The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia

New Finds, New Prospects

Edited by

Nikolaos Papazarkadas

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Introduction

Nikolaos Papazarkadas

Boeotia has always been a kind of historical enigma. Lacking the vast cultural credentials of Athens and the military reputation of Sparta, Boeotia is nevertheless a region that did at times hold first place in Greek affairs: Pindar on the cultural front and Pelopidas along with Epaminondas in the more mundane field of high politics have each secured at least some passing, if not more extensive, references to Boeotia in most books on ancient Greece. At the same time, Boeotia has suffered from some negative, and damaging, publicity—one thinks of the proverbial 'Boeotian swine'—that has somehow undermined its due fame.

This volume attempts to offset Boeotia's unfair deficit by investigating its history primarily through its epigraphical output. The noun 'epigraphy' has been given first position not in order to make any indirect claim for its intrinsic value—epigraphy, after all, is a servant of history—but in order to highlight the methodological and thematic focus of this volume. Numismatics, sculptural, ceramic and iconographic studies, architectural projects, land surveys, and geophysical analysis, to name but a few methodological approaches, have often highlighted new aspects of Boeotian history. It is however epigraphy that, more often than not, has been able to shake historical certainties in a decisive, occasionally dazzling way, and this book will, it is hoped, promote Boeotian studies in a similarly spectacular fashion.

Like other regions of mainland Greece, Boeotia became epigraphically visible around the time epigraphy started emerging as an autonomous scholarly field in the early 19th century. The newly founded Kingdom of Greece incorporated Boeotia from its early stages, paving the way for a fairly smooth investigation of the area. Not surprisingly, the first two epigraphists of the Greek state, Kyriakos Pittakys and Ludwig Ross, found the time to visit Boeotia, though Attica remained their primary focus. Ross shared his epigraphical crop with August Boeckh, who at the time was editing the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.[1] Pittakys published a total of 192 Boeotian inscriptions in the first series of the *Ephemeris*.[2] Likewise, his fellow epigraphist Alexandre Rangabé included several Boeotian documents in his important two-volume epigraphical collection *Antiquités helléniques*. The advancing prosperity of the Greek

1 Ross 1835, p. II.

2 Kalliontzis (forthcoming).

 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004273856_002

state and its main archaeological institutions continued to benefit Boeotia.[3] Several Boeotian inscriptions were published by Stephanos A. Koumanoudes in *Athenaion* and elsewhere. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, V. Leonardos, director of the Epigraphical Museum, meticulously studied and published dozens of inscriptions from Oropos, that quasi-Boeotian region of Central Greece, thus paving the way for the magisterial corpus of Oropian inscriptions that was produced in 1997 by the General Secretary of the Archaeological Society of Athens, Vassileios Petrakos.

However, the real 19th-century pioneer of Boeotian epigraphy, at least as concerns his epigraphical work, is without any doubt Lolling. It was primarily thanks to him that Dittenberger was able to produce his monumental *Inscriptiones Graecae* vol. VII, as evinced by the numerous inscriptions whose publication is accompanied by that laconic "Lolling exscripsit".[4]

Dittenberger's work was also made easier by two important collections of Boeotian inscriptions that had been published by Karl Keil in 1863 and Wilhelm Larfled respectively.[5] Yet, the *Inscriptiones Graecae* was not exclusively a Germanic enterprise. I have mentioned the substantial role early Greek archaeologists played in the advancement of Boeotian epigraphy. It is now time to move to another foreign school whose work had, and still has, a great bearing on Boeotian studies, the *École Française d'Athènes*. Already in the first volume of *EFA*'s periodical *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, we find an article by Paul Girard with the forthright title "Inscriptions de Béotie". Numerous members of the school produced articles in the epigraphical field. Here I should single out Paul-François Foucart, Paul Jamot, and in particular the leading French epigraphist of the late 19th/early 20th century, Maurice Holleaux, whose work appeared not only in *BCH* but also in *REG*. Much of this early French work focused unsurprisingly around the excavations of the shrine of Ptoon (Holleaux) and of Thespiai (Jamot).[6]

Moving ahead to the 20th century, members of the Greek Archaeological Service continued the good work of their predecessors. Boeotia was fortunate enough to enjoy the ministrations of some of the Service's most knowledgeable members at that time. The century was ushered in by Antonios Keramopoul-

3 In the resuscitated *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* in 1862, Rhoussopoulos makes explicit reference to the 100 inscriptions that he had been able to find and save in Megaris, Phocis, and Boeotia, specifically in Thespiai and Orchomenos: Rhoussopoulos 1862.

4 For Lolling's contribution to the *Inscriptiones Graecae* project, with extensive treatment of his involvement in *IG* VII, see Hallof 2007.

5 Keil 1863; Larfeld 1883.

6 Jamot 1895.

los, the first real Ephor of Boeotia. His monograph *Θηβαϊκά*, which appeared as volume no. 3 of *Archaiologikon Deltion* (*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*), the main periodical of the Greek Ministry of Culture, was a remarkable accomplishment at the time because of its combined use of archaeological, literary and epigraphical material for the topographical investigation of Thebes.[7] In 1931/2 the same journal hosted Keramopoullos' *editio princeps* of several Thespian inscriptions. He had hastened to produce the article in question in order to facilitate the work of the Berlin Academy which was apparently preparing a *new* edition of *IG* VII (!).[8] Not to be overlooked is his publication of more than 220 Boeotian inscriptions in the *Archaiologike Ephemeris* of 1934/5 and 1936.[9]

Keramopoullos' successor was Nikolaos Pappadakis, yet another of the finest archaeologists-cum-epigraphists Greece produced in the pre-war period.[10] Pappadakis discovered and published in a most meticulous way some rather extraordinary epigraphical monuments. Consider, for instance, his massive 1923 article "From Boeotia."[11] At least two of the essays in this volume are heavily indebted to Pappadakis. Much of Claire Grenet's source material was published by Pappadakis in 1916 in the second volume of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.[12] Likewise, Yannis Kalliontzis' essay is based on an inscription discovered by Pappadakis in the distant 1924.

In the post-war period, Markellos Mitsos, director of the Epigraphical Museum, continued the unfinished work of Leonardos on Oropian inscriptions.[13] It was Ioannes Threpsiades, however, who worked the most tirelessly on Boeotian archaeology and epigraphy during the occupation of Greece by the Axis powers and in the first 15 years or so after the end of the Second World War. With dozens of photos of epigraphic squeezes, Threpsiades' posthumous account of the new display of antiquities in the Museum of Thebes vividly shows his sensitivity for epigraphic exhibits.[14]

---

7 Keramopoullos 1917.

8 Keramopoullos 1931–1932: "Nevertheless, since I learned in Berlin, last summer, that a second edition of volume VII of Inscriptiones Graecae is being prepared and I was asked to expedite the edition [of these Thespian inscriptions] even without a thorough study, I have undertaken this task by publishing a first edition of these texts" (p. 12).

9 Keramopoullos 1934–1935, 1936.

10 Even the otherwise restrained Louis Robert famously referred to him as "l' excellent N. Pappadakis": *BÉ* (1978), no. 221.

11 Pappadakis 1923.

12 Pappadakis 1916, a bonanza of manumission records.

13 Mitsos 1952, 1953–1954.

14 Threpsiades 1963. Further Boeotian epigraphical material can be found in his Nachlass: Threpsiades 1973, esp. pp. 82–83.

Of the most recent ephors, we should mention Angelike K. Andreiomenou, and, for example, her publication of the epigram and the accompanying signature of the sculptor Philourgos,[15] or the inscribed funerary stelai and graffiti from the cemetery at Tanagra.[16] Along with his interest in Mycenaean epigraphy, the ex-ephor Vasileios Aravantinos has always pursued an interest in the epigraphy of the historical period. In 2006, he published one of the most remarkable epigraphical finds from Greece of the last twenty or so years,[17] a feat that will, it is hoped, be matched by Aravantinos' contribution in the present volume. Under his directorship, the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (9th E.P.C.A.) initiated the most consequential epigraphical project of recent years, a collaborative enterprise with the Greek Epigraphic Society aimed at producing a checklist and ultimately a detailed catalogue of all the inscriptions stored in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes.[18] The project is now in full swing and enjoys the active support of the current director of the 9th E.P.C.A., Alexandra Charami, herself editor of an important inscription from Tanagra.[19]

If the 9th E.P.C.A. is the *ex officio* Greek state authority promoting epigraphical studies, inter alia, the *de facto* institutional bastion of the study of Boeotian inscriptions in Greece has been the Greek Epigraphic Society (E.E.E.). In the late 1970s, its founder, Stephanos N. Koumanoudes, published his *Theban Prosopography*, a key work based on epigraphical material; this, in turn has facilitated more epigraphical research.[20] E.E.E.'s official periodical *Horos* has time and again hosted articles on inscriptions from regions covered in *IG* VII,[21] and the same already holds true for its recently launched electronic journal *Grammateion*.[22] The aforementioned collaborative project with the 9th E.P.C.A. fully involves three of its members, A.P. Matthaiou, Y. Kalliontzis and N. Papazarkadas, all of whom are contributors to this volume.

15 Andreiomenou 1999, pp. 81–127.

16 Andreiomenou 2007.

17 Aravantinos 2006, *editio princeps* of a dedication referring to the dramatic events of 506 BC related by Herodotus 5.77.

18 See Kalliontzis & Aravantinos 2012.

19 Charami 2011.

20 Koumanoudes 1979.

21 Fossey 1984; Oikonomides 1985; Kritzas 1987; Bardani 1987; Papadopoulou 1987; Filippou-Angelou 1990–1991; Avramea 1992–1998; Pologiorgi 1992–1998; Diakoumakou 1999; Syrkou 2004–2009; Vlachogianni 2004–2009; Kalliontzis 2004–2009.

22 Vasilopoulou & Matthaiou 2013a, 2013b.

Moving away from the realm of Greek institutions, some limited epigraphical material was unearthed in the British excavations of Haliartos.[23] The 1950s saw the publication of Fraser and Rönne's monograph on (primarily) Boeotian tombstones, which despite being conceptualized as an archaeological work systematized a substantial amount of epigraphical material as well.[24] M. Bonanno-Aravantinos' publication of numerous epitaphs in this volume is a continuation of Fraser and Rönne's lasting legacy.

The German excavation of the Theban Kabeirion in the late 19th century produced a few stone inscriptions and numerous vase- and bronze-graffiti. Most were first published in a hasty way in *IG* VII, but a more systematic publication appeared in 1940 in the first volume of the German Archaeological Institute's series on the excavation of the shrine.[25] Otherwise, German presence in the recent epigraphic affairs of Boeotia has been rather limited with the sole exception of Siegfried Lauffer, whose two *Chiron* articles remain fundamental reading for Boeotian epigraphists and historians.[26]

As for the inscriptions found in the early 1990s in the American investigation of Panakton on the Attic-Boeotian frontier, despite their interest they were late Classical Attic documents and not Boeotian.[27] Still on the American front, Duane Roller has produced a series of studies on Tanagra, including a collection of epigraphical sources and a Tanagran prosopography.[28] More recently, the international "Cities of Boeotia Survey" project led to some interesting epigraphical discoveries, especially in the area of Thespiai.[29]

It would not be an exaggeration to say, however, that pride of place in 20th century Boeotian epigraphy has belonged to French and Francophone scholars. Plassart, for example, had already been publishing inscriptions from the French excavations of Thespiai in the 1920s, and he continued doing so after the war.[30] With his characteristic acumen and vast knowledge, the great Louis Robert never ceased showing an interest in Boeotian inscriptions, even late in his career.[31] But the genuine French pioneer is without a doubt Michel Feyel, whose historical work was informed by profound knowledge of Boeotian

23 Austin 1926–1927; 1931–1932, esp. pp. 187–188, 192–194, 196–200.

24 Fraser & Rönne 1957.

25 Wolters 1940, esp. pp. 20–80, "IV. Inschriften", a section primarily prepared by E. Szanto.

26 Lauffer 1976, 1980.

27 Munn 1996.

28 Roller 1989a, 1989b.

29 Schachter & Marchand 2013.

30 Plassart 1926, 1946, 1958.

31 See, for example, Robert 1977.

inscriptions. I am thinking here not only of his *Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne* but also of his *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie*, both of which remain standard works of reference, as several of this volume's essays can attest.[32] After the war, *BCH* maintained the flow of publication of Boeotian epigraphical material with articles, not only by Plassart but also by Jaques Venencie.[33] However, Feyel's real successor was Paul Roesch. In his lifetime, he wrote several articles on new and old Boeotian inscriptions; and two of his monographs had a clear epigraphic focus. With his *Études Béotiennes*, he fixed the epigraphical agenda of Hellenistic Boeotia for future generations: historians working on the calendar, cults, judicial and federal institutions inevitably had to start with Roesch.[34] Although he did not manage to fulfill his life-long ambition of producing a new corpus of Thespian inscriptions, that work saw the light in 2007 thanks to the efforts of Gilbert Argoud, Albert Schachter, and Guy Vottéro, all of them experts in Boeotian history and linguistics.[35]

In recent years, the Gallic tradition in Boeotian studies has been kept alive and thriving by Denis Knoepfler, Chair of Greek Epigraphy and History at the Collège de France. He put his stamp on Boeotia at the beginning of his career when he published, in collaboration with Roland Étienne, a monograph on the north Boeotian city-state of Hyettos, a fascinating synthesis of archaeological, topographical, and epigraphic material, with a focus on the Hellenistic federal archons.[36] Knoepfler's 1992 conspectus of Boeotian epigraphy is still unsurpassed in its breadth and depth. His Boeotian sections in the *Bulletin Épigraphique* arguably constitute the most detailed accounts of the legendary French bulletin in the post-Robert era. His own Boeotian epigraphical work has included some extraordinary finds,[37] and this volume has benefited from having him among its host of authors.

A new generation of French, Francophone, or French-educated scholars have now taken over: Christel Müller since the 1990s, and Cédric Brélaz, Claire Grenet, Fabienne Marchand, Yannis Kalliontzis, Isabelle Pernin, and Adrian Robu in the new millennium have all been actively engaged in epigraphical work in the areas covered by *IG* VII.

---

32 Feyel 1942a, 1942b.

33 Venencie 1960.

34 Roesch 1982.

35 For Argoud and Schachter see below. Vottéro's numerous articles were the groundwork for his monumental, albeit unfinished, *Le dialecte béotien* (*7e s.-2e s. av. J.-C.*) (Vottéro 1998).

36 Étienne & Knoepfler 1976.

37 For example, the list of victors from the Theban Romaia: Knoepfler 2004; *SEG* LIV 516.

From the 1970s until the late 1990s, some of the most significant work on Boeotian archaeology and epigraphy was administered through McGill University, which was, and still remains, one of the beacons of Boeotian studies. The driving forces were John M. Fossey and Albert Schachter, first editors of the wonderfully titled *Teiresias: Review and Continuing Bibliography of Boiotian Studies*. Thanks to *Teiresias*, Boeotian scholars have been relishing a tool that few, if any, regions of the Greco-Roman world can boast. First published in printed form in 1971, and in electronic form since 1987, the biannual *Teiresias*, now under the sole editorial care of Albert Schachter, has been keeping us all informed on every aspect of Boeotian literature, archaeology, history and epigraphy. I would like here to single out the *Teiresias* appendices (i.e. supplements) *Epigraphica* that were edited and published between 1976 and 1979 by Paul Roesch. Their production was timely, to say the least, since at the time *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* had suspended publication.

But Fossey and Schachter should not only be credited with the production of *Teiresias*. Schachter, for example, is the author of the monumental multi-volume *Cults of Boiotia*. His use of inscriptions for the critical reconstruction of the Boeotian pantheon was extraordinary in the 1980s and remained arguably unparalleled until the late 1990s and the publication of R. Parker and J.D. Mikalson's monographs on the religion of Athens.

Fossey himself published numerous articles that were either exclusively or primarily focused on Boeotian epigraphy, which he subsequently included in edited volumes.[38] Fossey was also the driving force behind the most important series on Boeotia of the late 2nd millennium. First appearing in 1989, the series *Boeotia Antiqua* ran for six volumes until it silently ceased publication in 1996. Individual volumes accorded variable coverage to epigraphical material. Most importantly for epigraphists and historians, *Boeotia Antiqua* IV comprised the proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Boiotian Antiquities, "Boiotian (and other) Epigraphy".

Boeotia Antiqua VI, the last volume in the series, included the proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities, which also sadly turned out to be the last such congress. Previously, epigraphists and historians had been able to enjoy in printed form the proceedings of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Congresses, all of which included important historical and epigraphic components.[39] Concurrent with or slightly subsequent to the

38 Fossey 1990.

39 Fossey & Schachter 1979; Fossey & Giroux 1985, especially the articles by L. Migeotte and P. Roesch; Argoud & Roesch 1985; and Beister & Buckler 1989, especially the articles by L. Migeotte, F.R. Trombley, G. Argoud, and P. Krentz.

aforementioned congresses ran another series of symposia organized by the Hellenic *Society of Boeotian Studies*. Starting in 1986 and as recently as 2010, the six International Congresses of Boeotian Studies have repeatedly brought together Boeotian experts of international renown. The scope of this series has been diachronic (from antiquity to modern times) and interdisciplinary (philology, archaeology, history, art), but both epigraphy per se and ancient history more broadly have been served well over the years.

Other efforts worth mentioning include Darmezin's study of Boeotian manumissions, which together with Meyer's important recent *Tekmeria* article constitutes a point of reference for Claire Grenet's discussion in this volume.[40] Larson's perspective on early Boeotian identity contains a sizeable epigraphic component,[41] and along with Kühr's highly theoretical monograph on the same topic,[42] is the point of departure for this volume's opening chapter by Hans Beck. Beck himself, along with the late John Buckler, published in 2008 an important collection of re-edited essays entitled *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century B.C.*; the volume is more heavily tilted towards Boeotia than its title would have one believe. Similarly, Manieri's study of Boeotian poetic and musical contests is heavily based on a compendium of inscriptions of a type abundantly produced in Boeotia.[43] Last but not least, Emily Mackil's 2013 monograph on the Greek *koinon* contains an epigraphical dossier of 61 fully annotated documents issued by, or pertaining to, the Boeotian, Achaian and Aitolian *koina*, including the important decree of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts that Mackil herself first published in 2008.[44]

This summary makes no claim to comprehensiveness. I have already mentioned Knoepfler's accounts of Boeotian epigraphy published annually in the *Bulletin Épigraphique*. Of course, scholars have long enjoyed the resurrected *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, the Boeotian section of which is currently produced by Angelos Chaniotis. With the addition of *Teiresias*, one could make the justifiable claim that, despite its versatility, Boeotian scholarship, especially in the fields of history and epigraphy, remains a manageable subject.

40 Darmezin 1999; Meyer 2008.

41 Larson 2007.

42 Kühr 2006.

43 Manieri 2009.

44 Monograph: Mackil 2013; editio princeps: Mackil 2008.

The Contributions

By and large this is the landscape of scholarship and publication in which the present volume appears. Overall, work on Boeotia slightly decreased in the first decade of the new millennium, even though it never came to a halt. The present volume aims at reawakening interest in Boeotia by presenting new epigraphical finds to as wide an audience as possible—academics, field archeologists, professional epigraphists and historians, and graduate students—and by drawing attention to older documents that have either been overlooked or not properly explored. It also aims at laying out the main questions that have kept the past generation of historians of Boeotia busy and at the same time, at devising and asking fresh questions, thus setting a new research agenda.

Building on some fine recent historiographical work, the first section, "Boeotian History: New Interpretations", offers extensive insights into long established themes in the history of Boeotia and its vicinity. The arrangement is, by and large, chronological, beginning with Archaic history and finishing in the early Roman period. Focus on epigraphy is constant, either as a central feature or as a minimum evidential starting point.

The emergence of a distinctive Boeotian identity in the late Archaic and early Classical periods is investigated by Hans Beck, who collects and scrutinizes the relevant epigraphical evidence, primarily the occurrence of the collective ethnic "Boiotoi". Starting with some recent theoretical work on Theban ethnogenesis, Beck explores the integration of local communities into an overarching regional conglomeration, the articulation of group identity, and its ramifications. What at first sight appears to be a paradox, i.e. the parallel development of the Boeotian *ethnos* and of individual Boeotian *poleis*, turns out to constitute one and the same phenomenon. And all this appears to generate, and to be facilitated by, the emergence and growth of the Boeotian *koinon*.

Emily Mackil expands the chronological scope by tracing the *koinon* from the late Archaic period, when a distinct regional identity took its start, down to the Hellenistic period and the dissolution of the *koinon* by the Romans. She draws attention to the use of religious rituals for community- and state-building, and primarily to economic interaction. The integrated regional economy that arose as a result of the *koinon*, itself the product of bottom-up federalism after 446, acted as a constant incentive to the *poleis* of Boeotia to exercise self-restraint and to cooperate within the federal framework. Such considerations as these account for the longevity and relative long-term success of the *koinon* despite Thebes' frequent attempts at centralizing power, Mackil concludes.

Early in the Hellenistic period, the Boeotian *koinon* experienced a rather surprising, and short-lived, expansion towards Euboea, with the integration of at least Eretria. That much we have long known from a splendid paper by Maurice Holleaux on an Eretrian decree known only from a 15th century copy made by the Italian antiquarian Cyriacus of Ancona. In a fascinating mixture of historiographical scrutiny and hard epigraphy, Denis Knoepfler is able to propose a new, lower, chronological context, by showing that this expanded Boeotian *koinon* lasted from after the year of the famous Orchomenian *homologa* inscription and down to the period of the Gallic invasion of Macedonia in the 270s.

The other surprising expansion of the Boeotian *koinon* was towards the Megarid in 224 BC. This historical contingency, paired with a modern historiographical peculiarity, namely the inclusion of Megara in the epigraphical corpus of Boeotia, encourages Adrian Robu to shift his point of view to the south of Boeotia. Looking at the epigraphical output of Megara in the 3rd century BC, and on the basis of elaborate prosopographical and paleographical arguments, Robu is able to propose a dramatic chronological reshuffling of 18 Megarian decrees. Most importantly, he shows that the King Damatrios mentioned in some of these decrees is not Demetrios Poliorketes, as usually assumed, but his homonymous grandson Demetrios II. Robu also turns his attention to the military catalogues *IG* VII 27–32; he arranges them chronologically, according to whether Megara belonged to the Achaean or the Boeotian *koinon*. All in all, the institutions and epigraphic habits of Megara turn out to have been variously influenced by those of Athens, Boeotia, and the Achaean League.

In good revisionist fashion, as initiated by Denis Knoepfler, Christel Müller scrutinizes several major documents concerning the organization of Boeotian festivals, and argues that the Boeotian *koinon*, dissolved by the Romans in 171 BC, was officially resuscitated in the late 1st century BC, with the consent of the new Roman masters. In the interim period, and despite the absence of unifying political institutions, the Boeotians had been able to preserve a sense of local identity primarily through their common participation in, and organization of, pan-Boeotian festivals.

Contributors to the second section, 'The New Epigraphy of Thebes', move to a geographically focused and methodologically circumscribed field, that of Theban epigraphy. This part of the volume consists exclusively of epigraphic evidence from recent excavations at Thebes. V. Aravantinos presents the inscribed sherds from his excavation of the shrine of Herakles, one of the most revered sanctuaries of Thebes. Dating to the 7th and 6th centuries BC, these dedicatory dipinti and graffiti have permitted the identification of the shrine as the Herakleion, a welcome reminder of the unparalleled strength of the field of epigraphy. Other epigraphical finds published by Aravantinos include two dedications to

Apollo Ismenios, whose shrine was near that of Herakles; an Argive dedication to a previously unattested hero; and a 5th century BC honorific decree, which, as it provides the earliest attestation of the office of the boeotarch, is bound to incite a new debate about the foundation of the Boeotian *koinon*.

Also of great historical significance are the four bronze tablets that are provisionally presented here by Angelos P. Matthaiou. Part of an archive, the tablets record: an amount of money deposited in an unknown shrine; an arbitration over a disputed piece of land; a series of properties sold or leased; and regulations for the organization of a common (sacred?) feast. In this preliminary report, Matthaiou provides us with numerous new toponyms and technical terms that enhance our knowledge of both Boeotian topography and dialects. His contribution should serve as a caution that we should always be prepared to reassess Boeotian history in the light of unexpected epigraphic finds.

Nikolaos Papazarkadas has selected two new epigrams, one dedicatory, the other funerary. Their monuments display the same extraordinary phenomenon, a reinscribing of the same text into two scripts, the local Boeotian script and the Ionic one. They do not lack historical interest either. The funerary epigram refers to an unidentifiable battle, either of the Persian Wars (e.g. Plataea), or of the so-called First Peloponnesian War (e.g. Tanagra). The dedication records a gift of the legendary Lydian King Croesus to Amphiaraos, thus confirming a story related by Herodotus that has long, and unduly as it happens, been doubted.

Another area that has benefited from recent excavations is the so-called 'epigraphy of death'. Margherita Bonanno-Aravantinos has already produced a detailed study of some poros funerary monuments.[45] Building on the seminal work of Fraser and Rönne, with her new contribution Bonanno-Aravantinos expands the corpus of Hellenistic funerary inscriptions from Theban cemeteries. Decorated poros beams and simple stelai, these monuments, all 43 of them, show influences from Macedon and Athens, while simultaneously providing invaluable evidence on Boeotian onomastics.

The third part of the Berkeley Symposium that gave rise to this volume (see preface) set out to explore the epigraphy and history of Boeotia beyond the Theban ἄστυ, Boeotia's undisputed historical center. The relevant papers have been brought together in the corresponding section of this volume, 'Boeotian Epigraphy: Beyond Thebes'.

By looking at Aulis, an area geographically distinct from, but politically subject to, Thebes, Albert Schachter's essay comprises the perfect link between

45 Bonanno-Aravantinos 2006.

sections two and three. In 1832, a young Classics graduate named Christopher Wordsworth recorded somewhere in the area of Aulis a sherd with the inscription ΤΛΕΠΟΛΕΜΟ ("of Tlepolemos"). Schachter takes the opportunity to dissect this seemingly inconspicuous piece of information, in which he recognizes a reference to the homonymous son of Herakles. In the process, he reconstructs a nexus of mythological and cultic traditions that emanate from the Theban hegemony and integrate the history of the foundation of Rhodes within the framework of the Theban fleet that Epaminondas tried to build in the 360s BC.

Yannis Kalliontzis publishes an important casualty list from the historical site of Plataea, and goes on to show that this early Roman Imperial monument commemorates the dead of a battle that had been fought in the Classical period, almost four centuries earlier. This gives him the opportunity to reappraise the question of war memory first in Plataea, and subsequently in Boeotia, by revisiting battle-related monuments from the entire region. Kalliontzis' essay is also a useful reminder that epigraphic gems may lie undetected in the storerooms of museums.

Robert Pitt examines the building contracts for the monumental temple of Zeus Basileus in Lebadeia; these were inscribed on a purposely built wall of stelai, one of the largest such inscribed walls from antiquity. The federal magistrates spared no expense: free and unimpeded access to detailed and reliable information for all interested parties—commissioners, contractors, builders—was considered indispensable for the protection of that enormous project. Through a strict system of guarantor appointment and constant checking of the work of the contractors, the *naopoioi* ensured that the project was less exposed to potential losses from defaulted contracts or fraudulent behavior of workmen or officials.

One of the most fascinating and perplexing epigraphical dossiers from Boeotia is that of the manumission acts. 172 manumission records attest to the liberation of numerous slaves through consecration to local divinities. Claire Grenet revisits the Chaironian dossier and proposes a new chronological framework, suggesting in the process that the dissolution of the Boeotian *koinon* in 171 BC led to considerable legal restructuring of manumission processes throughout the region. In Grenet's reconstruction, recording of Chaironian manumissions started in the first quarter of the second century BC and continued until the early first century BC. A similar chronological pattern can be observed elsewhere in Boeotia, especially in Koroneia, Lebadeia and Orchomenos.

Isabelle Pernin takes the opportunity to revisit the famous proconsular edict from Thisbe, *Syll.*[3] 884. This long-lost Severan document regulated the exploitation of public lands by private individuals. By means of a detailed technical analysis, Pernin demonstrates that, unlike contemporary Roman contracts reg-

ulating the management of imperial estates, the Thisbean document aimed at the profitable administration of polis-owned lands that had remained unexploited for a long period of time, and integrated Greek contractual practices that can be traced back to the Classical period.

With Pernin's paper, this volume has run a cycle of one thousand years. From the seventh-century inscribed sherds of the Theban Herakleion to the Severan document from Thisbe, Boeotian epigraphy appears variegated and full of surprises. It spurs historians to pose new queries, to question old certainties, and it reminds them that between militaristic Sparta and democratic Athens, there was a region that tried and often managed to create a third political and cultural paradigm in the Greek world.

Following the successful conclusion of the 2011 Berkeley Symposium, the participants held a round table in which they acknowledged the need for a new corpus of Boeotian inscriptions and unanimously agreed to work together towards this aim, each one from a different position and with a different degree of involvement. This volume should then be seen as a first step in that direction. It is also a sample of what can be achieved through collective scholarly action and a reminder to the academic community that a new systematic presentation of Boeotian and Megarian inscriptions, that is, a new *IG* VII, produced under the aegis and in accord with the immaculate standards of the Berlin Academy, is a scholarly desideratum that once accomplished will prove to be manifoldly beneficial.[46]

Bibliography

Andreiomenou, A.K. (1999). "Η ἐξ Ἀκραιφίας στήλη Μνασιθείου, ἔργον Φιλούργου - τὸ ἐπίγραμμα." *AEph* 138: 81–127.

——— (2007). *Τανάγρα. Ἡ ἀνασκαφὴ τοῦ νεκροταφείου (1976–1977, 1989)*. Athens.

Aravantinos, V. (2006). "A New Inscribed *Kioniskos* from Thebes." *BSA* 101: 367–377.

Argoud, G. and P. Roesch (1985). *La Béotie antique: Lyon – Saint-Étienne, 16–20 mai 1983*. Paris.

Austin, R.P. (1926–1927). "Excavations at Haliartos, 1926. Part II." *BSA* 28: 128–140.

——— (1931–1932). "Excavations at Haliartos, 1931." *BSA* 32: 180–212.

46 Prof. Klaus Hallof, the indefatigable director of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, once told me that in 1931, hardly a generation after the appearance of *IG* VII, the great German philologist von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf emphatically claimed to the then young Klaffenbach: "Die wichtigste Aufgabe der *Inscriptiones Graeacae* ist Böotien!".

Avramea, A. (1992–1998). "Η επιγραφή του ανθυπάτου Αχαΐας Αμπελίου από τα Μέγαρα." *Horos* 10–12: 327–329.

Bardani, V.N. (1987). "Εκ Βοιωτίας." *Horos* 5: 75–77.

Beister, H. and J. Buckler (edd.) (1989). *Boiotika. Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Böotien-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Dr. Siefgried Lauffer. Institut für Alte Geschichte Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 13.–17. Juni 1986*. Munich.

Bonanno-Aravantinos, M. (2006). "Stele funerarie in poros di età ellenistica da Tebe: nuove acquisizioni" in B. Adembri (ed.), *ΑΕΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ. Miscellanea di Studi per Mauro Cristofani*. Florence: 154–171.

Charami, A. (2011). "Fêtes et concours au gymnase de Tanagra dans une inscription d'époque impériale trouvée à Délion (Béotie)." *CRAI*: 855–873.

Darmezin, L. (1999). *Les affranchissements par consécration en Béotie et dans le monde grec hellénistique*. Nancy.

Diakoumakou, M.S. (1999). "Προξενικὸ ψήφισμα τῆς πόλεως τῶν Αἰγοσθενιτῶν." *Horos* 13: 173–175.

Étienne, R. and D. Knoepfler (1976). *Hyettos de Béotie et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.-C.* [*BCH* Suppl. 3]. Paris.

Feyel, M. (1942a). *Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne*. Paris.

——— (1942b). *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie au IIIe siècle avant notre ére*. Paris.

Filippou-Angelou, P. (1990–1991). "Επιτύμβιες στῆλες ἀπὸ τὰ Μέγαρα." *Horos* 8–9: 107–111.

Fossey, J.M. (1984). "Τὰ ψηφίσματα προξενίας τῆς Τανάγρας." *Horos* 2: 119–135.

——— (1990). *Papers in Boiotian Topography and History*. Amsterdam.

———-and H. Giroux (edd.) (1985). *Actes du troisième congrès international sur la Béotie antique = Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities* (*Montreal – Quebec, 31.x.1979–4.xi.1979*). Amsterdam.

———-and A. Schachter (edd.) (1979). *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities = Actes du deuxième congrès international sur la Béotie antique* (*McGill University, Montréal, 2–4.11.1973*) [*Teiresias* Suppl. 2]. Montreal.

Fraser, P.M. and T. Rönne (1957). *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*. Lund.

Hallof, K. (2007). "Lolling und das Inschriftenwerk der Berliner Akademie" in K. Fittschen (ed.) *Historische Landeskunde und Epigraphik in Griechenland. Akten des Symposiums veranstaltet aus Anlaß des 100. Todestages von H.G. Lolling* (*1848–1894*) *in Athens vom 28. bis 30. 9. 1994*. Münster: 25–58.

Jamot, P. (1895). "Fouilles de Thespies." *BCH* 19: 321–385.

Kalliontzis, Y. (2004–2009). "Επιτύμβιες στῆλες ἀπὸ τὴ Βοιωτία." *Horos* 17–21: 373–395.

——— (forthcoming). "Το έργο του Κ. Σ. Πιττάκη στην Βοιωτία." *Proceedings of the Symposium in Memory of K.S. Pittakys 'Επὶ πέτρας λευκῆς*.

Kalliontzis, Y. and V. Aravantinos (2012). "Μουσεῖα Θηβῶν καὶ Χαιρωνείας: ἡ σύνταξη καταλόγου τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν" in A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.) *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας*

και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 3. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης. Βόλος 12.3–15.3.2009. Τόμος II: *Στερεά Ελλάδα*. Volos: 1029–1037.

Keil, K. (1863). *Zur Sylloge Inscriptionum Boeoticarum*. Leipzig.

Keramopoullos, A.D. (1917). *Θηβαϊκά*. (*Archaiologikon Deltion* 3). Athens.

——— (1931–1932). "Επιγραφαὶ Θεσπιῶν." *AD* 14: 12–40.

——— (1934–1935). "Επιγραφαὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας."*AEph* 73, *Ἀρχαιολογικὰ χρονικά*: 1–16.

——— (1936). "Επιγραφαὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας." *AEph* 75, *Ἀρχαιολογικὰ χρονικά*: 23–47.

Knoepfler, D. (2004). *CRAI*: 1241–1279.

Koumanoudes, S.N. (1979). *Θηβαϊκὴ Προσωπογραφία*. Athens.

Kritzas, C.B. (1987). "Τὸ πρῶτο μεγαρικὸ ὄστρακον" *Horos* 5: 59–73.

Kühr, A. (2006). *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam: Polis und Ethnos im Spiegel thebanischer Gründungsmythen* [*Hermes* Einzelschrift 98]. Stuttgart.

Larfeld, W. (1883). *Sylloge Inscriptionum Boeoticarum*. Berlin.

Larson, S.L. (2007). *Tales of Epic Ancestry: Boiotian Collective Identity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods* [*Historia* Einzelschrift 197]. Stuttgart.

Lauffer, S. (1976). "Inschriften aus Boiotien." *Chiron* 6: 11–51.

——— (1980). "Inschriften aus Boiotien (II)." *Chiron* 10: 161–182.

Mackil, E. (2008). "A Boiotian Proxeny Decree and Relief in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and Boiotian-Lakonian Relations in the 360s." *Chiron* 38: 157–194.

——— (2013). *Creating a Common Polity. Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon*. Berkeley.

Manieri, A. (2009). *Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica*. 1. *Beozia*. Pisa/Rome.

Meyer, E.A. (2008). "A New Inscription from Chaironeia and the Chronology of Slave-Dedication." *Tekmeria* 9: 53–89.

Mitsos, M.T. (1952). "Επιγραφαὶ ἐξ Ἀμφιαρείου."*AEph* 91: 167–204.

——— (1953–1954). "Επιγραφαὶ ἐξ Ἀμφιαρείου ΙΙ." *AEph* 92/93.2: 158–161.

Munn, M. (1996). "First Excavations at Panakton on the Attic-Boiotian Frontier." *Boeotia Antiqua* 6: 47–58.

Oikonomides, A.N. (1985). "Inscriptions from Oropos and the Amphiareion." *Horos* 3: 19–32.

Papadopoulou, N.P. (1987). "Κατάλογος στρατευσίμων ἀπὸ τὶς Θεσπιές." *Horos* 5: 79–90.

Pappadakis, N.G. (1916). "Περὶ τὸ Χαρόπειον τῆς Κορωνείας." *AD* 2: 217–272.

——— (1923). "Εκ Βοιωτίας." *AD* 8: 182–256.

Plassart, A. (1926). "Fouilles de Thespies et de l'hiéron de l'Hélicon." *BCH* 50: 383–462.

——— (1946). "Listes de nouveaux mobilisables thespiens."*BCH* 70: 474–487.

——— (1958). "Inscriptions de Thespies." *BCH* 82: 107–167.

Pologiorgi, M.I. (1992–1998). "Επιτύμβιες ἐπιγραφὲς ἀπὸ τὸ δυτικὸ νεκροταφεῖο τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ." *Horos* 10–12: 331–346.

Rangabé, A.R. (1842–1855). *Les antiquités helléniques*, vols. I–II. Athens.

Rhoussopoulos, A.S. (1862). "Δ': Ποικίλα." *AEph* 2: 220.

Robert, L. (1977). "Les fêtes de Dionysos à Thèbes et l'amphictionie." *AEph* 116: 195–210.
Roesch, P. (1982). *Études Béotiennes*. Paris.
Roller, D.W. (1989a). *Sources and Documents on Tanagra in Boiotia* [*Tanagran Studies* I]. Toronto.
——— (1989b). *The Prosopography of Tanagra in Boiotia* [*Tanagran Studies II*]. Toronto.
Ross, L. (1835). *Inscriptiones Graecae Ineditae*. Nauplion.
Schachter, A. and F. Marchand (2013). "Fresh Light on the Institutions and Religious Life of Thespiai: Six New Inscriptions from the Thespiai Survey" in P. Martzavou and N. Papazarkadas (edd.) *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis: 4th century B.C.–2nd century A.D*. Oxford: 277–299.
Syrkou, A. (2004–2009). "Επιγραφὲς Μεγάρων." *Horos* 17–21: 349–359.
Threpsiades, I. (1963). "Η ἐπανέκθεσις τοῦ Μουσείου Θηβῶν." *AEph* 102, *Chronika*: 5–26.
——— (1973). "Ἀνασκαφικαὶ ἔρευναι Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας." *AEph* 112, *Chronika*: 54–86.
Vasilopoulou, V. and A.P. Matthaiou. (2013a). "Επιγραφικὰ χαράγματα ἀπὸ τὸ ἄντρον τῶν Λειβηθρίδων." *Grammateion* 2: 85–90.
——— (2013b). "Επιγραφικὰ χαράγματα ἀπὸ τὸ ἄντρον τῶν Λειβηθρίδων. ΠΡΟΣΘΗΚΗ", *Grammateion* 2: 91–92.
Venencie, J. (1960). "Inscriptions de Tanagra en alphabet épichorique." *BCH* 84: 589–616.
Vlachogianni, E. (2004–2009). "Προξενικὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν Βοιωτῶν." *Horos* 17–21: 361–372.
Vottéro, G. (1998). *Le dialecte béotien* (*7e s.-2e s. av. J.-C.*). 2 volumes. Nancy.
Wolters, P. (ed.) (1940). *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben. I*. Berlin.