

DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM AND OURANOPOLIS OF ALEXARCHUS

Received: 3 August 2026 | Accepted: 16 August 2026 | Published: 25 September 2026

Sergei Belozеров*

ABSTRACT

The main object of attention in the article is one of the most mysterious and obscure plots of early Hellenistic history – the foundation of the utopian city Ouranopolis on the Thracian coast, near the Athos peninsula, by Alexarchus, the illegitimate son of Antipater and, accordingly, brother of Cassander. The information preserved in history about the initiator and implementer of an undertaking so uncharacteristic for the era of the Diadochi is extremely scarce and in no way can satisfy the researcher. However, indirect data allow us to connect the emergence of Ouranopolis with the circumstances of the end of the Lamian War and the rule of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens. Moreover, the author doesn't exclude the possibility that Demetrius took a very active or even decisive part in the project. Such a conclusion, which actually has no precedents in Classics, is argued in detail by the author. The article also makes an attempt at an approximate reconstruction of the worldview attitudes of the founders of Ouranopolis and the features of their embodiment in a utopian project unique in all of antiquity.

KEYWORDS: Demetrius of Phalerum, Alexarchus, Antipatros, Apollo, Cassander, Helios, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Theohrastos

1. INTRODUCTION

The existence of any connections between Demetrius of Phalerum and the utopian city of Ouranopolis, located on the Athos Isthmus, far removed from Athens and Thebes, is more a theorem than an axiom. However, they are not entirely improbable, even if we place Demetrius' move to Alexandria 6-8 years earlier, contrary to traditional chronology. W. Tarn's caveat that Alexarchus *"under Cassander's protection was in the same position as Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens at the same time"* is quite revealing in this regard. The problem is that the current, rather deplorable state of the sources leaves too much room for various versions, from which it is difficult to select even the most plausible.

We are aware of how shaky a speculative construction can appear when built on a foundation of assumptions and suppositions. Nevertheless, an examination of the circumstances of Ouranopolis' emergence leaves no other possibility. For what we believe are natural reasons.

Let's return almost to the very beginning – to the defeat of Athens in the Lamian War. One of the main conditions for the Athenian capitulation, set by Antipater was the introduction of a 2,000 drachma census and the resettlement of the city's declassed residents to Thrace: *"The number of people deprived of the right to vote due to their poverty exceeded twelve thousand, and some of them, who remained in the city, considered themselves unfortunate and disgraced, while others, who left Athens because of this and resettled in Thrace, where Antipater granted them land and a city, became like vanquished people driven from their homeland by a victorious enemy"*.²

The problem of "exiles" in Greece at that time became particularly acute in Mytilene, Ephesus, the Athenian Samos and elsewhere. To neglect it would have been an unaffordable luxury. However, Antipater

*Independent researcher, Russia, gentbrugg@yandex.ru, <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-7203-5951>, <https://doi.org/10.54414/PBTE1011>

¹ Tarn, W. W. (1933), 430.

² Plutarch, *Phocion*, XXVIII, 4; Bernadotte Perrin, Ed. Diodorus gives a different figure: 22,000.

addressed it quite differently than Alexander or, say, Polyperchon. The exact location of the Athenian "land and city" remains unknown, though speculation has been offered. For example, Paul McKechnie³ has casually suggested that it could have been Ouranoupolis, whose founding by Alexarchus is usually dated to around 316 and paralleled by other urban development initiatives of Cassander—such as the restoration of Thebes and the founding of Cassandria (on the site of Potidaea, destroyed by Philip) and Thessalonica (on the shores of the Thermaic Gulf). However, Alexarchus was not only Cassander's illegitimate brother but also the illegitimate son of Antipater. The latter (not yet regent without Alexander at the time), having learned from the bitter experience of rebellions in the Upper Satrapies, where Greeks and mercenaries were given utterly neglected wastelands for settlement, was forced to choose this "land and city precisely" for the Athenian outcasts. In this scenario, the city could have been either Ouranoupolis, or still Sani,⁴ to which Alexarchus later expanded his Ouranoupolis. This is, of course, assuming Sani⁵ survived Philip II's invasion, which ended disastrously for the settlements in the area. And, by all accounts, the majority of Ouranoupolis' population became Athenians.

We don't know for sure who in Phocion's "government" handled the "displaced persons" (or at least oversaw this task). Although this, like all external relations of the polis, could have been entrusted to Demetrius of Phalerum,⁶ given Phocion's advanced age and the obvious inclination of Demades, who was also far from a boy, toward intrigue rather than the daily, painstaking, menial tasks that didn't promise him some tangible material benefit.

McKechnie immediately stipulates that he is unable to confirm his guess with sources. But at least it has basis, including some that the author himself failed to grasp. It's not just that Alexarchus had to somehow recruit his "Uranians" from somewhere—unless Cassander came to his aid with his custom of populating newly rebuilt cities synoekically, as in the case of Thebes, Cassandria, and Thessalonica. And it's not that Antipater had traversed these regions for Philip II two decades earlier.⁷

McKechnie overlooked one circumstance that could explain the choice of Ouranoupolis with a completely different—more mundane, everyday, but no less effective—logic. Antipater, like probably Cassander and possibly Alexarchus, came from Palioura. Its exact location is unknown.

Today, a village by that name exists at the very south of the first "finger" of Chalkidiki—Kassandria, which was then called Pallene, and even earlier, according to Herodotus and Pliny, Phlegra. But today's Palioura was also Theramvos back then. Herodotus mentioned it⁸ in a list of settlements in Pallene, recounting Xerxes's invasion to Greece. The conqueror destroyed the city and incorporated its male population into his army. At the excavation site near the present-day village, which, like the cape on which it stands, is named for a thorny shrub used to create living hedges, artifacts (mostly pottery shards) dating back to Roman times were discovered. It appears that the resort town of Palioura in Kassandra is a red herring in the search for Antipater's birthplace.⁹

But it's not the only possible candidate for the role we're interested in. Dimitrios Kanatsoulis¹⁰ is

³ McKechnie, P. (1989), 55–56.

⁴ Another spelling, Sane, is often encountered.

⁵ Incidentally, it was founded, like Stagira and Akanthos, by people from Andros (according to Belokh – Belokh Yu. (2009), 184). According to other versions – for example, that of Donald Bradeen (Bradeen, Donald W. (1952), 377–378) – the emergence of these cities was the result of a joint (and not at all conflict-free) expedition of Andrians and Chalcidians under the leadership of the former.

⁶ This is the opinion of Stephen Hughes, apparently based on Demetrius' participation in the embassy to Antipater after the Lamian War – Hughes, S. (2008), 64, 161.

⁷ More precisely, in 342/1. This is already the argument of Elisabetta Poddighe (citing Ellis, J.R., 20142 [1976], Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism, Princeton, p. 282) – Poddighe, E. (2020), 247–263.

⁸ Herodotus, VII, 123.

⁹ We owe its inclusion in this discussion to Stanley Casson – Casson, S. (1926) Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria, Oxford, p. 59 – cited by Heckel, W. (2016), 31.

¹⁰ Kanatsoulis, D. (1942), 1 n. 2.

inclined to associate Antipater's Palioura with the Paleochorium mentioned by Pliny the Elder. Indeed, in the list of settlements on the coast of Chalkidiki cited by the author of "Natural History," Paleochorium appears immediately after Ouranoupolis – *"There was formerly upon its summit the town of Acroathon⁵⁹: the present towns are Uranopolis⁶⁰, Palaëorium, Thyssus, Cleonæ⁶¹, and Apollonia!"*¹¹

Paleochorium, whose history presumably extends back to Hellenistic times, is also present on the modern map of Chalkidiki. Remnants of military equipment from that period and Roman coins have been found there. The village now belongs to the municipality of Aristotelis and is located in 15 kilometers from present-day Stagira and about thirty kilometers, through rather rugged terrain, from modern-day Ouranoupolis.

We don't know whether Pliny's Paleochorium was adjacent to Ouranoupolis or was located so far away. It's hardly possible—not even because of the "Roman" quality that distinguishes archaeological finds here—that the settlement now known as Paleochorium may have changed its name for various reasons. After all, Akanthos, destroyed by the Romans around 200, became Ierissos.¹² And Eladiava was first called Provlakas, and then, after the Greeks migrated from Turkish Roda (Routia) in the early 20th century, Nea Roda.

But if we proceed from the phrase "upon its summit," nothing prevents us from assuming the close proximity of these two settlements. Incidentally, it's worth noting that Apollonia borders them there. Formally, we have no reason to consider this coincidence significant. However, taken at face value, it would shed some light on obscure historical facts.

First, the reasons for choosing this corner of Thrace for the Athenian resettlement. The coast of Chalkidiki had experienced the war between Macedonia and the Chalkidiki League and the Thracian campaigns of Philip II. Many of the local cities were destroyed by the Macedonian conqueror as revenge and edification—not only Olynthus, but also its allies, of whom there were more than three dozen. Not all of them anticipated the fate of Thebes; some survived. But Antipater's choice was limited to the lands near the Isthmus of Athos. If Pliny the Elder's Paleochorium was indeed Antipater's Palioura (as well as, perhaps, Cassander and Alexarchus), this may explain why Philip spared its surroundings. He did restore Aristotle's native Stagira, though he left neighboring Galepsos and Apollonia in ruins.¹³ Another Apollonia. Not far from Athos.

Secondly, the connection between Alexarchus and Demetrius of Phalerum. Following the decree on exiles issued by Polyperchon in 319, some of the Athenian settlers of Sani/Ouranoupolis returned to their homeland, changing the city's history, among other things, by ending Phocion's earthly life. Two years later, after the capture of Athens by Cassander and the rise of Demetrius of Phalerum, Antipater's census was restored, but at half the rate.¹⁴ After this, the new "extra" Athenians were likely to depart the city along the route determined five years earlier by the father of Cassander and Alexarchus. In his new capacity,

¹¹ Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, IV, 17; John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., H.T. Riley, Esq., B.A., Ed. . In the original – *"Oppidum in cacumine fuit Acroathon, nunc sunt Uranopolis, Palaehorium, Thyss, Cleonae, ApThe name Ierissos appears in sources from the late 9th century AD.ollonia, cuius incolae Macrobi cognominantur"*.

¹² The name Ierissos appears in sources from the late 9th century AD.

¹³ *"Here Alexarchus, the son of Antipater, built the city Uranopolis, 30 stadia in circumference... there is a promontory forming a gulf with Athos, on which is the city Apollonia. First in the gulf, after the harbour of Acanthus, is Stagira, now deserted: it was one of the Chalcidic cities, and the birth-place of Aristotle. Caprus was the harbour, and there is a small island of the same name. Then comes the Strymon, and Amphipolis, at the distance of 20 stadia up the river. In this part is situated an Athenian colony, called Ennea-Odoi (the Nine-Ways). Then Galepsus and Apollonia, which were destroyed by Philip"* - Strabo, VII, 35; H.C. Hamilton, Esq., W.

Falconer, M.A., Ed.

¹⁴ Diodorus, XVIII, 74, 3.

Demetrius could not have remained silent on these matters.¹⁵ Did he communicate with Alexarchus about the emigrants? More than likely.

The episode is omitted from the writings not only of Diodorus but also of Plutarch, whose Phocion, by common consent, relied heavily on the works of Demetrius of Phalerum (particularly, it is believed, on "On the Decade," sometimes called "Memoirs," although it should be "Denunciation of the Athenians") and Duris of Samos. However, Duris, chronologically and geographically, was clearly further removed from the moment and epicenter of events than Demetrius, and could at best—and even then, it's not certain—attest only to how many former Athenian cleruchs from Samos accompanied the original Athenians in exile in Thrace.

A connection between Antipater and Cassander with the Lyceum is also highly probable. The former was appointed by Stagirite as his executor under his will, while the latter at least corresponded with Aristotle. Alexarchus may have had no connection to the Peripatos and may not have been Demetrius of Phalerum's classmate there—but most likely only theoretically. Lacking direct evidence of their close and intimate acquaintance, are we free to proceed from logical assumptions alone, including Antipater as the starting point and Demetrius of Phalerum as a full participant in the project? Let's try to understand whether Demetrius of Phalerum's relationship to Alexarchus's project was entirely indirect, indifferent, and driven solely by official duties and the needs of the moment.

Among the principles guiding us in this work, one of the most important is to place our protagonist within the broadest possible context of his era, which we want to see as a full-fledged character in the book. And this era consisted of more than just the contests between Alexander's heirs for primacy in his empire. Beyond these, the end of the fourth century also contained remarkable manifestations of the human spirit and intellect. Alexarchus's project was certainly one of them. Alexander carried representatives of the Greek scientific and cultural intelligentsia—philosophers, chroniclers, artists, and sculptors—in his train. But not all of his successors emulated him in this regard.

Neither Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes nor Ptolemy Soter in Egypt distinguished themselves by notable achievements in cultural development or significant cultural initiatives. Strong-willed, powerful, and talented as administrators and organizers, they managed to build and defend their empires amidst the heat of internecine strife. They mastered the art of governing people and the state better than anyone else of their time. Determined to forge coalitions against rivals for hegemony in the Greek world, inventive and resourceful in their choice of methods and means to achieve their goals, tireless in battle, cool-headed and calculating in the most difficult situations, they proved to be mediocre when it came to philosophers, writers of various genres, artists, and musicians.

Before Demetrius of Phalerum's appearance in Alexandria, the first Lagid could only boast of Hecataeus of Abdera, whose arrival in Egypt he had no particular credit for, and Deinocrates of Rhodes, whom he "inherited" from Alexander. Poliorcetes, in his interactions with representatives of the ancient intelligentsia, is generally known for only one episode—Protogenes' painting of Ialysus (during the siege of Rhodes). His father, a one-eyed Diadochi, ruler of Asia Minor and the border regions, also showed no particular interest in philosophy or the fine arts. Antigonus declared himself a disciple of Menedemus of Eretria and invited Zeno to join him, only this time it was a different Antigonus—Gonatas. But Zeno instead sent Perseus, his fellow countryman from Kition, and Philonides of Thebes.

Lysimachus, in appearance, seemed the most advantageous patron of the arts. He built new cities and

¹⁵ However, various theories have been put forward regarding the property census under Demetrius of Phalerum. For example, that the census restrictions under him applied only to the staff of city-government bodies, including various magistrates – O'Sullivan, L. (2009), 66–68. Or that 1,000 drachmas was considered the upper, not the lower, threshold – Faraguna, M. (2018), 457–467.

invited renowned philosophers and artists to his court.¹⁶ It seems that it was with him that Theodore the Atheist found refuge after his expulsion from Athens—judging by the episode with Hipparchia, the wife of Crates of Thebes, who "cut him down" during a debate at a symposium. The comedian Philippides of Cephalaria later counted among the "friends" of the king of Thrace, a circumstance that proved a boon for his native Athens.

But Lysimachus is an atypical and not entirely complete exception. Even with money and resources, the Diadochi failed to find ways and means to develop science and art in their empires. Can the flourishing of the latter under Demetrius of Phalerum—first in Athens and then in Alexandria—be simply a coincidence? No, of course, he owed his existence largely (if not entirely) to the native of Phalerum, with his constant inclination to patronize philosophical schools and creative individuals in various fields of art. In his policy toward them, he was pleasantly eclectic and did not favor, say, the Cynics over the Cyrenaics, or "his" Peripatetics over "foreign" academics. Cassander, it seems, was more receptive than Ptolemy and the Antigonids to more subtle matters than bivouac life and the clash of swords, shields, and sarissas. He could quote Homer by heart and commission a painting from Philoxenus of Eretria.

But encouraging utopian thought in his own domains seems a bit much for Cassander. Even allowing for his ambitious urges to patronize the arts and thereby achieve historical fame. We know of no evidence that would give us the reason to justify Cassander's essentially philanthropic impulses (even to the point of allowing for Alexarchus to mint his own coins) at such an inopportune moment with warm family feelings and a special affection for his younger and illegitimate brother. Unless, of course, we consider Ouranoupolis' proximity to Palaeochorium. And the fact that Ouranoupolis was born under its shadow.

Alexarchus' undertaking was initially dubious in all but its geography, and could hardly have promised any benefits to his royal (or not yet royal) brother. But at least we have material traces of this semi-mythical city- for example, numismatic ones. These are coins depicting, on opposite sides, the eight-rayed sun (obverse) and Aphrodite Urania with a scepter (reverse)¹⁷ – the celestial hypostasis of the goddess.¹⁸ And a fleeting mention by Strabo.¹⁹ And also a funny anecdote from Athenaeus about the Newspeak invented by

¹⁶ This is not an uncontroversial assumption. One can also cite evidence to the contrary. For example, Carystus of Pergamon in his Historical Notes, if we are to believe Athenaeus XIII, 92 610 e, even speaks of Lysimachus's expulsion of philosophers. But *"the value of Carystius' evidence is hard to assess; though the extant fragments of his work hardly inspire confidence, it should be remembered that they are preserved out of context, in Athenaeus' Deipnosophistae; Athenaeus' selection may create an unbalanced picture of Carystius' writings"* - Lund, Helen S. (1992), 9. However, on the whole, modern times seem to be more favorable to the passage of Carystus: *"He knows the value of money; he accumulates great treasures, without squandering them on reckless luxury, like Demetrius, or indulging in patronage of the arts and sciences, like Ptolemy"* - Droysen, I. – G. (2011), 492.

¹⁷ However, Olga Palagia – Palagia, O. (2018), 77 – believes that *"the chlamys and the stretch lines between the legs indicate male garments"*, which would be more appropriate for either Helios or Alexarchus himself. She also notes a curious similarity in the reverse imagery between Alexarchus's coins and later ones – those of Demetrius Poliorcetes! And she's not alone. *"One of the earliest rulers to have adopted sun-related iconography within the western tradition is Demetrius Poliorcetes... Nonetheless, it is clear that imagery of the sun and of the heavenly bodies was employed of Demetrius in the representations of his status and power. The most explicit instance belongs to an ithyphallic hymn performed in Athens in 291/90 BC, in which Poliorcetes was hailed as the sun"* – O'Sullivan, L. (2008) "Le Roi Soleil: Demetrius Poliorcetes and the Dawn of the Sun King", 78.

¹⁸ Ouranoupolis had its own mint. Silver drachms, didrachms, and tetradrachms tend to fluctuate in weight, and their authenticity is questionable. Bronze coins of the same type, however, are quite common and do not arouse skepticism among numismatists and collectors. In addition to its own coins, the mint also minted "alexanders" (Cohen, G.M. (1995), 105–106).

¹⁹ *"Here also, at Acanthus, is seen the canal, which Xerxes is said to have made, and through which he is said to have brought the sea from the Strymonic Gulf, across the isthmus. Demetrius of Skepsis is of opinion that this canal was not navigable; for, says he, the ground is composed of deep earth, and admits of being dug for a distance of 10 stadia only: the canal is a plethrum in width; then follows a high, broad, and flat rock, nearly a stadium in length, which prevents excavation throughout the whole distance to the sea. And even if the work*

Alexarchus, recounted by Heraclides Lamb in his "History".²⁰

Other references to Alexarchus or the city he founded – by Plutarch ("a letter of Alexarchus, in which it is recorded that Dionysus was the son of Zeus and Isis, and is called not Osiris, but Arsaphes, spelled with an 'a,' the name denoting "virility"),²¹ Clement of Alexandria²² and Pliny the Elder²³ – give us little information. Nor do the suspicions of modern writers regarding Alexarchus' "split mind." However, we'll recall the quote from Plutarch in passing. The founding of Ouranopolis is often dated to 316/5, likely to synchronize it with Cassander's other urban development projects, which, incidentally, involved Athens.

It is known that the Athenians, and Demetrius of Phalerum personally, played a significant role in Cassander's restoration of Thebes (most notably, in the outer perimeter of the city walls). It's possible that the early history of another "new building," Cassandria, also involved Demetrius. At the very least, the presence of nomophylakoi there may indicate this. However, it is noted only during the Antigonid era,²⁴ which is extremely odd. This institution is characteristic of city-state organization, not royal power. In Athens, under Demetrius of Phalerum, it became the core of his legislative reforms. Most likely, they simply

could be carried on so far across, yet it could not be continued to a sufficient depth, so as to present a navigable passage. Here Alexarchus, the son of Antipater, built the city Uranopolis, 30 stadia in circumference» - Strabo, VII, 35; H.C. Hamilton, Esq., W. Falconer, M.A., Ed.

²⁰ "And Alexarchus was a man of the same sort, the brother of Cassander, who was king of Macedonia, who built the city called Uranopolis. And Heraclides Lembus speaks concerning him in the seventh book of his Histories, and says, "Alexarchus, who founded the city Uranopolis, imported many peculiar words and forms of speaking into the language: calling a cock *ὀρθροβόας*, or he that crows in the morn; and a barber *βροτοκέρτης*, or one who cuts men; and a drachm he called *ἀργυρίς*, a piece of silver; and a chænix he called, *ήμεροτροφίς*, what feeds a man for a day; and a herald he called *ἀπότης*, a bawler. And once he wrote a letter to the magistrates of the Cassandrians in this form:

Ἰαλέξαρχος ὁ μάρμων πρόμοις [p.165] γαθεῖν. τοὺς ἡλιοκρεῖς οἰῶν οἶδα λιποῦσα θεωτῶν ἔργων κρατήτορας μορσίμω τύγα κεκυρωμένας θεοῦ πόγαις χυτλώσαντες αὐτοὺς, καὶ φύλακας ὀριγένεις." But what that letter means think that even the Pythian Apollo himself could hardly tell. For, as Antiphanes says, in his Cleophanes,—

What is it then to be a tyrant, (or
What would you call pursuing serious things,)
In the Lyceum with the sophists; by Jove,
They are but thin and hungry joyless men.
And say the thing does not exist if now
It is produced; for that is not as yet,
Nor can already be produced, which now
Is caused afresh. Nor if it did exist
Before, can it be now made to exist.
For there is nothing which has no existence.
And that which never yet has taken place,
Is not as if it had, since it has not.
For it exists from its existence; but
If there is no existence, what is there
From which it can exist? The thing's impossible;
And if it's self-existent, it will not
Exist again. And one perhaps may say,
Let be; whence now can that which has no being
Exist, what can become of it? What all this means
I say that e'en Apollo's self can't tell» - Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, III, 54 98d–99b; C. D. Yonge, B.A., Ed.

²¹ Plutarch. *De Iside et Osiride*, 37, 365 E.

²² "Why should I speak of Alexarchus (who, a grammarian by profession, as Aristus relates, played Helios)?" – Clement of Alexandria. *Exhortation to the Pagans*. Who of the Rich Will Be Saved?

²³ See above – note 11.

²⁴ See: Hatzopoulos, Miltiades V. (1996), 133, n. 2; 143; 144; 146; 157; 158; 164.

inherited the nomophylakoi from Cassander, for whom Demetrius wrote this "cheat sheet." Naturally, the Athenians and their enlightened ruler could not ignore Ouranoupolis—a rough approximation of their apoikia—the foundation of which occurred at the same time.

There is logic to this. However, it's important to recognize the fundamental differences between Thebes, Cassandria, and Thessalonica, on the one hand, and Ouranoupolis, on the other. The former fit within the framework of the typical Diadochi policy and had its own specific and clear function. As for the latter, it in no way corresponded to pragmatic principles. Such a purely utopian project was self-sufficient, self-directed, and for Cassander during this period could have meant a needless and aimless diversion of forces and resources from pressing problems. Indeed, Alexarchus' very undertaking could have been destroyed by any military contingent that happened to be nearby—either by accident or as a result of the objectives dictated by the logic of the Diadochi rivalry—regardless of its affiliation with one or another of them. Simply in passing, out of suspicion, and just in case something bad happened. It's unlikely that Ouranoupolis declared itself a "sacred" place free from military action. Firstly, this status was not considered normative by the Greeks and was not necessarily recognized or voluntarily observed by all outside forces. Secondly, the first instances of such sacred demilitarization appear to date back much later: *"Various cities now sought to get themselves and their territories 'holy' i.e., immune from war, by the consent of the Greek world and the Hellenistic kings; Smyrna came first about 240, followed by Magnesia on the Maeander, Alabanda, Teos, Miletus and others... The influence of Delphi and the Amphictyons counted for much in the movement and gave it a religious basis".*²⁵ Most likely, Ouranoupolis was saved by its location, somewhat isolated from the theater of military operations and the lack of political and economic benefits from control of the region. Especially since virtually all settlements in the area were destroyed by Philip II. Besides Potidea (which became Cassandria), there was also Akanthos (now Ierissos). This area (around the village of Sani) is now part of the Stagira-Akanthos municipality.

The end of Cassander's reign, to which other scholars date Alexarchus's project, seems logically unacceptable to us. The victory at Ipsus in 301 did not relieve Cassander of the need to defend his position in Macedonia and Greece against the encroachments of the "wounded" Demetrius Poliorcetes, and therefore he most likely could not afford his brother's eccentricities. Perhaps it was at this time, given the unfavorable circumstances, that Alexarchus abandoned the project and moved to the region of Pamphylia to try to implement it there.²⁶ It is unlikely that this decision, if it took place, was made by Alexarchus at random and haphazardly, without any expectation of finding support in the new region. At that time, Pamphylia, along with Caria and Lycia, was part of the short-lived (301–299) entity ruled by Cassander's other brother, Pleistarchus. Either Cassander's death deprived Alexarchus and his Ouranoupolis of protection (though how much greater security could one have hoped for in Pamphylia without Pleistarchus?), or he and his "subjects" were overtaken by insurmountable difficulties. In any case, it's impossible to imagine that a utopian city on lands contested by Alexander's heirs would survive for long.

There's another unexpected parallel, though apparently coincidental. The city founded by Alexarchus was called Ouranoupolis (the Heavenly City), and its inhabitants were called Uranidae. This isn't to say that the canal dug by Xerxes effectively transformed Athos (Mount Athos) into an island, like Euhemerus's Panchaia (like Homer's Scheria and Syra, Iambulus's Island of the Sun, Theopompus's Meropia, and Hecataeus of Abdera's Hyperborea), especially one that was difficult to access due to its mountainous terrain.²⁷ Nor is it that in Panchaia, like Athos for Ouranoupolis, a mountain called the Throne of Uranus

²⁵ Tarn, W. W. (1927), 72.

²⁶ Ouranoupolis in Pamphylia is mentioned by Claudius Ptolemy in his "Geography" – Claudius Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 5, 6. However, Georges Radet, in his "Cities of Pamphylia" – Radet, G. (1890), 203–224 – overlooks this fact.

²⁷ It is often overlooked that Ouranoupolis was not on the "island" side of the Xerxes Canal, but on the mainland, closer to the present-day village of Nea Roda.

towered in the center.²⁸ These analogies are purely superficial. It is far more accurate to associate the city's name with Aphrodite Ourania, the heavenly daughter of Uranus, who was depicted on the obverse and reverse of numismatic finds in this region. Moreover, she has repeatedly made her mark in the history and evolution of the socio-literary utopias of antiquity.

As Maria Teresa Schettino rightly noted, *"Ouranopolis pointed to the descent of 'Heaven' to earth; therefore, in this utopian experiment, the celestial model is taken as the starting point. Alexarchus was not the first to do this. Another Greek city, Thebes, was associated with Uranus. Indeed, Cadmus, their mythical founder, was considered one of the 'city builders' who gazed at the stars, like Meton, the architect of the City of Birds, and Hippodamus of Miletus, an expert on celestial phenomena. Nevertheless, the city founded by Alexarchus, impregnable and elite, is the only one that can be imagined as the embodiment of heavenly perfection on a land where harmony reigns"*.²⁹

A passage from Pausanias partially fits the French researcher's assessment of the issue: *"At Thebes are three wooden images of Aphrodite, so very ancient that they are actually said to be votive offerings of Harmonia, and the story is that they were made out of the wooden figure-heads on the ships of Cadmus. They call the first Heavenly, the second Common, and the third Rejecter. Harmoina gave to Aphrodite the surname of Heavenly to signify a love pure and free from bodily lust"*.³⁰

Athens, too, could not do without an Aphrodite Urania: *"Above the Cerameicus and the portico called the King's Portico is a temple of Hephaestus... Hard by is a sanctuary of the Heavenly Aphrodite... Among the Athenians the cult was established by Aegeus, who thought that he was childless (he had, in fact, no children at the time) and that his sisters had suffered their misfortune because of the wrath of Heavenly Aphrodite. The statue still extant is of Parian marble and is the work of Pheidias. One of the Athenian parishes is that of the Athmoneis, who say that Porphyryon, an earlier king than Actaeus, founded their sanctuary of the Heavenly One"*.³¹

And further: *"Concerning the district called The Gardens, and the temple of Aphrodite, there is no story that is told by them, nor yet about the Aphrodite which stands near the temple. Now the shape of it is square, like that of the Hermae, and the inscription declares that the Heavenly Aphrodite is the oldest of those called Fates"*.³²

In the latter case, Pausanias was speaking – another coincidence – of the Lyceum. And, therefore, of the proximity to the temple of Apollo Lyceum, where the Peripatetics of Aristotle and then Theophrastus gathered.

Judging by the state of surviving sources, Alexarchus emerged from nowhere. However, some assumptions are still possible. Apparently, he was a grammarian by previous occupation, since he composed his own Esperanto for the residents of Ouranopolis, one of the first in world history. The likelihood that Alexarchus received his initial training in the subject at the school of Aristotle or Theophrastus should be considered fairly high, although not close to absolute.

²⁸ *"In ancient times, Uranus, when he reigned over the world, spent his time pleasantly in this place and from the summit gazed upon the sky and the stars therein"* – Diodorus, V, 44, 5–6.

²⁹ *"Ouranopolis indiquait la descente du «Ciel» sur la terre: dans cette expérimentation utopique, c'est donc le modèle céleste qui est assumé comme point de référence. Alexarque ne fut pas le premier. On peut remarquer qu'une autre cité de la Grèce était assimilée à Ouranos: il s'agissait de Thèbes. En effet, Cadmos, le fondateur mythique de Thèbes, était considéré parmi les «urbanistes» qui regardaient les astres, comme Méton, architecte de la cité des Oiseaux, et Hippodamos de Milet, expert des phénomènes célestes⁷⁵. Néanmoins la cité fondée par Alexarque, inaccessible et élitare, est la seule à être présentée comme la réalisation de la perfection céleste sur la terre, où règne l'harmonie"* – Schettino, M.-Th. (2012), note 34..

³⁰ Pausanias, IX, 16, 3–4. English Translation by W.H.S. Jones, Litt.D., and H.A. Ormerod, M.A.

³¹ Ibid., I, 14, 6.

³² Ibid., I, 19, 2.

When this happened and who was the scholarch of Peripates at the time are not so important. Similarly, in the final analysis, it doesn't matter much whether Cassander favored his younger brother out of family ties or out of respect for Antipater's will (otherwise, it's difficult to interpret the ruler's consent to the founding of an independent city within his domain, and even with the right to mint its own coin). If Alexarchus was indeed connected to the Lyceum, he and Demetrius of Phalerum would hardly have been separated. What interests could have brought them together? For example, a mutual interest in the "solarity" of Apollo or Helios?

In Alexarchus' case, the answer is obvious.

In Demetrius' case, perhaps the same.

Firstly, Apollo was not considered a "foreign" deity by the Athenians. The "Athenian Constitution" states that Ion, the mythical king who first united all of Attica, was the son of Apollo and Creusa.³³ Quite the contrary: "at Athens... Apollo should be honoured there, since he was a patron deity of the Athenians and was said to have been the founder of their race".³⁴

Secondly, Demetrius was a native of Phalerum, which lies at the very beginning of the coastal strip stretching from Piraeus to Cape Sounio and now called the Athenian Riviera or the "Aegean balcony" of Athens. But from ancient times—perhaps even in Demetrius's time—it was called the "Coast of Apollo." Most likely, this was due to the deity's temple at Zoster, which stood about fifteen kilometers further away. Today, it lies beyond the resort villages of Voula (in the period we're studying, the dem of Exoneia—the same one responsible for the famous 317 BC honorary decree to Demetrius of Phalerum) and Vouliagmeni—at the narrowest point of the cape jutting into the sea. On one side of the temple's remains is the beach of Paralía Astera, and on the other, a road named Apollonia runs along the sea. According to one version—a recessive one, to be fair—Apollo was born there.³⁵ According to another, more compromised version, Leto only suffered labor in Zoster,³⁶ but gave birth on Delos.

Ultimately, according to Pausanias, the Athenians agreed to recognize Delos as Apollo's birthplace and even sent a sacred embassy to the island, but its starting point was another temple of Apollo—in Prasía (now Porto Rafti) on the eastern coast of Attica, approximately 25 kilometers from the center of Athens.³⁷

This may be questioned, and we are far from alone in our disbelief. The ship used for the sacred embassy to Delos—the *theoria*—was the same one Theseus sailed on from Knossos after slaying the Minotaur.³⁸ According to Pausanias, he departed for Crete from Phalerum.³⁹ However, he also returned to Athens via Phalerum,⁴⁰ not forgetting to stop at Delos and perform the "crane dance" there.⁴¹ In fact, it could not have been otherwise—in those mythological times, Piraeus had not yet replaced Phalerum as the city's main port. Themistocles was born much later.

Phalerum, whether associated with this myth or not, had its own sanctuary to the Delian Apollo from around 429.⁴² It was less well known, because the founding of the cult of Apollo in this place happened during difficult times for the city, and the external simplicity of the sanctuary is largely associated by

³³ Aristotle. *The Athenian Constitution*, 41, 2.

³⁴ Plutarch. *Demetrius*, XL.

³⁵ *"Semos the Delian writes: 'Some say the birth of Apollo took place in Lycia, others Delos, others Zoster in Attica, others Tegyra in Boeotia'"* – Stephanus of Byzantium. *Εθνικά*, § T611.3 Tegyra.

³⁶ "at Zoster on the coast is an altar to Athena, as well as to Apollo, to Artemis and to Leto. The story is that Leto did not give birth to her children here, but loosened her girdle with a view to her delivery, and the place received its name from this incident" – Pausanias, I, XXXI, 1.

³⁷ Pausanias, I, XXXI, 1.

³⁸ Plato. *Phaedo*, 58a–b.

³⁹ Pausanias, I, 1, 2.

⁴⁰ Plutarch. *Theseus*, 22.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴² IG2 310, 218–19.

researchers with the austerity regime of Pericles-Callias.⁴³

Athens also had other buildings dedicated to Apollo, both small sanctuaries and altars, and actual temples. For example, the Pythian Apollo behind the Temple of Olympian Zeus. The Father Apollo (Patroos) in the northwest of the agora, between the Hephaestion and the Stoa of Zeus, so named precisely because of Ion. However, it was built around 320 BC and simply didn't have time to acquire its remarkable history by the time of Demetrius of Phalerum. Nearby, but in reverse, to the northeast of the Acropolis, stands the Delphinium Apollo. Demetrius of Phalerum, the author of Aristotle's "The Athenian Constitution," knew it well as the place where the ephetes judged.⁴⁴ The temple of Apollo Lyceum was outside the city walls, opposite the "wolf" hill of Lycabettus and near the Ilissus and Eridanus rivers.⁴⁵ Beyond Athens itself, cult buildings associated with Apollo were found almost everywhere in Attica—for example, in the Mesogean village of Phlia,⁴⁶ in the deme of Acharnae,⁴⁷ on Hymettus,⁴⁸ in Oropus (if we consider it Attic);⁴⁹ on the banks of the Cephissus on the road to Eleusis.⁵⁰

We have listed all the places in which Demetrius had no merit or personal involvement. We note only that the temple of Apollo Lyceum in the grove of the same name, home to Aristotle's Lyceum, must be associated with his personality in more than just an indirect way. We are referring to Apollo's connection with the cult of Muses. The famous Alexandrian Museum, the brainchild of Demetrius, which has left his name for centuries, began there, among other things.⁵¹

As for the Athenian episodes in the life of Demetrius of Phalerum, which have a much more direct and conscious connection to the theme of Apollo on his part, the most interesting are those recounted by his bitterest enemies – Duris of Samos and Demochares of Leuconoe, Demosthenes' nephew.

Duris: *"And in the procession of the Dionysia, which he celebrated when he was archon at Athens, a chorus sang an ode of Siromen the Solensian, addressed to him, in which he was called, Like the Sun:*

*And above all the noble prince
Demetrius, like the sun in face,
Honours you, Bacchus, with a holy worship".*⁵²

Demochares: *"A snail, spitting out saliva, moved at the head of the procession he organized, while donkeys were driven through the theater".*⁵³

With the quote from Athenaeus, everything is clear. A. F. Losev, along with the undoubted masters of ancient Greek belles-lettres, explains Polybius: *"Pindar (Pyth. X 29–47) writes of this Hyperborean life:*

⁴³ Lewis, David M. (1960).

⁴⁴ Aristotle. Athenian Constitution, 57, 3.

⁴⁵ *"The Lyceum received its name from Lycus, son of Pandion, but even in ancient times, as in my time, it was considered a temple of Apollo, and here the god was originally called Lycean"* – Pausanias, I, XIX, 3.

⁴⁶ Ibid., I, XXXI, 2.

⁴⁷ Ibid., I, XXXI, 3.

⁴⁸ Ibid., I, XXXII, 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid., I, XXXIV, 2.

⁵⁰ Ibid., I, XXXVII, 4.

⁵¹ We will point out one more possible Egyptian association, namely, the dedicatory inscription to Apollo Lycæus on the statue of a lion in Thebes. We nominate the Thebaid as the final refuge of Demetrius of Phalerum. Although, most likely, Philadelphus exiled him, as he had earlier exiled his wife Arsinoe I, to Coptos, located fifty kilometers north of Thebes. But Coptos also contained a dedicatory stele to Apollo Ileus (a locality in Boeotia, now Oungra, or Cyprus) – Henri, O. (2012), 339. And Hathor, whose temple was nearby in Dendera, according to some versions, was revered in Egypt as the wife of the sun god – for more details, see, for example, Blackman, Aylward M. (1923), 500. And the Luxor temple was "solar" – ibid. So, coincidentally, Apollo accompanied Demetrius of Phalerum from birth until his death.

⁵² Athenaeus, XII, 60 542d–e

⁵³ Polibius, XII, 13.

"You will find no marvelous route to the land of the Hyperboreans, either by sea or land. Perseus, the ruler of the peoples, once feasted among them, having come to their dwellings and encountered them as they were offering glorious hecatombs of donkeys to the god".

*"According to Callimachus (frg. 187), "among the sacred Hyperboreans, Phoebus rejoices in asses" and (frg. 188) "fat donkey sacrifices delight Phoebus". That donkey sacrifices were especially significant in the land of the Hyperboreans is mentioned in Antoninus Liberalis. Here, Cleinias, a Babylonian and a favorite of Apollo and Artemis, "often went with these gods to the Hyperboreans' temple of Apollo and watched as donkeys were sacrificed in Apollo's honor." Once, he, too, wanted to offer Apollo a similar sacrifice, but the god "threatened him with death," since "donkey sacrifices are pleasing to him only among the Hyperboreans". Cleinias submitted to the god, but his sons insisted on such a sacrifice. **Apollo, in his anger, drove the donkeys into a frenzy, and they devoured Cleinias and all his loved ones**".⁵⁴*

Hyperborea, "beyond these [Rhipaeae Mountains], beyond Aquilon",⁵⁵ is Leto's homeland, a winterless land sacred to Apollo, to which he returns from Delphi⁵⁶ once every nineteen years and where the sun shines for half the year. And the Hyperboreans are Apollo's fortunate people.

"The suns rise there only once a year, at the summer solstice, and set only at the winter solstice. This land is entirely sunny, with a balmy climate and free from any harmful wind. Groves and forests are the homes of these inhabitants; the cult of the gods is carried out by individuals and the whole community; discord and disease are unknown there. Death comes there only from satiety".⁵⁷

A similar scenario for the procession at the Great Dionysia, which took place from the 10th to the 16th of Elaphebolion (the very end of March), clearly required a certain amount of audacity from its organizer. Demetrius's introduction of Apollo or related themes (donkeys instead of goats, as well as a spitting snail⁵⁸) into the script for the Great Dionysia festival seems somewhat unclear and therefore somewhat surprising. We find it difficult to interpret. The problem lies not in the opposition between Apollonian and Dionysian principles—that, after all, is of much later, contemporary origin. There were already plenty of unifying ties between the gods. Not only a familial relationship—they were considered brothers under Zeus—but also a meaningful likeness—based on the mythologem of eternal return.

Demetrius' "sun-likeness" risked being seen not as mere poetic hyperbole from Seiron, a mere visiting Cypriot hymnwriter, but as grounds for accusations of self-deification. Athenian demagogues were quick to exploit it, but only after the overthrow of one Demetrius by another, of Phalerum by Poliorcetes, in 307. The latter was officially honored by them with a similar hymn fifteen years later.⁵⁹

But let's return to Alexarchus. It's more likely that Theophrastus was the figure he was looking for, since Aristotle, even having evolved from the premise of the necessity of servile status for barbarians to the assumption of a certain degree of civilization among some of them, still fell short of the more radical judgments found in Theophrastus. Like the one Tarn emphasizes—"All men are one family and related to one another"⁶⁰—and which Alexarchus tried to put into practice in Ouranoupolis.

Tarn's interpretation of Alexarchus' commitment to the idea of universal human brotherhood does not seem to us an unquestionable axiom. Asking questions about the influences on Alexarchus, Tarn arrives at

⁵⁴ Losev, A. F. (1996), 463.

⁵⁵ Gaius Plinius Secundus, IV, 89.

⁵⁶ Less commonly, from Lycia, as in Apollonius of Rhodes – Apollonius of Rhodes. *Argonautica*, II 674–676:

*"By this same son of Latona, who was returning from Lycia
To the Hyperboreans, a people innumerable in number,
Suddenly became visible".*

⁵⁷ Losev, A. F. (1996), 466.

⁵⁸ See further – note 90.

⁵⁹ See our note 17.

⁶⁰ Tarn, W. W. (1933) *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind*.

a different answer than our assumption. It was not Aristotle or Theophrastus, but Alexander with his idea of *homonoia*!

We do not intend to engage in a scholarly debate on this topic. It has been waged, in absentia and post hoc, by, for example, E. Badian in his article,⁶¹ and by other opponents of Tarn's viewpoint, along with its supporters like, say, André Bonnard with his "Greek Civilization" and Charles A. Robinson, Jr. It lies beyond our narrow interests. Moreover, there may not be any conflict here. It's enough that the Peripatetic scholars and Alexarchus could have reached their own conclusions, but with Alexander's influence.

First, we shouldn't underestimate the creative potential of Alexarchus' thinking. In Jotapata, any Jew could theoretically have been Joseph ben Mattathias' replacement; however, it's unlikely anyone else would have dreamed of declaring the Roman emperor the messiah of the Jewish people.

Second, the foundation stones for the project could have been laid from other quarries, not necessarily just Alexander's. For example, Isocrates already spoke⁶² of *homonoia*⁶³ (though not as broadly and universally understood as during the Macedonian conquest of Asia and later, but rather as the unification of the Greeks against Persia under the auspices of a strong leader) in his Panegyric as early as 380. And earlier, at the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries, Socrates: *"agreement is deemed the greatest blessing for cities: their senates and their best men constantly exhort the citizens to agree, and everywhere in Greece there is a law that the citizens shall promise under oath to agree, and everywhere they take this oath"*.⁶⁴

And after Isocrates, Aristotle. Although he was largely referring to a somewhat different meaning of this concept—unanimity. It is no coincidence that Stagirite begins to discuss it in those sections of the Nicomachean Ethics that consider friendship and related categories of human relations:

"Beginning of form

End of form Concord also seems to be a friendly feeling. Hence it is not merely agreement of opinion, for this might exist even between strangers. Nor yet is agreement in reasoned judgements about any subject whatever, for instance astronomy, termed concord; to agree about the facts of astronomy is not a bond of friendship. Concord is said to prevail in a state, when the citizens agree as to their interests, adopt the same policy, and carry their common resolves into execution".⁶⁵

By reasoning in this way, the Stagirite arrives at unanimity of a higher level. He himself calls it friendship among states, following in a sense Plato's logic,⁶⁶ which he himself distilled into the thesis of man as a "naturally political being"⁶⁷:

"there is discord; since men are not of one mind merely when each thinks the same thing (whatever this may be), but when each thinks the same thing in relation to the same person: for instance, when both the common people and the upper classes wish that the best people shall rule; for only so can all parties get what they desire.

Concord appears therefore to mean friendship between citizens, which indeed is the ordinary use of

⁶¹ Badian, E. (1958), 425–44.

⁶² In principle, these same ideas, to varying degrees, also permeate his famous "Philip", "Areopagiticus" and "Panathenaic Oration".

⁶³ For a more detailed discussion of the idea of *homonoia*, though not from a perspective quite similar to ours, see Thériault, G. 3–250.

⁶⁴ Xenophon. *Memoirs of Socrates*, IV, 4, 16; E. C. Marchant, Ed. The translator renders *ὁμόνοιά*, *ὁμονοεῖν*, and *ὁμονοῦσθαι* as "agreement" and cognates.

⁶⁵ Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics*, IX, VI, 1167a; 22–31; H. Rackham, Ed. The translator uses another synonym for "unanimity".

⁶⁶ Cf. Plato. *Republic*, II, 368e; VIII, 544d–e, IV, 441c–d.

⁶⁷ Aristotle. *Politics*, I, 1, 9, and 12.

the term; for it refers to the interests and concerns of life".⁶⁸

It is easy to see that the homonoia of Socrates, Isocrates, and Aristotle is not extraterritorial; it is assigned a specific topos and a national-state dimension. Unlike the homonoia of Alexander (if we agree with Tarn), Theophrastus, and Alexarchus.

But was Alexander a paragon of humanity, an internationalist, a champion of universal human brotherhood that knew no borders or fundamental differences between people? The heir to the Macedonian throne, whose first mentor was a warrior named Leonidas, who forced him to march until late and work up an appetite for a meager breakfast, so ravenous at lunch that he would be ravenously hungry, lest he endure another evening of drill? Not long before, he had enslaved the entire Theban people, and then razed their home city to the ground—the birthplace of Heracles, whom he had once considered his ancestor. He harassed not only the Thebans but all Greeks in general.⁶⁹ He even sent Greek contingents home during the first years of the Persian campaign.

And this king-commander, conqueror of Asia, pierced with a spear one of his closest companions, who not only shared bivouac life and the heat of many difficult battles with him, but also somehow deflected the king's savage Persian blade. And out of a petty, vindictive grudge against his former mentor, he sentenced his nephew, Callisthenes, to death. And in general, *"the philosophers, too, no less than the mercenaries, gave him trouble, by abusing those of the native princes who attached themselves to his cause, and by inciting the free peoples to revolt. He therefore took many of these also and hanged them"*.⁷⁰

So—to borrow a hint from Ian Worthington—how great was Alexander the Great? Was there even a hint of a herald of universal human brotherhood in his greatness? We seriously doubt it. Alexander's Homonoia didn't have a sister, Arete. It's an unjustified journalistic idealism to think and assert, as Tarn does, that *"on the day - one of the critical moments of history, on the day - when, at the banquet at Opis, Alexander prayed for the union of hearts (homonoia) and a joint commonwealth of Macedonians and Persians; he was the first to transcend national boundaries and to envisage, however imperfectly, a brotherhood the first to suggest the idea of a human brotherhood of man in which there should be neither iGreek nor barbarian"*.⁷¹

No, by recruiting 30,000 Persian youths for military training, he was merely following his father's example, who, having finally pacified the mountaineers hostile to Macedonia (Illyrians to the west, Lyncestians and Paeonians to the north, and Thracians to the east), accepted them into his army, deliberately flouting their nationality. By arranging a mass marriage in Susa between his officers and women of the Persian nobility, Alexander pursued a pragmatic goal: to smooth over national differences and contradictions in order to imbue his empire with vitality and flexibility. By marrying Stateira, daughter of Darius III, and Parysatis, daughter of Artaxerxes III, Alexander was least of all concerned with noble service to humanity or the establishment of the most ideal human community. No, by right of succession, he became the legitimate ruler and autocrat of the Achaemenid East, previously alien to the Hellenes. This was the simplest way to tame it, leading to a fusion through absorption rather than synthesis. Alexander was guided not by a hypertrophied, ahead-of-his-time humanity, but by simple political and administrative expediency. Did he seriously consider himself the son of a god if he spent so long meticulously choosing whom—

⁶⁸ Aristotle. Nicomachean Ethics, IX, Vi 1167a35–1167b 5.

⁶⁹ A simple example: of the 52 satraps in Alexander's empire, 24 were natives of Asia, including Persia, 23 were Macedonians, and only five were Greeks (the Cretans Nearchus and, it seems, Sibyrtius, the Cypriot Stasanor, Thoas from Magnesia-on-the-Meander, and the Naucratisian Cleomenes. And not a single "mainland" Greek! – Borza, E. (1995), 149–58.

⁷⁰ Plutarch. Alexander, 59; Bernadotte Perrin, Ed.

⁷¹ Tarn, W. W. (1927), 69.

Heracles, Dionysus, Zeus, or someone else—to include among his divine ancestors?⁷²

Alexander did not create his own *Nygdeia*, did not transgress the national-state boundaries he himself had drawn with the Macedonian *sarissa*. The *sarissa* is perfectly suited to such a "drafting" task, with Cleitus the White as a target to be struck in a moment of passion, but it is an unsuitable instrument for the affirmation of universal human brotherhood and equality.

Others did it for him. First, the Cynics, who largely disdained papyrus and stylus. And then, on "dog's tail",⁷³ following in the footsteps of Zeno, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, and other Stoics, who, unlike the Cynics, were more inclined to give objective theoretical form to their essentially revolutionary ideas, emphatically expressed in behavioral responses.⁷⁴ And also authors who preferred moralizing through historical examples—like Eratosthenes or Plutarch with his panegyric "*De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute*" (an early one, mind you).⁷⁵ If Alexander had never existed—no, not the cosmopolitan, who reeked of individualistic Cynicism a mile away, but the internationalist—someone would have had to invent him. Even with more than good intentions. But the East, even if it became a bit Macedonian, remained the East. Alexander was not destined to become a Diogenes. And they cannot come together, no matter how much Tarn and other scholars, inclined to idealize the unidealizable, would like to.

So, speaking of Alexarchus, we come back to Theophrastus. In conquering Persia, Central Asia, and India, Alexander, wittingly or unwittingly, reproduced on a new level the great-power Athenian imperialism of previous eras, so familiar to the Greeks. To break with it, to reject its birthmarks and embrace the idea of universal *homonoia*, one would have to become a *metic* in Athens, like Diogenes, Crates, and Theophrastus, or even a citizen, but only in the second generation, like (maybe) Demetrius of Phalerum. Not to throw a symbolic spear from a ship onto the shore of Asia Minor, but to live homeless in a barrel, to wander, copulating with one's wife in the squares, for there was nowhere else; Acquiring a garden in the Lyceum by almost roundabout means, going under the *γραφὴ ἀσέβεια*, being sentenced to death, and being expelled from the city. Only in this way could one become a citizen of the world and understand the necessity of transforming the polis into a cosmopolis, the essence of the need for true *homonoia*, granted by belonging to the human race, and not by conquering new lands.

However, in bringing Alexarchus closer to Theophrastus and Peripatos in general, we encounter a serious external difficulty. The somewhat paradoxical fact is that the first two scholars of the Lyceum did not create—unlike, for example, Plato, who had plenty of "fun" in this field—their own clearly defined utopian models. And they limited their efforts not so much to an abstract theoretical search for the ideal or most acceptable system of government, but rather to the descriptive accumulation of empirical knowledge and relevant examples. Their views in this area can be established by us most often indirectly, "by contradiction"—from criticisms (almost exclusively by Aristotle) of the projects of Plato, Hippodamus of Miletus, and Phaleus of Chalcedon. And only to a small extent—from the outline of an essentially aristocratic, but never explicitly named, "true state," which we find in the "*Politics*".⁷⁶ Nevertheless, even Aristotle's concept of this "true" middle state, a mixed *politeia*,⁷⁷ appears to be a purely speculative construct, divorced from reality, for "*owing to these causes the middle form of constitution either never comes into existence or seldom and in few places*".⁷⁸ This is easy to explain. Aristotle, like his

⁷²Speaking of Heracles's divine nature is not entirely accurate. It is possible that Alexander took a similar consideration into account when making his decision.

⁷³ Diogenes Laërtius, VII, 1, 4.

⁷⁴ However, in antiquity, Diogenes of Sinope's treatise of the same name was cited as Zeno's main source of inspiration for the composition of the Republic.

⁷⁵ This treatise, reminiscent of a rhetorical exercise-declamation in form, was sometimes considered spurious—either both parts or only the second.

⁷⁶ Аристотель. Политика, V, 11.

⁷⁷ "*in which the middle class is numerous, and preferably stronger than both the other two classes, or at all events than one of them*" - *ibid.*, IV, 9, 8 1295b37-38.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 9, 12 1296a36-38.

predecessors—the ideologists of polis-based institutions and regulations—had no historical precedents expressing a decisive breakdown of the main foundations of polis organization and the emergence, on the resulting ruins, of fundamentally new forms of government, outside the usual and familiar set. The polis utopia faded along with the decline of polis statehood—and even Aristotle's mighty intellect was no longer enough to revive the concept, which had suddenly become recessive. Only in isolationist Sparta, a little later, under Cleomenes, with the assistance of the Stoic Spherus of Borysthennis, did it temporarily gain a semblance of a "second wind." But already under Theophrastus, who dedicated one of his many political works to Cassander, and among the academics, it gradually began to undergo "monarchization".

Demetrius of Phalerum, both a theorist and a practitioner, emerging from the quiet of the classroom to the experimental field, a legislator-administrator at the intersection of polis and empire, could overcome the *"tension between idea and the world of experience"*⁷⁹ and, in one way or another, "assist" Alexarchus.

We will not dwell in detail on the specifics of Aristotle's prototype of the ideal state structure, since, while extremely interesting in itself, it is, in our case, no more than optional. How does the implicit narrative-theoretical and purely social utopia of Aristotle (and, perhaps, Theophrastus, whose numerous political writings we unfortunately do not know) relate to Alexarchus' attempt to practically realize the solar utopia of the "island of the blessed"? Perhaps only indirectly. However, we do not have all the necessary information on this matter.

It's curious that before Ouranoupolis, a city could have been built in this location by. Alexander the Great! His architect, Deinocrates of Rhodes, who later designed Alexandria, even proposed carving his figure on the mountaintop,⁸⁰ but Alexander rejected Deinocrates' idea. His refusal is sometimes explained by his having heard of the lack of fertile soil in the area around Mount Athos. The practical Alexander couldn't count on Hesiod's "fruits from the grain fields" in this mountainous region. He left such futile hopes to the future founder of Ouranoupolis. Although Alexarchus, of course, could have hoped for trade revenues if the Diadochi were reconciled and a lasting peace was concluded. And he could have hoped that Cassander would continue to rebuild the cities on the coast of Chalkidiki destroyed by the Argeads. Alexarchus likely mulled over his plan for quite some time, and when Cassander succeeded in consolidating his position in Macedonia and Greece, he eagerly seized the opportunity to implement it on Mount Athos, where sunrise is visible earlier than on other coasts.

Alexarchus wasn't planning to build a city on a completely empty site. A sanctuary of Apollo already existed here, according to local archaeologists and historians, dating back to approximately the sixth century. They are inclined to identify the remains of some structure discovered during excavations with it. It resembles a sacred structure due to the numerous decorative elements characteristic of southern Greece, particularly Corinth, whose influence in the region during this period is acknowledged to be undeniable. However, it's difficult to say whether this refers to Apollo or Helios. And to determine precisely when Apollo began to functionally replace Helios at this site,⁸¹ as happened almost everywhere else in Greece.⁸²

⁷⁹ Werner Jaeger's expression.

⁸⁰ *"Stasicrates addressed the king and said that Athos in Thrace, more than any other mountain, could be given the form of a human figure, and that, by Alexander's command, he was ready to transform Athos into the most immovable and most majestic statue of the king, embracing the populous city with its left hand, and pouring a full-flowing stream into the sea with its right"* – Plutarch. Alexander, LXXII, 4. Plutarch mistakenly calls Deinocrates Stasicrates.

⁸¹ Pierre Boyancé believes that the complete identification of Apollo and Helios took place no earlier than the time of the Stoic Cleanthes of Assos – Boyancé P. (1966), 165–166; Boyancé, P. (1960), 129–130; Naumova, E. S. (2017), 17. Other researchers believe the process began with the fusion of Apollo with local gods—the patrons of cities. This is considered typical, for example, of coastal areas like Abdera, Maroneia, and the like – Goceva, Z. (1992), 164.

⁸² For greater clarity on this issue, one can refer to A. A. Tacho-Godi's notes to the Russian-language edition of Plato's Republic, published by Akademicheskyy Proekt, Moscow, 2014, pp. 234–6: *"The idea of the Sun as the highest good was extremely symptomatic of the pre-Hellenistic period. Late antiquity saw the Sun as a unifying*

Demetrius of Phalerum, as has already been mentioned, was clearly drawn to Apollo by virtue of his origins. Athens, it seems, did not have a separate temple to Helios. And this was typical of all of Greece as a whole—except Rhodes with its Colossus and, as we have already mentioned, Corinth.⁸³

But Helios, with his chariot emerging from the ocean, did appear on the main, eastern pediment of the Parthenon,⁸⁴ there to witness the birth of Athena⁸⁵—a probable reference to the Homeric Hymn to Athena (28:4–16). This is a rather remarkable detail, for **"no other artistic version of the birth of Athena includes the sun god among the attending divinities"**.⁸⁶ This is the earliest known sculptural depiction of Helios. Should we see any contradiction in this between Demetrius and the founder of Ouranoupolis?

For, at first glance, in the latter's case, we should rather be talking about Helios. Corinth, along with Rhodes, was the main center of Helios worship at that time. Moreover, Alexarchus is said to have declared himself Helios in his city, and called its inhabitants the Uranides—children of Heaven. Besides the sun, the moon and stars were especially revered in the city. And, of course, the daughter of Heaven—Aphrodite Urania. The Uranides (instead of the more appropriate Heliads) seem out of place. Furthermore, veneration of the sky is more clearly expressed in the cult of Apollo than Helios: **"Hesychius (Aithria) reads, citing the comedian Cratinus: 'The Hyperboreans revere the firmament. Indeed, Hyperborean sacrifices, in accordance with their ancestral sacred custom, are kept not under a roof, but in the open air'."**⁸⁷ Although the snail, about which Demochares wrote with indignation, seems to point to Helios.⁸⁸ However, according to another version, there were no chariots or Poseidon, and Nerites was punished by Zeus for refusing to accompany Aphrodite to Olympus by metamorphosing into a mollusk.

So does this contradiction really exist? We're not sure. This corner of Thrace isn't known for its preference for Helios—the two nearby Apollonias mentioned confirm this.⁸⁹ In fact, there were more Apollonias in this region at that time. It's hard to say exactly how many. They've been localized near Thermae (present-day Thessaloniki) and Polygyros, in Mygdonia (both in its entirety and more specifically, in the vicinity of Lake Bolbe/Volvi, where there were at least two Apollonias—old and new/Nea) and Pieria—from Xenophon, Strabo, and Pseudo-Scyllacus to modern researchers.⁹⁰ Although it may be

and organizing force for the entire world, in contrast to the archaic Mother Earth and the early classical four elements (water, air, earth, fire) of natural philosophers...

The association of the Sun-Helios with Phoebus-Apollo, the great organizing and shaping principle, contributed to the concept of the Sun as a universal world force. This association, which began in the pre-classical era, developed into a direct identification in the literature and philosophy of the Hellenistic era".

⁸³ Paradoxical as it may seem, the cult of Helios became more widespread, especially in the Peloponnese, in later times. Thus, in the second century AD, when Pausanias lived and wrote, temples, altars, and cults of the deity were found there almost everywhere. Besides Corinth (II, III, 2; II, IV, 7), these are Sicyon (II, XI, 2); Mycenae (II, XVIII, 3); Methana (II, XXXIV, 1), Hermione (II, XXXIV, 10), Troezen (II, XXXI, 8) in Argolis; Taygetus near Briseis (III, XX, 5) and Thalamus (III, XXVI, 1) in Laconia; Olympia (V, XI, 3) and Elis (VI, XXIV, 5) in Elis, Mantinea (VIII, IX, 2) and Megalopolis (VIII, XXXI, 4) in Arcadia. In the rest of Greece, Pausanias mentioned only Helios on the pediment of a temple in Phocis (X, XIX, 3).

⁸⁴ Hurwit, Jeffrey M. (2017), 527–558.

⁸⁵ Nevertheless, in July 1970, during excavations in the agora near Hephaestion—the very site of the ancient temple of Apollo Paterini—a marble statue of Helios was discovered.

⁸⁶ Shear, T. Leslie Jr. (2016), 114.

⁸⁷ Losev, A. F. (1996), 468. Reference to Hesychius's Lexicon—Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Aithria, Jenae, Sumptibus Hermannii Dufftiii (Libraria Maukiana), 1867, 57. It is unclear which Cratinus Hesychius had in mind—the elder, who never lived past the fifth century, or the younger. Some believe the younger lived until 324. Others place him during the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. For us, certainty in this case is unimportant.

⁸⁸ Claudius Aelianus recounts the legend of how the sun god transformed Nerites into a snail out of jealousy at Poseidon, whom he preferred over him—Claudius Aelianus. In the Animal Kingdom, XIV, 28. But in Aelianus, the angry sun is Helios, not Apollo!

⁸⁹ Moreover, in the century before last, the theory of Apollo's Thracian origin enjoyed some (though far from obvious) popularity among researchers – Graf, F. (2008), 12.

⁹⁰ Offhand, these are Hammond, N. G. L.; Griffith, G. T. (1979); Hatzopoulos, M. (1994), 159–188.

sufficient that the head of Apollo and the lyre (incidentally, the emblem of the Chalcidian League under Olynthus) appeared on its silver coins—hemidrachms and tetradrachms.

Ultimately, by the beginning of the Hellenistic period, Apollo and Helios, in their solar aspects, may have merged. Of course, the former ultimately gained greater importance due to his Olympian status. Perhaps for this reason, Alexarchus, even as the ktystos of Ouranoupolis, found it unsuitable to be called Apollo there.

"Alexarchus' utopian aspirations are clearly expressed in his identification with the Sun—Helios, long regarded by the Greeks as the protector and guarantor of justice, bringing to light any evil and crime. The idea of the Sun as the personification of justice is deeply rooted in the culture of the peoples of the Mediterranean. In the reforms carried out in Egypt by the 18th Dynasty Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten, 1372–1354), associated with the establishment of the solar cult of Aton-Ra, the concept of the Sun as a universal deity, common to all peoples, came to the forefront, rejecting their division into "barbarian" and "civilized". This same range of ideas is also evident in the famous Egyptian prophecy of Isaiah, which predicted the emergence of the "City of the Sun" on the day when the Lord of hosts judges Egypt (Isaiah 19:18).⁹¹

We agree with this quote in general, but not in its details. The excess of Egyptian history, such as the coup of Amenhotep IV, and the eschatological beliefs of the ancient Jews, can certainly, to some extent, illustrate the spread of solar cults and their development in the Mediterranean, but their direct influence on Alexarchus specifically seems extremely doubtful. Before Alexander's campaign, Egypt was Persian and could have become a pan-Greek granary at best under Cleomenes of Naucratis. Therefore, it's hardly possible to take into account the developed economic exchange and trade that usually pave the way for broad cultural and other ties between such diverse and distant regions as an established fact. Their interpenetration and mutual influence in various spheres by the time of Alexarchus' founding of Ouranoupolis (or, more precisely, by the time he formulated the plan and prepared for its implementation) had not become a natural observation, that very "rooting" with a common denominator. After all, the most tangible and visible fruits of such ties, as applied to the subject of our attention, are the Corpus Hermeticum and the Chaldean Oracles. And this is already the new chronology (1st-3rd centuries). Such cultural transfer could probably have occurred on a personal level as well—of, say, Solon, Pythagoras, and Plato, each of whom, with varying degrees of probability, visited Egypt.

As did Demetrius of Phalerum. He certainly deserves mention in connection with this attempted transfer—when the Greco-Macedonian Ptolemaic Empire was forming on Egyptian soil, and the need for such interpenetration and mutual influence with the indigenous population arose.

Let's recall his Great Dionysia with its Hyperborean slant. Apollo and Dionysus are a direct path to Serapis, whom Demetrius, with the help of the Egyptian Manetho of Sebennyos and Timotheus Eumolpides of Eleusis, "invented" in Alexandria. It's difficult to say for certain who, in Demetrius' composite hypostasis of the new deity of the Greeks and Egyptians, was responsible for "solarity"—the Greek Zeus, Apollo, or the Egyptian Horus-Apollo⁹²—and who was perceived as such in later accretions. Did Demetrius have a direct hand in the founding of Ptolemais? The capital of the Thinite nome—the birthplace of the legendary Menes, pharaoh of the First Dynasty, who unified the country? Whether the close proximity of Memphis, which he founded, to the capital of the solar cult of Iunu-Heliopolis, which also served as the political center of predynastic Egypt, was entirely coincidental is impossible to say.

⁹¹ Gutorov, V. A. (1989), 223–224.

⁹² *"the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or another had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, whom the Greeks call Apollo; he deposed Typhon,¹ and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus"*—Herodotus. II, 144. The similarity between Horus and Apollo is evidenced by the inscriptions of Edfu, Buto, and Sais—Henri, O. (2012), 340, also note 16. There, Henri specifically points to the existence of an oracle of Apollo in Alexandria, although it may have belonged to a later period.

Incidentally, the previously cited quote from Plutarch's treatise "On Osiris and Isis" (note 21) is also noteworthy in that it demonstrates Alexarchus's interest in the Egyptian pantheon.

However, we are inclined to choose Apollo. For several reasons. Firstly, Demetrius was definitely involved in developing and formulating the "technical specifications" for the Serapeions—temples of Serapis. Oracles were established at them almost everywhere. But we remember that prophecy was Apollo's defining characteristic, evident almost from his earliest days. As soon as he was born,

"Forthwith Phoebus Apollo spoke out among the deathless goddesses:

"The lyre and the curved bow shall ever be dear to me, and I will declare to men the unfailing will of Zeus".⁹³

Secondly, Apollo is a god of healing. And, incidentally, he was the father of Asclepius,⁹⁴ to whom he ceded or entrusted his healing skills. Dream incubations were practiced at the Serapeions. Sufferers were hypnotically induced into a deep sleep for the sake of oracle-given revelations—upon awakening—about the future, deduced from the sleeper's visions. And as we know from Artemidorus' famous dream book, Demetrius of Phalerum, along with Hemippus of Tyre, Artemon of Miletus, and Artemidorus himself, was one of the pillars of ancient Greek oneirocriticism (divination by dreams).

Thirdly, Laërtius writes that Demetrius was cured of a serious eye ailment in Egypt by the grace of Serapis. This account should hardly be taken at face value; it closely resembles a common, even today, but not particularly demanding advertising ploy. However, on the occasion of his miraculous healing, Demetrius supposedly composed paeans in honor of the merciful deity. Paeans, as we know, are a genre of choral lyric poetry intended almost exclusively for Apollo and Artemis.⁹⁵ We don't know exactly when Dionysus, Asclepius, and Helios began to be included among the addressees.

We confess that we firmly believe in the inseparable connection between Demetrius of Phalerum and Alexarchus' utopian Ouranopolis. However, we understand that none of the arguments we've presented can be considered complete proof, no matter how logical they may seem. Apollo "domesticated" in Athens, his related Egyptian Serapis, a possible acquaintance with Alexarchus from the Lyceum, Thracian settlers from Athens, the transfer of the music cult to the other half of the Mediterranean, a passion for the idea of "solarity," as well as other themes that somehow connect Demetrius of Phalerum with Apollo and any forms of heliotropism in the social and other life of the Greeks and Macedonians—all of these are of an intermediate, indirect nature and do not transform the theorem into an axiom, nor Demetrius of Phalerum into an equal initiator of utopian undertakings on the Isthmus of Athos with Alexarchus. We know nothing else about this project—neither about the architecture of Ouranopolis nor about the constitution Alexarchus gave its inhabitants.

We probably have nothing more to say about the subsequent fate of Alexarchus and his project for a "city of the Sun". As we've already mentioned, closer to the turn of the century, he apparently moved to Pamphylia, where he intended to repeat his attempt.

Pamphylia borders Lycia and, through it, Caria—historical regions possibly responsible for the birth of the cult of Apollo. During Alexarchus' time, an oracle of Apollo Phyrxaeus seems to have existed in Lycian Cyaneus (the region of today's Yavu district, approximately halfway between Kaş and Demre).⁹⁶ However, surviving sources are silent on the results and consequences of Alexarchus' efforts in the new location. It's

⁹³ Homer, 130–132.

⁹⁴ Ischius, son of Elathus, according to the recognized classical version of the myth, had nothing to do with the conception of Asclepius.

⁹⁵ Demophilus and Eurymedon's formal complaint against Aristotle was that he composed paeans in honor of Hermias of Atarneus. A simple poetic praise would not have provoked such an uncompromising reaction. However, the paean is a poetic form, by definition, addressed to Apollo. Or perhaps—in the case of Aristotle, who belonged to the Asclepiad family—to Asclepius.

⁹⁶ Pausanias, VII, XXI, 13.

unlikely that his idea could have been realized there without hindrance. If it had, we would likely not have been left in the dark.

The military and political situation and Cassander's preoccupation with fortifying and defending his possessions prevented Alexarchus from continuing in the previous location, if we completely discount the factors of Athens and Demetrius of Phalerum. But it's possible that the internal flaws in the structure Alexarchus erected also played a role. Since the destruction the area suffered at the hands of the Macedonians, it hadn't had time to return to its former habitable and developed state. The mountainous terrain around Athos was not particularly fertile and was suitable only for meager harvests of a few crops—grapes and olives. Grain was out of the question. The development of livestock farming was out of the question in the face of external instability. However, oddly enough, Alexarchus and his Uranids were most hampered by his homonoia. Indeed, the city was not supposed to have slaves, whose labor and exploitation in Greece, Thrace, and Macedonia during Alexarchus' time were the backbone of the economy and an essential condition for material well-being. Even a temporary abandonment of his proclaimed principles would hardly have helped Alexarchus – there was no one and nothing with which to conquer new lands and enslave their inhabitants.

It seems that the fundamental flaw in Alexarchus' construction – to use the terminology of Kautsky, who commented from his perspective on the utopian features of Aristophanes' comedies – was that he attempted to establish a communism of consumption, rather than a communism of production, on the soil of Athos.

* * *

Be that as it may, by the time of the Thracian expulsion of the Athenian exiles, Greek utopian thought had already reached a certain height in its development. Ouranoupolis represented, it seems, the first attempt in human history to practically create an ideal city from scratch, following utopian models. Alexarchus' utopia was not architectural, like the Hippodamian projects of the Furies and Miletus. It was not purely astral-solar, despite many outward signs. It is unlikely to have been based entirely on Pythagoras' Crotonian acusmata or the image of the ideal urban barracks, as seen in Plato. No, Alexarchus attempted to combine features of several of the most common models in his project. But he most likely failed. For his Ouranoupolis did not last long—at least, on the lands of Cassander near Mount Athos.

There certainly exists another set of citations, geographically much closer to Alexarchus, a different narrative context than the one we have used previously to explain Alexarchus' choice of methods for the organization and development of his city. However, history has left us no precise clues. The current general deplorable state of the sources deprives our view of this matter of proper perspective. It will inevitably be speculative, even conjectural.

But we do have some certainty. It seems clear to us that Cassander had no direct interest in the birth of Ouranoupolis. For the ruler of Macedonia, the city did not justify its existence in any respect—strategic, economic, or other practical one. It served a utilitarian purpose during his father's regency—as the final component of the forced "disarmament" of Athens by the census. The only convenient feature was that the garrison of Palioura and the units attached to it, tasked with protecting the ancestral home of Antipater and his offspring, could keep an eye on the exiled settlers from Attica and neutralize the potential threat of their rebellion. But that was all. It's unlikely that warm feelings for his illegitimate brother were more than just empty words for Cassander.

In fact, the extent of the family's close bonds with Antipater's entire family shouldn't be exaggerated. Its head, on the threshold of his death, handed over to Cassander only the chiliarchy over the cavalry, passing over the regency in favor of Polyperchon, his valiant but ultimately incompetent and worthless comrade. A different Antipater—Cassander's son—a couple of years after his father's death would murder Thessalonica, his father's wife and his own mother, the sister of Alexander the Great, and then himself would fall victim to the vengeance of his younger brother, also Alexander, who summoned Demetrius

Poliorectes to carry it out. The founder of the short-lived Antipatrid dynasty, it seems, spared his relatives.⁹⁷ However, the more than unenviable fate of Roxana and her son, the scion and heir to the Macedonian throne after Alexander the Great, as well as Olympias, the mother of the founder of the vast empire, and other similarly inflexible and cruel acts (such as the executions of Demades, Aristonous, and others) leave no doubt that, if necessary, Cassander would have acted without hesitation or sentimentality.

Most likely, the actual overseer of the Ouranoupolis project, who took it to heart more than anyone else, was Demetrius of Phalerum, the governor of distant Athens (until his exile). His concern for the fate of the Athenians' unexpected apoikia was not solely driven by official duties and the implied consideration of the needs and requirements of his compatriots, who were afflicted by Antipater's restriction on civil rights. Demetrius's personal solar-Apollonian predisposition also played a role. As was his involvement in the most diverse processes of Greek intellectual development and his constant, repeatedly demonstrated inclination to oversee them, be it Homer's diorthosis, oneirocriticism, mirabilia and paradoxography, the development of aphoristics and the fable genre. A writer, philosopher, political journalist, born "under the sign of Apollo" and carrying this accidental characteristic of his biography throughout his life, it is unlikely that he could remain indifferent to the opportunity to actively participate in the practical realization of the Athos utopia. Although, given his circumstances, Demetrius was naturally lacking for a more substantial role.

It is not surprising that Alexarchus abandoned his Ouranoupolis project long before the death of his royal brother and nominal patron, Cassander. This occurred almost immediately after the expulsion of Demetrius of Phalerum from Athens⁹⁸ and was no mere coincidence. A direct connection between these two events seems undeniable to us. The umbilical cord that nourished Alexarchus' Ouranoupolis with its lifeblood was severed. Demetrius of Phalerum's role in the founding, development, and life of Ouranoupolis turned out to be far more significant than is commonly believed, based on isolated and loosely consistent fragments of information in the works of Strabo, Pliny, Eusebius, and Athenaeus.

⁹⁷ However, according to one version, Nicanor, the frurarch of the Munichian garrison in Athens, who was killed by Cassander, was his nephew.

⁹⁸ Furthermore, it is logical to take into account the move of Demetrius of Phalerum to Alexandria to join Ptolemy, which the author of this article dates to 305-304. However, this point of view a) is still recessive for the classical studies of early Hellenism; b) when considered in relation to the circumstances concluding the history of Ouranoupolis, it requires a justification too extensive for the scope of this article, which would therefore be an irrelevant and superfluous addition.

REFERENCES

1. Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*.
2. Aelian. *Varia Historia*.
3. Apollonius. Rhodius. *Argonautica*.
4. Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics*.
5. Aristotle. *Politics*.
6. Aristotle. *Athenian Constitution*.
7. Athenaeus. *The Deipnosophists*.
8. Clement of Alexandria. *The Protrepticus (Exhortation to the Greeks)*
9. Diodorus Siculus. *Bibliotheca historica*.
10. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, R. D. Hicks, Ed.
11. Herodotus. *The Histories*.
12. Hieroclis in *Aureum Pithagoreorum carmen commentaries*. Rec. F. G. Koehler. – Stuttgartiae, Teubner, 1974.
13. Homer. *Hymn 3 to Apollo*; Hugh G. Evelyn – White, Ed.
14. Isocrates. *Busiris*.
15. Pausanias. *Description of Greece*
16. Plato. *Republic*.
17. Plato. *Laws*.
18. Plutarch. *Alexander*. Bernadotte Perrin.
19. Plutarch. *De Iside et Osiride*. Frank Cole Babbitt.
20. Plutarch. *Phocion*. Bernadotte Perrin.
21. Polibius. *Histories*.
22. Ptolemy, Claudius. *Geography*.
23. Stephanus of Byzantium. *Ethnica*.
24. Strabo. *Geography*.
25. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*. E. C. Marchant.
26. Badian, E. (1958). Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind. *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, (H. 4), 425-444.
27. Borza, E. N. (1995). Ethnicity and cultural policy at Alexander's court. *Makedonika*, 149–158.
28. Boyancé, P. (1966). L'Apollon solaire. In *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offerts à Jérôme Carcopino* (pp. 149–170). Hachette.
29. Boyancé, P. (1960). L'interprétation solaire d'Apollon. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 157 va ya müvafiq cild (8), 129–130.
30. Cohen, G. M. (1996). *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands, and Asia Minor* (Vol. 17). Univ of California Press.
31. Ellis, J. R. (1976). Philip II and Macedonian imperialism.
32. Faraguna, M. (2018). Demetrius of Phalerum and Late Fourth-Century Athenian Society: Response to Delfim Leão.
33. Thür, G., Yiftach-Firanko, U., & Zelnick-Abramovitz, R. (2018). Symposium 2017: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Tel Aviv, 20.-23. August 2017). (*No Title*).
34. GOCEVA, Z. (1992). Le culte d'Apollon. *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, 18(2), 163-171.
35. Graf, F. (2009). Apollo. Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World. *London and New York*.
36. ШИЧАЛИНА, Ю. (2009). «ГРЕКО-ЛАТИНСКИЙ КАБИНЕТ»®.
37. 91-Gutorov, V. A. (1989). Античная социальная утопия: вопросы истории и теории. (*No Title*).
38. Hammond, N. G., & Griffith, G. T. (1979). A History of Macedonia ii. *Oxford*, 10, 383614.
39. Hatzopoulos, M. B. (1994). Apollonia hellenis. In *Ventures into Greek history* (Vol. 9, pp. 159-188).
40. Hatzopoulos, M. V. (1996). *Macedonian institutions under the kings* (Melethemata, Vol. 22).

Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation; De Boccard.

41. Henri, O. (2012) Un exemple de l'Interpretatio Graeca: l'évolution du culte d'Apollon en Egypte ptolémaïque et romaine, P. Schubert, P. (éd.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie* (Genève, 16–21 août 2010), Genève, 339.
42. Hughes, S. (2008). After the democracy: Athens under Phocion (322/1-319/8 BC).
43. Hurwit, J. M. (2017). Helios Rising: The Sun, the Moon, and the Sea in the Sculptures of the Parthenon. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 121(4), 527-558.
44. Kanatsulis, D. (1942). Antipatros. *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Makedoniens in der Zeit Philipps, Alexanders und der Diadochen*. Thessaloniki.
45. Lewis, D. M. (1960). Apollo Delios. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 55, 195–205.
46. Losev, A. F. (1996). *Mifologiya grekov i rimliyan*. Mysl'.
47. Lund, H. S. (2002). *Lysimachus: A study in early Hellenistic kingship*. Routledge.
48. McKechnie, P. (1989). *Outsiders in the Greek Cities in the Fourth Century BC (Routledge Revivals)*. Routledge.
49. Naumova, E. S. (2017). Apollon i Gelios v grecheskom mire: K probleme otozhdestvleniya bogov v antichnoy mifologii i religii.
50. Palagia, O. (2016). Visualising the gods in Macedonia: from Philip II to Perseus. *Pharos*, 22(1), 73-98.
51. Poddighe, E. (2020). "Like Men Driven from a Captured City"(Plut. Phoc. 28. 4): Reconsidering the Displacement of the Disenfranchised Athenians to Thrace in 322 BC. *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques*, (112), 247-263.
52. Radet, G. (1890). Les villes de la Pamphylie. *Revue Archéologique*, Troisième Série, 16, 140–158.
53. Schettino, M. T. (2012). Les Grecs sur le départ: légendes, pensées, utopies et désir d'expérimentations. *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques*, (89), 35-56.
54. Shear Jr, T. L. (2016). Trophies of Victory: Public Building in Periclean Athens. In *Trophies of Victory*. Princeton University Press.
55. O'Sullivan, L. (2008). Le Roi Soleil: Demetrius Poliorcetes and the dawn of the sun-king. *Antichthon*, 42, 78-99.
56. O'Sullivan, L. (2009). *The regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317-307 BCE: a philosopher in politics* (Vol. 318). Brill.
57. Takho-Godi, A. A. (2014). Primechaniya. In *Gosudarstvo*. Akademicheskii proek.
58. Tarn, W. (1933). Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind. *Philosophical Review*, 44(a).
59. Tarn, W. W. (1979). *Alexander the Great: Volume I, Narrative*. Cambridge University Press.
60. Tarn, W. W. (1927). *Hellenistic civilisation*. Edward Arnold.
61. Thériault, G. (1996). *Le culte d'Homonoia dans les cités grecques* (Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 0-0). Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux.
62. Van Wees, H. (2011). Demetrius and Draco: Athens' property classes and population in and before 317 BC. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 131, 95-114.
63. Zhmud, L. Y. (2008). Aristoksen. In *Antichnaya filosofiya: Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'*. Progress.