

Evidence from Hyperides' newly discovered *Against Diondas* (as reconstructed by Carey, C. et al., 2008) calls into question the accepted chronology for the Theban-Athenian alliance before Chaeronea. Previous scholarship (e. g., Mosley 1971, Hammond 1994, Worthington 2009) has followed Demosthenes' account of events (18.211-222), which has Demosthenes broker the alliance with Thebes in 339, before the Athenians set out to confront Philip's forces; after a few initial successes in the winter of 339/8, the Athenians and Thebans are then defeated at Chaeronea in 338. Yet Hyperides' *Against Diondas* (137r) plainly states that the Athenians marched from Eleusis into Boeotia *before* they had received any secure promise of alliance from the Thebans, and that only after the Athenians had successfully met Philip's forces did the two cities conclude a formal treaty.

I argue that Hyperides' chronology is the more accurate of the two, given the historical situation in 339-8 and given the rhetorical strategies deployed in the speeches. Adopting a later date for the Theban-Athenian alliance makes sense of discrepancies in Diodorus' account (16.85). Hyperides' chronology is also in agreement with Aeschines' narrative in the *Against Ctesiphon* (3.140). Moreover, that Hyperides delivered the *Against Diondas* in support of Demosthenes suggests that Demosthenes himself accepted this version of events in 336. The narrative of the *On the Crown* speech thus marks an innovation which Demosthenes developed in 330 to better reflect his imagined role as the lone hero standing up against Macedon: his success at creating the Theban-Athenian alliance becomes the immediate precursor of the initial victories against Philip, not the defeat at Chaeronea. The self-serving chronology of the *On the Crown* is therefore particularly untrustworthy.

Hyperides has now provided us with an alternative account better than Demosthenes'. We should push the date of the Theban-Athenian alliance forward into 338, to a time following the initial skirmishes between Macedonian and Athenian forces in Boeotia, and conclude that the Thebans were not as overpowered by Demosthenes' rhetoric in 339 as he would have us imagine.

