



# **Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Corinth, 338–196 B.C.**

Michael D. Dixon

ROUTLEDGE MONOGRAPHS IN CLASSICAL STUDIES



## LATE CLASSICAL AND EARLY HELLENISTIC CORINTH, 338–196 B.C.

*Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Corinth, 338–196 B.C.* challenges the perception that the Macedonians' advent and continued presence in Corinth amounted to a loss of significance and autonomy. Immediately after Chaironeia, Philip II and his son Alexander III established close relations with Corinth and certain leading citizens on the basis of goodwill (*eunoia*). Mutual benefits and respect characterized their discourse throughout the remainder of the early Hellenistic period; this was neither a period of domination or decline, nor one in which the Macedonians deprived Corinthians of their autonomy. Instead, Corinth flourished while the Macedonians possessed the city. It was the site of a vast building program, much of which must be construed as the direct result of Macedonian patronage; evidence suggests strongly that those Corinthians who supported the Macedonians enjoyed great prosperity under them. Corinth's strategic location made it an integral part of the Macedonians' strategy to establish and maintain hegemony over the mainland Greek peninsula after Philip II's victory at Chaironeia. The Macedonian dynasts and kings who later possessed Corinth also valued its strategic position, and they regarded it as an essential component in their efforts to claim legitimacy due to its association with the Argead kings Philip II and Alexander III the Great and the League of Corinth they established.

This study explicates the nature of the relationship between the Corinthians and the Macedonians that developed in the aftermath of Chaironeia, through the defeat at the battle of Kynoskephalai and the declaration of Greek freedom at Isthmia in 196 B.C. *Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Corinth* is not simply the history of a single *polis*; it draws upon the extant literary, epigraphic, prosopographic, topographic, numismatic, architectural, and archaeological evidence to place Corinth within the broader Hellenistic world. This volume, the first full treatment of the city in this period, contributes significantly to the growing body of scholarly literature focusing on the Hellenistic world and is a crucial resource for specialists in late Classical and early Hellenistic history.

**Michael D. Dixon** is Associate Professor of History at the University of Southern Indiana, USA.

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LATE CLASSICAL AND  
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CORINTH, 338–196 B.C.

*Michael D. Dixon*

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FOR JOSEPHINA AND ADONIA



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Arbitrations in the Northeast Peloponnese, ca. 250–150 B.C.” (Ohio State University, 2000). While working on this project Jameson told me that the history of Hellenistic Corinth needed to be written. His advice has been invaluable.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Austin, C. and G. Bastianini, eds. <i>Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia</i> . Milan, 2002.
Agora XVI	A.G. Woodhead. <i>Inscriptions: The Decrees</i> . Princeton, 1997.
Berve	H. Berve. <i>Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage</i> . 2 vols. Munich, 1926.
BE	J. and L. Robert. <i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> in <i>Revue des études grecques</i> 1938–84; Ph. Gauthier <i>et al.</i> 1987–.
BG	G. Bastianini and C. Gallazzi with C. Austin, eds. <i>Posidippo di Pella: Epigrammi</i> (P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309). Papiri dell' Università degli Studi di Milano, VIII. Milan, 2001.
CAH <sup>2</sup>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> . Second edition. Cambridge.
CEG II	P.A. Hansen. <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> . Vol. II. <i>Saeculi IV a.Chr.n.</i> Berlin, 1989.
CID	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i> . Paris, 1977–.
Corinth	<i>Corinth: Results of the Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> .
Corinth I.1	H. Fowler and R. Stillwell. <i>Introduction, Topography, Architecture</i> . Cambridge, MA, 1932.
Corinth I.3	R.L. Scranton. <i>Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple</i> . Princeton, 1951.
Corinth I.4	O. Broneer. <i>The South Stoa and its Roman Successors</i> . Princeton, 1954.
Corinth II	R. Stillwell. <i>The Theatre</i> . Princeton, 1952.
Corinth III.1	C.W. Blegen, O. Broneer, R. Stillwell, and A.R. Bellinger. <i>Acrocorinth: Excavations in 1926</i> . Cambridge, MA, 1936.
Corinth III.2	R. Carpenter and A. Bon. <i>The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town</i> . Cambridge, MA, 1936.
Corinth VII.3	G.R. Edwards. <i>Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery</i> . Princeton, 1975.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Corinth</i> VII.6	I.D. McPhee and E.G. Pemberton. <i>Late Classical Pottery from Ancient Corinth: Drain 1971–1 in the Forum Southwest</i> . Princeton, 2012.
<i>Corinth</i> VIII.1	B.D. Meritt. <i>Greek Inscriptions, 1896–1927</i> . Cambridge, MA, 1931.
<i>Corinth</i> VIII.3	J.H. Kent. <i>The Inscriptions, 1926–1950</i> . Princeton, 1966.
<i>Corinth</i> XII	G.R. Davidson. <i>The Minor Objects</i> . Princeton, 1952.
<i>Corinth</i> XIV	C. Roebuck. <i>The Asklepieion and Lerna</i> . Princeton, 1951.
<i>Corinth</i> XV.1	A.N. Stillwell. <i>The Potters' Quarter</i> . Princeton, 1948.
<i>Corinth</i> XV.2	A.N. Stillwell. <i>The Potters' Quarter: The Terracottas</i> . Princeton, 1952.
<i>Corinth</i> XVII	J.C. Biers. <i>The Great Bath on the Lechaion Road</i> . Princeton, 1985.
<i>Corinth</i> XVIII.1	E.G. Pemberton. <i>The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Greek Pottery</i> . Princeton, 1989.
<i>Corinth</i> XVIII.3	N. Bookidis and R. Stroud. <i>The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Topography and Architecture</i> . Princeton, 1997.
<i>Corinth</i> XVIII.4	G. Merker. <i>The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i> . Princeton, 2000.
<i>Corinth</i> XX	C.K. Williams II and N. Bookidis, eds. <i>Corinth, the Centenary. 1896–1996</i> . Princeton, 2003.
<i>Études</i>	Holleaux, M. <i>Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques</i> . 6 vols. Paris, 1938–68.
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , 1–. Paris, 1909–.
FGrH	F. Jacoby. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 1–IIIc. Berlin/Leiden, 1926–58.
FHG	C. Müller. <i>Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum</i> . 1841–70.
FRA	M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne. <i>The Foreign Residents of Athens. An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica</i> . <i>Studia Hellenistica</i> 33. Louvain, 1996.
GG	K.J. Beloch. <i>Griechische geschichte</i> I–IV. Berlin, 1912–27.
HCP	F.W. Walbank. <i>A Historical Commentary on Polybius</i> . 3 vols. Oxford, 1957–79.
<i>Hellenica</i>	L. Robert. <i>Hellenica Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> . 13 vols. Limorge, 1940–65.
HM	N.G.L. Hammond, G.T. Griffith, and F.W. Walbank. <i>A History of Macedonia</i> . 3 vols. Oxford, 1972–88.
ICGH	M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, and C.M. Kraay, eds. <i>An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards</i> . New York: American Numismatic Society, 1973.



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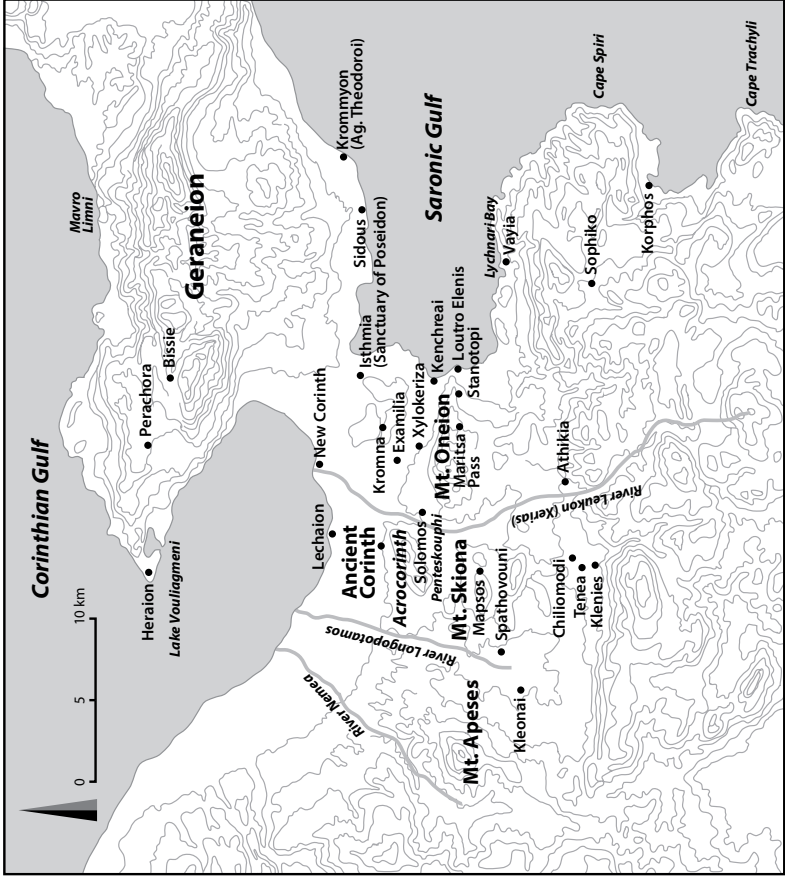
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin 1877–).
I. Iasos	Blumel, W. <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos i–ii</i> . Bonn, 1985.
I. Oropos	B.Ch. Petrakos. <i>Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού</i> . Athens, 1997.
I. Magnesia	O. Kern. <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander</i> . Berlin, 1900.
IPArk	G. Thür and H. Taeuber. <i>Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der Griechischen Poleis: Arkadien</i> ( <i>Sitzungsberichte der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft 607, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für antike Rechtsgeschichte</i> , 8. Vienna, 1994.
I. Rhamnous	B.Ch. Petrakos. <i>Ο Δήμος του Ραμνοῦντος</i> , vol. II ( <i>Βιβλ. της εν Αθ. Αρχ. Ετ. 182</i> ). Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 1999.
I. Smyrna	G. Petzl, ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . 3 vols. Bonn, 1982–90.
Isthmia	<i>Isthmia: Excavations by the University of Chicago under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> .
Isthmia II	O. Broneer. <i>Topography and Architecture</i> . Princeton, 1973.
Isthmia V	T.E. Gregory. <i>The Hexamilion and the Fortress</i> . Princeton, 1993.
Isthmia VII	I. Raubitschek. <i>The Metal Objects</i> (1952–1989). Princeton, 1998.
I. Thesp	P. Roesch. <i>Les Inscriptions de Thespies</i> . Edition électronique mise en forme par G. Argoud, A. Schachter, and G. Vottéro ( <i>Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques</i> ), Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, J. Pouilloux, Lyon, 2007. Rev. 2009.
Kenchreai I	R.L. Scranton, J.W. Shaw, and W. Ibrahim. <i>Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth: Results of Investigations by the University of Chicago and Indiana University</i> , I: <i>Topography and Architecture</i> . Leiden, 1976.
LGPN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . I, <i>The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica</i> , eds. P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews; II, <i>Attica</i> , eds. M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne; III.A, <i>The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia</i> , eds. P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews; III. B, <i>Central Greece: From the Megarid to Thessaly</i> , eds. P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews; IV, <i>Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea</i> , eds. P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews; V.A, <i>Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia</i> , ed. T. Corsten. Oxford 1987–.

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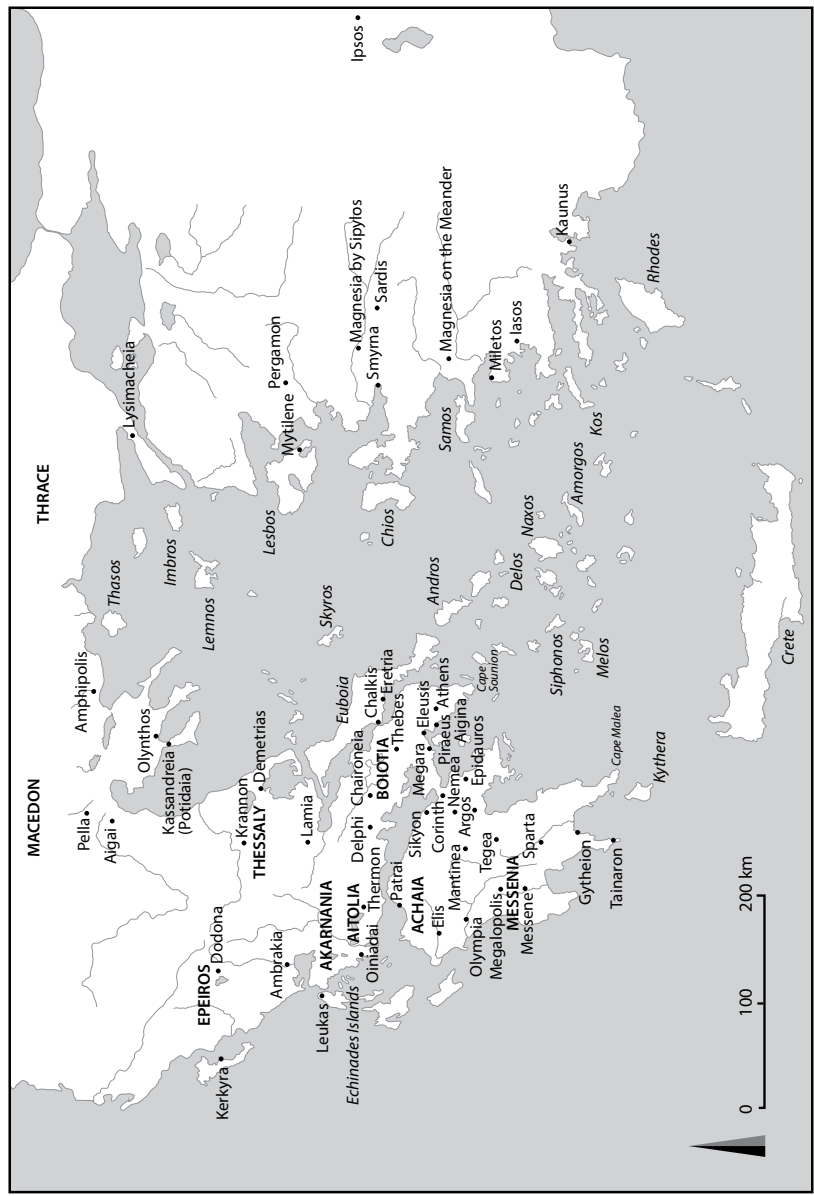
<i>Milet</i>	A. Rehm. <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899</i> . vol. 1.3. Berlin 1914.
MRR	T.R.S. Broughton. <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> . 2 vols. New York, 1951–60.
<i>Nemea</i>	<i>Excavations at Nemea</i> . 3 vols. Berkeley, 1992–2005.
<i>New Pauly, Antiquity</i>	H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds. <i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity</i> . Boston, 2002–10.
OGIS	W. Dittenberger. <i>Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae. Supplementum sylloges inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–5. Reprinted Hildesheim, 1960.
<i>Olympionikai</i>	L. Moretti. <i>Olympionikai: I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici</i> . Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, ser. 8, vol. 8 (2). Rome, 1957.
<i>Perachora</i>	H.G.G. Payne, et al. <i>Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia. Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1930–1933</i> . 2 vols. Oxford, 1940–62.
PP	W. Peremans, E. van't Dack, et al., eds. <i>Prosopographia Ptolemaica</i> . 9 vols. <i>Studia Hellenistica</i> , 6, 8, 11–13, 17, 20–21, 25. Louvain, 1950–81.
RE	A.F. Pauly, G. Wissowa, E. Kroll, et al., eds. <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . 66 vols. Stuttgart, 1894–1980.
RO	P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, eds. <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 B.C.</i> Oxford, 2003.
SAGT	W.K. Pritchett. <i>Studies in Ancient Greek Topography</i> . Berkeley, 1965–89.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
SGDI	H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, et al., eds. <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> . 4 vols. Göttingen, 1884–1915.
<i>Staatsverträge</i>	<i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> , I, ed. H. Bengtson, Munich, 1937; II, ed. H. Bengtson, Munich, 1962; III, ed. H.H. Schmitt, Munich, 1969.
<i>Strategie</i>	H. Bengtson. <i>Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht</i> , vol. I (Munich, 1937), vol. II (Munich, 1944), vol. III (Munich, 1952).
<i>Suppl. Hell.</i>	H.J. Lloyd-Jones and P.J. Parsons, eds. <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> . Berlin, 1983.
SVF	J. von Arnim. <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> . Vol. 1. Leipzig, 1905.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

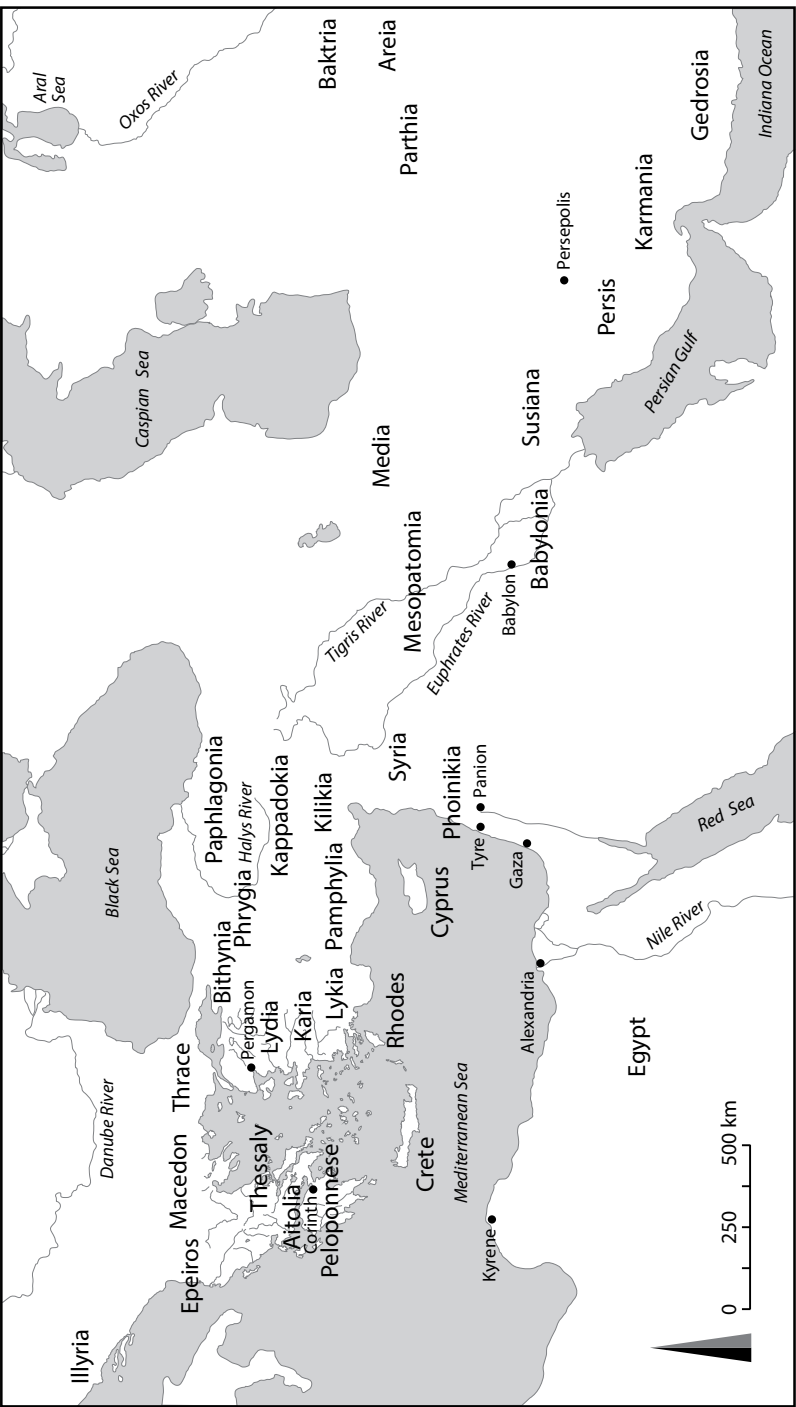
- Syll*<sup>3</sup> *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols. (3rd edn ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen). Leipzig, 1915–24.
- Tataki, *Macedonians* A.B. Tataki. *Macedonians Abroad. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia*. Melemata 26. Athens, 1998.
- Wehrli F. Wehrli. *Hermippos der Kallimacher. Die Schule des Aristoteles*. Supplement 1. Basel, 1974.



Map 1 The Corinthia (J. Kempf de Jong)



Map 2 Greece, the Aegean, and Asia Minor (J. Kempf de Jong)



Map 3 The Hellenistic world (J. Kempf de Jong)

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# CORINTH, “THE GATEWAY OF ISTHMIAN POSEIDON” (PINDAR OL. 13.4–5)

Between the battles of Chaironeia (338 B.C.) and Kynoskephalai (198 B.C.) several different Macedonian dynasts and kings possessed Corinth. Their presence there was interrupted only once, when in 243 Aratos of Sikyon captured Acrocorinth and expelled the Macedonian garrison. Before recounting Aratos’ capture of Corinth’s citadel, Plutarch (*Arat.* 16.5–6) astutely assessed its potential value:

when Acrocorinth, which is a lofty hill springing up at this center of Greece, is held by a garrison, it hinders and cuts off all the country south of the Isthmos from intercourse, transits, and the carrying on of military expeditions by land and sea, and makes him who controls the place with a garrison sole lord of Greece.

(B. Perrin, trans., Loeb Classical Library)

It is certain that whoever controlled Corinth and its citadel possessed one of the most strategically located positions within the Greek peninsula. Plutarch’s assessment, however, only tells half the story, when one considers that a foreign power with a garrison could exploit Corinth’s full potential when it had secured the support, cooperation, and loyalty of its citizens. Demetrios Poliorketes, for example, captured Corinth from Kassandros’ garrison, only with the assistance of some Corinthians within the city. Kassandros held the citadel, but he had not won the loyalty of those Corinthians who colluded with Demetrios.

The Macedonians who possessed Corinth, or sought to capture it, did so on account of its potential or perceived strategic value. Corinth provided a strongly fortified position at the crossroads of Greece that allowed one controlling it to check movement of troops into and out of the Peloponnese, as Plutarch observed. This monograph traces the history of Corinth in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, years in which the Macedonians possessed the city and affected it in many ways. In many ways Acrocorinth and its strategic value constantly loom over the story of their presence in Corinth. *Late*



*Classical and Early Hellenistic Corinth* addresses the period in which the Macedonians possessed Corinth and it has three primary aims.

The first is to provide an account of Corinth in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods that addresses its political, military, and economic histories. No such account has been written previously and one is sorely needed. Its second goal is to understand fully why the Macedonians desired so strongly to possess Corinth and why they endeavored so fiercely to maintain it. Corinth's strategic value is virtually self-evident, as Plutarch has demonstrated. The possession of Corinth offered many other benefits to various Macedonians that will be explored below. None of these benefits, however, could be exploited fully or realized completely without possessing also the goodwill of the Corinthians, or at least a powerful faction of its *demos*. Lastly, the third goal is to comprehend how the Macedonians' presence within Corinth affected its citizens. A pro-Macedonian faction within the city certainly reaped the rewards of their support. The methods by which the Macedonians sought to maintain control of Corinth, and the benefits they bestowed upon the pro-Macedonians, as they can be traced between the battles of Chaironeia and Kynoskephalai, shed valuable light on the effect that their presence had upon the Corinthian *demos*.

*Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Corinth* is neither an "antiquarian" exercise nor a simple retelling of what happened at Corinth within this period. A diachronic approach toward Corinth's relationship with the Macedonian kings who possessed it between 338 and 243 and again between 224 and 196, as well as the Achaian *koinon* to which it belonged between 243 and 224, constitutes the framework around which this analysis is developed. The effect that the Macedonians' and Achaians' advent had upon the *polis*, its inhabitants, and its *chora* is explored to understand more clearly Corinth's position and significance within the early Hellenistic world. It explores why some Macedonians possessing Corinth succeeded in using it to control the Greek peninsula and why others failed. Ultimately the answers to these questions depend heavily upon the nature of the relationship that any of the Macedonians who possessed Corinth had developed with the Corinthians. Those kings and dynasts who had established and nurtured a relationship founded upon displays of reciprocal goodwill were the most successful at maintaining control of Corinth and securing their positions within the Greek peninsula.

### *Eunoia*

Isokrates (5.68) had advised Philip II that "it is much better to gain this [*eunoia*] than to seize many Greek cities by force."<sup>1</sup> Philip, according to Diodoros (16.3.3), "was gentle in his intercourse with men and he sought to win over the crowds to the greatest *eunoia* (εἰς τὴν μεγίστην εὐνοίαν) through gifts and promises." The concept of *eunoia* that Philip was advised to utilize and is said to have employed defines the Corinthians' relations with the Macedonians more than any other. *Eunoia* represents a condition of goodwill that exists

between two individuals, a state and an individual, or even two states. This condition, which euergetism or reciprocal exchange of benefactions defines, is established over time.<sup>2</sup> It is evident that Philip and Alexander, as well as their successors, heeded Isokrates' counsel concerning their relations with Corinth. Philip had utilized skillfully this type of relationship elsewhere and he had refined his use of it by the time he came to possess Corinth.<sup>3</sup> The pro-Macedonian Corinthians consistently displayed to the king their own benefactions through their loyalty to him. Philip crafted these relationships that involved the reciprocal exchange of benefactions to establish goodwill between himself and others. While this might create the perception of a balanced relationship, it is important to remember that the two parties in this relationship were not equal partners.

Alexander the Great was as adept as his father was in utilizing the principle of reciprocal goodwill with the Greek *poleis* and others.<sup>4</sup> The Argeadai forged this relationship with pro-Macedonian Corinthians in the aftermath of Chaironeia and, in doing so, secured their loyalty that was essential in maintaining possession of this strategically and politically important location. Their success in this enterprise allowed the Argeadai to exploit fully the benefits that the possession of Corinth offered. Their relationship established the precedent for subsequent interaction between Macedonians and Corinthians, but not all of their successors were as successful in developing and maintaining the levels of goodwill that the Argeadai had established.

The two decades following Alexander's death, for example, were ones in which several Diadochoi possessed Corinth, and in most cases they established associations with the pro-Macedonian Corinthians through acts of euergetism. Their attempts, however, typically fell short of the successes that the Argeadai had achieved. The Diadochoi had desired to control Corinth and to secure the goodwill and loyalty of at least a powerful faction of Corinthians for many of the same reasons that the Argeadai had. They wished to possess the strategically important Acrocorinth, but they also utilized control of Corinth to associate themselves with the Argeadai and legitimize their claims to dynasty and kingship. Their failures can be attributed to many factors, and they are reflected in the frequency that control of Corinth shifted from one dynast to another. Demetrios Poliorketes, however, was unlike his contemporaries. He captured Corinth in 303 and restored reciprocal goodwill with the pro-Antigonid Corinthians that was preserved unbroken for more than five decades. The break occurred when Aratos and the Achaians expelled the Macedonians from Corinth and attached it to their *koinon*. The Achaian interlude (243–224) interrupted the Macedonians' presence at Corinth and the Corinthians' receipt of the benefits they received from the latter. Achaian possession of Corinth also highlighted to the Corinthians how well they had fared under the Macedonians, as the Achaians never engaged the Corinthians in a discourse founded upon reciprocal goodwill. When the Antigonids recovered Corinth they restored a state of goodwill with the pro-Antigonid Corinthians. The kings of the