base of dedication of Polydamas at Olympia
"Base of the Statue of Polydamas." Digital Image. Mueseum of the History of the Olympic Games of Antiquity. April 7, 2016. http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj_id=11041.

Figure 8 Image of Alexander Doryphoros
Statuette of Alexander with a Lance (Now Missing). The Paul J. Getty Museum. http://www.getty.edu/museum/programs/lectures/hellenistic_portraiture_lecture.html. April 7, 2016.

Figure 9 Foundations of Achaian Onatas dedication at Olympia
Ajootian, Aileen. *Foundations of Onatas' early Classical Achaean Dedication.* Olympia, Greece.

Chapter 2 Images

Figure 10: The Pierean mountain range, Dion is marked.
Google Maps

Figure 11: Altar of Olympian Zeus
Taylor, Emma. *Altar of Olympian Zeus.* July 6, 2015. Dion, Greece.

Figure 12: Cult statue of Zeus in the Pheidian type.
"Statue of Zeus at Olympia." Digital Image. 2015. April 7, 2016.
http://famouswonders.com/statue-of-zeus-at-olympia/.

Chapter 3 Images

Figure 13: Mieza, Northern Greece, Aristotle's cave, from which he supposedly taught young Alexander.
Taylor, Emma. *Aristotle's Cave.* March 17, 2015. Mieza, Greece.

Figure 14: The different degrees of proskynesis.
Tehran, National Museum. "Proskynesis Relief." Livius. http://www.livius.org/pictures/iran/persepolis/apadana/apadana-north-stairs/central-relief/proskynesis-relief/.

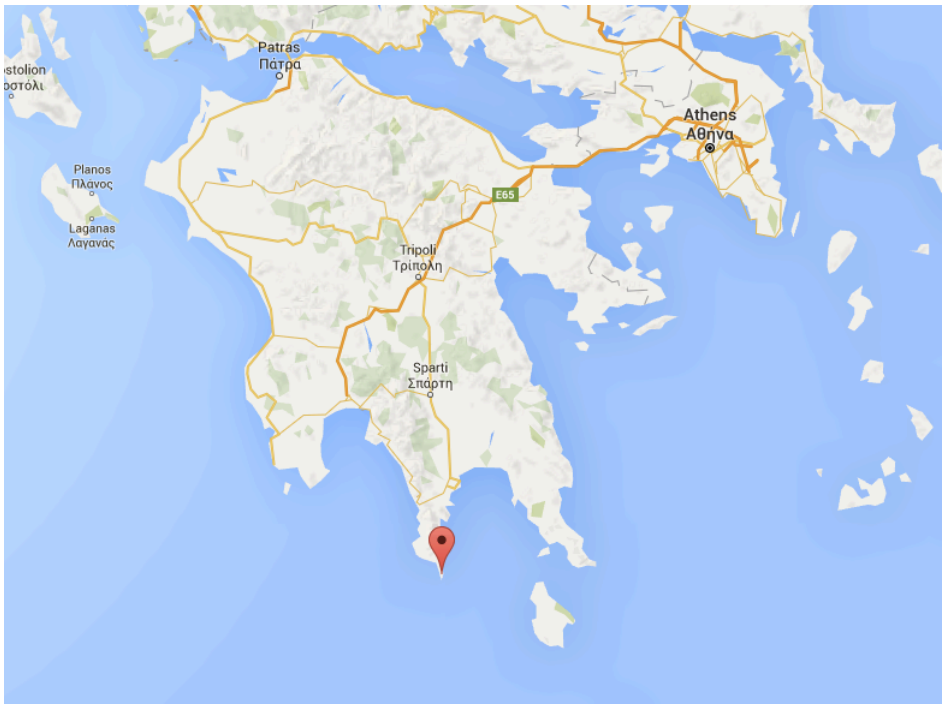

Figure 15: Ancient Taenarum in the Peloponnese.
Google Maps.

Figure 16: The League of Corinth (in yellow) in 336 BCE.
"Map of the Kingdom of Macedon at the death of Philip II in 336 BC." Digital Image.
Wikipedia. June 27, 2009. Accessed April 7, 2016.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/League_of_Corinth.

Figure 17: Obverse of the "Porus" coin
"Alexander as Zeus." Digital Image. Livius. Accessed April 7, 2016.
http://www.livius.org/a/1/alexander/porus_coin_rev.jpg

Figure 18: Reverse of the Porus coin
Suchma, Sharon. Digital Image. Bible History Daily. April 22, 2015 Published. Accessed April 7, 2016. http://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/ancient-cultures/ancient-near-eastern-world/alexander-in-the-east/

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