

NAPOMENE

1. Od zapisa i legendi

1. Bull leaping: Andrew Shapland, 'Jumping to Conclusions: Bull-Leaping in Minoan Crete', *Society and Animals* 21 (2013): 194–207. 'Lustral basins': Ellen Adams, *Cultural Identity in Minoan Crete: Social Dynamics in the Neopalatial Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 54–62. Human sacrifice: Yannis Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light* (Athens: Ammos, 1997), 268–311. Ritual cannibalism: S. Wall, J. H. Musgrave, and P. M. Warren, 'Human Bones from a Late Minoan IB House at Knossos', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 81 (1986): 333–338.
2. On the unresolved issues surrounding the dating of this event, see Oliver Dickinson, 'The Aegean', in *The Cambridge World Prehistory*, 3 vols., ed. Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3.1860–1886 (see 1861); Cynthia Shelmerdine, 'Background, Sources, and Methods', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Cynthia Shelmerdine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6; Adams, *Cultural Identity*, 4–8.
3. Jan Driessen and Colin Macdonald, *The Troubled Island: Minoan Crete Before and After the Santorini Eruption* (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin, 1997). On the geology of the eruption, see Christos Doumas, *Thera: Pompeii of*

- the Ancient Aegean* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1983) and W. L. Friedrich, *Fire in the Sea, the Santorini Volcano: Natural History and the Legend of Atlantis*, trans. A. R. McBirney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Dick-inson, 'Aegean', 1873.
4. Louise Schofield, *The Mycenaeans* (London: British Museum Press, 2007), 28. Most succinctly summarised in Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 21. See also Daniel Pullen, 'The Early Bronze Age in Greece', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 19–46 (see 38–41 for a summary of the main theories).
 5. Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1987); Paul Heggarty and Colin Renfrew, 'Western and Central Asia: Languages', in Renfrew and Bahn, *Cambridge World Prehistory*, 3.1678–1699.
 6. Schofield, *Mycenaeans*, 32–47.
 7. See 'Palace of Nestor Excavations, Pylos, Greece, Featuring the Grave of the Griffin Warrior', <http://www.griffinwarrior.org>.
 8. Pia de Fidio, 'Mycenaean History', in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World* [hereafter: *CLB*], 3 vols., ed. Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo-Davies (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: Peeters, 2008, 2011, 2014), 1.81–114 (see 88).
 9. Jack Davis, 'Minoan Crete and the Aegean Islands', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 186–208; Adams, *Cultural Identity*, 225–227.
 10. Philip Betancourt, 'Minoan Trade', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 209–229 (see 217); Janice Crowley, 'Mycenaean Art and Architecture', in the same volume, 258–288 (see 260–261); Jack Davis and Sharon Stocker, 'The Gold Necklace from the Grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos', *Hesperia* 87, no. 4 (2018): 611–632.
 12. Christos Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera* (Athens: The Thera Foundation, 1992), 47 and plates 26–29.
 13. See (more cautiously) James Clinton Wright, 'Early Mycenaean Greece', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 230–257 (see 251).
 14. Adams, *Cultural Identity*, 54–62; J. A. MacGillivray, J. Driessen, and L. H. Sackett, *The Palaikastro Kouros. A Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and Its Aegean Bronze Age Context* (London: British School at Athens, 2000); John Younger and Paul Rehak, 'Minoan Culture: Religion, Burial Customs, and Administration', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 165–185 (see 170).

15. Yannis Galanakis, Efi Tsitsa, and Ute Günkel-Maschek, 'The Power of Images: Re-examining the Wall Paintings from the Throne Room at Knossos', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 112 (2017): 47–98; Mycenaean-style burials in the region of Knossos: Laura Preston, 'A Mortuary Perspective on Political Changes in Late Minoan II–IIIB Crete', *American Journal of Archaeology* 108 (2004): 321–348; Lesley Fit-ton, *Minoans* (London: British Museum, 2002), 189–191. Minoan cus- toms: Adams, *Cultural Identity*, 219–221; Younger and Rehak, 'Minoan Culture', 170–173.
15. Laura Preston, 'Late Minoan II to IIIB Crete', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 310–326; de Fidio, 'Mycenaean History', 90.
16. J. Driessen, 'Chronology of the Linear B Texts', *CLB* 1.69–79 (see 71–72, 76); J. Bennet, 'The Geography of the Mycenaean King- doms', *CLB* 2.137–168 (see 150). See also Ester Salgarella, *Aegean Lin- ear Script(s): Rethinking the Relationship Between Linear A and Linear B* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
17. John Bennet, 'Linear B and Homer', *CLB* 3.187–233 (see 203).
18. Driessen, 'Chronology', 77; C. Shelmerdine, 'Iklaina Tablet IK XI', in Pierre Carlier, *Études mycéniennes 2010* (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2012), 75–77.
20. Shelmerdine, 'Background', 13.
21. Crowley, 'Mycenaean Art', 259; Stefan Hiller, 'Mycenaean Reli- gion and Cult', *CLB* 2.169–211 (see 180 for lyre players at Thebes); Ben- net, 'Linear B', 216–219.
22. Younger and Rehak, 'Minoan Culture', 169–170, 181, 183n11; Scho- field, *Mycenaeans*, 89, 151, 168–169; Crowley, 'Mycenaean Art', 280.
23. Paul Halstead and John Barrett, eds., *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2004); Barbara Olsen, *Women in Mycenaean Greece: The Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossos* (London: Routledge, 2014).
24. Schofield, *Mycenaeans*, 78–79 (quoted); see also Sigrid Deger- Jalkotzy, 'Decline, Destruction, Aftermath', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 387–414 (see 388–389); Oliver Dickinson, *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age* (London: Routledge, 2006), 36, 42.
25. Cynthia Shelmerdine and John Bennet, 'Mycenaean States: Econ- omy and Administration', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 289– 309 (see 298–303). Defences at Pylos: Deger-Jalkotzy, 'Decline', 388, 408n9. On Thebes, see Vassilis Aravantinos, 'Mycenaean Thebes:

- Old Questions, New Answers', *Actes des journées d'archéologie et de philologie mycénienne* 54 (2010): 51–72 (on fortifications, see 54).
25. John Bennet, 'Palaces and Their Regions: Geographical Analysis of Territorial Exploitation in Late Bronze Age Crete and Greece', *Pasiphae: Rivista di Filologia e Antichità Eggea* 11 (2017): 151–173 (see 159–160, 168); see also Bennet, 'Geography', 148–157.
 26. Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, and Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 61 (quoted), 63, 67–68, 101–122; Joachim Latacz, *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 121–128.
 27. E. Cline and S. Stannish, 'Sailing the Great Green Sea? Amen-hotep III's "Aegean List" from Kom el-Hetan, Once More', *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3, no. 2 (2011): 6–16; Latacz, *Troy*, 128–133; de Fidio, 'Mycenaean History', 96–98; Bennet, 'Geography', 158–162.
 29. For the first possibility, see Jorrit Kelder, *The Kingdom of Mycenaean* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2010). For the 'confederacy' alternative, first proposed by Christopher Mee, see Beckman et al., *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 4–6. For a range of views, see Jorrit Kelder and Willemijn Waal, eds., *From 'Lugal.gal' to 'Wanax': Kingship and Political Organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Leiden: Sidestone, 2019).
 30. Beckman et al., *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 269–270.
 31. Beckman et al., *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 270–271, for text see 81, 95 ('Indictment of Madduwatta'); Kelder, *Kingdom*, 23–25.
 32. Schofield, *Mycenaean*, 102–115; Christopher Mee, 'Mycenaean Greece, the Aegean, and Beyond', in Shelmerdine, *Aegean Bronze Age*, 362–386 (364–365 quoted).
 33. de Fidio, 'Mycenaean History', 93; L. García Ramón, 'Mycenaean Onomastics', *CLB* 2.213–251 (see 219–229).
 34. Mee, 'Mycenaean Greece', 371–372; Latacz, *Troy*, 105–110, 118, 301.
 35. Beckman et al., *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 269–270.
 36. Thebes: Duhoux, 'Mycenaean Anthology', 381–389. Pylos: Sharon R. Stocker and Jack L. Davis, 'Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 73, no. 2 (2004): 179–195; Paul Halstead and Valassia Isaakidou, 'Faunal Evidence for Feasting:

- Burnt Offerings from the Palace of Nestor at Pylos', in Halstead and Barrett, *Food*, 136–154. For alternative readings of the evidence, suggesting anxiety and preparation at Pylos, see Schofield, *Mycenaeans*, 143, 172–174; Deger-Jalkotzy, 'Decline', 389; Duhoux, 'Mycenaean Anthology', 335.
37. Colin Renfrew, 'Systems Collapse as Social Transformation: Catastrophe and Anastrophe in Early State Societies', in *Transformations: Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change*, ed. Colin Renfrew and Kenneth Cooke (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 481–506; Joseph Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
 38. Tainter, *Collapse*, 193, see also 4–5, 92, 110, 118–123.
 39. Tainter, *Collapse*, 199–203.
 40. See, most fully, Eric Cline, *1177 B.C.: The Year Civilization Collapsed* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).
 41. The fullest ancient source is Plutarch, 'Life of Theseus' (written c. 100 CE). For modern reinterpretations of Minoan civilisation and related myths, see Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnoux, eds., *Cretomania: Modern Desires for the Minoan Past* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); Nicoletta Momigliano, *In Search of the Labyrinth: The Cultural Legacy of Minoan Crete* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).
 42. Duhoux, 'Mycenaean Anthology', 262.
 43. Momigliano, *In Search*, 190–196.
 44. Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. J. Strachey, Penguin Freud Library, vol. 4 (London: Penguin, 1991), 362–366.
 45. See, for example, Natalie Haynes, *Pandora's Jar: Women in the Greek Myths* (London: Picador, 2020).
 46. Freud himself thought there could be a historical connection between the two: Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. J. Strachey, Penguin Freud Library, vol. 13 (London: Penguin, 1991), 312–313; Cathy Gere, *The Tomb of Agamemnon: Mycenae and the Search for a Hero* (London: Profile, 2006), 135–137; Nicoletta Momigliano, 'Introduction: Cretomania—Desiring the Minoan Past in the Present', in Momigliano and Farnoux, *Cretomania*, 1–14 (see 3, and chaps. 5 and 8 in that volume). No historical matriarchy: Younger and Rehak, 'Minoan Culture', 182.
 46. Barry Strauss, *The Trojan War: A New History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 7; Latacz, *Troy*, 283–287. For a useful summary, see

Naoise Mac Sweeney, *Troy: Myth, City, Icon* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 32–35.

47. For the archaeology of Troy, see Mac Sweeney, *Troy*, 49–60. ‘Traditional’ date: Lowell Edmunds, ‘Myth in Homer’, in *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. Ian Morris and Barry Powell (Leiden and New York: Brill, 2011), 415–441 (see 434); Bennet, ‘Linear B’, 196.
48. Bennet, ‘Linear B’, 221–222.
49. See, for example, *Od.* 14.233–241; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 155–175.

2. „Homerov svet, ne naš“

1. Ian Morris, *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 206 (quoted); see also Anthony Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 2.
2. Southwestern Peloponnese: Pia de Fidio, ‘Mycenaean History’, in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, ed. Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo-Davies [hereafter: *CLB*], 3 vols. (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: Peeters, 2008, 2011, 2014), 1.81–114 (see 103); see also Louise Schofield, *The Mycenaeans* (London: The British Museum Press, 2007), 170–185; Snodgrass, *Dark Age*, 364–367; Jonathan Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200–479 BCE*, rev. ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 60–62.
3. Ian Morris, ‘Early Iron Age Greece’, in *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Walter Scheidel, Ian Morris, and Richard Saller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 211–241 (see 217); Lesley Fitton, *Minoans* (London: British Museum, 2002), 196.
4. Athens: Robin Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 BCE* (London: Routledge, 1996), 47–48. Lefkandi: Osborne, *Greece*, 41–43; Ian Morris, ‘Homer and the Iron Age’, in *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. Ian Morris and Barry Powell (Leiden and New York: Brill, 2011), 535–559 (see 543–544); Morris, *Archaeology*, 218–221, 228–238; Hall, *History*, 62–63. Absence of exports from Lefkandi: Osborne, *Greece*, 43.
5. Morris, *Archaeology*, 198–201, 208–209; Morris, ‘Early Iron Age’, 234.

6. Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 13–24; Hall, *History*, 44–56. For the suggestion, adopted here, that the dialects developed in situ *after* the Mycenaean collapse, see Oliver Dickinson, *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age* (London: Routledge, 2006), 54, and, more theoretically, Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 153–170.
7. Susan Sherratt, ‘Visible Writing: Questions of Script and Identity in Early Iron Age Greece and Cyprus’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22, no. 3 (2003): 225–242 (see 225, 237).
8. Barry Powell, ‘Homer and Writing’, in Morris and Powell, *New Companion*, 3–32 (see 4–18); Osborne, *Greece*, 107–112; Hall, *History*, 56–59; James Whitley, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 128.
9. See further the comparative tables in Osborne, *Greece*, 110–111 and Powell, ‘Homer’, 15. On the uniqueness of the invention, see Powell, ‘Homer’, 18.
10. This paragraph substantially follows Richard Janko, ‘From Gabii and Gordion to Eretria and Methone: The Rise of the Greek Alphabet’, *Bulletin of the Institute for Classical Studies* 58, no. 1 (2015): 1–32.
11. Sherratt, ‘Visible Writing’, 228. For the ‘Cup of Philion’, see Janko, ‘Gabii’, 3–6. ‘Nestor’s Cup’: Powell, ‘Homer’, 23 (quoted, my translation); Osborne, *Greece*, 116–118.
12. Barry Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 119–186; Powell, ‘Homer’, 22–25. Words and images: John Bennet, ‘Linear B and Homer’, *CLB* 3.187–233 (see 219). Quoted: translator’s introduction, in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, trans. A. E. Stallings (London: Penguin 2018), xxiv.
13. Janko, ‘Gabii’, 24–25, which slightly updates Richard Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
14. For the *Iliad*, see Joachim Latacz, *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 187–192; for the *Odyssey*: *Od.* 1.91, 106, 133 (suitors, introduced at 1.245); 1.68–70 (Cyclops); 8.448 (Circe).
15. Richard Martin, ‘Introduction to Richmond Lattimore’s *Iliad*’, in *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. Richard Lattimore (Chicago: University

- of Chicago Press, 2011 [translation first published 1951]), 43; Powell, *Homer and the Origin*, 229.
16. See, for example, the proposals of Powell, *Homer and the Origin*, 221–237 and M. L. West, *The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
 17. Horrocks, *Greek*, 44–49; Geoffrey Horrocks, ‘Homer’s Dialect’, in Morris and Powell, *New Companion*, 193–217 (on Mycenaean elements, see 201–203); C. J. Ruijgh, ‘Mycenaean and Homeric Language’, *CLB* 2.253–298.
 18. Martin West, ‘Homer’s Meter’, in Morris and Powell, *New Companion*, 218–237; Ruijgh, ‘Mycenaean’, 257–258; Bennet, ‘Linear B’, 215.
 19. On the ‘epic cycle’, see, for example, Malcolm Willcock, ‘Neoanalysis’, in Morris and Powell, *New Companion*, 173–189 (see 175–176, 184–185). Ancient preference for the *Iliad*: Michael Haslam, ‘Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text’, in the same volume, 55–100 (see 56).
 20. Oliver Taplin, ‘Homer’, in *The Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World*, ed. John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 47–81 (see 47).
 21. Robert Lambertson, ‘Homer in Antiquity’, in Morris and Powell, *New Companion*, 33–54.
 22. Pantelis Michelakis and Maria Wyke, eds., *The Ancient World in Silent Cinema* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
 23. *Il.* 12.462–466, trans. Lattimore.
 24. C. P. Cavafy, *The Collected Poems: Includes Parallel Greek Text*, ed. Anthony Hirst, trans. Evangelos Sachperoglou (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 36–39 (my translation).
 25. *Il.* 5.304, 12.383, 12.449–462, 20.286. ‘Age of heroes’ (an expression not used by Homer): Hesiod, *Works and Days* 155–175.
 26. Bennet, ‘Linear B’, 209.
 27. Warrior Vase: *Il.* 13.132; Schofield, *Mycenaeans*, 120–121 and plate 68; Lefkandi: *Il.* 23.171–177 and Martin, ‘Introduction’, 36.
 28. Chariots: Frank Stubbings, ‘Arms and Armour’, in *A Companion to Homer*, ed. Alan Wace and Frank Stubbings (London: Macmillan, 1962), 504–522 (see 521–522). Cremation: Dickinson, *Aegean from Bronze Age*, 73, 180–181, 188–189. Conclusion: see, for example, Ian

- Morris, 'The Use and Abuse of Homer', *Classical Antiquity* 5, no. 1 (1986): 81–138; E. S. Sherratt, "'Reading the Texts": Archaeology and the Homeric Question', *Antiquity* 64 (1990): 807–824.
29. *Il.* 2.484–877 (2.485 and 487 quoted, trans. Lattimore).
30. Trojan allies: *Il.* 2.816–877; see also 1.38 (Tenedos); 9.128–129 (Lesbos); 21.141–143 and 154–158 (Paionia and River Axios). Olympus: Barbara Graziosi, *Homer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 49. See also (controversially), Latacz, *Troy*, 219–228.
31. G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary, Vol. 1: Books 1–4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 168–189, 237–240, 248–249, 262–263. For the most recent restatement of the argument that the origin of the 'Catalogue' is Mycenaean, see Latacz, *Troy*, 219–247. For a range of views and further reading, see Bennet, 'Linear B', 204, 205.
32. Thuc. 1.3; *Il.* 2.683–684; Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 53–54.
33. For the latter proposal, see E. S. Sherratt, 'The Trojan War: History or Bricolage?' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 53 (2010): 1–18; Naoise Mac Sweeney, *Troy: Myth, City, Icon* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 35–36.
34. David Konstan, "'To Hellenikon Ethnos": Ethnicity and the Construction of Ancient Greek Identity', in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. Irad Malkin (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001), 29–50 (see 31–32). Hector and fatherland: *Il.* 12.243, 15.496–497, 17.157, 24.500. On language and identity in the *Iliad*, see *Il.* 2.867 and Hall, *Hellenicity*, 111–113.
35. *Il.* 1.493–611; Robert Parker, 'Greek Religion', in Griffin and Murray, *Oxford History*, 306–329 (see 306).
36. Respectively, *Il.* 9.411–416 (and see also Sarpedon's words at *Il.* 12.322–328); *Il.* 22.106–110, 22.305–306, trans. Lattimore. 'Generations of leaves': *Il.* 6.146–150, 21.464–466.
37. Graziosi, *Homer*, 81–91.
38. *Od.* 8.522–530, quoted from Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Emily Wilson (New York: W. W. Norton, 2018), and compare *Il.* 9.592–594.
39. *Il.* 11.670–760; *Od.* 21.17–33; *Od.* 24.357–360 (quoted), trans. Wilson.
40. *Od.* 9.252–256, trans. Wilson. The translator is unusually lenient towards this cannibal giant, see 'Introduction', 20–22. See also *Od.* 1.182–186, 8.161–165, 14.288–300, 15.415–484, 20.382–383. Phoenician traders, for once, get a good press at *Od.* 13.271–297.

41. *Od.* 17.288–290, trans. Wilson; see also *Il.* 19.162–163.
42. *Il.* 9.186–194 (189 quoted, trans. Lattimore); *Od.* 1.326–353, 1.369–371, 8.44–108, 8.255–368, 8.470–539, 9.5–11, 17.519–521, 22.330–377.
43. Hesiod, *Theogony* 22–34; Hesiod, *Theogony, Works and Days*, trans. M. L. West (Oxford: Oxford University Press, The World's Classics, 1988), 3. Compare *Il.* 1.1–7, 2.483–493, 2.761–762 and *Od.* 1.1–6.
44. Hesiod, *Works and Days*: respectively, 727–728, 177–178, 188–189, 575, trans. Stallings.
45. Anthony Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (London: Dent, 1980), 20–24; Ian Morris, 'Early Iron Age', 211–241 (see 236); see also Brian Lavelle, *Archaic Greece: The Age of New reckonings* (Medford, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2020).

3. Izmišljanje politike, otkriće kosmosa

1. Robin Osborne, *Greece in the Making: 1200–479 BCE* (London: Routledge, 1996), 121–125, 197–200.
2. Plato, *Phaedo* 109b (my translation).
3. Osborne, *Greece*, 122, 179–180 (Spartan colonies); 129 ('every other year').
4. Jonathan Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200–479 BCE*, 2nd ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 97–100; Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 162–164.
5. Malkin, *Small Greek World*, 4, 22, 158; Cyprian Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), 524–535.
6. Ian Morris, 'Early Iron Age Greece', in *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Walter Scheidel, Ian Morris, and Richard Saller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 211–241 (see 241).
7. Aristotle, *Politics* 3.5.14.
8. Aristotle, *Politics* 3.5.13; Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 15, 37–38; Paul Cartledge, *Thebes: The Forgotten City of Ancient Greece* (New York: Abrams, 2020), 66–67.

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9. Mogens Hansen, *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 11.
 10. Aristotle, *Politics* 1.1.9 (Homer, *Iliad*, 9.63, trans. Lattimore).
 11. 'Law of the city of Dreros, 650–600 BCE'; in Charles Fornara, ed. and trans., *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome, Vol. 1: Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977; 2nd ed., 1983), 13; James Whitley, 'Literacy and Law-Making: The Case of Archaic Crete', in *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, ed. Nick Fisher and Hans van Wees (London: Duckworth, 1998), 317–331.
 12. Matthew Simonton, *Classical Greek Oligarchy: A Political History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 1, citing Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 2.86–88 (probably written shortly after 470 BCE). See also Hdt. 3.80–82 (written at least thirty years later, although referring—fictitiously—to an event in c. 522 BCE) and Cartledge, *Democracy*, 93–94.
 13. Tyrants: Anthony Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (London: Dent, 1980), 120–121; Osborne, *Greece, 192–197*; equality before law (*isonomia*): Cartledge, *Democracy*, 32, 55, 75.
 14. Hall, *History*, 188.
 15. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, 42–47 (42 cited); Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 34–36; Catherine Morgan, 'Ethne, Ethnicity and Early Greek States, ca. 1200–480 BC: An Archaeological Perspective', in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. Irad Malkin (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University, 2001), 75–112.
 16. Paul Cartledge, *The Spartans: An Epic History* (London: Pan, 2013), 68 (prohibition on trade), 27, 39 (helots). Ratio: Hdt. 9.28; Simon Hornblower, *The Greek World, 479–323 BCE*, 4th ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 11.
 17. Hall, *History*, 243–251.
 18. Cartledge, *Spartans*, 27–28, 32–34, 37, 57–68.
 19. The primary sources are Hdt. 5.62–65 and *Ath. Pol.* 20–21. For modern assessments, see Osborne, *Greece*, 291–299; Hall, *History*, 235–243; Cartledge, *Democracy*, 58–75.
 20. Malkin, *Small Greek World*, 32–33, 192–194.
 21. Hdt. 1.141–151; Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 67–73.

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22. Alcaeus, Fr. 112; Aristotle, *Politics* 3.5.14, 4.3.11.
 23. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, 97–104, 151–154.
 24. Robert Parker, ‘Greek Religion’, in *The Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World*, ed. John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 306–329.
 25. Catherine Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 147, 203–205; Hall, *Hellenicity*, 134–168; Michael Scott, *Delphi and Olympia: The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 256–273.
 26. Hall, *Hellenicity*, 164–165; Scott, *Delphi*, 265.
 27. Pindar, *Isthmian Odes* 2.23; see also Thuc. 5.49–50; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 43; Judith Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games* (London: British Museum, 1980), 11–12.
 28. Osborne, *Greece*, 243–244; Morgan, *Athletes*, 212–223; Zinon Papanikolaou, *Sport and Identity in Ancient Greece* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).
 29. Modern opinion is divided on when a ‘Hellenic’ consciousness became established throughout the Greek-speaking world. Malkin (*Small Greek World*) argues for the eighth century BCE; the case for the fifth is made by Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity, passim*. I follow the second approach here.
 30. Archilochus, Frs. 32–46, trans. M. L. West, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5–6.
 31. The classic study is K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 3rd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), first published in 1978 and more recently challenged by James Davidson, *The Greeks and Greek Love: A Radical Reappraisal of Homosexuality in Ancient Greece* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007).
 32. Sappho, Frs. 16, 31, trans. West, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 37, 38–39. See further Jim Powell, *The Poetry of Sappho: An Expanded Edition, Featuring Newly Discovered Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
 33. John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period*, 2nd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 18–21, 169–170.
 34. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture*, 22, 66.

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35. Cartledge, *Thebes*, 52–54 (author’s translation) and plate 5; Robert Parker, ‘Greek Religion’, in Griffin and Murray, *Oxford History*, 306–329 (see 318).
 36. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture*, 73 (author’s translation) and fig. 108a; Mary Beard, *How Do We Look: The Eye of Faith* (London: Profile, 2018), 41–43, 82–84 and figs. 12, 37.
 37. Robin Osborne, *The Transformation of Athens: Painted Pottery and the Creation of Classical Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 123; for rare exceptions, see 124–125 and figs. 5.1–5.2.
 38. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, 158, 187; John Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 263–266.
 39. Osborne, *Transformation*, 25, 46–47, 126–128 and figs. 2.9, 5.3–5.4.
 40. M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, reissued 2001); Jonathan Barnes, *Early Greek Philosophy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 9–99; Osborne, *Greece*, 316 (on proof).
 41. Xenophanes, Fr. B23 (quoted), B14, B15, trans. Barnes, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 95.
 42. Heraclitus, Fr. 30, trans. G. S. Kirk, *Heraclitus: The Cosmic Fragments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 307; see also 284–287, 314–317; Barnes, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 18–19, 38–39.
 43. Hdt. 1.6; Osborne, *Greece*, 344–347, 350; Malkin, *Small Greek World*, 40–41.
 44. Hdt. 1.79–86, 1.154–176.
 45. Hdt. 1.163–169; Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 2003; translation first published 1954), 73 (quoted); Malkin, *Small Greek World*, 149–152.
 46. Hdt. 5.28–38; Osborne, *Greece*, 318–322, 325; Fornara, *Translated Documents*, 45–46.
 47. Hdt. 1.152–153.
 48. Hdt. 5.73, trans. de Sélincourt, 338. For date and context of these events, see Osborne, *Greece*, 292–295; Cartledge, *Thebes*, 82–84.
 49. Hdt. 5.97–103.
 50. Hdt. 6.32, trans. de Sélincourt, 370; John Marincola, ‘Notes’, in Herodotus, *Histories*, 656–657; Osborne, *Greece*, 322–325.
 51. Hdt. 5.100–106, trans. de Sélincourt, 354.

4. Prvi svetski ratovi i klasično doba

- 1 Hdt. 5.78–89, 6.87–94; Robin Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 BCE* (London: Routledge, 1996), 325–328.
2. Hdt. 6.65–84; Cartledge, *The Spartans: An Epic History* (London: Pan, 2013), 95–96, 87–89; Osborne, *Greece*, 335–336.
3. Hdt. 6.48–49, 7.133, Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Séincourt, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 2003; translation first published 1954), 458 (quoted).
4. Hdt. 6.100–108; Cartledge, *Spartans*, 102.
5. Hdt. 6.109–117; Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Olympics in Athens 1896: The Invention of the Modern Olympic Games* (London: Profile, 2004), 179–191.
6. Osborne, *Greece*, 334–336; Cartledge, *Spartans*, 111–114.
7. Osborne, *Greece*, 331–333; Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 70–73.
8. Plutarch, *Themistocles* 5–6, 22 (quoted), trans. Robin Waterfield in Plutarch, *Greek Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 86–87, 101. Herodotus covers only the initiatives of Themistocles in the final years of the decade (Hdt. 7.143–145; Osborne, *Greece*, 337).
9. Hdt. 7.89, 7.184–186; John Marincola, ‘Notes’, in Herodotus, *Histories*, 668n25, 668n27, 671n59; see also, for example, Osborne, *Greece*, 337.
10. Hdt. 7.157–167; Diod.Sic. 11.20–24; Osborne, *Greece*, 344–346.
11. Charles Fornara, ed. and trans., *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome, Vol. 1: Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977; 2nd ed., 1983), 59, reproduces the list inscribed on the base of the ‘serpent column’, originally set up at Delphi shortly after the end of the war and removed to Constantinople in the fourth century CE, where it can still be seen in central Istanbul’s old Hippodrome. See also Herodotus (Hdt. 9.28–30, 9.81), whose narrative differs in some details from the list preserved on the column, and Osborne, *Greece*, 341–342.
12. Hdt. 7.176, 7.200.
13. Hdt. 8.53, trans. de Séincourt, 517.
14. The fullest early account of the battle is Aesch. *Pers.* 353–470, on which see below. See also Hdt. 8.74–92.

15. Hdt. 9.13, 9.25–70, 9.90–105; Paul Cartledge, *After Thermopylae: The Oath of Plataea and the End of the Graeco-Persian Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 8, 88–121.
16. See, for example, Barry Strauss, *The Battle of Salamis: The Naval Encounter that Saved Greece—and Western Civilization* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004); Victor Davis Hanson, *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power* (New York: Doubleday, 2001).
17. John Stuart Mill, ‘Grote’s *History of Greece I*’, in *Essays on Philosophy and the Classics. Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. J. M. Robson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 271–306 (see 273); Alexandra Lianeri, ‘Historiography in Grote’s *History*’, in *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium*, ed. Emma Bridges, Edith Hall and P. J. Rhodes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 339. See also the same volume *passim* for many other examples.
18. Aesch. *Pers.* 807–808, 819–822.
19. Aesch. *Pers.* 790–794 (794 quoted, my literal translation).
20. Aesch. *Pers.* 241–242, 591–594, 402–405 (the last quoted, my translation).
21. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1029–1030 (first performed in 405 BCE); Aristophanes, *Frogs and Other Plays*, trans. David Barrett (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), 173.
22. Hdt. 1 (Preface). On known works written in prose before Herodotus, see Marincola, ‘Introduction’, in Herodotus, *Histories*, xix.
23. Jonathan Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200–479 BCE*, rev. ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 324.
24. Hdt. 1.1–4; Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1–100; Kostas Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jonathan Hall, *History*, 308–310.
25. Hdt. 7.9, trans. de Sélincourt, 417–418.
26. Hdt. 8.22 (appeal to Ionians in Xerxes’s fleet), 9.67 (Thebes), 9.12–13 (Argives, see also 7.148–152).
27. Hdt. 8.144 (my literal translation); compare 1.4, 1.86, 7.139, 7.145. For discussion of the passage in the wider context of national identity, see, for example, Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and*

- the Remaking of World Order* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 42; Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 57–58; Azar Gat, *The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 74. On the passage it- self, see Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 44–47 and *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 189–194; David Konstan, “‘To Hellenikon Ethnos’: Ethnicity and the Construction of Ancient Greek Identity’, in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. Irad Malkin (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001), 29–50 (see 32–34).
28. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449b.
 29. John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period*, corrected ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 33–50 (39 on individual nuances).
 30. Mary Beard, *How Do We Look: The Eye of Faith* (London: Profile, 2018), 34. For the origin of civic statuary in the early fifth century BCE, see Boardman, *Greek Sculpture*, 24–26.
 31. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture*, 52–54 and figs. 34–35, 38–39; Robin Osborne, *The Transformation of Athens: Painted Pottery and the Creation of Classical Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 240–242.
 32. Osborne, *Transformation*, see, respectively, 114–115, 221–224 and fig. 9.6, 146–150, 83–84.
 33. Osborne, *Transformation*, 209, 248–249, 252–253; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture*, 21.
 34. Samantha Martin McAuliffe and John K. Papadopoulos, ‘Framing Victory: Salamis, the Athenian Acropolis, and the Agora’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71 (2012): 332–361; Johanna Hanink, *The Classical Debt: Greek Antiquity in an Era of Austerity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 42–44.
 35. For the fullest accounts of the project, see Robin Frances Rhodes, *Architecture and Meaning on the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and T. Leslie Shear Jr., *Trophies of Victory: Public Buildings in Periklean Athens* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).
 36. Plato, *Apology* 38a (my translation).

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37. Plato, *Theaetatus* 152a, citing Protagoras, and see also Plato, *Protagoras*; Peter Pormann, *The Cambridge Companion to Hippocrates* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
 38. Thuc. 1.76; Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Martin Hammond, with Introduction and Notes by P. J. Rhodes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 38 (translation slightly adapted), see also 2.36, 5.89.
 39. Cartledge, *Democracy*, 105–122; P. J. Rhodes, *A History of the Classical Greek World, 478–323 BC*, 2nd ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 61–67.
 40. Rhodes, *History*, 59–61, 70–72; 64 (efficiency); Cartledge, *Democracy*, 114–116. For ancient assessments, see Thuc. 2.65; Plutarch, *Pericles* 9.
- Thuc. 2.37, trans. Johanna Hanink, *How to Think About War: An Ancient Guide to Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 43, 45.
41. Simon Hornblower, *The Greek World, 479–323 BCE*, 4th ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 121–128; Rhodes, *History*, 32. On resources, see Hornblower, *Greek World*, 127; Thuc. 1.141–142.
 42. Thuc. 1.23, 1.88, trans. Hammond, 13, 43. For modern assessments, see Hornblower, *Greek World*, 108–115; Rhodes, *History*, 86–95; Donald Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005), 41–54. For Spartan antipathy to ‘democratic imperialism’, see Victor Davis Hanson, *A War Like No Other* (New York: Random House, 2005), 13.
 43. Thuc. 1.1; Kagan, *Peloponnesian War*, xxii; Paul Cartledge, *Thebes: The Forgotten City of Ancient Greece* (New York: Abrams, 2020), 132.
 44. See Hanson, *War*, xvi, 3–4, 324; Hanink, *How to Think*, xv–xvi, xlviii–liv; Kagan, *Peloponnesian War*, xxiii; Cartledge, *Thebes*, 134.
 45. Thuc. 2.48–54 (2.51 quoted, trans. Hammond, 98).
 46. Thuc. 5.84–116 (116 quoted, trans. Hammond, 307).
 48. Thuc. 6.31, trans. Hammond, 323; 7.16–17, 7.26–27; Kagan, *Peloponnesian War*, 267–268 (numbers).
 49. Thuc. 6.18, trans. Hammond, 318.
 50. Thuc. 8.18, trans. Hammond, 423; see also 8.43. For earlier negotiations, see Kagan, *Peloponnesian War*, 154–155; Thuc. 2.7, 2.67, 4.50 and, in 413–412 BCE, 8.5–6, 8.12.

51. Rhodes, *History*, 152, 172.
52. Diod.Sic. 13.98, trans. Kagan, *Peloponnesian War*, 458 (quoted). For the fullest early account of these events, see Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.24–1.7.34.
53. Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3; Xenophon, *A History of My Times*, trans. Rex Warner, with introduction and notes by George Cawkwell (London: Penguin, 1979), 104.
54. Thuc. 5.26 and P. J. Rhodes, ‘Introduction’, in Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, xxv–xxviii; Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.23, trans. Warner, 108 (quoted, slightly adapted).

5. Prestonica kulture

1. Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 224–225.
2. Paul Cartledge, *Thebes: The Forgotten City of Ancient Greece* (New York: Abrams, 2020), 167.
3. Xenophon, *Anabasis*; Xenophon, *The Persian Expedition*, trans. Rex Warner, with a new introduction by G. Cawkwell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).
4. Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.1–2; Xenophon, *A History of My Times*, trans. Rex Warner, with introduction and notes by George Cawkwell (London: Penguin, 1979), 174, and editor’s note citing *Hellenica Oxyrrynchia* 7.5, an Athenian account contemporary with Xenophon’s and known only from papyrus fragments, of unknown authorship; Simon Hornblower, *The Greek World, 479–323 BCE*, 4th ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 220, 229.
5. Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.30–31; P. J. Rhodes, *A History of the Classical Greek World, 478–323 BC*, 2nd ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 229–230; Hornblower, *Greek World*, 233. On the meaning and status of the term *autonomy* at this time, see Emily Mackil, *Creating a Common Polity: Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 92, 94, 115n17, 116n29.
6. Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.26, trans. Warner, 403.
7. Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.17, trans. Warner, 400; Paus. 9.15.4 (my translation), see also Pausanias, *Guide to Greece*, trans. Peter Levi, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 1.339, and Paus. 8.11.5–9, trans. Levi, 2.398–399.

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8. Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.27, trans. Warner, 403; Cawkwell, 'Introduction', in Xenophon, *History*, 7; see also Arnold Toynbee, *The Greeks and Their Heritages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 60, 66. For an opposite assessment, see Moses Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History*, rev. ed. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1986), 121–122; Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 227–228.
 9. Cartledge, *Democracy*, 176–178.
 10. Isocrates, *Antidosis* 1–10, written 354–353 BCE. On Plato, Isocrates, and the written word, see Andrea Wilson Nightingale, 'Sages, Sophists, and Philosophers: Greek Wisdom Literature', in *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A New Perspective*, ed. Oliver Taplin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 156–191 (see 172–185); on the writing of speeches and the influence of the written versions, see also Chris Carey, 'Observers of Speeches and Hearers of Action: The Athenian Orators', in the same volume, 192–216 (see 215–216).
 11. Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 185; trans. George Norlin, *Isocrates*, 3 vols. (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928), 1.239.
 12. Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 81; Takis Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis: Isocrates' Rhetorical Education* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 84, 114n9.
 13. Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 47–50 (50 quoted, my translation). See also *Antidosis* 299, in which Isocrates goes further, to imagine the whole of Greece as a city-state, with Athens as its sole 'city' and all the other *po-leis* as mere villages by comparison, and Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 207–210, 219.
 14. Robin Lane Fox, 'Philip of Macedon: Accession, Ambitions, and Self-Presentation', in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC–300 AD*, ed. Robin Lane Fox (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2011), 335–366 (see 335–336), revising the commonly accepted 359 BCE.
 15. Theopompus of Chios (fourth century BCE), cited in translation by Hornblower, *Greek World*, 268; Justin 9.8.10, trans. Ian Worthington, *Philip II of Macedonia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 195 (on this later Latin source see 212–13); Worthington, *Philip*, 4, 195, 201–203, 208.

16. Hornblower, *Greek World*, 275, 282.
17. Demosthenes, *Philippics* 3.30–31 (my translation); see also Ian Worthington, *Demosthenes of Athens and the Fall of Classical Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 220–223.
18. Worthington, *Demosthenes*, 265; Worthington, *Philip*, 166–167.
19. Isocrates, *Philip* 107–108, 154; M. B. Hatzopoulos, ‘Macedonians and Other Greeks’, in Lane Fox, *Companion*, 51–78 (see 67–69). See also Edward Harris, *Aeschines and Athenian Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 124–154.
20. Jonathan Hall, ‘Contested Ethnicities: Perceptions of Macedonia Within Evolving Definitions of Greek Identity’, in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. Irad Malkin (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001), 159–186.
21. See Hatzopoulos, ‘Macedonians’; Rhodes, *History*, 334–335; Hornblower, *Greek World*, 94–100. On personal names, see Miltiade Hatzopoulos, ‘“L’Histoire par les noms” in Macedonia’, in *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Elaine Matthews (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 99–117.
22. Hatzopoulos, ‘Macedonia’, 65–66. On Stageira, see Worthington, *Philip*, 75 and 254n5; Robin Lane Fox, ‘Philip’s and Alexander’s Macedonia’, in Lane Fox, *Companion*, 367–391 (see 372).
23. Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 73–80; Olivier Masson, ‘Macedonian Language’, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 905–906 (4th ed., 2012, available online).
24. Demosthenes, *Philippics* 4.31–35; Worthington, *Demosthenes*, 224–227.
25. Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 1.50; Worthington, *Demosthenes*, 246–254; Worthington, *Philip*, 147–151; Cartledge, *Thebes*, 226–231.
26. There is no single surviving ancient source for these details, which have been pieced together by modern historians from several different sources. See Rhodes, *History*, 356–358; Hornblower, *Greek World*, 286–288; Worthington, *Demosthenes*, 255–259, 262–264; Worthington, *Philip*, 158–163.
27. Isocrates, ‘Letter 3’: 5 (my translation); see trans. Norlin, 3.402–407; Worthington, *Philip*, 167–170.

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28. Worthington, *Demosthenes*, 48.
 29. This and the previous paragraph are based closely on the two ancient sources for these events: Diod. Sic. 16.91–95 (written during the first century BCE) and Justin 9.6–7 (a later abridgement of a Latin history, also of the first century BCE). There are discrepancies between them in some details, which have been differently interpreted by modern historians. For the date (July or October), see A. B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 23; Lane Fox, 'Philip's and Alexander's Mace- don', 385. See also Paul Cartledge, *Alexander the Great: The Hunt for a New Past* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2005), 55–56, 63–65; Worthington, *Philip*, 172–193.
 30. Justin 11.2.
 31. Worthington lists the ancient sources (*Philip*, 269n45) and some modern approaches and contrasting verdicts (269–270n56). For the view that Alexander was not involved, with references to earlier scholarship on the subject, see Bosworth, *Conquest*, 25–26. Alexander's guilt has been proposed by Ernst Badian, 'The Death of Philip II', *Phoenix* 17 (1963), 244–250; and Worthington, *Philip*, 182–186.
 32. Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.24.2–3, 7.1.4, 7.2.1, 7.28.2–3; for translation, see (respectively) Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt, rev. with introduction and notes by J. R. Hamilton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 335–336, 349, 350, 395–396.
 33. Arrian, *Anabasis* 4.8–15, trans. de Sélincourt, 213–226; Plutarch, *Alexander* 48–55; Cartledge, *Alexander*, 263–265.
 34. Manolis Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs* (Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1984), 62–78, 97–197, 226–233; for subsequent opinions and bibliography, see Worthington, *Philip*, 234–241.
 35. Diod. Sic. 16.92.1, 17.3.1; Worthington, *Philip*, 187.
 36. Diod. Sic. 17.4.4–7; Bosworth, *Conquest*, 189–194, 198.
 37. Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.7.2, trans. de Sélincourt, 55 (quoted); Diod. Sic. 17.8–9; Plutarch, *Alexander* 11, trans. Robin Waterfield, *Plutarch: Greek Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 321.
 38. Diod. Sic. 17.14–15; Plutarch, *Alexander* 11; Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.8–11; Bosworth, *Conquest*, 195–197; Cartledge, *Thebes*, 234–239.
 39. Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.12.
 40. Bosworth, *Conquest*, 35, 259, noting irreconcilable discrepancies in the extant ancient sources.

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41. Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.16.7; Plutarch, *Alexander* 16.8 (my translation). The text is all but identical in both, and so must be presumed to be an accurate transcription.
 42. Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.16, trans. de Sélincourt, 75; Cartledge, *Alexander*, 96–98.
 43. Cartledge, *Alexander*, 45, 134–135.
 44. Arrian, *Anabasis* 2.14.9, trans. de Sélincourt, 128.
 45. Bosworth, *Conquest*, 75–79.
 46. Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.15–17.
 47. Respectively, Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.19; Plutarch, *Alexander* 37–38.
 48. Arrian, *Anabasis* 5.26.2, trans. de Sélincourt, 293.
 49. Hugh Bowden, *Alexander the Great: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 84, 89–92.
 50. J. R. Hamilton, ‘Introduction’, in Arrian, *Campaigns*, 30–32; Cartledge, *Alexander*, 75–76, 122–124.
 51. On economic recovery, see Bosworth, *Conquest*, 204–205; on the building of the Theatre of Dionysus, see Johanna Hanink, *Lycurgan Athens and the Making of Classical Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 92–125; on the making of the Athenian ‘brand’, see the same work, 5–22, 230 (Athens as ‘capital of theatre’) and Johanna Hanink, *The Classical Debt: Greek Antiquity in an Era of Austerity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 32–69.
 52. Armand Leroi, *The Lagoon: How Aristotle Invented Science* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Edith Hall, *Aristotle’s Way: Ten Ways Ancient Wisdom Can Change Your Life* (London: Penguin, 2019).
 53. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.7.8; Bosworth, *Conquest*, 278–290; Cartledge, *Alexander*, 215–227.
 54. Mary Beard, *How Do We Look: The Eye of Faith* (London: Profile, 2018), 85–90; John Boardman, *Greek Art*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), 160–164. Bosworth, *Conquest*, 220.
 55. Diod.Sic. 18.8.2–5; Bosworth, *Conquest*, 221.
 57. Diod.Sic. 18.9.5, 18.10.2–3 (my translation).
 58. Diod.Sic. 18.12–18; Cartledge, *Alexander*, 100–103; Cartledge, *Democracy*, 217.
 59. Graham Shipley, *The Greek World After Alexander, 323–30 BC* (London: Routledge, 2000), 1; R. Malcolm Errington, *A History of the*

Hellenistic World, 323–30 BC (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 8; Angelos Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests: The Greek World from Alexander to Hadrian 336 BC–AD 138* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 1, 196–197.

6. „Postati Grk“

1. The principal ancient source for these events is Diod.Sic. 18–20; see in English: Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library, Books 16–20: Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Successors*, trans. Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 179–423; the fullest modern account is Robin Waterfield, *Dividing the Spoils: The War for Alexander the Great’s Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). For a succinct overview see Winthrop Lindsay Adams, ‘The Hellenistic Kingdoms’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. Glenn Bugh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 28–51.
2. Ashoka inscription: translation and commentary in Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (London: Duckworth, 1993), 101–102. On the early Buddhist text, *Questions of King Milinda*, written in Pali, and its relation to Menander, the ‘Indo-Greek king who ruled from 155–130 BCE, from a capital at Sagala (Sialkot)’ in the Punjab, see Richard Stoneman, *The Greek Experience of India: From Alexander to the Indo-Greeks* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 365–374.
3. John Boardman, *The Greeks in Asia* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015), 82, 185. On Taxila and the history of these kingdoms, see 138–142; on coins, see 94–101. See also Stoneman, *Greek Experience*, 377–404.
4. Rachel Mairs, *The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), xvii–xxii; for Greek texts with accompanying translations see 283–284 (cited in my own translation). See also Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand*, 177–179; Boardman, *Greeks*, 83–86, and Peter Thonemann, *The Hellenistic Age: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1–3.
5. G. G. Aperghis, *The Seleukid Royal Economy: The Finances and Financial Administration of the Seleukid Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge

- University Press, 2004), 37–38 (on Seleucia-on-the-Tigris); Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand*, 149–159.
6. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand*, 142–148 (language and Berossus, 148 cited), 38–39, 154–155 (temple patronage); see also Paul Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 113–114, 207–208.
 7. Paul Kosmin, *Time and Its Adversaries in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 21–26 and *passim*.
 8. Strabo 17.1.6, cited and discussed by Sally-Ann Ashton, ‘Ptolemaic Alexandria and the Egyptian Tradition’, in *Alexandria: Real and Imagined*, ed. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 15–40 (see 16–17).
 9. Peter Clayton, ‘The Pharos at Alexandria’, in *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World*, ed. Peter Clayton and Martin Price (London: Routledge, 2013), 138–157.
 10. Franck Goddio, *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters* (London: Periplus, 1998); Ashton, ‘Ptolemaic Alexandria’.
 11. Herwig Maehler, ‘Alexandria, the Mouseion, and Cultural Identity’, in Hirst and Silk, *Alexandria*, 1–14. See also Graham Shipley, *The Greek World After Alexander, 323–30 BC* (London: Routledge, 2000), 214–215, 240–243.
 12. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Greek Science After Aristotle* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973), 3–8, 49–50, 75–85.
 13. For the story of Ptolemaic patronage, see ‘Aristeas to Philocrates’ (2nd century BCE?), trans. M. Hadas in Michel Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), no. 261; James Carleton Paget, ‘Jews and Christians in Ancient Alexandria: From the Ptolemies to Caracalla’, in Hirst and Silk, *Alexandria*, 143–166 (see 149–151).
 14. Ashton, ‘Ptolemaic Alexandria’; Alan Bowman, *Egypt After the Pharaohs, 332 BC–AD 642* (London: British Museum, 1996), 168–169; R. Malcolm Errington, *A History of the Hellenistic World, 323–30 BC* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 146–147; J. G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt Under the Ptolemies, 305–30 BC* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 205–206.

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15. Maehler, 'Alexandria', 6–7 ('cultural apartheid'); F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (London: Fontana, 1992), 110, 214; Errington, *History*, 154–155. For an obsequious Greek response at the time, see Theocritus, *Idylls* 17.128–134.
 16. 'A third century [BCE] description of central Greece', often attributed to Heracleides of Crete, trans. Austin in *Hellenistic World*, no. 101 (p. 198 cited); compare Strabo 17.1.6–10, describing Alexandria some three hundred years later (translated in the same volume, no. 292).
 17. See, for example, Shipley, *Greek World*, 128–130; Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 241–245.
 18. Johanna Hanink, *Lycurgan Athens and the Making of Classical Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 225–243; N. J. Lowe, *Comedy (New Surveys in the Classics)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 63–80.
 19. Walbank, *Hellenistic World*, 178–181; Shipley, *Greek World*, 176–191.
 20. Diod.Sic. 20.54.1; for date, see Shipley, *Greek World*, 51.
 21. Theocritus, *Idylls* 1.
 22. Lloyd, *Greek Science*, 40–49 (40, 47 cited).
 23. Polyb. 8.3–7; Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert, selected with an introduction by F. W. Walbank (London: Penguin, 1979), 364–368; Plutarch, *Marcellus* 14–17, 19.
 24. For a Greek analysis, written while the historian was living as a hostage in Rome between 167 and 150 BCE, see Polyb. 6.11–58, trans. Scott-Kilvert, 311–352. For its limitations, and modern correctives, see Mary Beard, *SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome* (London: Profile, 2015), 184–192; Cartledge, *Democracy*, 247–263. On Polybius see further below.
 25. Polyb. 1.3.3–4 (my translation); trans. Scott-Kilvert, 43; see also Polyb. 5.105.3–4, trans. Scott-Kilvert, 301; Angelos Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests: The Greek World from Alexander to Hadrian 336 BC–AD 138* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 148–149.
 26. Polyb. 18.45.9, 18.46.15, trans. Scott-Kilvert, 515 (slightly adapted), 517.
 27. Shipley, *Greek World*, 380, citing Livy 42.51. See also Austin, *Hellenistic World*, no. 94.

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28. Polyb. 29.27, trans. Austin, *Hellenistic World*, 374 (no. 211).
 29. Thonemann, *Hellenistic Age*, 27. The view expressed here is closer to Walbank, *Hellenistic World*, 157–158. For the history of such institutions, see Emily Mackil, *Creating a Common Polity: Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).
 30. Beard, *SPQR*, 212–213.
 31. Paus. 7.16–17, trans. Austin, *Hellenistic World*, no. 100 (second century CE); Dio Cassius 21.72 (second to third century CE).
 32. Walbank, *Hellenistic World*, 228, citing Hellanicus of Lesbos (fifth century BCE); Erich Gruen, ‘Greeks and Non-Greeks’, in Bugh, *Cambridge Companion*, 295–314 (see 300–302).
 33. See, for example, Caroline Bishop, *Cicero, Greek Learning, and the Making of a Roman Classic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
 34. Beard, *SPQR*, 170–172 (see 170, citing the second century BCE Latin author Porcius Licinius, as quoted by Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 17.21); on this passage, see also Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 9; see also Walbank, *Hellenistic World*, 247–249; Horace, *Epistles* 2.1, trans. Christopher Smart, *The Works of Horace*, rev. ed. (London: G. Bell, 1891), quoted.
 35. Boardman, *Greeks*, 64–80; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand*, 84–90, 223–225.
 36. Isaiah 43.1–3, 10–13; Seth Schwartz, *The Ancient Jews from Alexander to Muhammad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 24–29 (28 quoted).
 37. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 12.1–2 (first century CE); Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2011), 65–67.
 38. 2 Macc. 4.10–13 (my translation); see also 1 Macc. 1.10–14, trans. Austin, *Hellenistic World*, no. 217; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 12.5.1; Shipley, *Greek World*, 308; Schwartz, *Ancient Jews*, 41–42; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand*, 226–227.
 39. 1 Macc. 1.44–56; 2 Macc. 6.1–9; Austin, *Hellenistic World*, no. 217; Shipley, *Greek World*, 309–310. For the voluntary submission of the Samaritans of Mount Gerizim, see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 12.5.5 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand*, 229.

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40. 2 Macc. 11.24–25; Shipley, *Greek World*, 311; Schwartz, *Ancient Jews*, 45.
 41. Schwartz, *Ancient Jews*, 46–52. The *First Book of Maccabees* (1 Macc.) was written in the later first century BCE in either Hebrew or Aramaic and later translated into Greek, the version known today. The *Second* (2 Macc.), probably written some decades later, is a condensation of an older original and was written in Greek (Shipley, *Greek World*, 266; Austin, *Hellenistic World*, no. 216). Josephus, writing in Greek during the second half of the first century CE, under Roman rule, is the third principal source for these events.
 42. Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.272; Beard, *SPQR*, 193–197.
 43. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.22–23 (my translation); Shipley, *Greek World*, 389; Beard, *SPQR*, 270.
 44. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 6.38, trans. Shipley, *Greek World*, 391 (slightly adapted), and see 472n62 for archaeological reports.
 45. Shipley, *Greek World*, 393; Joel Allen, *The Roman Republic and the Hellenistic Mediterranean: From Alexander to Caesar* (Medford, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2020), 179, 201, 207–208.
 46. Plutarch, *Pompey* 45–46; Beard, *SPQR*, 273–278; Allen, *Roman Republic*, 229–230.
 47. Shipley, *Greek World*, 212–213; Allen, *Roman Republic*, 188, 201–202.
 48. Plutarch, *Antony* 54; C. P. Cavafy, *The Collected Poems: Includes Parallel Greek Text*, ed. Anthony Hirst, trans. Evangelos Sachperoglou (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 52–55 (my translation).
 49. Shipley, *Greek World*, 397; Beard, *SPQR*, 340, 354; Allen, *Roman Republic*, 254–256.

7. Rimsko grčko carstvo

1. Mary Beard, *SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome* (London: Profile, 2015), 384, 404–406. For the scandalous lives of the emperors, see Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars* (late first century CE); Tom Holland, *Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of the House of Caesar* (London: Little, Brown, 2015), 174–419.
2. Beard, *SPQR*, 480–483.
3. An exception in the east was the province of Dacia, the region of the Balkans to the north of the Danube, that was conquered by Trajan in

the early first century CE. There, Latin was spoken (and Latin-derived Romanian still is, today). In the west, significant Greek-speaking communities existed at Rome, Carthage, and Lugdunum in Gaul (today's Lyon). On possible exceptions in Sicily and southern Italy, see next note.

4. Kathryn Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks, 350 BC–AD 200: Conquest and Acculturation in Southern Italy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 96–97, 189–190. For the possibility of limited survival for Greek in Sicily until the fifth century, see Fergus Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief Under Theodosius II (408–450)* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 15; Roger Wilson, *Sicily Under the Roman Empire: The Archaeology of a Roman Province, 36 B.C.–A.D. 535* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1989), 318.
5. Susan Alcock, *The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 168–169; Angelos Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests: The Greek World from Alexander to Hadrian 336 BC–AD 138* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 281.
6. Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World AD 50–250* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 69; A. J. S. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 38–39; Greg Woolf, 'Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 40 (1994): 116–143.
7. Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests*, 277, 283–288; Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean World from the Second Century AD to the Conversion of Constantine* (London: Penguin, 1988), 12–14. 'Long Hellenistic age': Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests*, 3 and *passim*; see also, argued on different grounds, Alcock, *Landscapes*, 218.
8. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Greek Science After Aristotle* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973), 113–153 (113 quoted, see also 154, 177); 'Introduction', in Galen, *Method of Medicine, Books 1–4*, ed. and trans. Ian Johnston and G. H. R. Horsley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classics Series, 2011), xlix, on Galen's life see xii–xxiii.
9. Plutarch, *Moralia* 813D–813F, 824E–824F (my translation), cited and discussed in Alcock, *Landscapes*, 150; see also Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018),

272. The essay is conventionally known by the Latin title *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae*, meaning roughly ‘principles of statecraft’.
10. Andrew Erskine, ‘Introduction’, in Plutarch, *Hellenistic Lives*, trans. Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), xii.
 11. Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Medford, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 125–141; Swain, *Hellenism*, 1 (citing Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 481), 6–21, 410 and *passim*.
 12. Spawforth, *Greece*, 11–12, 271 (*Graecia vera*); 103–106 (Persian Wars); 31–32, 55, 241, 264–270 (Second Sophistic). On the image of Alexander from Augustus to the mid-third century, see Tony Spawforth, ‘“Macedonian Times”: Hellenistic Memories in the Provinces of the Roman Near East’, in *Greeks on Greekness: Viewing the Greek Past Under the Roman Empire*, ed. David Konstan and Suzanne Saïd (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary vol. 5, 2006), 1–26 (see 20–21, 25).
 13. Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests*, 251–252, citing and translating *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin: Berlin Academy of Sciences, 1873–), 7.2713; see also Spawforth, *Greece*, 236–238. For Nero’s tour of Greece in 66–67 CE, see Edward Champlin, *Nero* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 53–61. On the Corinth Canal, see Alcock, *Landscapes*, 141–142.
 14. Spawforth, *Greece*, 249–264; Alcock, *Landscapes*, 166–168; Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 24–25.
 15. Lucian: Simon Goldhill, ‘Introduction. Setting an Agenda: “Everything Is Greek to the Wise”’, in *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–23; Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature*, 122–128. Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 10.41. Plutarch: Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature*, 116–118. See also Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 224–226.
 16. Suzanne Saïd, ‘The Rewriting of the Athenian Past: From Isocrates to Aelius Aristides’, in Konstan and Saïd, *Greeks on Greekness*, 47–60; Clifford Ando, ‘Imperial Identities’, in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. Tim Whitmarsh

- (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 17–45 (see 45); Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests*, 315–316.
17. Marcus Aurelius 9.29; Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, trans. Maxwell Staniforth (London: Penguin, 1964), 144. See also translator's introduction in the same volume, 7–8, 18–21, and Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature*, 216–225. The original Greek title of the work means *To Himself*.
 18. See, for example, Graham Shipley, *The Greek World After Alexander, 323–30 BC* (London: Routledge, 2000), 105–106.
 19. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 3.830–977.
 20. See, for example, Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 118–119, 151–153, 161–162; Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests*, 355–382.
 21. On death: Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 95–98. Mysteries of Isis in the second century: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.21, trans. E. J. Kenney (Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* [London: Penguin, 1998], 207, quoted). See more generally Hugh Bowden, *Mystery Cults in the Ancient World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010).
 22. Of the five Greek novels of this period which survive complete, the best known are Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*; Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Cleitophon* (both written in the late second century CE); and Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*. The last has long been dated to the late fourth century, wrongly in my view. For the arguments supporting a date around 215 CE, much closer to the other novels and to the Second Sophistic, to which it clearly belongs, see Swain, *Hellenism*, 423–424; Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 137–138; Roderick Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1996), 73–74, 241n16. See also Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).
 23. Charles Freeman, *A New History of Early Christianity* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 18–19.
 24. Paul, *1 Cor.* 4.15, 9.14 (probably the earliest uses of the word in this sense).
 25. The regularly cited biographical details of Paul's origin come not from his own letters but from *Acts* (see 21.39, 22.28). For the inference that Paul's father had been a freed slave, with a modern assessment of Paul's background, see Freeman, *New History*, 48–49. On the importance of letters, see Richard Norris, "The Apostolic

- and Sub-apostolic Writings: The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers', in *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Frances Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 11–19 (see 11–12). On the language of early Christian texts, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 147–152.
26. Paul, *Gal.* 1.1, 1.4, 5.22–23, 5.14 (Authorized Version quoted).
 27. Paul, *1 Cor.* 15.3–5, 15.52, 15.55 (quoted).
 28. *Acts* 11.26, 28.30–31.
 29. Tacitus, *Annals* 15.44, trans. J. Jackson (Loeb Classical Library, vol. 5, 1937), 283. On the fire, see Champlin, *Nero*, 121–126, 178–185.
 30. Freeman, *New History*, 72–96 (see 82 on Luke); Geza Vermes, *Christian Beginnings: From Nazareth to Nicaea, AD 30–325* (London: Penguin, 2013), 115–133.
 31. Celsus, *On the True Doctrine: A Discourse Against the Christians*, introduction and translation by R. Joseph Hoffman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
 32. Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 294–311; John Behr, 'Social and Historical Setting', in Young et al., *Cambridge History*, 55–70 (see 62–64).
 33. See Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 317 for the 'guess' at 2 per cent in 250, but see also Averil Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, AD 395–700*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2012), 58–59 on the impossibility of making reliable estimates, even in the fourth and fifth centuries. For the lives and thought of second-century martyrs, see *The Apostolic Fathers, Early Christian Writings*, trans. Maxwell Staniforth, rev. with introduction and notes by Andrew Louth (London: Penguin, 1987).
 34. The classic statement of Roman policy in the early second century is to be found in the brief exchange of letters on the subject between the emperor Trajan and his provincial governor in northern Anatolia, see Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 10.96–97. On martyrs and martyrdom, see Lane Fox, 419–492; Freeman, *New History*, 205–214. For second-century martyrs, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.117–128.
 35. Lloyd, *Greek Science*, 151, citing Galen, *On the Use of Parts* 3.20.
 36. Cited in Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 169, for discussion see 168–177.
 37. Ronald Heine, 'The Alexandrians', in Young et al., *Cambridge History*, 117–130; Freeman, *New History*, 175–195; Vermes, *Christian*

- Beginnings*, 210–211, 213–215. On the language used by these third-century authors, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 155.
38. Beard, *SPQR*, 387, 420, 423–424.
 39. Fergus Millar, *The Roman Empire and Its Neighbours*, 2nd ed. (London: Duckworth, 1981), 216–217, 239–248. See also Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150–750* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), 22–25; Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire: AD 284–340* (London: Fontana, 1993), 3–11. End of ‘epigraphic habit’: Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 14, 573–575, 582–583; Brown, *World*, 66–67.
 40. Beard, *SPQR*, 527–529 (527 quoted); Myles Lavan, ‘The Spread of Roman Citizenship’, *Past and Present* 229 (2016): 3–46. The explanation of the measure as a means to raise taxes was first proposed by the Greek historian Dio Cassius, in his universal history written shortly afterwards (Dio Cassius 78.9). See also Alex Imrie, *The Antonine Constitution, an Edict for the Caracallan Empire* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018).
 41. Lane Fox, *Pagans*, 425 (on motives), 450–459, 550–554. The fullest ancient sources are Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.10–12, and Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* 4–5, both written about half a century afterwards, the former in Greek, the latter in Latin.
 42. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 8.2, trans. G. A. Williamson and Andrew Louth (Eusebius, *The History of the Church*, rev. ed. [London: Penguin, 1989], 258–259); Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 592–595; Freeman, *New History*, 212.
 43. Freeman, *New History*, 215–219 (percentage cited from 215). Lane Fox (*Pagans*, 592) suggests perhaps ‘only 4 or 5 percent’ by the end of the century.
 44. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3.13 (written shortly after 337); Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart Hall, 265–266 (commentary).
 45. Known as the ‘Edict of Milan’, versions are preserved by Lactantius (*On the Deaths* 48) and Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 10.5). Both were written during the lifetime of Constantine. See also Timothy Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), 93–94.
 46. Eusebius, *Life* 1.28–29, trans. Cameron and Hall, 81, see also 204–210 for commentary. See also Peter Weiss, ‘The Vision of Constantine’,

- Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003): 237–259 and discussion in Barnes, *Constantine*, 74–80.
47. Eusebius, *Life* 2.46, trans. Cameron and Hall, 111; for commentary, see 244; Barnes, *Constantine*, 110–111.
 48. Eusebius, *Life* 4.62, trans. Cameron and Hall, 178.
 49. For order as Constantine's overriding consideration, see Freeman, *New History*, 228, 237; Cameron and Hall, 'Introduction', 46. On the executions of Crispus and his stepmother Fausta in 326, see *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–1992), 1.233.
 50. Paul Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (London: Quercus, 2009), 305.
 51. *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 17–18 (written c. 630); Stephenson, *Constantine*, 190–211; Bettany Hughes, *Istanbul: A Tale of Three Cities* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2017), 112–115.

8. Prelazak na hrišćanstvo

1. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3.54; see also Timothy Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), 111–113, 126–131 (following Eusebius); contrast Paul Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (London: Quercus, 2009), 201–203.
2. Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150–750* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), 98–103 (98 quoted).
3. Averil Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, AD 395–700*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2012), 76–81; Charles Freeman, *A New History of Early Christianity* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 274–284 (281 on Pachomius).
4. G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 21–45.
5. Julian, *Oration* 7.217c; Wolf Liebeschuetz, *East and West in Late Antiquity: Invasion, Settlement, Ethnogenesis and Conflicts of Religion* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), 333–334.
6. Stephen Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284–641* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 285–290; Bowersock, *Julian*, 16–17, 28–30; Brown, *World*, 93–94.

7. See farther Claudia Rapp, 'Hellenic Identity, *Romanitas*, and Christianity in Byzantium', in *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Katerina Zacharia (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 127–147; Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), *passim*. On education, see Cameron, *Mediterranean World*, 130–134.
8. Joseph Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 128–152 and see Chap. 1 above; see also Walter Scheidel, *Escape from Rome: The Failure of Empire and the Road to Prosperity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 127–131.
9. Fergus Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief Under Theodosius II (408–450)* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 13–14; Michael Kulikowski, *Imperial Tragedy: From Constantine's Empire to the Destruction of Roman Italy, AD 363–568* (London: Profile, 2019), 54 (gold).
10. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire*, 2–4, 7, 14–15, 84–97; Cameron, *Mediterranean World*, 27–28, 176–181. See also Anthony Kaldellis, *Romanland: Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, Harvard University Press, 2019), 85–94.
11. Freeman, *New History*, 238–253, 298–305 (on the Council of Chalcedon, see 303–305); Mitchell, *History*, 318–319.
12. Mitchell, *History*, 242; Cameron, *Mediterranean World*, 58–59.
13. Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.15, trans. J. Stevenson, cited in Cameron, *Mediterranean World*, 29.
14. Kulikowski, *Imperial Tragedy*, 168 ('jihadist terrorists'); Catherine Nixey, *The Darkening Age: The Christian Destruction of the Classical World* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2017), xix–xxi (Palmyra).
15. Olympic Games at Antioch: *The Chronicle of John Malalas* 17.13, trans. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott (Melbourne: Australian Association of Byzantine Studies, 1986), 236. On mimes and pantomimes: Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Ruth Webb, 'Mime and the Dangers of Laughter in Late Antiquity', in *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*, ed. Margaret Alexiou and Douglas Cairns (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 219–231 (see 228–229 for citations from Saint

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10. „Grad koji je čežnja sveta“

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