



Department of Humanities

Master's Degree in Ancient Mediterranean World:

History, Archaeology, and Art

From Olynthus to Cassandreia:

Macedonian settlement policy in the Chalcidice (348—297 BC)

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Dedicated to my father and mother for nurturing my curiosity

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Table of Contents

<i>Dedicated to my father and mother for nurturing my curiosity</i>	2
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	3
<i>Introduction</i>	8
<i>Historical Overview: from Olynthus to Cassandreia</i>	11
The Chalcidians before the Chalcidian League.....	11
The Chalcidian League and Macedonia through the Reign of Amyntas III	13
Olynthus, Perdiccas II, and the Peloponnesian War	13
Amyntas III and the Olynthian War (382—379 BC).....	16
Philip II and the Chalcidian League.....	18
Relations until 352 BC	18
The Olynthian War (352—348 BC).....	20
Destruction of Olynthus (348 BC)	21
Cassander the Successor and the Foundation of Cassandreia (316 BC).....	23
<i>1. Settlement policies according to the literary sources</i>	26
1.1 Macedonian Resettlement Policy.....	26
1.2 Polis Destruction and Desertion.....	30
1.3 Olynthians after Olynthus: Survivors and Exiles.....	31

1.3.1 The Case of Callisthenes of Olynthus	34
1.4 Naturalization of Exiles.....	36
2. Settlement policies according to the documentary evidence.....	39
2.1 Identity of Cassandreia within the Macedonian Kingdom.....	39
2.2 Civic Institutions in Cassandreia.....	41
2.3 Decrees from the last quarter of the fourth century BC	44
2.3.1 Grant of Cassander to Perdiccas.....	44
2.3.2 Grant of Cassander to Chairephanes	46
2.4 Decrees from the first quarter of the third century BC	49
2.4.1 Grant of King Lysimachos to Limnaios son of Harpalos.....	49
3. Archaeology of Olynthus	52
3.1.1 Historical Background of Excavation at Olynthus.....	52
3.1.2 The Plan of Olynthus.....	52
3.1.4 Fortifications	57
3.2 The Siege of Olynthus.....	58
3.2.1 Review of Ancient Sources	58
3.2.2 Archaeological Evidence.....	58
3.2.3 Narrative.....	61
3.3 Reoccupation of Olynthus	62

3.3.1 Numismatic Evidence	63
4. Archaeology of Cassandreia	65
4.1 Background	65
4.2. Fortification Wall	67
4.2.1 Ancient and Hellenistic Fortification Wall	67
4.3. Numismatic Evidence	68
4.4. Tombs.....	71
4.5. Sanctuaries	73
4.6. Roman Cassandreia	74
4.6.1 Roman and Medieval Fortification	75
5. From Olynthus to Cassandreia: Continuity and Discontinuity	77
5.1 Political and Social Structures.....	78
5.2 Settlement Structures.....	83
5.3 Economic Structures	85
5.4 Cassandreia: The Reasons for its Foundation	88
Bibliography	90
Appendix.....	99

Introduction

This work examines settlement and population continuity between the destruction of Olynthus by Philip II in 348 BC and the foundation of Cassandreia on the site of Classical Potidaea under Cassander in 316 BC. In general, it questions whether the continuity of the Olynthian population in the new foundation of Cassandreia is detectable in the archaeological and onomastic evidence, and the extent to which literary narratives shape our understanding. The central research question concerns the political and social consequences of this process of transition. The framework is grounded in the rationale that it limits analysis to the period between a clear structural break (the destruction of Olynthus) and the Antipatrid life of Cassandreia. The structure allows a diachronic demonstration of how Olynthus was replaced by and integrated into a Macedonian royal foundation. It seeks to intervene in the debate between the destruction of the settlement and a controlled reorganization. The findings revise existing models of the League's decimation and clarify the establishment of a new *polis*.

The case of Olynthus and Cassandreia deserves renewed examination because the historiography is uneven—Olynthus is a widely studied, canonical case in Classical Greek urban studies, whereas Cassandreia lacks comparable systematic study. Instead, it is treated as a generic royal foundation. Furthermore, because Hellenistic Cassandreia lies beneath the modern city of Nea Potidaea, the ancient city has received less archaeological intervention. The dearth of archaeological interest in Cassander's Antipatrid foundation hinders comprehension of the social, economic, and political mechanisms of the city. A central motive of this work is to recognize the significance of the absorption of Olynthus into Cassandreia and its implications for Macedonian resettlement policy between the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

This work is structured by evidence type, beginning with a historical overview to contextualize the *synoecism* of the Chalcidian peninsula and the creation of the Chalcidian League. The Macedonian kingdom and the Chalcidian League have a storied relationship, well documented in literary sources that chronicle events leading up to the founding of Cassandreia. Examining the sources according to their typology allows for a better understanding of the problems, limitations, and interpretative logics characteristic of each class of evidence.

The broader historical overview leads into an analysis of literary sources (ch.1) and the ancient historians' perceptions of the motives and outcomes of Philip II's and Cassander's movements within the Chalcidian peninsula. Although the accounts of the incidents within the timeframe hail from sources writing for different purposes, the combined descriptions of events permit a partial reconstruction of what occurred between 348 BC and 316 BC. In the scholarly tradition, these accounts from writers including Demosthenes, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Pausanias, and Strabo are regarded as the most important evidence for reconstructing and analyzing the resettlement of the Olynthians after the demolition of Cassander's foundation; other groups of evidence ought to supplement literary testimonia.

Documentary evidence, analyzed next (ch. 2), serves primarily as a primary source accounting for the reassignment of conquered land. Much of this evidence underscores the precedent set by Macedonian regents in bestowing land and fiscal opportunities on favored soldiers and subjects to create a devoted base of support. In the context of Olynthus, the decimation of the League and the degradation of Olynthian identity can be observed through the inscriptions presented. Chapter 2 extends beyond the focused timeline with some inscriptions dating to the Antigonid period because they expose the Greek character of the administrative functions of the city.

Archaeological evidence, an irrefutable source of information, much of which contradicts historical testimonia, is then presented (ch.3 and 4). These chapters describe the physical findings from the excavations conducted at Olynthus and Cassandreia, respectively. The analysis of the archaeological findings from Cassandreia seeks to understand the demographic composition and culture of the new settlement, information that has been unexplored by literary historians.

The reassessment chapter (ch.5) naturally combines the analysis from previous chapters. It complements the preceding chapters by synthesizing the thesis's core findings into a single reassessment. The concluding assessment presents the main results and reconsiders Macedonian resettlement policy in a broader perspective.

Historical Overview: from Olynthus to Cassandreia

The Chalcidians before the Chalcidian League

The Chalcidians in Thrace were colonists of Euboic Chalcis and belonged to the Bottiaei from the eighth century BC until the early fifth century BC. Thrace, in this context, refers to the coastal area of the Chalcidian peninsula, between the western Strymonic Gulf and the eastern Thermaic Gulf.¹ Strabo refers to this colonizing period from the late eighth century onward when he writes in VII, frag. 11: “The Chalcidians of Euboea also came over to the country of the Sithones and jointly peopled about thirty cities in it, although later on the majority of them were ejected and came together into one city, Olynthus; and they were named the Thracian Chalcidians.”² Hammond translates Polybius (IX. 28.2) non-literally: “There was a confederacy of the Thraceward Greeks, whom the Athenians and the Chalcidians [i.e., citizens of Chalcis] planted as colonists.”³ The Chalcidians appeared to respond collectively during periods of emergency as early as the Persian Wars. Herodotus reports that the Chalcidian *gènos* supplied a contingent to King Xerxes’ army and remained faithful as Potidaea revolted against him following the Battle of Salamis.⁴ Xerxes presented the Chalcidians with the city of Olynthus, previously inhabited by the Bottiaeans, as a reward for their loyalty in 479 BC.

In both passages, Herodotus uses the term ‘the Chalcidian race,’ an *ethnos* which Hammond interprets as evidence for the existence of a group organized along gentilic lines before

¹ Hammond 1995, pp. 307-308

² Trans. by H. L. Jones, *Loeb Classical Library* 1920

³ Hammond 1995, p. 308

⁴ *Hdt.Hist.* 7.185; 8.127, *Loeb Classical Library* 1924; This is the earliest mention of the Chalcidian people in the literary history.

the colonial *poleis* arrived in the late eighth century BC, because the city-states settled by Chalcis, Eretria, and Andros each had exclusive citizenship. He further argues that, in the early fifth century BC, this *ethnos* still retained a tribal structure not yet divided into independent city-states.⁵ There were likely, then, two “Chalcidians”: the colonial *poleis* that expelled the ethnic ‘Chalcidian race’ from their settlements atian race’ from their settlements in the most advantageous harbor sites of the Chalcidian peninsula.⁶

The resettlement of Olynthus in 479 BC by colonists originating from several closely connected Chalcidian cities was a synoecism of Thracian Chalcidians, referring to ethnically Greek citizens, rather than a concentration of the Chalcidian race in the geographic area.⁷ This contributed to both the consolidation of intercity unity and the elevation of Olynthus to a position of central importance in the region. Gradually, Olynthus emerged as the principal hub of Chalcidian affairs, ultimately serving as the focal point for a more enduring and cohesive union among the member cities.⁸

⁵ Hammond 1995, p. 309

⁶ Ibid.; Animosity between the two groups of “Chalcidians” comes to a head in the early fourth century B.C., as envoys from Acanthus and Apollonia sent to Sparta spoke of the Chalcidians forcing surrounding city-states to join their federation.

⁷ From here on, all references to “Chalcidians” indicate the colonists originating from Greece.

⁸ West 1914, p. 25



Fig 1: Map of Chalcidice ⁹

The Chalcidian League and Macedonia through the Reign of Amyntas III

Olynthus, Perdiccas II, and the Peloponnesian War

The formal creation of the Chalcidian League occurred as a defensive response to Athenian expansion during the Peloponnesian War, with Macedonian king Perdiccas II championing its formation. In the years leading up to the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians founded the colony of Amphipolis on the Strymon River in 437/436 BC. This colony served as an Athenian northern stronghold and impeded both Chalcidian expansion in the peninsula and access to the Strymon Valley's valuable natural resources, such as timber and metals from mines near Mount Pangaion. To explain the absence of a Thracian attempt to obstruct the project, Cole supposes that “both the

⁹ Cahill 2008, p. 24, fig. 4 Map of Chalcidice

Macedonian and Thracian tribes must have reacted to this event or accepted it in accordance with some prearrangement.”¹⁰ Athens overplayed their hand when it began to assess Methone in 434 BC, seeking to intensify their power in the Chalcidian peninsula. Psoma posits that the Athenian military colony of Brea on the Crousis River near Olynthus in 432 BC was the threat that spurred Macedon into action; as a result, Perdiccas appealed to Athens’ prospective enemies.¹¹

At the onset of the Peloponnesian War in 432 BC, Potidaea entered into a league with the Chalcidians and the Bottiaeans and revolted against Athens; Swoboda, based on the testimony of Thucydides, suggests that this insurrection catalyzed the establishment of the League.¹² Athens had increased the *phoros*, or tribute, from Potidaea and the Bottiaean cities, with over forty Chalcidian cities paying tribute. On the eve of the Peloponnesian War, Perdiccas II advised the smaller towns in the Chalcidian peninsula to abandon their settlements and relocate to Olynthus to evade the threat posed by the Athenian naval fleet. The Chalcidians readily joined Perdiccas’ initiative, aiming to create an anti-Athenian front. They demolished their seaboard cities and moved inland to Olynthus. West notes the likelihood that Olynthus was seen as a common possession of all Chalcidians as an explanation for the readiness of the smaller towns to raze their own settlements and move inward.¹³ Thucydides (I.58) describes the episode and concession of Macedonia:

Perdiccas at the same time persuaded the Chalcidians to abandon and pull down their cities on the sea-coast and settle inland at Olynthus, making there a single strong city; and he gave

¹⁰ Cole 1974, p. 59

¹¹ Psoma 2011, p. 114

¹² Swoboda’s work is in German, so I am using the indirect quote found in West 1914, p.24; Thuc.1.57.5-6, *Loeb Classical Library* 1919.

¹³ West 1914, p.25

them, when they abandoned their cities, a part of his own territory of Mygdonia around Lake Bolbe to cultivate as long as they should be at war.¹⁴

The Chalcidians founded Apollonia on this land.¹⁵ Thus, we can say that the federal organization was established with Olynthus as the capital, resulting from the joint abandonment of small coastal cities, the founding of Apollonia, and the *anoikismos* at Olynthus.¹⁶ Soon after the revolt, the Chalcidians changed their coinage from the Attic standard to the Macedonian one, proof of the consolidation of the administration of internal affairs, according to West.¹⁷ Furthermore, it demonstrates a willingness to promote the integration within the local networks, while distancing itself from the political and economic framework of the Athenian empire.

Though Perdiccas II of Macedon encouraged the Chalcidians to oppose Athens, a stance which never wavered throughout the war, his own relationship with Athens was highly opportunistic. It fluctuated according to political necessity and the shifting strategic landscape of northern Greece during his reign. He sometimes allied with Athens, especially when it was to his advantage against local rivals or external threats, but at other times he supported revolts against Athenian interests or aligned with Athens' enemies, such as Sparta. Cole hypothesizes that had the Athenians not engaged in such overtly provocative actions in the 430s BC, the whole history of the relationship between Athens and Macedonia during the Peloponnesian War would have

¹⁴ Trans. by C.F. Smith 1919, *Loeb Classical Library*

¹⁵ The Apollonia founded on land granted by Perdiccas, mentioned above, is distinct from other places named Apollonia, such as the one in Chalcidice, which was a chief colonial city of Chalcidian and Eritrean foundation. For further reference, see Hammond 1995, p. 313 ff.; Hatzopoulos 1996 vol. I, p. 174: Hatzopoulos reasons that Perdiccas offered this part of Mygdonia because it was still “‘crown property’: βασιλική χώρα, a reserve of land which had been acquired because of conquest (δορίκτητος).”, not yet distributed to Macedonians.

¹⁶ *Anoikismos* can be roughly understood as a process involving new settlement or foundation of a community.

¹⁷ West 1914, p. 34

been very different.¹⁸ Without said provocation, the Chalcidian League centered at Olynthus perhaps might not have come to fruition.

As a condition of the Peace of Nicias, a treaty signed by Athens and Sparta in 421 BC, which marked the end of the first phase of the Peloponnesian War, the Chalcidian League was compelled to dissolve, and the populations of Mecyberna, Gale, and Signos, who had relocated to Olynthus, were required to return to their original cities. Despite this stipulation, the Chalcidians ignored the directive and instead allied themselves with the Spartan commander Clearidas, successor to Brasidas. Throughout the entire war, the Chalcidians consistently maintained a defensive stance against Athenian attempts to regain control of their region.

Amyntas III and the Olynthian War (382—379 BC)

The next significant mentions of the relationship between Macedonia and the Chalcidians occur under the Macedonian King Amyntas III (393 – 370 BC). Amyntas assassinated Pausanias, his predecessor, to assume the throne in 393 BC.¹⁹ He inherited a kingdom in chaos; to the west, he faced Illyrian aggression, and to the east, he had to contend with the expanding Chalcidian League led by Olynthus. Justin succinctly encapsulates the spirit of Amyntas' reign in VII.4.6: *cum Ilyriis et deinde et cum Olynthiis gravia bella gessit* (“with the Illyrians and then with the Olynthians he waged a serious war”).²⁰ The Illyrians posed such a threat that Amyntas felt compelled to enter into an unbalanced treaty with the Chalcidians, who, since the collapse of Athens, had expanded their power and shifted their alliance from Sparta to Boeotia and Argos in

¹⁸ Cole 1974, p. 71

¹⁹ Diod. Sic.14.89.2., *Loeb Classical Library* 1954

²⁰ Translated by author.

395/394 BC.²¹ He temporarily ceded Anthemous, a revenue-producing borderland rich in pitch and timber, probably in Mygdonia. This treaty, dated to 391 BC and epigraphically attested, called for mutual support in the event of invasion and regulated Chalcidian exports of ship-building timber, constructional timber, and pitch.²² It had a validity of fifty years and allied the Chalcidians with the Macedonian state, not Amyntas II himself.

With the Chalcidian threat temporarily subdued, Amyntas could return his focus to the Illyrians. Taking cues from Perdiccas II, Amyntas sought foreign intervention on his behalf. After Amyntas secured his kingdom and military resources in 383 BC with the help of the Thessalians, he asked the League to return the land he had temporarily ceded, but the Chalcidians refused.²³ They had been steadily acquiring the closest Macedonian cities and eventually moved to those further away. Hatzopoulos assumes that the Chalcidian “slogan of freedom” inspired cities technically under Macedonian rule but not officially incorporated into the kingdom.²⁴ Amyntas declared war on the League and turned to Sparta for help. The main appeal to Sparta came from Olynthus’ neighbors, Acanthus and Apollonia. Together, they sent an envoy to express their fears about the Chalcidians, who represented themselves as ‘liberators.’²⁵ The League had already captured Pella, “the largest of the Macedonian cities,” and controlled the crossing of the Axios River when the envoy was sent.²⁶ The speech given to the Lacedaemonians provides insight into the culture and functioning of the *sympoliteia*:

²¹ Hammond and Griffith 1972, p. 172; On the treaty between Amyntas III-Chalcidians, see Diod. Sic. 14.92.3

²² Ibid., p. 173; Hatzopoulos 1996 vol II. no.1

²³ Diod. Sic. 15.19.2., *Loeb Classical Library* 1954

²⁴ Hatzopoulos 1996 vol. I, p. 177

²⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.12 ff.

²⁶ Ibid.

But you must understand this also, that the power which we have described as great is not yet hard to wrestle with. For such of the cities as share in the citizenship of Olynthus unwillingly, these, I say, will quickly fall away if they see any opposing force presenting itself; if, however, they once become closely connected by reciprocal rights of intermarriage and of property, which have already been voted, and find that it is profitable to be on the side of the conqueror—even as the Arcadians when they go with you keep their own possessions safe and plunder those of others—then, it may be, this confederacy will no longer be so easy to break up.²⁷

Sherk notes the peculiarity of the Olynthian confederation, being a group of cities that united into a kind of tribal state and then a federal state, rather than the reverse.²⁸

In the spring of 382 BC, Sparta and its Allies answered the appeals and sent an initial military force of 3,000 hoplites north. In 379, Sparta's crucial involvement resulted in the breakup of the League. However, Amyntas was unable to reclaim Apollonia by Lake Bolbe and Arethousa on the Strymonic Gulf.²⁹

Philip II and the Chalcidian League

Relations until 352 BC

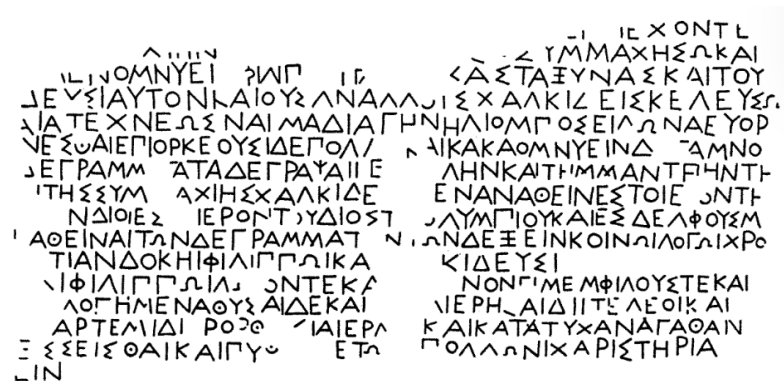
Philip II ascended to the Macedonian throne in 360 BC following the death of his brother Perdiccas III in battle against the Illyrians. At the time, Macedonia was in a state of turmoil. Philip's formative years had been spent as a hostage, first in Illyria during the reign of his eldest brother Alexander II (370—368 BC), then in Boeotia, under the supervision of the legendary

²⁷ Ibid.; (trans. by C.L Brownson 1918, *Loeb*)

²⁸ Sherk 1990, p. 231

²⁹ Hatzopoulos 2020, p. 36

commander Epaminondas during the Theban Hegemony.³⁰ There, he learned the arts of diplomacy and warfare that would help him restore the Macedonian realm to its greatest extent within his first six years as regent.³¹ Philip, like his father Amyntas, allied with the Olynthians. Dated to the winter of 357/6 BC, the treaty offered to cede the territory of Anthemous on the north-western frontier and the city of Potidaea, which they should conquer together.³² The real purpose of the alliance was to dissuade a relationship between the Chalcidians and Athens; one provision stipulated that neither side could negotiate a peace with her.³³ The treaty exists in the material record, cut from native limestone of a better quality than that used for typical deeds of sale, in a stele found less than a mile away from Olynthus, though only the concluding stipulations (the form of the oath, provisions for publication, a clause permitting the mutual revision, and the joining oracle) survive.³⁴



³⁰ The practice of sending royal hostages as collateral for political agreements is called *hòmereia*.

³¹ Hatzopoulos 2020, p.37

³² Hammond and Griffith 1972, p. 244

³³ Ibid.; On the treaty between the Olynthians and Philip, see Diod. Sic. 16.8.3

³⁴ Robinson 1934, p. 106

Fig 2: Stele recording the treaty between Philip II and the Olynthians³⁵

Potidaea fell in 356 BC and was given to the League; its inhabitants were sold into slavery (except the Athenian cleruchs, who were allowed to depart), and Olynthians resettled the land.³⁶ The treaty with Macedonia was highly favorable to the Chalcidians, who, with Philip's help, obtained most of the cities in the peninsula and prospered materially.

The Olynthian War (352—348 BC)

Although Philip chose to engage the Chalcidians peacefully when he could have pressured them with military force, the League feared him, and rightly so. Olynthus brokered a peace with Athens, the only power capable of standing up to Philip. Hammond and Psoma agree that the latest possible date for this treaty is the autumn of 352 BC.³⁷ This, of course, was in direct violation of their agreement with Philip. In the spring of 351 BC, the king moved troops into Chalcidian territory as a warning. This warning indicates an ongoing negotiation between Philip and the League, for he didn't insist that the Olynthians revoke their peace treaty with Athens. Hammond believes Philip "probably had good reasons for believing that he could still count on his friends and agents in Olynthus to see that any assurances given could be relied on."³⁸

In 349 BC, Olynthus was harboring Philip's half-brothers, Arrhidaeus and Menelaus, who were possible pretenders to the throne—Philip had already murdered the third half-brother. This was the pretext for open hostility between Macedonia and the Chalcidian League.³⁹ That summer,

³⁵ Ibid., p.104; Hatzopoulos 1996 vol. II, no. 2

³⁶ Hammond and Griffith 1972, pp. 250; Psoma 2011, pp. 133; Reference Ch. 4.1 for greater detail

³⁷ Ibid., p. 298

³⁸ Hammond and Griffith 1972, p. 299

³⁹ Reference Ch.5.6 for greater detail

the Macedonian army invaded the territories of the Chalcidian League and began to capture the very numerous and very small cities in the federation.⁴⁰ These places surrendered, too weak to resist without the support of the army of the whole League. The next campaign occurred in the spring of 348 BC. Olynthus had received auxiliary troops from Athens and stood some 10,000 men strong. Unfortunately, the remaining Chalcidian cities began to capitulate through acts of treachery; the important city of Torone fell to Philip; next, Micyberna; and the port of Olynthus was betrayed. Olynthus sought mercy from Philip, who responded devastatingly: “There must be one of two things, either they must cease to reside in Olynthus, or he in Macedonia.”⁴¹ Thus began the siege of Olynthus.⁴²

Destruction of Olynthus (348 BC)

A final act of treachery decided the city’s fate. Philip bribed two principal citizens, Lasthenes, a pro-Macedonian *hipparch*, and Euthycrates, who facilitated Philip’s plans to conquer the city. He razed the city to the ground, enslaved the women and children, and sold the men and land to raise revenue to pay his soldiers.⁴³ He integrated the former urban territory into royal holdings, as was his policy, for later dispersal among his *hetairoi*.⁴⁴ The destruction of the city and its aftermath is regaled to us by three ancient historians. Justin’s account explains the rationale behind Philip’s attack and describes in depth the aftermath of the sack:

But Philip was no more loyal to his allies. Indeed as if fearing to be outdone by his enemies in the crime of sacrilege, he overran and pillaged states of which he had shortly before been

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 317; Diod. Sic. 16.52.9, *Loeb Classical Library*, 1954

⁴¹ Dem. 9.11, (trans. by J.H. Vince 1930, *Loeb*)

⁴² Chapters 1 and 3 provide an in-depth analysis of the capitulation of Olynthus.

⁴³ King 2018, p. 82; Reference ch.3.2.1

⁴⁴ Mari 2019, p. 7

the leader, which had fought under his command and been congratulating him and themselves on victory; wives and children in all of them he sold off; neither temples of the immortal gods did he spare nor holy shrines nor public and private guardian deities whose presence he had recently entered as a guest, so that he actually seemed less an avenger of sacrilege than one who had sought license for sacrilege...After this he attacked the Olynthians; for they had from pity given refuge to two of his half-brothers, his stepmother's sons—having already murdered one he was eager to kill them as possible claimants to the throne. So, for this reason, he destroyed their famous old city, consigned the brothers to their preordained fate, and enjoyed the massive plunder and the fratricide he wished for. Then, as if allowed anything he could envisage, he seized gold mines in Thessaly and silver mines in Thrace, and to leave no human or holy law unbroken he also turned his hand to piracy.⁴⁵

Demosthenes, in his *Third Philippic*, describes the region after 348 BC:

I pass over Olynthus and Methone and Apollonia and the two and thirty cities in or near Thrace, all of which Philip has destroyed so ruthlessly that a traveller would find it hard to say whether they had ever been inhabited.⁴⁶

The city ceased to exist; Philip now dominated the northern Aegean.⁴⁷ Hammond opines that Philip's uncompromising treatment of Olynthus served a threefold purpose.⁴⁸ First are the obvious material advantages: the sale of captives funded his ever-ongoing wars, and the acquisition of land for estate distribution kept his army loyal to him.⁴⁹ Second, it was effective in terrorizing the rest of Greece; other populations might think twice before opposing him. If a large city that had dominated its neighbors in preceding years fell so easily, how could lesser settlements stand

⁴⁵ Just. 8.3.1-3, (trans. by J.C. Yardley 2023, *Loeb Classical Library*),

⁴⁶ Dem. 9.26, (trans. by J. H. Vince 1930, *Loeb*)

⁴⁷ Chapter 3 argues against this point

⁴⁸ Hammond and Griffith 1972, p. 326

⁴⁹ Aeschin. *De Legatione*, 156 describes Olynthian slaves in chains cultivating Philip II's vineyards.

against the Macedonians? Finally, it was an effective warning to Athens to seize the opportunity to make peace sooner rather than later.

Cassander the Successor and the Foundation of Cassandreia (316 BC)

Cassander, son of Antipater, was one of the *Diadochi*, the successors of Alexander III (the Great), who grappled for control of the Macedonian empire following Alexander's death in 323 BC and declared himself king in 305 BC. His reign is especially characterized by the founding of new cities in Europe, notably Thessalonike in 315 BC and Cassandreia in 316 BC upon his return from a three-year exile; no cities had been founded in Europe since Philip.⁵⁰ Diodorus Siculus writes about the new city:

He also founded on Pallênê a city called Cassandreia after his own name, uniting with it as one city the cities of the peninsula, Potidaea, and a considerable number of the neighboring towns. He also settled in this city those of the Olynthians who survived, not few in number. Since a great deal of land, and good land too, was included within the boundaries of Cassandreia, and since Cassander was very ambitious for the city's increase, it quickly made great progress and became the strongest of the cities of Macedonia.⁵¹

Cassandreia replaced the former Greek settlement of Potidaea on the Pallene promontory. Potidaea was initially founded in the late seventh or early sixth century BC as a Corinthian *apoikia* and later joined the Delian League. Its favorable location suggests a role as a trading post on the route between Macedonia and the Adriatic Sea. Potidaea revolted from Athens in 432 BC but was subsequently recaptured following a long siege. The city was occupied by Athenian cleruchs for nearly 30 years before it regained its independence. In 364 BC, it fell again under Athenian rule,

⁵⁰ Errington 1990, p. 132; all the cities founded by Alexander the Great are in Asia

⁵¹ Diod. Sic. 19.52.2-3, (trans. by R. M. Geer 1954, *Loeb*)

and more cleruches were sent to the city. When Philip captured Potidaea in 356 BC, he gave it over to the Olynthians.⁵²

The location allowed for the development of harbors on both sides of the peninsula, the Thermaic Gulf to the west and the Toronian Gulf to the east, attractive for both naval operations and commerce. The surviving refugees from Olynthus and the citizens of other Chalcidian towns were brought together and incorporated into the new city.⁵³ This *synoecism* included the Pallene peninsula and reached north into the foothills of Cholomontas: Strepsa was stripped of its *polis* status, converted into royal land, and then into the civic territory of Cassandreia; the same fate befell the former Eritrean colony of Dikaia, and the cities Sinos, Sermylia, Spartolos, and other minor cities in southern Bottike. From its inception, Cassandreia became one of the most significant cities in Macedonia.⁵⁴ However, the foundation's significantly non-Macedonian nature should be emphasized.⁵⁵

Cassandreia served as a statement of dynastic authority, and its symbolic importance is underscored by Antigonus Monophthalmos's response to its foundation, another *Diadoch*. In a speech, Antigonus denounced Cassander, calling him the friend of the Olynthian, the Macedonian's bitterest enemies. Psoma notes that to Antigonus, a contemporary of Philip II, the Olynthian-led League represented the most serious challenge to Macedonian power in northern Greece.⁵⁶ As noted by Hatzopoulos, Olynthus was practically resurrected within the new

⁵² Sherk 1990, p. 232

⁵³ Ch. 1 delves into this topic.

⁵⁴ Zahrt 2006

⁵⁵ Hatzopoulos 2020, p. 39; Hatzopoulos 1996 vol I., pp. 121, 200; Chapters 2.2 and 5 analyze the character of Cassandreia.

⁵⁶ Psoma 2011, p. 113

foundation.⁵⁷ Thus, Antigonus called for Cassander to be declared a public enemy should he not
raze the city of Cassandreia.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Hatzopoulos 1996, p. 200

⁵⁸ Diod. Sic.19.61.1-2, *Loeb Classical Library*, 1954; Hammond and Wallbank 1988, p. 148

1. Settlement policies according to the literary sources

This chapter's purpose is to analyze how literary sources depict destruction, depopulation, and resettlement in Olynthus and Cassandreia, and how these relate to Macedonian resettlement policy in the region of the Chalcidice between the time of Philip and Cassander. Close analysis of key literary testimonia for the destruction of Olynthus by Philip II and later population movements under Cassander demonstrates how these texts frame episodes of urban annihilation, enslavement, and forced migration. Assessment of these historical accounts thus illuminates the ideological work performed by ancient historiography, underscoring how literary memory helped shape the legacy of Macedonian rule in the Chalcidice.

1.1 Macedonian Resettlement Policy

Philip II's policy of mass-relocation of populations within the kingdom and forced *synoecism* is effectively described in the *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus by Justin:

On his return to the kingdom [after finally defeating the Phocians], as shepherds drive their flocks sometimes into winter, sometimes into summer pastures, so he transplanted people and cities hither and thither, according to his caprice, as places appeared to him proper to be peopled or to be left desolate. The aspect of things was everywhere wretched, like that of a country ravaged by an enemy. There was not indeed that terror of a foe, or hurrying of troops through the cities, or seizure of property and prisoners, which are seen during a hostile invasion; but there prevailed a sorrow and sadness not expressed in words, the people fearing that even their very tears would be thought signs of discontent. Their grief was augmented by the very concealment of it, sinking the deeper the less they were permitted to utter it. At one time, they contemplated the sepulchres of their ancestors, at another their old household gods, at another the homes in which they had been born and in which they had families; lamenting their own fate, that they had lived to that day, and sometimes that of their children, that they were not born after it. Some people he planted on the frontiers of his kingdom to oppose his enemies; others he settled at the extremities

of it. Some, whom he had taken prisoners in war, he distributed among certain cities to fill up the number of inhabitants; and thus, out of various tribes and nations, he formed one kingdom and people.⁵⁹

J. Ellis proposes the term ‘decantation’ for the population-group equivalent of ‘transhumance’, which refers to the transfer of livestock between regions.⁶⁰ The concept of “decantation” extends beyond a description of forced transfers; it can be understood as a mechanism through which states reshape demographic and territorial relations to achieve political means.⁶¹ Decantation functions as an instrument of social engineering, one that redefines the relationship between people and landscape. In the case of Philip, Justin emphasizes the caprice with which Philip strategically relocated subjugated communities, thinning or compacting population density to broaden and strengthen his kingdom without regard for the people affected. Within this framework, Philip’s use of “decantation” becomes emblematic of a calculated policy of consolidation, one that reorganized the Chalcidian landscape into a structure that reflected and sustained Macedonian hegemony.

Plutarch (*Alex.* 15.3-6) describes the Macedonian tradition of granting vast tracts of land to their *hetairoi* and *pezhetairoi* (cavalry companions and foot companions):

But although he set out with such meager and narrow resources, [Alexander] would not set foot upon his ship until he had enquired into the circumstances of his companions and allotted to one a farm, to another a village, and to another the revenue from some hamlet or harbor. And when at last nearly all of the crown property had been expended or allotted, Perdicas said to him: “But for thyself, O king, what are thou leaving?” And when the king

⁵⁹ Just. 8.5.7-6.1.2 (trans. by J.C. Yardley 2024, *Loeb*)

⁶⁰ Ellis 1969, p.9

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11

answered, “My hopes,” ...upon those who wanted and would accept his favors, Alexander bestowed them readily, and most of what he possessed in Macedonia was used up in these distributions.⁶²

Anson estimates that tens of thousands of Macedonians, formerly landless, were granted property during Philip’s reign, most of whom were farmers. The strategy of dispersing vast tracts of land, won by spear, *doriktetos chora*, among ordinary Macedonians, but especially his close friends, both ingratiated him and expanded the empire by legitimizing conquest.⁶³ Philip sought to disrupt the chain of dependence from tenant to landlord to ruler, redirecting their loyalties towards himself.⁶⁴ A secondary result of this policy was the enlargement of his army by five times—“the holders of the King’s land became ‘citizen soldiers’ (*stratioton politikon*)”.⁶⁵

As illustrated in Justin’s passage above, the expulsion of an entire population was common, and this fate of exile at the point of the Macedonian spear befell the Olynthians, as we know through Diodorus Siculus. The historian recounts Philip’s capitulation of the Chalcidian peninsula, which started with the capture of smaller League cities before turning on the capital Olynthus itself:

During their term of office Philip, whose aim was to subdue the cities on the Hellespont, acquired without a battle Micyberna and Toronê by treasonable surrender, and then, having taken the field with a large army against the most important of the cities in this region, Olynthus, he first defeated the Olynthians in two battles and confined them to the defense of their walls; then in the continuous assaults that he made he lost many of his men in encounters at the walls, but finally bribed the chief officials of the Olynthians, 348/7 BC. Euthyocrates

⁶² Trans. by Bernadotte Perrin 1919, *Loeb Classical Library*

⁶³ Mari 2019, p. 1; Anson 2008, p. 17

⁶⁴ Anson 2008, p. 17

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18; Diod.Sic.18.12.2 (trans. by F. R. Walton 1933, *Loeb*)

and Lasthenes, and captured Olynthus through their treachery. After plundering it and enslaving the inhabitants he sold both men and property as booty. By so doing, he procured large sums for prosecuting the war and intimidated the other cities that were opposed to him. Having rewarded with appropriate gifts such soldiers as had behaved gallantly in the battle and distributed a sum of money to men of influence in the cities, he gained many tools ready to betray their countries. Indeed, he was wont to declare that it was far more by the use of gold than of arms that he had enlarged his kingdom.⁶⁶

Justin tells us that in addition to the land transformed into ‘royal land’ and divided amongst the *hetairoi*, “wives and children [of Olynthus] in all he sold them off,” and that this income, too, was split amongst his favored soldiers.⁶⁷ It should be noted that the moral didacticism of Diodorus Siculus’ *Bibliothēke* poses a juxtaposition in the case of Philip II. His description of Philip II’s annihilation of Olynthus adopts an admonitory tone through his evaluative vocabulary, as Philip’s treatment of Olynthus was driven by cruelty and greed.⁶⁸ Justin recounts:

Neither temples of the immortal gods did [Philip] spare nor holy shrines nor public and private guardian deities whose presence he had recently entered as a guest, so that he actually seemed less an avenger of sacrilege than one who had sought license for sacrilege.⁶⁹

Although this vignette is absent from Diodorus’ narrative, Irene Hau’s investigation of the moral history of Diodorus Siculus illustrates the historian’s emphasis on piety as the most important human virtue.⁷⁰ Though Philip departed from piety, he also embodies values exalted by Diodorus Siculus: *aretē* (courage), described as “a much-praised virtue and a mark of a good man,”

⁶⁶ Diod. Sic. 16.53-54. (trans. by Francis R. Walton 1933, *Loeb*)

⁶⁷ Just.8.3.1 (trans. by J.C. Yardley 2024 *Loeb*)

⁶⁸ Hau 2016, pp. 85-86; The reasoning for Philip’s treatment of the Olynthians is explored in the historical overview section.

⁶⁹ Just.8.5.4-5 (trans. by J.C. Yardley 2024, *Loeb*)

⁷⁰ Hau 2016, p. 95; Diod. Sic. *Hist.* 8.15, *Loeb Classical Library*, 1954

and kindness, especially between unequal parties, as demonstrated by the gifts Philip gave to his soldiers.⁷¹

1.2 Polis Destruction and Desertion

The destruction of Olynthus is undoubtedly the most eloquent example of a city destroyed in Ancient Greek history, even among other instances of bitter sieges and populations annihilated, exterminated, and dispersed in Greek antiquity.⁷² Post-demolition, Demosthenes recounts the traveler's view of Olynthus: "I pass over Olynthus and Methone and Apollonia and the two and thirty cities in or near Thrace, all of which Philip has destroyed so ruthlessly that a traveler would find it hard to say whether they had ever been inhabited."⁷³ This statement comes from his *Third Philippic* in 341 BC, the purpose of which was to persuade the Athenians to abandon appeasement of Philip and take up arms against him. The propagandistic nature of his message is obviously exaggerated, for Diodorus Siculus provides evidence of survivors from the siege of 348 BC, and the first available information on the area in the subsequent decades:

[Cassander] also founded on Pallênê a city called Cassandreia after his own name, uniting with it as one city the cities of the peninsula, Potidaea, and a considerable number of the neighboring towns [*ásty*]. He also settled in this city those of the Olynthians who survived, not few in number. Since a great deal of land, and good land too, was included within the boundaries of Cassandreia, and since Cassander was very ambitious for the city's increase, it quickly made progress and became the strongest of the cities of Macedonia." (19.51.2-3):⁷⁴

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 103

⁷² Gaignerot-Driessen 2011, p. 285

⁷³ Dem. 9.26, (trans. by J.H. Vince 1930, *Loeb*)

⁷⁴ Trans. by R.M. Geer 1933, *Loeb Classical Library*

“Although the Olynthians were very bitter enemies of the Macedonians, Cassander had re-established them in a city called by his own name.” (19.61.2) ⁷⁵

From these texts, it can be concluded that the city of Olynthus continued to exist, due to both the partial reoccupation of the immediate area and the symbolic identity of its survivors as Olynthians.⁷⁶

The silence of sources during the intervening period between the League's destruction in 348 and the foundation of Cassandreia in 316 BC poses a significant obstacle to reconstructing the region's history; there is no continuous narrative in Diodorus Siculus or other extant works on local events in the Chalcidian peninsula until Cassander's interventions. The lack of literary references to status changes in Chalcidian communities during that period makes it impossible to trace processes—depopulation, phased resettlement, reorganization—which would otherwise allow us to link the two events, thereby distorting the historical reconstruction; thus, modern interpretations remain highly conjectural.

1.3 Olynthians after Olynthus: Survivors and Exiles

De Falsa Legatione is a speech delivered by Demosthenes in 343 BC as part of the prosecution of the Athenian ambassador to Macedonia, Aeschines, for misconduct during embassies to Philip II regarding the Peace of Philocrates. The historian catalogs Philip's caprice in order to undermine Aeschines, who had portrayed Philip as a reliable ally in the Peace of Philocrates. Demosthenes refers to several surviving Olynthian women, the first being a set of daughters who had been stashed at Olynthus after the assassination of their father, Apollophanes,

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Gaignerot-Driessen 2011, p. 285

for their safety. The recounted episode occurred during the Olympic Games, which Philip held after his capture of Olynthus in 348 BC. During the symposium, Philip asked an Athenian comedian, Satyrus, why he had not asked the king for a favor. According to Demosthenes, Satyrus then requests that the hostage daughters of his former friend be released into his care:

These girls had been made captive when [Olynthus] was taken, and were now in Philip's hands, and of marriageable age. "I earnestly beg you," [Satyrus, a friend of their father, Apollophanes] went on, "to bestow them on me. At the same time, I wish you to understand what sort of gift you will be giving me, if you do give it. It will bring me no gain, for I shall provide them with dowries and give them in marriage; and I shall not permit them to suffer any treatment unworthy of myself or of their father." It is said that, when the other guests heard this speech, there was such an outburst of applause and approval that Philip was strongly moved and granted the boon. And yet Apollophanes was one of the men who had slain Philip's own brother Alexander.⁷⁷

Demosthenes highlights this anecdote because, although Apollophanes cleared the path of succession for Philip to become king by killing Philip's brother, Alexander II, Apollophanes was still murdered. The historian views this murder as treacherous and reflective of Philip's character. Though rhetorically the Olynthian girls functioned as props, their reference nonetheless contributes to the literary testimonia of both Olynthus as significant in the zeitgeist, even in the years following its demise, and the endurance of the city through its survivors.

The second woman referred to by Demosthenes in *De Falsa Legatione* is a freeborn Olynthian who was taken captive after the destruction of Olynthus. Xenophron, the son of one of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens, exiled to Pella, hosted a symposium during the Athenian embassy of 346

⁷⁷ Dem. 19.194-5 (trans. by J. H. Vince 1930, *Loeb*)

BC, whose purpose was to negotiate the Peace of Philocrates. Demosthenes recounts the episode in these terms:

When the drinking began, Xenophron introduced an Olynthian woman, a handsome, but a freeborn and, as the event proved, a modest girl. At first, I believe, they only tried to make her drink quietly and eat dessert; so Iatrocles told me the following day. But as the carouse went on, and they became heated, they ordered her to sit down and give them a song. The poor girl was bewildered, for she did not wish, and she did not know how, to sing. Then Aeschines and Phryno declared that it was intolerable impertinence for a captive, and one of those ungodly, pernicious Olynthians too, to give herself such airs. “Call a servant,” they cried; “bring a whip, somebody.” In came a flunkey with a horsewhip, and—I suppose they were tipsy, and it did not take much to irritate them, —when she said something and began to cry, he tore off her dress and gave her a number of lashes on the back. Maddened by these indignities, she jumped to her feet, upset the table, and fell at the knees of Iatrocles. If he had not rescued her, she would have perished, the victim of a drunken orgy, for the drunkenness of this blackguard is something terrible. The story of this girl was told even in Arcadia, at a meeting of the Ten Thousand; it was related by Diophantus at Athens in a report which I will compel him to repeat in evidence; and it was common talk in Thessaly and everywhere.⁷⁸

Demosthenes portrays Xenophron as having welcomed the Olynthian slave girl, a display of moral compromise by the sympotic customs of the barbarian North, and especially notable because her enslavement resulted from Philip II’s capture of Olynthus, itself a flagrant violation of civic autonomy.⁷⁹ The transgression would have been deeply felt in Athens, which had aided some of the displaced Olynthians (discussed in ch.1.4).⁸⁰ It is unknown whether the slaves captured by

⁷⁸ Dem. 19.196-8 (trans. by J. H. Vince 1930, *Loeb*)

⁷⁹ Gray 2015, p. 296; Further examples of Athens providing refuge for displaced Olynthians will come toward the end of the chapter.

⁸⁰ Gray 2017, pp. 199-200; A motive for this refuge and display of kindness was to encourage other cities, even those not allied with Athens, to continue resist Philip

Philip II were freed under Cassander upon the foundation of Cassandreia in 316 BC, a city that “quickly became the strongest of the cities of Macedonia,” but this is highly unlikely.⁸¹

Diodorus Siculus reports on Antigonus “the One-Eyed”’s reception of the news of the royal Antipatrid foundation: “Although the Olynthians were very bitter enemies of the Macedonians, Cassander had re-established them in a city called by his own name and had rebuilt Thebes, which had been razed by the Macedonians.”⁸² Antigonus’s outrage at the prospect of uniting the Olynthians and thus giving symbolic life to what was once a hegemonic power in the Chalcidice attests to the enduring legacy of Olynthus, even after it had been reconfigured under a Hellenistic monarchy. His reaction illustrates the historical and political potency that a diminished community could still possess. This was not the result of paranoia, but “was based on a triple continuity: geographical, human, and institutional between the Chalcidian League and Cassandreia.”⁸³

1.3.1 The Case of Callisthenes of Olynthus

During Alexander the Great's reign, there is mention of an Olynthian friend of the king, one of his most trusted advisors, named Callisthenes, who “had been reared the son of a hero” and was related to Aristotle through his mother, a niece of the philosopher.⁸⁴ Callisthenes’ motives for accompanying Alexander were twofold: first, to supplement his study of Homer (he was a historian) and natural science; second, to garner benefaction for his community, the Olynthians, “what Aristotle had done for Stagira.”⁸⁵ Plutarch’s *Lives of Alexander* clarifies “that he had gone to Alexander from

⁸¹ Diod.Sic.19.52.3 (trans. by R.M. Geer 1954, *Loeb*)

⁸² Ibid.,19.61.2-3 (trans. by R.M. Geer 1954, *Loeb*)

⁸³ Hatzopoulos 1993, p. 576

⁸⁴ Plut. *Alex*.55. (trans. by Bernadotte Perrin 1919, *Loeb*)

⁸⁵ Plut.Alex.53 (trans. by Bernadotte Perrin 1919, *Loeb*); Brown, 1949

an ardent desire to restore his fellow-citizens to their homes and re-people his native city.”⁸⁶ This is particularly significant because even some twenty years after the destruction of his home, Callisthenes had not abandoned the hope that his homeland might one day regain its status and political autonomy as a polis.

In 327 BC, while Alexander was campaigning in Central Asia, a page, Hermolaus, killed a boar before Alexander could, transgressing court protocol. In return, he was flogged and stripped of his horse. Because of this humiliation, Hermolaus and a group of young pages, including the Olynthian Callisthenes, plotted to murder Alexander; the king became aware of the treason, and the plot was foiled.⁸⁷ Callisthenes was not a page, but was charged with having taken part in the conspiracy. The conspirators were arrested, publicly tortured, and executed, except for Callisthenes. Quintus Curtius Rufus in *Historiarum Alexandri Magni* (8.8.19) recounts Alexander’s speech regarding Callisthenes and his different fate:

Now, as to your Callisthenes, to whom alone you seem to be a man because you are an assassin, I know why you wish him to be given audience; it is that in the presence of this company those reproaches which you have sometimes hurled at me and sometimes heard may be repeated from his lips. If he were a Macedonian, I should have presented him along with you, a master most worthy of such a pupil; as it is, being an Olynthian, he has not the same privilege.⁸⁸

The actual fate of Callisthenes is subject to debate. Arrian’s *Anabasis of Alexander* (4.14.3) discusses the myriad accounts of his death:

⁸⁶ Plut.Alex.53 (trans. by Bernadotte Perrin 1919, *Loeb*)

⁸⁷ Osokina 20202, pp. 41-46

⁸⁸ Trans. by J. C. Rolfe 1946, *Loeb Classical Library*

As for Callisthenes, Aristobulus says he was bound with fetters and carried round with the army, but at length died of sickness, Ptolemy son of Lagus that he was racked and put to death by hanging. Thus not even those whose narratives are entirely trustworthy and who actually accompanied Alexander at that time agree in their accounts of events which were public and within their own knowledge.⁸⁹

Although this episode reveals a surviving male Olynthian, the discrepancy in the deaths of the conspiratorial pages and Callisthenes highlights the perception of his lower status, given the circumstances as a historian from a disgraced fatherland. Callisthenes's involvement in the treason perhaps suggests a dislike for the Temenids, possibly stemming from the destruction of his home a decade earlier. Whatever the case, his identity marked him as "other" and thus ineligible for the punishment reserved for Macedonians, including condemnation at trial—a privilege of citizens.⁹⁰

1.4 Naturalization of Exiles

Athens received refugees from the destroyed city of Olynthus, which Loddo repeats with certainty. She believes that it is possible to establish with confidence that Athens intervened on behalf of the displaced inhabitants of Olynthus following Philip's siege, the city's destruction, and the subsequent enslavement of its population.⁹¹ She exerts caution, however, as to the treatment the Olynthian exiles received in Athens due to the divergent accounts in literary sources: "while Harpocration citing Theophrastus argues the Olynthians received the fiscal assimilation with the Athenians, the lexicon Suda claims they were naturalised *en masse*."⁹² Naturalization, however, was exceedingly rare, as substantiated by the discourse about Aristophanes of Olynthus in

⁸⁹ Trans. by P. A. Brunt 1976-1983, *Loeb Classical Library*

⁹⁰ Sententiae Antiquae 2020

⁹¹ Loddo 2020, 36

⁹² Ibid., 37

Aeschines's *On the Embassy* (155): "Please call Aristophanes the Olynthian, and read his testimony, and call those who heard his story and reported it to me—Dercylus, of the deme Hagnus, the son of Autocles, and Aristedes of Cephisia, the son of Euphiletus."⁹³ As Aeschines addresses Aristophanes as being "of Olynthus" and not "of a *deme*", it is made decisively clear that he, like most Olynthian refugees, received only *isoteia*, meaning "equality of tax status." *Isoteia* functions as a privilege granted to non-citizens by giving them the same fiscal obligations and advantages as a full citizen.⁹⁴ Because most *poleis* were highly exclusive, they were generally unwilling to grant citizenship to exiles except in times of crisis or pressing need.⁹⁵ Athens, however, was noted to grant citizenship to exiles who exhibited particular talent.⁹⁶

An example of an especially talented refugee who became a naturalized citizen in Athens was Sthennis, son of Herodoros. He was a late Classical Greek sculptor active in the 4th century BC and is known mainly from literary sources. Identified by Pausanias as "Sthennis of Olynthus," he worked mainly in bronze, creating statues of Olympic victors that were displayed at major Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia. Pausanias names him twice as the sculptor of victors: "About Pyttalus it is further related that, when a dispute about boundaries occurred between the Arcadians and the Eleans, he delivered judgment on the matter. His statue is the work of Sthennis the Olynthian,"⁹⁷ and "Near these are Eleans who beat the boys at boxing, Choerilus the work of Sthennis of Olynthus, and Theotimus the work of Daitondas of Sicyon."⁹⁸ Through the reading of Pausanias, Osborne believes there is little doubt of the naturalization of Sthennis: "he clearly

⁹³ Trans. by C.D. Adams 1919, *Loeb Classical Library*

⁹⁴ Osborne 1983 vol. III and IV, pp. 125-126

⁹⁵ Gray 2015, p. 352

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Pausanias 6.16.9 (trans. by W.H.S. Jones 1919, *Loeb*)

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.17.5 (trans. by W.H.S. Jones 1919, *Loeb*)

implemented his citizenship and entered the deme *Diomeia*. His son is subsequently styled an Athenian, but it is not yet clear that he was naturalized with Sthennis.”⁹⁹ It is worth emphasizing that despite Sthennis’ acquisition of Athenian citizenship, his identity remained fundamentally and publicly anchored to Olynthus. Ancient authors consistently refer to him not simply as an Athenian sculptor, but explicitly as “Sthennis of Olynthus,” signaling that his origins were neither obscured nor rendered irrelevant by his new civic status. This persistent ethnic labeling reflects a broader Greek habit of identifying individuals by their birthplace. In Sthennis’ case, it also reveals how profoundly the trauma of Olynthus’ destruction shaped the social memory of its survivors. His Olynthian origin served as a cultural and commemorative marker, helping contemporaries situate him within a narrative of exile and survival.

More surviving Olynthians are confirmed by epigraphic evidence, but the few mentioned above are the only ones attested in the literary record.¹⁰⁰ It is important to recognize their existence to clarify that there was an Olynthian diaspora throughout the Aegean world, and some of those refugees would later take part in the foundation of Cassandreia.

⁹⁹ Osborne 1983, vol. III and IV, p. 65

¹⁰⁰ Discussed in Ch. 5.4

2. Settlement policies according to the documentary evidence

Following Cassander's consolidation of power after Alexander the Great's death, Cassander founded Cassandreia on the site of the former city of Potidaea on the Pallene peninsula around 316 BC. The "foundation" of Cassandreia was not entirely a creation *ex nihilo*, but rather a political refoundation: the renaming and reorganization of an existing urban area, along with the *synoecism* of neighboring communities and the settlement of new populations. Analysis of epigraphic and documentary evidence provides a clearer understanding of the privileges granted to Macedonian citizens, the motivations behind their granting, and the overall landscape of Cassandreia.

The most compelling evidence comes from the granting or reconfirmation of economic privileges: estates, tax exemptions, and hereditary possessions. They make the refoundation of the peninsula a traceable process of how land, people, and power were redistributed among the population by linking royal will to the urban fabric. They provide dateable evidence of fiscal and institutional restructuring and enable the tracking of the displacement or absorption of land that is otherwise invisible in the literary narrative.

2.1 Identity of Cassandreia within the Macedonian Kingdom

Cassandreia comprised *komai* (villages) of the communities and cities mentioned in the historical overview and ch.1, insofar as they survived physical destruction at the hands of Philip II. The foundation assumed the status of a privileged community within the kingdom, one with a theoretically independent "alliance relationship," as opposed to cities like Pella and Thessalonike which belonged directly to the kingdom.¹⁰¹ Raynor argues that the king no longer exercised

¹⁰¹ Hatzopoulos 1996 vol. I, p.164 Thessalonike is another foundation on the Chalcidian peninsula, founded by Cassander and named after his wife, discussed in ch. 5.4

unilateral control over the foreign relations of Macedonian cities, which were free to establish relationships “in their own right” with Greek sanctuaries.¹⁰² Macedonian cities were now recognized as full participants in the wider community of autonomous Greek city-states.¹⁰³ Furthermore, Raynor argues that “in the world of Hellenistic kingdoms, the *poleis*... developed networks of peer interaction which did not infringe upon the political and military preoccupations of the [Macedonian] kings.”¹⁰⁴ Without the infringement of larger powers, these relationships between Greek cities could continue without objection and allowed for the integration of *poleis* into the Macedonian kingdom.

The non-Macedonian character of the foundation, markedly separate from the Macedonian *koinon*, is evident in onomastic material: “the use of the *ethnikon* Κασσανδρεύς and the Platonic calendar employed in its early documents, together with its other original institutions” and the scarcity of Macedonian names.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the settlers of Cassandreia “were never called Μακεδόνες or Μακεδόνες εκ Κασσανδρείας in inscriptions, but always Κασσανδρεῖς.”¹⁰⁶ This would change in later Hellenic documents in the early third century, under Antigonid rule; evidence of the use of the Macedonian calendar demonstrates the incorporation of Cassandreia into the Macedonian kingdom.

An *asylia* decree for the sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos in 243/2 BC shows a change of status: the inhabitants of Cassandreia were then indistinguishable from the Macedonians. The Koan decree states, “the city of Cassandreia and *all the other Macedonians*,” an expression which

¹⁰² Raynor 2014, p. 42

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 69

¹⁰⁵ Hatzopoulos 1996 vol. I, pp. 158,164; Hatzopoulos 2000, pp.111

¹⁰⁶ Hatzopoulos 1996 vol. I, pp. 160-161

can only be explained if Cassandreia already considered itself part of the national territory.¹⁰⁷ Further proof of incorporation into the kingdom's territory is found in a document from Hagios Mamas dated to the 280s BC that uses the Macedonian calendar.¹⁰⁸ The document signals that even before Lysimachus's death in 281 BC, the citizens of Cassandreia operated within a Macedonian administrative framework.

2.2 Civic Institutions in Cassandreia

2.2.1 The Assembly and the Council

The citizen body of Cassandreia was divided into *phylai* (tribes) and *demoi* (districts or subdivisions of the city), named after gods and heroes, two of which are epigraphically attested: the *Hippotadeis* and the *Hippolyteis*.¹⁰⁹ The naming of the tribes after gods and heroes is singular to Cassandreia and further supports the notion that the foundation was characteristically separate from the kingdom of Macedonia; it conforms to a Platonic model. The free men of the city likely comprised the Assembly, an ad hoc gathering that convened to represent the population at key moments; however, the Assembly is not expressly mentioned in any epigraphic sources. Hatzopoulos reasons that this omission is probably due to an abbreviation of decrees and posits that the popular vote held minimal influence beside the Council's voting.¹¹⁰

What is known of the Council before the Antigonid dynasty comes from an incomplete marble stele found at Hagios Mamas, dated to 285/4 BC, and mentioned in ch.2.1. It reads:

¹⁰⁷ Hatzopoulos 1996 vol. II, nos. 44,46,47

¹⁰⁸ The decree from Hagios Mamas is further discussed in ch.2.2.1

¹⁰⁹ Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. I pp. 121, 159; vol. II nos. 27, 44.

¹¹⁰ Hatzopoulos 1996, p. 145.

When Timesios was priest of Lysimachos, in the month of Demetrian, Pantainos son of Symmachos from (the deme of) Hippolyteis proposed: whereas Androbolos son of Menon, an Aitolian from Naupaktos, is being useful to the city of Kassandreia and shows himself helpful to persons from this city arriving in Aitolia, let it be resolved by the Council that he be made *proxenos* of the Kassandreans...¹¹¹

This decree shows that the Council (*boulē*) in Cassandreia could initiate and pass formal decisions about foreign relations and honorary status, and that it worked together with other civic institutions rather than in isolation. It suggests a *polis* with a standard Greek constitutional framework, even though it was founded by a Macedonian regent. A *boulē* necessitates an assembly space, but this is yet to be identified archaeologically.

Of note are the hero-cults of Lysimachus, Hippotades, and Hippolytos. King Lysimachus was voted cult honors for defending the polis of Priene against Demetrius in 286/5 BC, which explains why he had a dedicated priest.¹¹² The evidence comes from a Letter of Lysimachus to Priene dating to about 285 BC, inscribed on the north wall of the temple of Athena Polias at Priene.¹¹³ The text reads: "...the good-will which the people continue to entertain toward king Lysimachus and shall crown him with a [gold] crown of 1000 staters; and the people shall erect [of the king] a bronze statue [in the agora] shall erect...an altar to him."¹¹⁴ The letter, fragmentary, concerns the organization of a royal cult. This cult falls within the broader framework of ruler cults that developed extensively in Macedonia during the Hellenistic period.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 144, epigraph found in vol. II no. 44

¹¹² Lund 2018, p. 218;

¹¹³ Welles 1934, p.40

¹¹⁴ Translation by Welles 1934, pp. 42-43.

The hero cult of Hippolytos, an Athenian figure from Greek mythology, was present in Athens but primarily centered in the coastal area of Troezen, to the southwest of Athens.¹¹⁵ At the turn of the 19th century, Philippe Legrande uncovered the peri-urban sanctuary at Troezen, where statuary and epigraphic remnants were discovered.¹¹⁶ The cult of Hippotes is based on the god figure Aeolus from Homer's *Odyssey*. Hippotes was the father of Aeolus, and Aeolus' name was changed to Hippotades, meaning "the reiner of horses," as Aeolus is said to have controlled the four *Anemoi*, spirits of the wind, anthropomorphized into horses.¹¹⁷ The Macedonian tribe's use of Hippolytos and Hippotades as namesakes underscores that, even though by Lysimachus's time Cassandreia was considered incorporated into the Macedonian Kingdom, elements of Greek culture persisted.¹¹⁸

2.2.2 The Magistrates

The material discussed here derives from a later stage in the city's development. Even so, it can still offer a retrospective basis for reconstructing the character of its *polis*-like constitution or *politeia*. From epigraphs dating between 276 and 240 BC, after the accession of Antigonos Gonatas to the Macedonian throne and the formal incorporation of Cassandreia into the kingdom, information about the two bodies of magistrates, the *strategoi* and the *nomophylakes*, both of indeterminate numbers, can be gleaned.¹¹⁹ The Cassandrian *strategoi* were military magistrates responsible for commanding the mercenaries in the city's service and, later, training its youth for city defense. The *nomophylakes*' primary role was to oversee the observance of laws in the city.

¹¹⁵ Rassi 2021, p. 108; Hippolytos was the son of Theseus.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p. 109; Hippolytos would come to be worshipped as a god during the imperial period.

¹¹⁷ Theoi Project, Atsma 2000-2017

¹¹⁸ Reference the last paragraph in ch. 2.1

¹¹⁹ Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. I, p. 157.

The two bodies are seen working together in the *asylia* decree for the Asklepieion of Kos, epigraphically attested on a white marble stele together with two other decrees and dated to 243 BC: “Of Kassandreia. The *strategoi* and the *nomophylakes* proposed...”¹²⁰

The junior magistrates of Kassandreia included three *agoranomoi* and one *tamias*. The *agoranomoi* were civic magistrates responsible for supervising the agora: controlling prices, maintaining order, and checking weights and measures. The *tamiai* were financial magistrates who managed public funds. They made authorized payments, oversaw temple and civil treasuries, and kept accounts that could be audited by the city.

2.3 Decrees from the last quarter of the fourth century BC

2.3.1 Grant of Cassander to Perdiccas¹²¹

Dated between 306 and 297 BC, the first piece of documentary evidence analyzed is a flat-topped stele with small molding at the top but broken away at the bottom.¹²² It is a grant of land from Cassander, King of the Macedonians, to Perdiccas, which had been held in Perdiccas’ family for generations. It was discovered at the monastery of Μετόχιον Μονής Δοχειαρίου, on the ancient site of Kassandreia. It reads:

¹²⁰ Ibid. p. 143

¹²¹ Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, no 20

¹²² The document’s reference to Cassander as “King of the Macedonians” narrows the date down to this period, beginning with Cassander’s accession to the throne in 306 BC and ending with his death in 297 BC.

ἐφ' ἱερέως Κυδία, βασιλε-
 υς Μακεδόνων Κάσσαν-
 δρος δίδωσι Περδίκκαι
 Κοίνου τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν
 5 ἐν τῇ Σιναίᾳ καὶ τὸν ἐ-
 πὶ Τραπεζοῦντι, οὓς ἐ-
 κληρούχησεν Πολεμο-
 κράτης ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ
 καὶ ὃν ὁ πατήρ ἐπὶ Φιλίππου, κα-
 10 θάπερ καὶ Φίλιππος ἔδ[ω]-
 κεν ἐμ πατρικοῖς καὶ αὐτ-
 οῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις κυρίοι-
 ς οὓσι κεκτῆσθαι καὶ
 ἀλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀ-
 15 ποδόσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐς-
 παρτώλῳ, ὅμ παρὰ Π-

τολεμαίου ἔλαβεν
 ἐν ἀργυρίῳ, δίδωσι κα[ὶ]
 τοῦτον ἐμ πατρικοῖς
 20 καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις
 κυρίοις οὓσι καὶ κεκτῆσ-
 θαι καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθαι
 καὶ ἀποδόσθαι, καθά-
 περ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος
 25 ἔδωκεν Πτολεμαί-
 ωι τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Πτολε-
 μαίου· δίδωσι δὲ καὶ ἀ-
 τέλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐ-
 κγόνοις καὶ εἰσάγον-
 30 τι καὶ ἐξάγοντι τῶν
 ἐπὶ κτήσει.

“When Kydias was priest. Kassandros, King of the Macedonians, gives to Perdikkas son of Koinos the estate in the (former) territory of Sinos and the estate at Trapezous, both of which his grandfather Polemokrates received as κληροῖ, and also the estate which his father (received as a κληρος) in the time of Philip, on the same terms as those on which Philip gave them, as a patrimonial possession, both they and their descendants having the full right to possess and exchange and alienate them; and also the estate at Spartolos, which (Perdikkas) purchased for silver from Ptolemaios, (Kassandros) gives this too as a patrimonial possession, both he and his descendants having the full right to possess and exchange and alienate it, on the same terms as those on which Alexander gave it to Ptolemaios the father of Ptolemaios. (Kassandros) also gives fiscal immunity to (Perdikkas) and his descendants to import and export any of the things on his property.”¹²³

¹²³ Trans. by Peter Thonemann 2007, p. 365

This type of text, emphasizing legal rights of ownership such as “to possess, exchange, and alienate [sell or donate],” was crucial in establishing Cassander’s political legitimacy, as it formalized land rights and reaffirmed his authority after Alexander’s death. The document mirrors the style of a royal land-grant—“Kassandros gives Perdikkas”—even though it primarily serves as a confirmation of the latter’s ownership of four estates scattered across the Chalcidice peninsula under the identical conditions which had been established previously by Philip II and Alexander III. Thonemann notes that this grant “is best understood as an exceptional act of royal munificence.”¹²⁴ This reconfirmation was made necessary by the foundation of Cassandreia and the reorganization of the surrounding land because all the individual estates owned by Perdikkas were located on land formerly outside civic territory.¹²⁵ Hence, the revenues produced by his property would not be impacted by the absorption of his fief into Cassandreia, as ensured by the clause granting fiscal immunity. The passage likewise indicated uninterrupted continuity in land tenure arrangements in Chalcidice between the 330s BC and the close of the fourth century BC.¹²⁶

2.3.2 Grant of Cassander to Chairephanes¹²⁷

No. 21 in Hatzopoulos’s 1996 epigraphic appendix notes a grant of Cassander to Chairephanes, discovered at ancient Cassandreia.¹²⁸ Hatzopoulos proposes a date between 306 and 297 BC, when Cassander was king, and Kaye suggests that the decree was likely displayed in front of one of the city’s major public buildings.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Thonemann 2007, p. 368

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 365-6

¹²⁶ Ibid, 366

¹²⁷ Andronikou 1997, pp. 39-50, SEG 47 940

¹²⁸ The grant was only described in the appendix after it had been presented by I. Vokotopoulou at a 1993 conference, with publication due in the proceedings.

¹²⁹ Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, p. 45; Kaye 2015, p. 89

ἐπὶ Κυδία, μηνὸς
 Ἀθηναίωνος, βασι—
 λεὺς Κάσσανδρος
 Χαιρεφάνει Αἰσχύλου
 5 Ἴπποταδεῖ ἀτέλειαν
 ἔδωκεν πάντων
 αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις
 καὶ εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξά—
 γοντι καὶ πωλοῦντι
 10 καὶ ὠνουμένωι πλὴν
 ὅσα ἐπ’ ἐμπορίαι.”

“Under Kydias. In the month of Athenaios, Kassandros the king granted to Chairephanes, son of Aeschylos, Hippotades, exemption from all taxes, to him and his descendants, both for importing and exporting, for selling and buying, except for those things that pertain to commerce.”¹³⁰

In the decree, the king Cassander grants *ateleia* (immunity) on duties “on import and export of personal goods” to Chairephanes, the son of Aischylos of the deme Hippotadeis, in the month of Athenasion, when Kydias was the eponymous priest, if these activities did not occur in one of the two harbors flanking the city.¹³¹ This, too, follows the pattern of royal Macedonians granting economic privileges to their favored subjects. Perdiccas and Chairephanes both likely owned territory within the *chorā* of Cassandreia, and their economic interests, both domestic and international, as well as their service to the king, would have required trade to maintain large

¹³⁰ Trans. by A. Gandini 2026; festival to athena

¹³¹ Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, p. 45; Kaye 2015, p. 89

oikoi.¹³² Kaye presupposes that this grant to Chairephanes was intended to protect these economic activities and to ensure that he was taxed like any other Cassandreian; furthermore, these grants were aimed at local and civic officials operating along the borders of the harbors and the territory of Cassandreia.¹³³

Both the grants to Perdiccas and Chairephanes by Cassander recall an earlier subsidy granted to Hippocles by Philip II and confirmed by Antigonos II Gonatas.¹³⁴ It ensured hereditary fiscal immunity (SEG 47 893):

Πάν καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι μέγα τίμιος, ἀλλὰ
πόθος με πνεῦμα Μακεδονίαι σύμμαχον ὑγάγετο,
Ἴπποκλέους δὲ ἀρετὰ με τεθαλότα καὶ νέον ὦδε
θῆκε γέ τε ἐκ προγόνων κισσὸν ἀναψάμενος ·
5 ἀθάνατος ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΕΣ ἐπεὶ χάρις ἄδε Φιλίππου
καὶ τέκνων τέκνοις αἰδίως ἐδόθη
καὶ κτεάνων ἀτελὴς δόμος, ἃ τε ἐπίσημος
Ἀντιγόνου φάμα τόνδε ἐφύλαξε νόμον

“Since this immortal grant of King Philip was bestowed even upon descendants, together with a house exempt from property taxes, and the sealed decree of Antigonos secured this land.”¹³⁵

This example of a fiscal grant from Philip II serves as a blueprint for the legal formula used in the later grants from Cassander in his efforts to establish himself as a Macedonian ruler. Though the original grant predates 336 BC, it functions as a palimpsest: Cassander operated on a pre-

¹³² Kaye, 2015, p. 90

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ This grant is dated to the early 4th century BC, certainly before 336 BC.

¹³⁵ Trans. by A. Gandini 2026

existing example of royal grants. These grants are acts of patronage, not merely administrative functions, and their hereditary nature highlights how these Macedonian rulers maintain enduring authority over the land.

2.4 Decrees from the first quarter of the third century BC

Cassander's death in 297 BC left Macedonia in the hands of his sons, whose internecine conflicts brought the short-lived Antipatrid dynasty to an end. This opened the kingdom to external intervention. The power vacuum after 297 BC enabled Demetrius I to seize Macedonia and much of Greece. Cassander's urban and garrison policy was interrupted, and Cassandreia was removed from its original role as an Antipatrid royal foundation.¹³⁶ The decisive reordering of power came when Lysimachus, one of Alexander III's *Diadochi*, already king in Thrace and western Asia Minor, joined with Pyrrhus of Epirus to expel Demetrius from Macedonia in 288 BC. By 285 BC, Lysimachus eliminated Pyrrhus to establish himself as the sole king of Macedonia.¹³⁷

Under Lysimachus, Cassandreia was integrated into a wider trans-Aegean kingdom stretching from mainland Greece to Asia Minor; the city's earlier function as Cassander's personal dynastic capital was transformed into a key coastal node within a multiregional monarchy oriented toward Thrace, the Hellespont, and western Asia Minor.

2.4.1 Grant of King Lysimachos to Limnaios son of Harpalos¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Miller 2022

¹³⁷ Dunn 2022

¹³⁸ SEG 38 619

The grant of King Lysimachus to Limnaios is inscribed on a white marble stele with small molding at the top, found at the site of ancient Cassandreia.¹³⁹ Hatzopoulos dates the stele to 285/4 BC, when Lysimachus was king of Macedonia.

ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ Λυσιμάχου	15	τονες Μένων Σωσικλέους,
Τιμησίου, βασιλεὺς		Πύλων Ἐπιτέλους, καὶ
Λυσίμαχος δέδωκεν		τὸν ἐν τῇ Στρεψαίαι,
Λιμναίῳ Ἀρπάλου ἐμ		γῆς ἐνδένδρου πλέθρα
5 πατρικοῖς τοὺς ἀγρούς,		ἐνακόσια καὶ ἀμπέλων
τόν τε ἐν τῇ Σερμυλιαί-	20	εἴκοσι, ὧι γείτονες Γού-
αι, γῆς ἐνδένδρου πλέθρα		ρας Ἀννύθεος, Χιονίδης,
χίλια διακόσια, ὧι γείτο-		Εὐάλκης Δημητρίου, καὶ
νες Ἀγαθοκλῆς Λυσι-		αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις κε-
10 μάχου, Βίθυς Κλέωνος,		κτῆσθαι κυρίοις οὔσι κα[ι]
καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυνθίαι	25	πωλεῖν καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθαι[ι]
ἐπὶ Τραπεζοῦντι, γῆς		καὶ διδόναι οἷς ἂν βού-
ἐνδένδρου πλέθρα τρι-		λωνται.
ακόσια ἐξήκοντα, ὧι γεί-		

“When Timesios was priest of Lysimachos. King Lysimachos has given these estates to Limnaios son of Harpalos as a patrimonial possession: the estate in the (former) territory of Sermylia, 1200 plethra¹⁴⁰ of land planted with trees, contiguous with the properties of Agathokles son of Lysimachos and Bithys son of Kleon; the estate in the (former) territory of Olynthos at Trapezous, 360 plethra of land planted with trees, contiguous with the properties of Menon son Sosikles and Pylon son of Epitelēs; and the estate in the *former* territory of Strepsa, 900 plethra of land planted with trees and 20 plethra of vineyards, contiguous with the properties of Gouras son of Annythes, Chionides, and Eualkes son of Demetrios. *He has granted these estates to him and his descendants with*

¹³⁹ Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, p. 45

¹⁴⁰ A *plethra* is an ancient Greek unit of measurement of approximately 100 feet.

the full right to possess and sell and exchange and give them to whomsoever they wish.”¹⁴¹

The grant from King Lysimachus to Limnaios differs from Cassander’s grant to Perdiccas in that it is not a reconfirmation of previously granted tenure; it is granted to the beneficiary for the first time, and functions as a permanent title deed.¹⁴² It emphasizes that these estates formerly occupied land in the annexed territories of Sermylia, Strepsa, and Olynthus, and were re-parceled under Cassandreia. Hence, it specifies the size and location of the fief. As Thonemann notes, this decree also differs from Cassander’s grant to Perdiccas in that it does not confer fiscal immunity from civic import duties, yet both beneficiaries receive the parcels as hereditary possessions.¹⁴³ The deed of sale provides insight into the desirability of the productive Chalcidian land, noting the presence of woods and vineyards. Limnaios thus not only receives land but also revenue-producing territory to enrich himself and his descendants in perpetuity. Though the deeds belonging to the mentioned Gouras, Chionides, and Eualkes are not extant, the list alludes to a vast amount of royal Cassandreian territory—specifically, the land once governed by Olynthus.

¹⁴¹ Trans. by Peter Thonemann 2007, p. 367

¹⁴² Thonemann 2007, p. 367

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 368

3. Archaeology of Olynthus

3.1.1 Historical Background of Excavation at Olynthus

Olynthus has occupied a central place in the archaeology of Classical Greece ever since the large-scale campaigns directed by David M. Robinson under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens between 1928 and 1938, which exposed more than five hectares of the city and its harbor, Mecenberna. Conducted in four main seasons (1928, 1931, 1934, 1938), these excavations produced an unprecedented body of data on urban planning and domestic architecture, later recorded in the multi-volume series *Excavations at Olynthus* and foundational studies of the so-called “pastas” house.¹⁴⁴ At the same time, the speed and recording methods of Robinson’s team were later criticized and partially reworked. Scholars such as J. Walter Graham and Nicholas Cahill have shaped subsequent debates about archaeological practice, documentation, and the possibilities and limits of reusing early excavation archives. More recently, the Olynthus Project has returned to the site with modern field methodologies. It reframes Olynthus not only as a classic case study of household organization but also as a dynamic urban landscape whose investigative history must itself be scrutinized as part of the site’s interpretative history.¹⁴⁵

3.1.2 The Plan of Olynthus

Cahill’s *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* offers a modern interpretation of the excavated ruins almost a century after its initial discovery.¹⁴⁶ Olynthus is organized into three parts: the South Hill, the North Hill, and the Villa Section. The South Hill appears to have been

¹⁴⁴ Robinson 1932

¹⁴⁵ Nevett et al. 2020

¹⁴⁶ Cahill 2008

developed in a somewhat irregular manner, with clusters of rooms and likely shops arranged along a simple network of streets. Two main streets ran roughly north–south along the eastern and western sides of the hill, each separated from the crest by one or two rows of rooms. Excavations have revealed two cross-streets running approximately east–west, with others likely existing beyond the excavated area. The overall layout thus resembles that of the North Hill, albeit in a less regular form.¹⁴⁷ In the fifth century, a public area was established in the northern part of the hill, and additional public buildings were later constructed at its northernmost tip, though no major civic or religious buildings were found.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately, no necropolises or religious buildings were found.

In that public area, a square building with a capacity for 250 people was located on the North Hill and dates to the end of the fifth century BC, right after the *synoecism* of the Chalcidian communities.¹⁴⁹ The building’s plan included two small chambers, likely serving as offices and archival space. The southern chamber featured an internal colonnade, a central altar, and an *exedra* facing the altar—elements closely comparable to those of other *bouleuteria*—and wooden benches along the west wall. This public building was likely a *bouleterion*, though recent research identifies it with the *pryteneion*.¹⁵⁰

The North Hill was organized according to an orthogonal plan that, despite some irregularities, covered the entire area. Residential buildings were generally arranged in blocks of ten houses—two rows of five separated by a narrow alley. On the eastern side of the city, the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 27

¹⁴⁸ The Olynthus Project

¹⁴⁹ Institute of Mediterranean Studies “Olynthus—Bouleterion”

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.; If the *bouleterion* is in fact a *pryteneion*, a religious structure has been found.

blocks were reduced in length to accommodate streets adjusted to the hill's natural topography. The street layout follows an almost perfect north—south and east—west orientation.¹⁵¹ Excavators labeled the north—south arteries “avenues” and the east—west arteries “streets”. From west to east, avenues were labeled alphabetically A through F; “streets were labeled in roman numerals i, ii, iii, up to xiii, beginning at the south end of the North Hill, with the streets south of these labeled -i, -ii, etc. Blocks were identified by the intersection of street and avenue at their southwest corner: hence block A v is bounded on the west by Avenue A and on the south by Street v.”¹⁵² Within each block, the houses were numbered beginning from the northwest corner. In block A v, House A v 1 occupies the northwest corner, while House A v 2 stands at the southwest corner. House A v 3 is the second dwelling from the west along the northern row, and the numbering proceeds in the same manner throughout the block.

¹⁵¹ Cahill 2008, p. 27

¹⁵² Ibid.

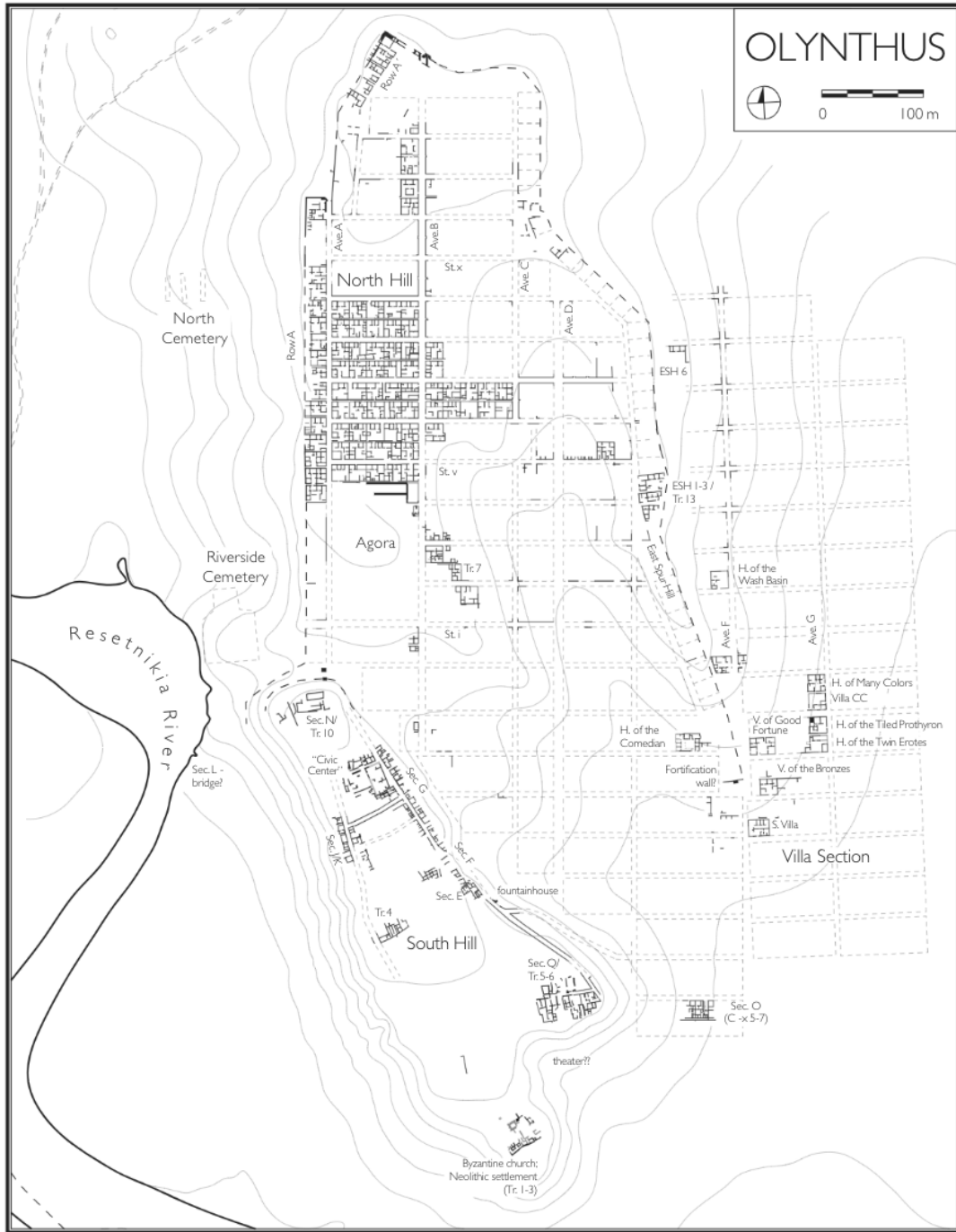


Fig. 3: Plan of Olynthus¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Cahill 2008, p. 26

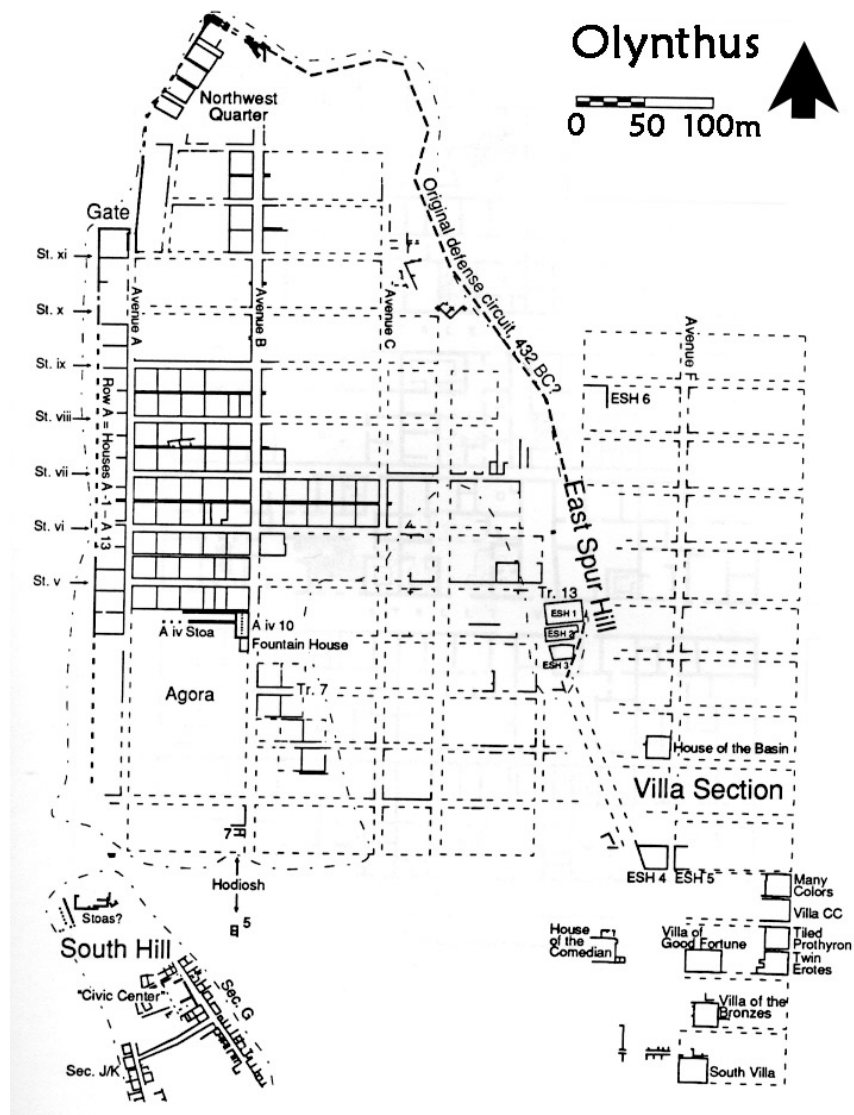


Fig. 4: Site plan of Olynthus showing street blocks¹⁵⁴

The inhabitants of Olynthus were the communities from the southern coast of the Chalcidice that burned their settlements and moved inland to the city in 432 BC. The morphology of the city is traceable through the development of the North Hill to accommodate population growth. Though

¹⁵⁴ "House of Many Colors, Olynthus - archaeological recreations and simulations," Vizin, adapted from Cahill 1999, fig. 24

this *synoecism* occurred at Perdiccas's behest to sever the ties of the Chalcidice with Athens at the onset of the Peloponnesian War (as discussed in the historical overview), ties with Athens remain traceable through cults.¹⁵⁵

3.1.4 Fortifications

Stretching 0.8 meters wide (twice the width of a normal house-wall foundation) and preserved primarily in rubble foundations, the fortification of the wall of the city was traced primarily along the west side of the North Hill, where, it formed the back walls of the houses of Row A.¹⁵⁶ This is the second phase of the fortification wall. Robinson posits that the preserved wall was surmounted by a wall of sun-dried brick of nearly the same breadth.¹⁵⁷ The arrangement of houses along the east side of the North Hill implies that the east side of the hill demarcated a limit of the city, and that Rows A and A' of houses ringed the inside of the circuit wall. The wall was not traced beyond the East Spur Hill to the south, leaving the southeastern boundary undetermined. Cahill discusses unpublished plans that indicate a section—possibly part of the fortification wall and a tower—revealed in a trial trench west of the Villa of the Bronzes. If this feature indeed belongs to the fortification, it could explain the irregularities observed in the city grid in that area.¹⁵⁸ This second phase of the fortification wall was likely constructed during the city's expansion in 432 BC.

When the settlement later extended into the villa district, however, the eastern defenses may have been dismantled, leaving only scant remains for Robinson to investigate. On the South Hill,

¹⁵⁵ Reference ch.2.2.1

¹⁵⁶ Cahill 2008, p. 29; See Figure 4

¹⁵⁷ Robinson 1935, p. 214

¹⁵⁸ Cahill 2008, p. 29

a segment of the first phase of the fortification wall was discovered at the northern end of the hill, just west of Section N. Its exact date remains uncertain; it may have belonged either to the circuit enclosing the North Hill or to an earlier defensive line protecting only the South Hill before the *anoikismos*. In any case, the South Hill must have been fortified in both phases, since Artabazus's siege of Olynthus in 479 BC demonstrates that it was already defended by that time.¹⁵⁹

3.2 The Siege of Olynthus

3.2.1 Review of Ancient Sources

Diodorus Siculus, writing three centuries after the city's fall in the summer of 348 BC, is our primary source for the event. He mentions two major battles before the city was captured:

...and then, having taken the field with a large army against the most important of the cities in this region, Olynthus, he first defeated the Olynthians in two battles and confined them to the defense of their walls; then in the continuous assaults that he made he lost many of his men in encounters at the walls, but finally bribed the chief officials of the Olynthians, Euthykrates and Lasthenes, and captured Olynthus through their treachery.¹⁶⁰

3.2.2 Archaeological Evidence

The wealth of small missile objects, namely lead sling bullets and iron arrowheads, excavated throughout the city suggests considerable intramural fighting before the capitulation. Some of the lead sling bullets, which are around three centimeters in length and bi-conical in shape, are inscribed with the names of commanders on both the Olynthian and Macedonian sides.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Diod. Sic. 16.53, (trans. by C. B. Welles 1933, *Loeb*)

Approximately 500 of these were excavated, and more than 100 are inscribed.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, there is a discrepancy in weight between the two forces' missile objects; the Macedonian inscribed bullets weigh around 30 grams, while the Chalcidian bullets weigh almost 26 grams. Lee notes that the distinction "appears statistically significant and may reasonably permit assigning bullets to one side or the other, on the basis of weight, even when they are not inscribed."¹⁶² The arrowheads also bear inscriptions. Six of these arrowheads bear Philip II's name, along with eleven or twelve sling bullets.¹⁶³ More bear the names of Philip's commander, Hipponicus. Cahill also attributes the missile objects inscribed with the name Cleonibus, a technically unidentified general, to Philip's army.¹⁶⁴

Thus, the positions of attack and defense may be roughly determined, and this archaeological evidence, combined with our literary sources, helps elucidate what occurred during the siege in the summer of 348 BC. For example, the concentration of more than 85 missile objects in Sections F and G on the east side of the South Hill may be a position for Diodorus' "continuous assaults."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Lee 2001, p. 13

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Cahill 2008, p. 46

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

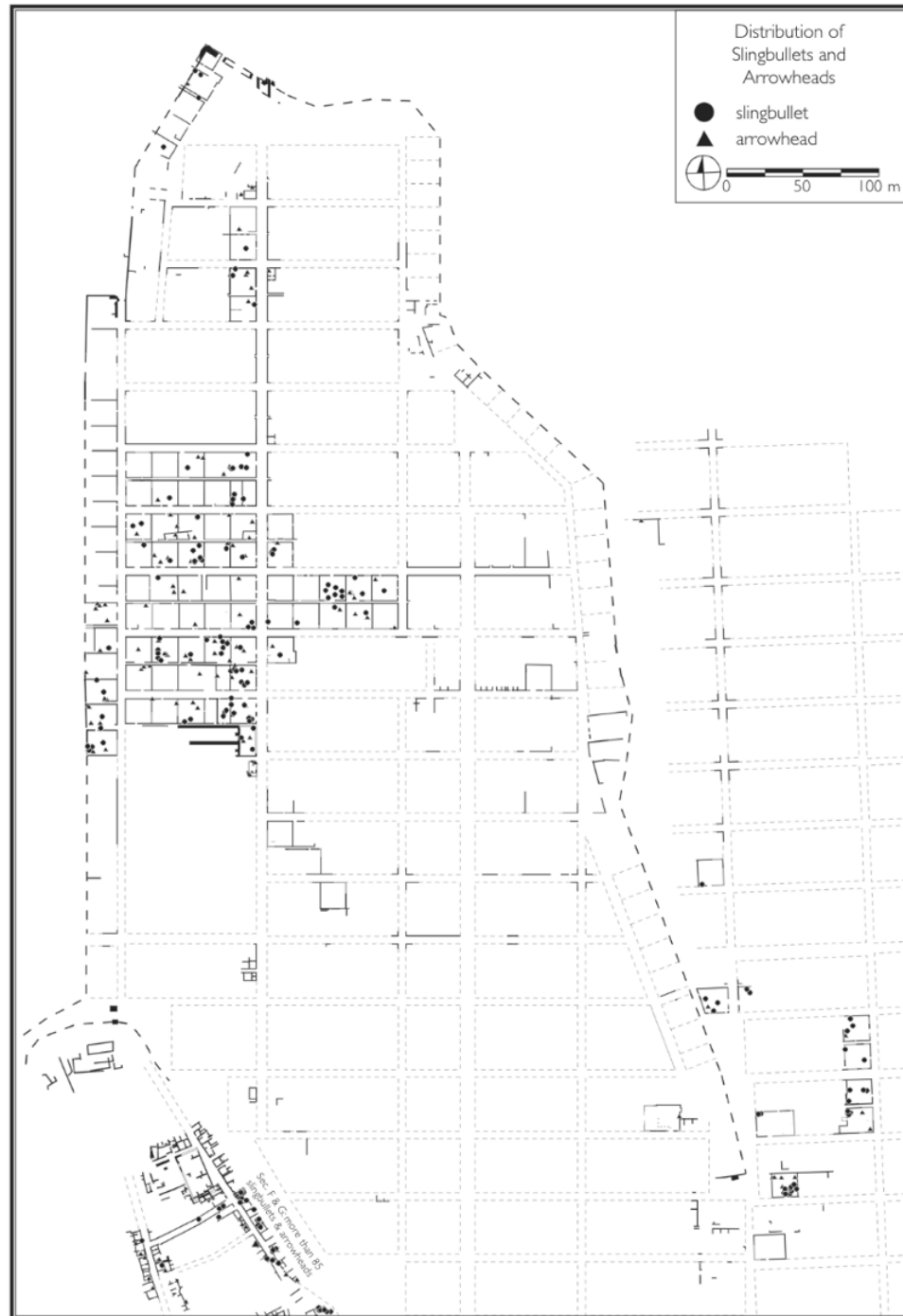


Fig. 5: Distribution of Sling Bullets and Arrows at Olynthus¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 47

3.2.3 Narrative

Lee tentatively reconstructs the course of events, beginning with the first stage of Diodorus' account, which describes Philip confining the Olynthians to their walls after having defeated them in two pitched battles. He postulates that Philip established camp west of Olynthus to control the Retsinika River, the city's primary water supply. The second stage regards the unsuccessful assaults on the walls. The landscape supports the western approach hypothesis, as the terrain on the western side of the North Hill rises in a gentle slope, enabling the advance of assault units.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, the concentration of arrowheads is perhaps evidence of defensive archery. The material record offers no clear challenge to the first two phases of Diodorus' account, but the third phase, as noted, is more problematic. In this section of the narrative, Diodorus claims that Philip won over Euthykrates and Lasthenes, the leading Olynthian officials, and took the city by betrayal. However, the widespread distribution of sling bullets and arrowheads implies prolonged fighting within the city, so the "treachery" is best understood as having enabled the Macedonians to penetrate the defenses rather than to secure an immediate submission; entry behind the walls did not guarantee the instant surrender of the urban population.¹⁶⁸

Hand-to-hand fighting, which certainly occurred at Olynthus, is nearly archaeologically invisible; Robinson recovered only a few non-missile weapons, including the spearhead and end found on the South Hill, belonging to the Macedonian sarissa. These weapons, twelve to fifteen feet long, seem unsuited for urban combat in the confines of private dwellings. Hammond and Griffith attest that a large proportion of Philip's army fought with sarissa, and Lee concludes that

¹⁶⁷ The topography of Olynthus is illustrated in figure 3

¹⁶⁸ Lee 2001, pp. 18-19

many of these troops must have been included in the intramural fighting.¹⁶⁹ The assault inside the walls likely lasted for only a day, by which point the defending Olynthians were unable to offer resistance. Those who managed to escape the fall of the city sought refuge in exile, while the remaining population captured by the Macedonians were condemned to slavery. Philip then plundered the devastated ruins. It is possible that he forced the Olynthian captives to clear and dispose of the bodies that had littered the streets and houses, since archaeological excavations have revealed no traces of human remains within the site.¹⁷⁰ The Macedonians ultimately razed Olynthus, knocking down walls and trampling fallen tiles into the streets.

There is a proclivity for historians writing on the fall of Olynthus to focus on accompanying political circumstances; relations between Olynthus and Athens, Philip and Athens, and internal debates at Athens tend to command discourse at the expense of the mechanics of the siege and capitulation.¹⁷¹ The lack of attention to this aspect results in an incomplete review of Olynthus and its inhabitants. An understanding of how Olynthus died deserves as much consideration as political relationships and daily household behavior.

3.3 Reoccupation of Olynthus

The reoccupation of Olynthus can only be deduced from numismatic material. Robinson's excavations yielded only dwellings and street blocks.¹⁷² Neither necropolises were found, nor signs of dwelling in houses; the only evidence for this resettlement in the destroyed capital of the League is numismatic in nature.

¹⁶⁹ Hammond and Griffiths 1979, vol. II pp. 418-428; Lee 2001, p. 20

¹⁷⁰ Lee 2001, p. 20

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p. 21

¹⁷² An assumption can be made that the lack of findings was indeed do to the devastation of the city in 348 BC.

3.3.1 Numismatic Evidence

As evidenced by coins dating to after the destruction of Olynthus, occupation of the area did not cease, even after the territory was designated as royal land. Excavation at the northwest corner of the site unearthed securely datable coins of Alexander the Great, Cassander, and “Anonymous Bronzes” from the Macedonian royal mint, all of which date to Alexander III and his successors, casting doubt on the terminus post quem of 348 BC.¹⁷³ Robinson and Clement found 55 such coins.¹⁷⁴ James Dengate found more late coins than Clement, dating 154 coins post 348 BC. Dengate argues that 126 additional coins, initially dated to before the destruction in 348 BC, should be reconsidered because “most Greek cities in the Aegean area did not begin regular issues of bronze coinage until after ca. 350 B.C.”¹⁷⁵ Others also combine securely dated coins with those dated relatively by style. Cahill disregards Dengate’s hoard of 260 coins in favor of Robinson and Clement’s conservative estimation. Cahill writes, “the distinction is critical in a case like this where we are not simply trying to determine a date for the site but establishing a chronology for all of Greek archaeology.”¹⁷⁶

An average of twenty-nine percent of the overall total coins were found in the Northwest Quarter, one of the houses containing eighteen coins. This stands in sharp contrast to the rest of the North Hill, where houses contained a singular Macedonian royal coin. Only four coins were found outside of the North Hill. The houses of Olynthus were only trenched along the walls, not completely excavated; there very well may be significant quantities still buried there. We can

¹⁷³ Cahill 2008, p. 50

¹⁷⁴ Robinson and Clement 1938

¹⁷⁵ Dengate 1990, p. 315

¹⁷⁶ Cahill 2008, p. 53

surely conclude that the Northwest quarter was occupied between the destruction of the city and the foundation of Cassandreia in 316 BC. (See Appendix).

4. Archaeology of Cassandreia

The origins of Cassandreia have been delineated in the historical overview chapter, ch.1 and ch.5; thus, the archaeological evidence we seek to analyze begins in the Hellenistic period, after the forced resettlement of the remaining communities of the Chalcidian League into a single city. The archaeological evidence for Cassandreia is primarily the fortification wall, with cemeteries, tombs, and graves of the Athenian *kleruchoi* all dating to the Classical and early Hellenistic periods.¹⁷⁷ It does appear that the city possessed an axial grid plan.¹⁷⁸ Posthumous coinage of Philip II, minted by Cassander, serves as archaeological evidence, alongside the Olynthian coin discovered in a hoard. Also unearthed was an Eretrian sanctuary to Zeus Amon, renovated in the early Hellenistic period. When the Romans took control of the city in 168 BC, changes were made to the city, and during the Second Triumvirate period, it was incorporated as a Roman colony.

4.1 Background

The excavations at Cassandreia have been largely focused on rescue and fortification by the Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (EPCA) during the modern construction of Nea Potidaea.¹⁷⁹ Scattered interventions on the isthmus at Nea Potidaea, atop Hellenistic Cassandreia, uncovered a late medieval fortification and provided some information on ancient Potidaea, which was destroyed by Philip II in 356 BC, handed over to the Olynthians, and later refounded as Cassandreia in 316 BC.

¹⁷⁷ ToposText 2026, “Potidaea (Chalkidike).”; This is the only source which attests to the discovery of the cemeteries of the Athenian *kleruchoi*.

¹⁷⁸ Raynor 2014, p. 277

¹⁷⁹ Bitzikopoulos 2026; Visible on the ground are mainly the fortification remains, the *diateichisma* and canal

The archaeological record of the site is extremely limited, and most of it was unearthed during the cutting of the canal, which connected the Thermaic Gulf to the Toronian Gulf on either side of the isthmus between 1935 and 1937.¹⁸⁰ In the 1930s, separate from the activities of the EPCA, Professor Pelekides of the University of Thessaloniki conducted preliminary excavations at the site of Potidaea over the course of three weeks.¹⁸¹ On the southwestern side of the modern town, she found two Roman-era buildings, one of note: a sacred temple *in antis*, likely dedicated to Poseidon on account of a statuette torso. Between Nea Potidaea and the medieval walls, trial trenches were dug, which yielded graves dated to Roman times. Additionally, “the head of a statuette, a small fifth-century base, and a fourth-century life-size female protome of clay” were found.¹⁸²

The 16th EPCA in the early 2000s unearthed pottery, architecture, preserved Hellenistic fortifications, and a single Macedonian single-chambered tomb.¹⁸³ The city’s Hellenistic and Classical layout was orthogonal, and some extramural cemeteries were preserved, though the urban fabric of Hellenistic Cassandreia remains largely unexcavated.¹⁸⁴

The 2011 rescue excavation by the EPCA found a house outside of the fortification wall belonging to Cassandreia with several Hellenistic construction phases (late 4th–mid 2nd c. BC). Catherine Bouras notes that the best-preserved phase revealed square and rectilinear rooms that likely formed part of two adjoining houses, each incorporating a courtyard paved with pebbles and

¹⁸⁰ *PECS*, v.v. ‘Poteidaia’, pp. 733-34

¹⁸¹ Alexander 1963, p. 7.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ ToposText 2026, “Potidaea (Chalkidike).”; Bouras 2019.

¹⁸⁴ ToposText 2026, “Potidaea (Chalkidike).”

tile fragments.¹⁸⁵ The excavation indicated that the buildings were severely damaged on two occasions in later phases, and their final architectural phase reflects a period of abandonment. In the late Roman period, the former domestic area was converted into a burial ground, with twenty-four pit graves of Early Byzantine date laid out over the remains of the late Hellenistic occupation.¹⁸⁶

4.2. Fortification Wall

4.2.1 Ancient and Hellenistic Fortification Wall

The site of Cassandreia is strategically located on the isthmus of Pallene, with access to the Thermaic Gulf to the west and the Toronian Gulf to the east. A fortification wall controlling passage to the northern isthmus protected an area of 370 hectares, comprising the *asty* and *chora*, the city and farmland.¹⁸⁷ This wall extends coast to coast, some 1200 meters, varying in thickness from 1.5m to 3.2m, with a maximum preserved height of over 8m.¹⁸⁸ The wall is reinforced with rectangular towers, spaced every 50-60m. Eighteen of the likely twenty-one towers remain today, and the wall is capped on each side by two towers, though they now lie in the water due to the rise of sea level and canal construction.¹⁸⁹ The existence of fortification walls during the Potidaean and Cassandreian periods is repeatedly attested in ancient literary sources. Herodotus relates the unsuccessful attempt of the Persian Artabazus to enter the Pallene peninsula in front of the north wall at low tide, allowing the earliest possible date for the construction of the wall to be 479 BC.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Bouras 2019.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Klinaki and Nikolakopoulou 2025, p. 226.

¹⁸⁸ Bitzikopoulos 2019, p. 43.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.29, *Loeb Classical Library* 1924

Later, Thucydides describes Aristaeus's more successful battle in front of the north wall in 432 BC, when he actually gained entry into the city.¹⁹¹ He further attests to the presence of a second wall to the south.¹⁹²

Dimitris Bitzikopoulos suggests that the observable fortification wall aligns with the wall that surrounded Classical Potidaea and Hellenistic Cassandreia.¹⁹³ Basil Gounaris acknowledges the paucity of archaeological evidence in the city, yet writes, "the northern and southern fortification walls have been located...the wall incorporated a huge area, including the former Potidaea and the Archaic and Classical cemeteries."¹⁹⁴ John Alexander is unconvinced that the extant medieval wall closely followed its predecessor, as no parts of the substructure uncovered during the canal's construction can be definitively dated to Classical or Hellenistic times.¹⁹⁵ The new excavations contradict Alexander's conclusions but do not provide compelling evidence for attributing these walls to Hellenistic times. Though tempting to declare the discovery of these ancient walls, given that most of the evidence comes from written sources and lacks definitive scientific dating, it is best to leave this to conjecture.

4.3. Numismatic Evidence

Modern salvage excavations conducted in and around Nea Potidaea have provided material for recent numismatic research on these rescue finds from Cassandreia. 314 total stray and hoard coins were examined; seventy specimens were found around the fortification and the residential area, though thirty-seven percent were completely worn due to the soil conditions so close to the

¹⁹¹ Thuc. *Hist.* 1.63, *Loeb Classical Library* 1919

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 1.58; see also 1.64

¹⁹³ Bitzikopoulos 2019, p.44

¹⁹⁴ Gounaris 2015, p. 56

¹⁹⁵ Alexander 1963, p. 2

sea.¹⁹⁶ The vast majority, seventy-eight percent, of the coins are those of the royal Macedonian mint. The earliest of these issues are bronze coins of Philip II, more than half of which date to the posthumous ‘Herakles / club’ type, which continued to circulate long after his death in 336 BC.¹⁹⁷ They point to some forms of settlement continuity long after the destruction of Potidaea. The remainder belong to his main bronze type, ‘young male head/ rider’, issued posthumously. Issues of Alexander III predominate in primarily silver hoard coins. Three types of bronze coins belong to his lifetime: the ‘Heracles / weapons’ types. Christos Gatzolis confirms that the bulk of the coins of the ‘young male head/ horse’ type of Alexander III were issued by Cassander and minted between 316 and 309 BC.¹⁹⁸ The fact that many of the numismatic finds belong to the Macedonian royal mint may be easily explained by the founding of the new dynastic city at Cassander’s initiative, some forty years after the destruction of Classical Potidaea.

Approximately twenty percent of the 314 coins unearthed belong to the local bronze issue featuring Dionysos on the obverse and a vase inscribed with the “legend Apollo” on the reverse.¹⁹⁹ One bronze coin of the “Apollo/lyre” type attests to the presence of the Chalcidian League. The presence of Chalcidian coinage in Potidaea should not be considered unexpected; nonetheless, Kliniki and Nikolakopoulou treat it as anomalous for the period and argue that the city’s concern with external threats overrode the possibility of issuing new coinage.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ Klinaki and Nikolakopoulou 2025, 226

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 227

¹⁹⁸ Gatzolis 2012, pp. 383—89

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 226

²⁰⁰ Klinaki and Nikolakopoulou 2025, p. 229



Fig. 6: Chalcidian Apollonian silver coin, found at
Olynthus, ca. 355-352 BC²⁰¹

The rarity of federal Chalcidian League coinage at Potidaea supports the modern scholarly view that local minting continued even after the city's incorporation into the League. Gazdolis discusses the circulation of coinage throughout the Chalcidian League, noting that local issues from cities that entered the League became legal tender.²⁰² In fact, royal Macedonian bronze issues are found only at Pydna and Olynthus during the first half of the 4th century BC, implying that the other cities composing the Chalcidian League used their own money with near-exclusivity. Thus, rather than replacing the civic coinage, the League's local coinage likely served as federal currency.

At Cassandreia, two recently discovered hoards contained Apollonian bronzes, one of which also contained royal issues. This supports the view that the Apollonian bronzes retained their value and circulated locally, challenging the traditional view that Philip's destruction of Olynthus ended the coinage of the Chalcidian cities. The intrinsic value of these coins, of course, persisted and demonstrates the slow continuity of local structures. Since only bronze coinage authorized by a local authority was recognized as legal tender within its jurisdiction, bronze issues

²⁰¹ Example of a Chalcidian mint; <https://www.coinarchives.com/>; Obverse: laureate Apollo, Reverse: kithara with six strings, ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ around, the name of the magistrate, ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ, is below.

²⁰² Gazdolis 2011, p. 186

from other regions could not, strictly speaking, circulate beyond their original area of minting. Consequently, “one should not speak of the *circulation* of foreign bronze coins in a city but their *presence*.”²⁰³

4.4. Tombs

Due to its strategic location between two harbors, Cassandreia was destined to become one of the wealthiest cities in Hellenistic Macedonia, as evidenced by archaeological finds. In 1984, near the southern city wall, a single-chambered, barrel-vaulted Macedonian tomb dating to around 300 BC, along with other simple graves belonging to the same notable Macedonian family, was uncovered at Petriotika in the *chora* of Cassandreia.²⁰⁴ Although the tomb was looted, it contained two exquisite couches (*klinai*) with marble façades and painted decorations, likely supporting two arch-shaped containers adorned with ivory and gold.²⁰⁵ A bronze gilded wreath, two alabasters, a clay figurine, and vases were also left behind. The tomb’s façade is Doric and topped by a pediment. The dimensions are 4.25m by 3.8m, with internal dimensions of 2.75m by 3.3m, built with isodomic masonry and paved with poros slabs.²⁰⁶ The entire exterior of the tomb is plastered, and the vault-springing is painted with a course of leaves, colored sprouts, grapes, and fruits of ivy.²⁰⁷

The *klinai* are notable for their decoration, evoking wooden furniture, with a light-brown-wash background depicting the legs and frames of the couches. The legs are covered with brown and red decorative motifs, including volutes, acanthus leaves, an abacus pattern, palmettes, and

²⁰³ Gatzolis and Psoma 2021, p. 131.

²⁰⁴ Odysseus Culture 2012; Gounaris 2015, p. 56.

²⁰⁵ Gounaris 2015, p. 56.

²⁰⁶ Odysseus Culture 2012.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

gorgoneia.²⁰⁸ Between the legs of the beds, continuous between the two *klinai*, are four friezes. The top frieze depicts a Dionysian scene with six half-nude male and female figures, accompanied by animals, reclining on rocks in an open-air sanctuary.²⁰⁹ These figures include Aphrodite, a Papposilenos, Dionysus, Eros, Ariadne, and possibly Artemis. The second band depicts a rocky landscape where five pairs of griffins devour five deer. The third frieze shows a myriad of animals, namely lions, bulls, panthers, and a mythical winged animal, between floral elements and vases.²¹⁰ The final lower band depicts two elongated, wood-colored footstools, painted as if positioned in front of the *klinai*.²¹¹ These couches were decorated in the great painting tradition of Macedonia, evocative of other luxurious Macedonian tombs.²¹²



The painted marble *klinai* from
The Macedonian Tomb of Nea Potidaea, Halkidiki²¹³

²⁰⁸ Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki 2025.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Baughan 2013; Verri et al. This painting tradition crystallized in the 4th c. BC

²¹³ Ibid.

Additionally, in the vicinity of Agios Mamas in the *chora* of Cassandreia, a series of important cist graves were discovered, containing wall paintings and rich grave goods.²¹⁴ Further south, at Solenas near Kallithea, excavation revealed a Macedonian tomb whose mound and superstructure had been destroyed, though the preserved wall foundations allow reconstruction of its original plan. The tomb consisted of a single chamber, and the remains of two marble *klinai* are reminiscent of the examples from ancient Cassandreia. Based on these features, the tomb is generally dated to the late fourth century BC.²¹⁵ The limited number of Macedonian tombs discovered so far, found exclusively in Cassandreia and its *chora*, suggests the presence of a Macedonian elite in the region. Their distribution and typology indicate that the Macedonians actively occupied and shaped this emerging economic and political hub.

4.5. Sanctuaries

In Amphytis, an Eretrian colony on the site of modern Kallithea, which was later incorporated into the territory of Cassandreia, lies a temple to Zeus Ammon. It was the only sanctuary to survive in the *chora* of Cassandreia.²¹⁶ It was first discovered during a rescue excavation in 1969, following illegal construction activities that destroyed parts of the temple's foundation and crepidoma.²¹⁷ The European Union and the Greek State financed a second excavation from 2005 to 2007, carried out in three areas: the remains of a shrine to Dionysus, the temple of Zeus Ammon, and a Roman bath situated to the north of the temple.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Gounaris 2015, p. 56

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 57

²¹⁷ Tsigarida 2011, 1

²¹⁸ Ibid., 2

The excavation of the shrine to Dionysus dated the devotional area to the second half of the eighth century BC at the latest. This conclusion was derived from the pottery found in the shrine, though some pieces dated to the Bronze Age, indicating continued settlement of the area.²¹⁹ The peristyle temple to Zeus Ammon, comprising a pronaos and a *cella*, had six-by-eleven columns. The original excavation team dated the temple to the second half of the fourth century, based on the similarity of the capitals to those of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, and of the stone entablature and tiles to those of the South Stoa at Corinth.²²⁰ The temple was destroyed either by the Gauls or by an earthquake, which leveled Amphytis at the end of the fourth century BC.²²¹ The second excavation, named the “Sanctuary of Zeus Ammon of Chalcidice—enhancement and presentation to the public” project, discovered two rows of monumental bases, parallel and oriented N-S, each square measuring approximately three meters on a side.²²² Two coins were discovered—one of Amyntas II and the other of *Bottike*, dated to the first half of the fourth century. Based on these finds, the temple’s construction was dated to the first decades of the fourth century BC, but Tsigarida argues that the reuse of the foundation after the destruction by the Gauls or an earthquake points to a Temenid reconstruction.²²³ She posits that the order came from either Alexander the Great, considered a son of Zeus, or Cassander, who reorganized the area.²²⁴

4.6. Roman Cassandreia

²¹⁹ Ibid., 6

²²⁰ Makarones and Juri 1989, pp. 84; Tsigarida 2011, 14

²²¹ Tsigarida 2011, 15; In the 2nd c. AD, repairs to the temple were made by the Romans, who built two oblong parallel buildings for spectators to observe rituals and incorporated Doric and Ionic architectural features.

²²² Tsigarida 2011, 18

²²³ Ibid., 23

²²⁴ Ibid.; Plut. *Alexander*.14

Cassandreia was transferred to the Romans in 168 BC after the Battle of Pydna.²²⁵ The site of Cassandreia became a Roman colony in 43 BC under Quintus Hortensius Hortalus and was later renamed *Colonia Iulia Augusta Cassandrensis* after the Battle of Actium in 30 BC, when the principate settled veterans there.²²⁶ Archaeologically speaking, little is known of the Roman colony of Cassandreia; The near-complete absence of material evidence from Roman Cassandreia represents a significant gap in our understanding of the site.²²⁷ However, Early Imperial buildings with marble-paved floors and thick, white plastered walls have been discovered at a central spot in Cassandreia.²²⁸

A residential building uncovered at Nea Potidaea was centered on a tetrastyle atrium with an impluvium and a mosaic floor.²²⁹ The mosaic was made of small, irregularly shaped pieces of white and grey marble arranged into five distinct zones.²³⁰ Several adjoining rooms opened into the central courtyard through a stoa, including a reception hall paved with stone slabs and another chamber with a rectangular fountain. The main entrance on the eastern side was reached via a long corridor lined with rooms on both sides. Drainage channels beneath the walls and floors directed water outside toward the southeast. This house was used from the first century BC until the late third century AD, when it was finally covered by thick layers of debris, yielding numerous finds, including pottery, stamped amphora handles, and coins.

4.6.1 Roman and Medieval Fortification

²²⁵ Horne et. Al. 2026

²²⁶ Borza et. Al. 2025

²²⁷ Evangelidis 2022, p.52; see Papazoglou 1988 for more on Roman Macedonia

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 63

²²⁹ Ibid., p.131

²³⁰ Misailidou-Despotidou and Germenis 2008, pp. 411-418

The fortification wall discussed in ch.4.2 was destroyed by the Huns in ca. 540 AD, and the structure was restored in the 6th century under Emperor Justinian I. It underwent further repairs at the beginning of the 15th century by John VII Palaiologos, the despot of Thessaloniki, and was subsequently maintained again by the Venetians.²³¹ With regard to this more modern wall, inferences from later phases of the city cannot be assumed, as archaeology often spans long periods of time and deals with processes rather than singular events.

²³¹ The Diateichisma of Cassandreia

5. From Olynthus to Cassandreia: Continuity and Discontinuity

This chapter synthesizes the literary, documentary, and archaeological evidence for Macedonian resettlement policy between Olynthus and Cassandreia, with particular emphasis on population movement after 348 BC and the foundation of Cassandreia in 316 BC. This is not a re-narration of events but a test of the coherence and limits of each category of evidence, and of how they may complement one another in developing a holistic understanding of historical movements. The main components of the “resettlement policy” include deportations, colonization, *synoecism*, and planned royal grants. Interdisciplinary triangulation is paramount because of the different roles of each evidence type: archaeology anchors policy in space and material practice, literary texts frame the ideological and political objectives, and documentary evidence exposes the administrative mechanisms of resettlement. This case highlights a reciprocal method for reconstructing missing motivations, interpretations, and contexts. *Ceteris paribus*, silence and bias must be critically considered, and the limitations of each type of evidence become clear when compared across categories.

No extant Macedonian works are dedicated to the kingdom's history; the nature and chronology of the available literary sources complicate a straightforward assessment. Demosthenes and Aeschines are the lone contemporaneous sources, though their accounts exist through rhetorical speeches delivered to the Athenian assembly; Strabo's narrative is a geographical work, not a historical narrative; Justin writes in the late Roman imperial era, the second century CE, and “often misunderstood or garbled his source, omitting, combining, or misdating important historical events and characters.”²³² Documentary evidence primarily

²³² Burstein 1999

comprises inscriptions on stelae that detail grants of “spear-won land” or honorary decrees. These provide insight into Cassandreia’s identity and administrative structures, as well as the degree of its integration within the Macedonian kingdom. Archaeological evidence, including numismatic material, serves as a primary, unbiased source to illuminate the movements of peoples—the abandonment or partial abandonment of settlements—and the continuity of institutions within the chronological framework.

Each evidence group provides different “pieces of the puzzle” and corrects one another’s distortions (particularly literary distortions). The lived reality of population movement and urban refoundation becomes clearer when these groups are viewed together. Additionally, more information comes to light over the years within the chronological framework. We are better informed about the years when Cassander and Lysimachus were kings, as evidenced by epigraphic evidence and the presence of late fourth-century Macedonian tombs at Cassandreia.

5.1 Political and Social Structures

Diodorus Siculus, earlier in his *Library of History* mentions during his analysis of the demographic composition of the new city, Cassandreia, that the Greek Olynthians “survived, not few in number.”²³³ Along with the historical literary narratives discussed in ch.1.3 and 1.4, Gatzolis and Psoma attest that “After 348 B.C., we find Olynthians at Thasos, Maroneia, Imbros and Amisos, at Athens, Oropos, Delphi, Delos and Anaphe, at Mytilene, Ephesos, Miletos, Rhodes, Kos, Telos and Egypt. Some of them served in the army of Alexander III, as Kallisthenes, the nephew of Aristoteles, and Ophellas.”²³⁴ Mackil argues that social resilience offered an

²³³ Diod.Sic.19.51.2-3 (trans. by R.M. Geer 1933, *Loeb*)

²³⁴ Gatzolis and Psoma 2021, p.136 n. 38; These conclusions are derived from epigraphy

alternative to catastrophe by managing social and political ties with other *poleis*, alongside communities' willingness to relocate, whether collectively, in small groups, or individually.²³⁵ Thus, the city of Olynthus, as a sovereign unit tied to the landscape of the Chalcidice, "begins to look like an insignificant casualty in this process."²³⁶ The relationships with other communities, he says, are what enable adaptive capacity.²³⁷

Population and civic identity can be inferred from the literary evidence—the Olynthians were subjugated and reduced to the status of slaves, yet they still maintained their sense of belonging to Olynthus, and the surviving refugees continued to be labeled as Olynthians.²³⁸ In both cases, their legal statuses were reduced. Hence, this reading modifies or nuances the antiquated narrative of Olynthus's erasure; the study suggests that land division served as a means of population control and elevation for specific groups.

After the destruction of Olynthus, what had been civic land became *chora basilikē*, and the territory was parceled out as royal grants by King Philip II to his *philoí*. This implies that Philip II and, later, his son Alexander III, treated the conquered territory as land they could distribute personally to their friends to bind them through reward and dependence. The region was therefore removed from the political structures of the *polis* and incorporated into a Macedonian system of royal control. This creates a major gap in the evidence, since the destruction of the city also obscures the local developments that followed. Thus, this is the least informed period within the chronological framework.

²³⁵ Mackil 2004, p. 508

²³⁶ Ibid., 508

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 493

²³⁸ See ch. 1.3

In Cassandreia, we see the adoption of these *polis*-type institutions, indicating that Cassander resorted to a Greek civic structure.²³⁹ Hatzopoulos attests to the “allied” relationship of Cassandreia within Macedonia on the basis of onomastic material, presented in ch.2.²⁴⁰ A degree of continuity is visible between Olynthus and Cassandreia through the Hagios Mamas inscription, which uses the month Demetrian, in an Ionic form also used by the Chalcidian League and not by the Macedonians.²⁴¹ At the same time, however, this continuity should not obscure the extent of institutional change.

Other political structures of the *polis* were replaced by a new system of territorial management based not on civic institutions but on the fragmentation of landed property and its redistribution to new occupants.²⁴² This perspective underscores the importance of recognizing bottom-up processes and the active participation of local communities in shaping resettlement patterns. Scholarship has often attributed these exclusively to royal initiative. The monarch and his inner circle simply could not have had the resources, attention, or local knowledge necessary to manage every detail of territorial reorganization following conquest. Relying on established institutions, local community ties, and individuals already familiar with the region’s specific circumstances would have offered a far more practical and efficient approach.

The main passages describing Cassander’s royal foundation of Cassandreia and its composition are present in ch.1.2. The current prompt is thus Cassander’s use of refoundation and relocation of populations as political tools. The case study relevant to this is Cassander’s refoundation of Thebes in 316/315 BC, like Olynthus, which served as the head of the Boeotian League and was destroyed

²³⁹ See ch.2.1 for the presentation of the inscription from Hagios Mamas

²⁴⁰ Hatzopoulos 1996, vol I., p.161

²⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 163-164

²⁴² See ch.2

by Alexander III in 335 BC. The main literary testimony for this is found in Diodorus Siculus 19.54.1-2.:

In the twentieth year thereafter Cassander in his desire for glory, after first obtaining the consent of the Boeotians, rebuilt the city for those of the Thebans who survived. Many of the Greek cities shared in the resettlement both because of their pity for the unfortunate and because of the glory of the city. The Athenians, for example, rebuilt the greater part of the wall, and of the other Greeks, not alone from Greece itself but from Italy and Sicily as well, some erected buildings to the extent of their ability, and others sent money for the pressing needs.²⁴³

Cassander's stated rationale for this initiative was a desire to enhance his own renown, particularly across the wider Greek world.²⁴⁴ This thus begets the question of whether or not Cassander's so-called "refoundation of Olynthus" was done both out of desire not only for an Antipatrid capital but also in order to project an image of corrective justice, or *philanthrōpia*.²⁴⁵ Ancient authors seemingly present Cassander's movements in the Chalcidice as a continuation of Macedonian royal policy rather than an innovation. Hence, resettlement is framed as a deliberate royal policy instead of an incidental outcome. In the case of Thebes, however, the panhellenic city was reborn, and the previously exiled citizens were resettled in their reconstructed city, whereas the surviving Olynthians were moved to Cassandreia, where a new identity was imposed upon them.²⁴⁶ The destruction of Thebes did not lead its former citizens to abandon their ambition of reconstituting

²⁴³ Trans. by R. M. Geer 1933, *Loeb Classical Library*

²⁴⁴ Buraselis 2014, p. 163

²⁴⁵ This paper has much discussed the Athenian sympathy and general horror of Philip II's ruthless actions toward the Olynthians in 348 BC in ch. 1.3 and 1.4; Raynor takes the position that the foundation of Cassandreia was done to garner favor with the Greek world.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 165

it in the following years; this is also seen in the case of Olynthus, discussed in ch.1.3.1. with the case of Callisthenes.

The dynastic founding of Cassandreia was part of wider interventions in the Chalcidian peninsula and Greece as part of a broader policy of urban foundation and refoundation; in 315 BC, Cassander founded Thessalonike, named after his wife, on the site of ancient Therma.²⁴⁷ Strabo writes of Cassander's new Macedonian city:

After the Axios, at a distance of twenty stadia, is the Echedoros; then, forty stadia farther on, Thessaloniki, founded by Kassandros, and also the Egnatian Road. Kassandros named the city after his wife Thessalonike, daughter of Philip son of Amyntas, after he had razed to the ground the towns in Crusis and those on the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty-six in number, and had settled all the inhabitants together in one city; and this city is the metropolis of what is now Macedonia. Among those included in the settlement were Apollonia, Chalastra, Therma, Garescos, Aeneia, and Cissos.²⁴⁸

What distinguishes Thessalonike from Cassandreia is the Macedonian character of the city—demographically, eighty percent of its inhabitants bear Macedonian names, as opposed to Cassandreia, where eighty percent of its citizens bear Greek names.²⁴⁹ Papazarkados' claim about the percentage of Greek names in Cassandreia refers to the Hellenistic period, while her claim about Thessaloniki is based largely on Hellenistic and early Roman inscriptions.²⁵⁰ This is a statement of overall data for the Hellenistic period, as no reference specific to the period in question is available. Cassander did not follow the same policy regarding the two Macedonian

²⁴⁷ Papazarkados 2020, 13

²⁴⁸ Strabo.7.21 (translated by H. L. Jones 1924, *Loeb*)

²⁴⁹ See Hatzopoulos 1993, p. 576-577 and n. 11.; Papazarkados 2020, 15

²⁵⁰ Tataki 1998, p. 178-189; This conclusion comes from Tataki's prosopography of Macedonians abroad.

foundations he established; a difference reflected in how Greeks and Macedonians responded to their creation. In the case of Thessalonike, the literary and epigraphic record preserves no trace of open opposition, suggesting that the *communis opinio* regarded its foundation as a normal and legitimate exercise of Cassander's authority.²⁵¹

The re-establishment of a *polis* community through the founding of Cassandreia affected the region's subsequent history, reshaping the Chalcidice by concentrating dispersed populations into a city—ending the League's fragmentation—that would become one of the most significant in later Macedonian history; the new city was integrated into the Macedonian kingdom by becoming a premier naval base on the Pallene.²⁵² However, Hatzopoulos and Raynor both interpret Cassandreia as a “Greek” city, based on its institutional organization, its “allied relationship” with Macedonia, and its independent relationships with other Greek *poleis* in the religious sphere. Raynor goes so far as to propose that Cassander wished to dissociate himself from a Macedonian history of anti-Greek violence by creating the nominally free and independent foundation of Cassandreia.²⁵³

5.2 Settlement Structures

The excavation in the early 20th century revealed Olynthus's urban form and prosperity. Regular street blocks, villas, domestic architecture, and a dedicated currency allude to a strong central government and an economic infrastructure. While the literary sources substantiate the

²⁵¹ Papazarkados 2020, 18

²⁵² During the Hellenistic period, Cassandreia would surpass other Macedonian cities to become the wealthiest, and Philip V made it his main naval base.

²⁵³ Raynor 2014, p. 281

destruction and subsequent abandonment of most of the site, they have nothing to say regarding the specific events occurring in the area until Cassander's foundation. By contrast, the archaeological evidence demonstrates the continued occupation of the North Hill of Olynthus, providing a terminus for the final transfer to Cassandreia, which included all of Olynthus's survivors.²⁵⁴ There is no extant epigraphic evidence from the reoccupation period of Olynthus, as discussed in ch.2, to reconstruct the continuity of settlement and institutions, including decrees, property records, or texts relating to the status of inhabitants. Coins, too, constitute documentary evidence, and the numismatic finds suggest limited occupation in a small section of the area between 348 and 316 BC, rather than blanket habitation.

Boehm emphasizes how the vacant land of the Chalcidian peninsula, where large agricultural estates could be carved out, worked to Cassander's favor in his establishment of a considerable royal city. He postulates that Cassandreia stretched to the borders of his other royal foundations, Thessalonike to the east and Uranopolis to the west, all the way up to Kalidoia. Thus, Cassandreia constituted a "wholesale reorganization" of the Chalcidice.²⁵⁵ Boehm also describes that though the recipients of these parcels may have become citizens of Cassandreia, their territory was not necessarily incorporated into the *chora* and instead lay on royal land.²⁵⁶

What is known about Cassandreia, archaeologically speaking, in the relevant Hellenistic period is scant due to the patchiness of excavations and the often-indirect nature of evidence – i.e., the

²⁵⁴ Reference ch.3; It is possible that the opposite might be true as well; it is possible archaeologists identify a break in 316 BC precisely considering the historical evidence for the foundation of Cassandreia.

²⁵⁵ Boehm 2018, p. 38

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

reuse of earlier Potidaean levels and harbor installations. The extent to which the archaeological record can speak to the migrant origins of Olynthian and other Chalcidian settlers, as opposed to extra-regional settlers, is limited.²⁵⁷ Though it provides very little information about the population outcomes of the Olynthians, it does offer evidence for the Macedonian expansion into the Chalcidian territory and the emergence of a local elite in Cassandreia.²⁵⁸ The ambiguities and silences thus require alternative methods for reconstructing history to substantiate the narrative, and here we must turn to other groups of evidence. The most significant conclusions drawn from the patterns of territorial occupation after 316 BC are that the Chalcidian region shifts into fractured fiefs, episodic refoundation, and systematic new settlement. We must rely on inscriptions from Cassander and Lysimachus to reimagine the sequence of events in the *chora* of Olynthus and Cassandreia.

5.3 Economic Structures

Thucydides captures the idea of Macedonia as a state mainly defined by territorial expansion, the expulsion of subjugated populations, and the legitimizing power of conquest, an early example of what would later be called *doriktetos chora* in the context of Alexander III's empire and the subsequent Hellenistic realms.²⁵⁹ This is most clearly illustrated by a famous passage of Thucydides:

But the country by the sea, which is now called Macedonia, was first acquired and made their kingdom by Alexander, the father of Perdiccas, and his forefathers, who were originally

²⁵⁷ the *klinai* from the Macedonian Tomb of Nea Potidaea speak to the presence of wealthy Macedonians comprising part of the population of Cassandreia.

²⁵⁸ Ch. 4. discusses the ostentatious Macedonian tombs found in the *chora* of Cassandreia.; Boehm 2018 p.38 also notes that Macedonian nobles formerly in service of the kings became residents.

²⁵⁹ Mari 2019, p. 1; Anson 2008, p. 17

Temenidae from Argos. They defeated and expelled from Pieria the Pierians, who afterwards took up their abode in Phagres and other places at the foot of Mount Pangaeus beyond the Strymon (and even to this day the district at the foot of Mount Pangaeus toward the sea is called the Pierian Valley), and also, from the country called Bottia, the Bottiaeans, who now dwell on the borders of the Chalcidians; they acquired, further, a narrow strip of Paeonia extending along the river Axius¹ from the interior to Pella and the sea; and beyond the Axius they possess the district as far as the Strymon which is called Mygdonia, having driven out the Edonians. Moreover, they expelled from the district now called Eordia the Eordians, most of whom were destroyed, but a small portion is settled in the neighborhood of Physca; and also from Almopia the Almopians. These Macedonians also made themselves masters of certain places, which they still hold, belonging to the other tribes, namely, of Anthemus, Grestonia, Bisaltia, as well as of a large part of Macedonia proper.²⁶⁰

This early ideological concept of land won by spear would come to define the imperial principle of martial conquest and control, as well as Macedonian expansion in the fourth century BC.²⁶¹ This passage establishes a precedent for state-managed relocation in Macedonia at large and for the absorption of territories and peoples to promote the economic interests of citizens and strengthen the kingdom's military apparatus.

Inscriptions attesting to royal land grants and dating to the reigns of Cassander and Lysimachus make it possible to reconstruct the evolution of the region's economic structures in the decades following the Macedonian conquest.²⁶² This is consistent with what is known from the literary evidence, and a particularly well-known passage by Plutarch, describing the royal Macedonian practice of granting tracts of land to favored subjects.²⁶³ Cassander's two grants, dating to the last

²⁶⁰ Thuc.2.99.3-6 (trans. by C. F. Smith 1919, *Loeb*)

²⁶¹ Mari 2019, p.2

²⁶² Ch.1.1 is relevant to this discussion

²⁶³ The Plut. *Alex* passages are discussed in ch.1.1

quarter of the fourth century BC, provide the most compelling and pertinent explanations for the reorganization of the land surrounding Cassandreia. They refer to the city's economic exemptions and partially illuminate its administrative measures. Furthermore, they demonstrate Cassander's capacity to exercise authority and influence economic affairs in the territory of a city that was nominally independent.²⁶⁴ These grants, however, they do not clarify population transfer mechanisms due to the undeniable weakness in the epigraphic material for reconstructing where people went and the types of people who gained land and status. Regarding the broader patterns of Macedonian institutional practice, only a continuation of the Temenid royal practice of fiscal reward is seen.

The economic position of Cassandreia in the Hellenistic period is best understood by comparing it with Uranopolis, built by Cassander's brother Alexarchos on the Chalcidian peninsula. Zahrnt and Hatzopoulos attest to Uranopolis's independent Macedonian identity, a point supported by the fact that it minted its own coinage at its foundation.²⁶⁵ Cassandreia's use of posthumous Macedonian royal coinage, rather than new mintage as in other Antipatrid foundations, and the fact that the city did not mint its own money prior to the Roman period, suggest a limited independence within the kingdom. However, *proxenia* decrees from the late fourth/early third centuries BC indicate that the city did, in fact, have considerable autonomy.²⁶⁶ Considered holistically, the overall shift from Chalcidian to Macedonian royal mint types in the territory reflects administrative reorganization in the Chalcidice after Philip II's conquest.

²⁶⁴ Raynor 2014, p. 274

²⁶⁵ Zahrnt 1971, p. 209-210; Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. I, p. 201.

²⁶⁶ Landucci 2016, pp. 193-200; Cohen 1995, pp. 95-96

Evaluating the numismatic evidence, one may deduce fiscal royal policy but not population outcomes.

5.4 Cassandreia: The Reasons for its Foundation

Macedonian resettlement policy between 348 and 316 BC was shaped by both continuity and transformation. The royal policies of Philip II, Alexander III, and the *Diadochi* included urban foundations, the reorganization of existing cities, and the construction of fortified sites to secure their expanding kingdoms.²⁶⁷ Founding new cities and expanding established urban centers were royal acts, imbued with notions of generosity and beneficence. They made visible the king's authority to organize and remodel his domain. Macedonia's fortifications and urban improvements not only fulfilled military needs but also materially delineated a royal realm. It used public and military architecture to project the king's unifying role as benefactor and protector.²⁶⁸ The reorganization of key spaces in the Aegean world set a precedent for a process of foundation that would come to characterize the Hellenistic age.²⁶⁹

There is a discontinuity in the actions of Philip II and Casander regarding the Chalcidian peninsula. Philip II's destruction of Olynthus, which he viewed as a threat to his own hegemonic ambitions, aimed to enrich his armies and reward his *philoi*. To recall Demosthenes: "There must be one of two things, either they must cease to reside in Olynthus, or [Philip II] in Macedonia."²⁷⁰ Cassander's intention in founding Cassandreia was to establish dominance over the other

²⁶⁷ Boehm 2018, p. 32

²⁶⁸ Raynor 2014, 243

²⁶⁹ Boehm 2018, pp. 35-36

²⁷⁰ Dem. 9.11, (trans. by J.H. Vince 1930, *Loeb*)

Successors, assume authority over the land, and continue the legacy of the Argead dynasty.²⁷¹ There is continuity in the Macedonian use of territory as an instrument of royal policy, but there is also a clear difference in scale and purpose. Under Philip II, territorial reorganization served the expansion and consolidation of the Argead kingdom. Under Cassander, it became part of a more deliberate effort to compete dynastically and project royal authority.

Viewed together, this is a description of how the League's former territory became a casualty of provincial control. Despite the marginal clarity afforded by the synthesis of literary, documentary, and archaeological evidence, Macedonian resettlement policy in the region cannot be substantively inferred from Olynthus and Cassandreia alone: the movements of the Aegean world at large ought to be considered to elucidate a comprehensive picture. When considering the classes of evidence, the discontinuities in this case seem to outweigh the continuities due to the paucity of information available between the fall of Olynthus, the literary narrative of Cassandreia's foundation, and Cassander's first royal grant in 306 BC. This is not surprising, as there is also considerable discontinuity between the reign of Philip II, whose objectives and policies targeted Macedonians, and that of Cassander, who focused on both Macedonians and Greeks.

²⁷¹ It has been noted that Cassandreia was the first foundation in Europe since Philip II. Raynor disagrees that Cassander sought to align himself with the Argeads.

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Appendix

Numismatic finds at Olynthus

Findspot	Number of Coins	Notes
<i>Northwest Quarter</i>		
A xi 9	4	
A xi 10	4	one in topsoil
A xii 9	1	
A' 7	2	
A' 8	1	
A' 9	18	
A' 10	8	
A' 11	<u>6</u>	
Total	44	
<i>Rest of North Hill</i>		
A iii 9	1	depth not recorded
A iv 10	2	depth not recorded
A v 5	1	found in dirt basket, depth unknown
A vii 9	1	depth not recorded
Tr. 7	1	surface find
ESH 4	<u>1</u>	depth not recorded
Total	7	
<i>South Hill</i>		
Sec. N	2	0.6 m below surface
Tr. 10	<u>1</u>	depth not recorded
Total	3	
<i>Other</i>		
Treaty inscription findspot	<u>1</u>	
TOTAL	55	

Table 1: Macedonian Royal Coins, 348—316 BC²⁷²

²⁷² Cahill 2008, p. 54

