

A Review and Bibliography of Boiotian Studies

ISSN 1206-5730

Compiled by Fabienne Marchand

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462.0.01 The Onchestos Excavations Project now has a dedicated website:
<http://onchestos.mcah.columbia.edu>

462.0.02 John Bintliff (University of Leiden) has sent the following report:

Leiden Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project: the April and August 2016 seasons

Alongside continuous laboratory work preparing the survey ceramics for publication from several districts of Boeotia, and revisiting of early sites of the Boeotia Project to accurately locate them with GPS, the main fieldwork in 2016 focussed on clarifying unfinished research at the two ancient cities of Haliartos (subject to ceramic survey in 1984) and Tanagra (surveyed between 2000 and 2006).

Fieldwork at Ancient Haliartos City

The April field season focussed on a major geophysical programme within the ancient city of Haliartos [Figure 1], whose surface ceramic survey had been conducted by the original Boeotia

Project under the direction of Professor Anthony Snodgrass in 1984.¹ The ceramics from the city and its countryside (also surveyed in the years around 1984) were being restudied at this same time and were largely completed in the August season of 2016. It is the speed and variety of modern geophysical techniques that has encouraged us to supplement the ceramic survey at this late point, when the final monograph on Haliartos and the Haliartia is being compiled, with a study of the town's interior.



Figure 1 Ancient Haliartos Lower Town and Acropolis from the Air. Google Earth Image.

The FORTH team from Rethymno, under the direction of Professor Apostolos Sarris, who had previously conducted urban geophysics at Hyettos for our project, was given a relatively short period of just over a week to produce significant insights into the townplan.² The geophysical programme further benefitted from the presence of Professor Bozidar Slapsak (Ljubljana University), advising on appropriate areas to test based on his wide experience at the city of Tanagra in Boeotia with the Leiden project, and earlier unpublished aerial photo and geophysical research he had conducted with Darja Grosman and his students from Slovenia. The aerial photos had already shown for some parts of the town a clear indication of streets and houses [Figures 2-3, courtesy of Dr. D. Grosman].

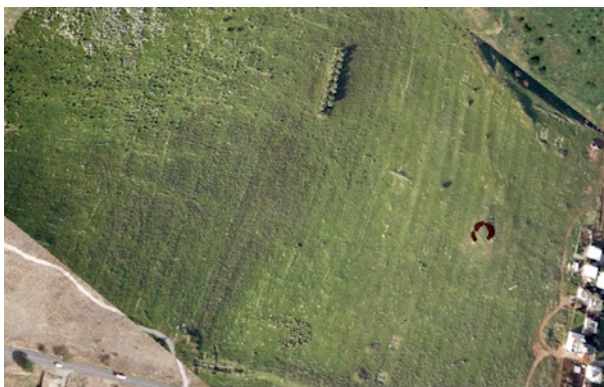


Figure 2: Aerial photograph of house blocks in Ancient Haliartos. Courtesy Dr. Darja Grosman, Ljubljana University, 2009

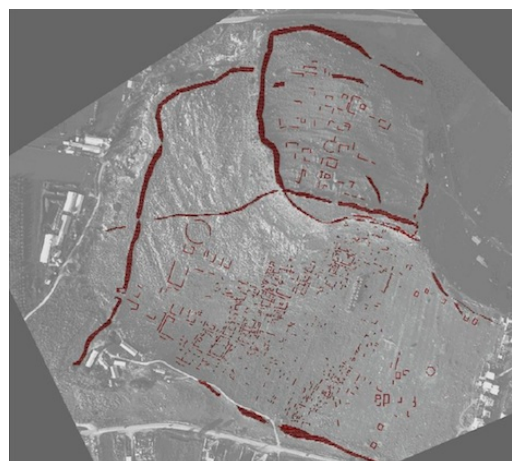


Figure 3: Provisional map of the architectural plan of Haliartos from photo-interpretation of aerial photographs, by Darja Grosman, Ljubljana University 2009

¹ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988.

² This summary is based on the unpublished Technical Report 'Exploring the Urban Fabric of Haliartos, through Remote Sensing Techniques. 2016' by Apostolos Sarris and Tuna Kalayci' of May 2016.

Despite the considerable size of the city (around 40 hectares), remarkable results were obtained in 2016 through a combination of resistivity, magnetometry and georadar carried out over around 10 hectares of the Lower Town [Figure 4]. This was not unexpected since the town was completely razed by the Roman army in 171 BC and its inhabitants either killed or sold into slavery, while its territory was given to the city of Athens, on the prescription that the city itself was not to be resettled. Indeed the 1984 ceramic survey and previous studies at the site³ had indicated only minor activity within the city after the Late Hellenistic period, focussed on the Acropolis – which was provided with a new circuit wall believed to be Late Antique in age. As far as the Lower Town was concerned, a Pompeii-like situation could optimistically be expected with the overnight abandonment of the city.

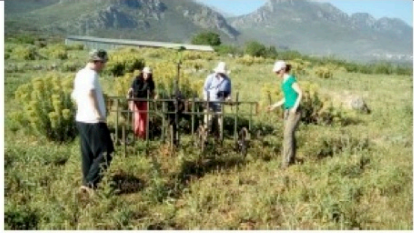




	Method	Instruments	Depth of Investigation	
1.	Multi-sensor fluxgate gradiometry	SENSYS	~2m	
2.	Handheld fluxgate gradiometry	Bartington G601	1-2m	
3.	GPR	Sensors & Software Noggin Plus Smart Cart with 250 MHz antenna	2m	
4.	Electromagnetic Techniques	Geophex GEM-2	Variable (up to 2m below the surface)	
5.	Soil Resistance Techniques	Geoscan RM85	~1-2m	

Figure 4: The range of geophysical techniques used at Haliartos by the FORTH team and the Leiden ERC team in 2016.

³ Summarized in Farinetti 2011.

Indeed a clear gridplan was identified slightly discrepant from north-south, east-west, over large expanses of the Lower Town (the Acropolis was not investigated owing to uneven and rocky terrain and the presence of architectural interventions in Late Roman to Early Modern times). Domestic housing blocks and road networks could be clearly identified, including details of the plans of individual houses [Figure 5].

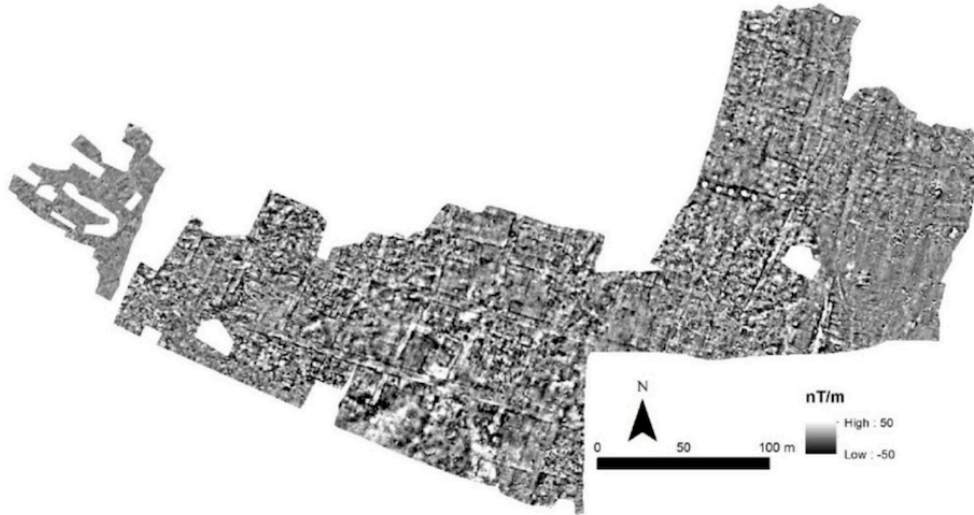


Figure 5: Detail of the 2016 magnetic survey showing house blocks and streets.

In the south-east, changes in orientation and some irregular road connections remain to be understood, but could indicate early less planned sectors of the town as well as recent boundaries and tracks in connection with the Early Modern use of this area for field cultivation and threshing activities. The linking of the geophysical plans with the building plans visible in aerial photographs will allow a detailed analysis of the infrastructure of the town [Figure 6].

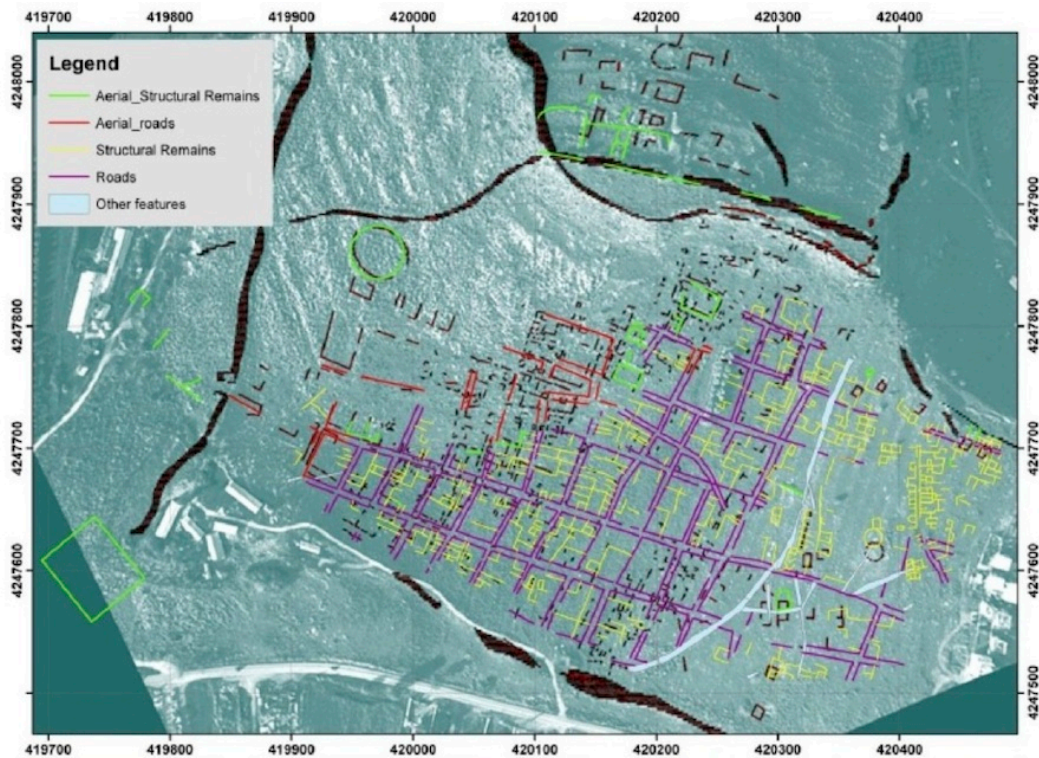


Figure 6: Reconstruction of the Lower City gridplan. The Agora is represented by the open area to the north-east.

Some of the deviations from gridplan regularity could also be explained by modelling the 3-D terrain of the Lower Town [Figure 7]. A major aim of the season was to identify the city centre, traditionally located in the south-west of the Lower Town⁴. This area in fact turned out to be full of house-blocks, so in the final days of the survey new areas in the centre and east were tackled. In the north-east [Figures 6-7] a large open area with putative rows of structures (a stoa with shops?) on its eastern border, running north-south, was identified as the most likely Agora of the city. On its northern edge a large rectangular structure might mark a temple.



Figure 7: The urban plan displayed over the 3-dimensional contoured city hill, showing that deviations in the orientation of the grid are often caused by it being fitted to changes in terrain.

In parallel with the geophysics programme and running for a longer period, through April and August 2016, a major study was conducted on the city and acropolis standing defence walls, along with examination of a series of house foundations in the Lower Town visible on the surface (the site is a protected monumental zone and merely grazed by a resident flock of sheep). This was carried out by Prof. Bintliff and Dr. Lieve Donnellan (Gottingen University), Yannick Boswinkel (Leiden University), and Professor Anthony Snodgrass (Cambridge University). In all 106 points were mapped and photographed in April, where the degree of preservation of walls deserved detailed recording and analysis, which were then studied more thoroughly through measurements and close photographic recording during the August season, when many further points for recording were observed [Figure 8]. At least five major chronological phases of defensive walling had already been identified by previous scholars for Haliartas: a Cyclopaean acropolis wall (supposed Mycenaean) [Figure 9]; an Archaic polygonal wall round the acropolis and Lower Town [Figure 10]; a trapezoidal isodomic Classical city wall [Figure 11]; a late Classical squared city wall [Figure 12]; and a Roman or Late Roman mortared wall on the acropolis [Figure 13]. In line with current thinking on the chronology of Greek wall-typologies, with the exception of the probably Mycenaean Late Bronze Age and Late Roman wall-lines, the other forms may well be largely contemporary rather than sequent and deployed variously to match contrasting terrain and defensive priorities.

⁴ Fossey 1988.



Figure 8: Recording points for the 2016 Haliartos city wall survey.



Figure 9: The Bronze Age 'Cyclopean' wall of the Acropolis.



Figure 10: The Polygonal wall of Haliartos Lower Town.



Figure 11: The isodomic trapezoidal wall of Haliartos Lower Town.



Figure 12: The isodomic ashlar Lower Town wall at Haliartos.



Figure 13: The Late Roman enceinte of the Acropolis at Haliartos.

Fieldwork at Ancient Tanagra City



Figure 14: The Ljubljana University geophysical plan of ancient Tanagra by 2007, with the Late Roman circuit wall in red. Whereas to the north-west and south the wall marks the edge of the city in all periods, in the north the Greek gridplan clearly continues into the later extramural zone, while the eastern extramural zone awaited further investigation for any possible extension of the Greek town.

From 2000-2006 an urban and rural survey were carried out at ancient Tanagra city in Eastern Boeotia by the University of Leiden, directed by Professor John Bintliff. A parallel geophysical survey by Professor Bozidar Slapsak and Dr Branko Music of the University of Ljubljana covered almost the entirety of the walled town, presumed to be confined by its still standing circuit-wall, dated by a Canadian project to the 4th century BC. However continuation of the geophysical survey north and outside of the city wall revealed a previously unknown fact, that the regular grid of streets and insulae within the town carried on into the extramural area to the north [Figure 14], where indeed a small stretch of an earlier wall-line was observed on the surface [Figure 15]. Spolia within the standing circuit walls showed that it was a rebuild in Late Antiquity, when a significant but unclear part of the preceding Classical-Hellenistic town was left outside the defences and was probably by then (if not indeed during Early Imperial times) abandoned. Since the ceramic finds

have all been processed, the task of preparing the Tanagra project for publication could not continue while the question of the original extent of the ancient city remained unsolved. To this purpose, as with Haliartos in the same year, a short season of geophysical research was undertaken by the Eastern Atlas team from Berlin, under the leadership of Dr. Cornelius Meyer, with the aim of defining the borders of the Greek-period town predating its Roman contraction. As the preceding Ljubljana geophysical trials had made clear, the Late Roman wall line respected the Greek in the west and was from topography close to it also in the south, so the 2016 programme focussed on clarifying the edge of the earlier town to the north and the east of the Late Antique circuit. Despite the large area involved, the short time available due to financial pressures, and the obstacles due to buildings and crops, the Eastern Atlas team succeeded in solving the mystery of the missing boundaries. At the request of the Ephoreia in Thebes, tests were made on that part of the Acropolis not consisting of rock, but the presence of large electricity pylons and modern metallic rubbish prevented the use of geophysical equipment. There was also a request to investigate the Theatre-hollow, however tests at the Theatre had already been made by the Ljubljana geophysical team in 2004, but the deep cover by slopewash and the probably removal of all the theatre stone by local villagers in recent centuries led to no useful results. Fortunately conditions for geophysics outside the standing city wall were much more profitable this year.



Figure 15: The fragment of Greek city wall discovered in the north extramural zone in 2006.

The new results from the August 2016 season in the extramural area showed the following [Figure 16]: in the north the Classical-Hellenistic street-plan ceases at the modern east-west tarmac road, where a short stretch of the original wall was observed in 2006. An ancient road leads from here to the north in the north-west part beyond the modern road. In the east the street plan does not reach the modern north-south tarmac road, and just west of a strong modern pipeline anomaly can be seen a fainter trace of the Greek wall running north-south. Clearly the Greek town was at least one and a half times larger than its Late Roman successor; contraction has also been shown for our other urban survey sites at Thespiiai, Haliartos, Koroneia and Hyettos during the Roman centuries.

Acknowledgements

The Boeotia Project was carried out under the aegis of the Dutch Institute at Athens, for which we wish to thank the current Director Dr Winfred van de Put and his assistants Willem Ledeboer and Emmy Makri. Funding came primarily from the ERC ‘Empire of Two Thousand Cities’ project, a collaboration with Prof. L. de Ligt (Humanities Faculty, Leiden University); the Belgian Fund for Scientific Research, a collaboration with Prof. J. Poblome (Leuven University); and the McDonald Institute (University of Cambridge). Dr Alexandra Charami and her staff at the Thebes Museum were perfect support from the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. We also acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Nikos Kontogiannis of the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. Finally a special word of thanks goes to lab manager Dean Peeters and the ERC project team.



Figure 16: 2016 geophysical results in the north and east added to the older intramural geophysical results for ancient Tanagra city.

References

- Bintliff, J. L. and A. M. Snodgrass (1988). "Mediterranean survey and the city." *Antiquity* 62: 57-71.
- Farinetti, E. (2011). *Boeotian Landscapes: A GIS-based study for the reconstruction and interpretation of the archaeological datasets of ancient Boeotia*. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports S2195.
- Fossey, J. M. (1988). *Topography and Population of Ancient Boeotia*. Chicago, Ares Publishers.

462.0.03 Alexandra Charami, Brendan Burke, Bryan Burns, and Olga Kyriazi have sent the following report:

Eleon Excavations 2016

On July 9, 2016 the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP) concluded the first season of a three-year permit from KAS for excavation and study at the site of ancient Eleon in the village of Arma (Fig. 1 site plan). This *synergasia* project continues work begun in 2007 as a surface survey, and, since 2011, as an excavation between the Canadian Institute in Greece and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia, currently under the direction of Alexandra Charami (Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia) and co-direction of Brendan Burke (University of Victoria) and Bryan Burns (Wellesley College). In addition to the continual collaboration with Olga Kyriazi, Nikos Kontogiannis offers regular support for finds from later periods and project administration. We are very grateful for the research funding we received in 2016 from an Insight Grant from the Social Sciences Humanities Research Council of Canada (#435-2012-0185), the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, and the Friends of the Library at Wellesley College. We also appreciate the dedicated efforts of the students and affiliated scholars who contribute so much to our research.

Our project, in summary, addresses two major periods at the site of Eleon, located on an elevated plateau overlooking the Theban plain, *en route* to Chalkis and the Euboean Gulf: First, a prehistoric phase spans the full Mycenaean period (Late Bronze Age), ca. 1700-1050 BC, during which connections between Eleon and the palace center at Thebes varied in intensity. We have mortuary material of late Middle Helladic to Early Mycenaean date, and substantial levels dating to the Late Helladic IIIB and IIIC sub phases. The best-preserved settlement remains come from a burnt destruction level of the LH IIIC Early period. Eleon seems to be abandoned by the Early Iron Age.

The second major period at the site is post-Bronze Age. The earliest scattered material is Late Geometric Euboean pottery of the 8th c. BCE but Eleon itself seems not to be reoccupied in any substantial way until the 6th c. BCE. Also dating to the Archaic period is the construction of the large polygonal wall which is the most impressive monument at the site. The Classical period is followed by another long period of inactivity at the site until the Ottoman period, from which material survives in surface levels and deeper pits only.

Blue Stone Structure

Located in the center of our site grid, three joining walls form the west, south, and east sides of the rectangular Blue Stone Structure (BSS) – a name derived from the polished blue limestone used to cap each wall. Within the perimeter walls were at least two cobbled surfaces at different elevations that were uncovered, documented and removed. Over these paved surfaces, running roughly north-south were support walls which were then covered in a clay cap to build up the mass of a tumulus over the entire structure. The removal of a portion of the mound and some of the upper structures has enabled us to identify, so far, four cist graves concentrated within the southern end of the BSS. As the area is not yet fully excavated, the relationship between the structure and individual burials is not entirely clear, but the tombs seem to have been dug and built within the space established prior to the construction of the BSS.



Figure 1: Schematic plan of the Blue Stone Structure area at end of 2016 excavations, labeled with excavation units and wall numbers.

In previous seasons we excavated three other tombs outside of the Blue Stone Structure: one was a clay lined cist for a child in the northwest quadrant (NW B1b) and the other two were stone built cists that had been robbed out immediately west of the BSS (SWA1c). In 2016 we also found a shallow grave just outside the southwest corner of the BSS (SWA2b), which contained the flexed articulated remains of an adolescent, fully preserved in a contracted position with no associated artifacts. Preliminary analysis suggests this was a 15-year-old male.

All of the human remains discussed above demonstrate that the Blue Stone Structure physically separated select burials from a larger cemetery that likely began in the Middle Helladic period. This follows a pattern known from the great grave circles at Mycenae, which were also constructed amidst an earlier MH cemetery. Similarly, all recovered material from the BSS gives a date contemporary with the Shaft Grave era, that is, the late Middle Helladic and early Late Helladic periods (ca. 17th c. BCE). This was the formative period of the Mycenaean and we can see elites working to establish themselves in a mortuary landscape and working to distinguish themselves from their forebears and contemporaries through their burial architecture.

Within the BSS isolated walls and cobbled surfaces were preserved at several elevations which seem to mark, although not directly, individual tomb shafts below. In 2015 we believed we had excavated four tombs in the southern area of the BSS. One small size clay cist (with internal dimensions 0.60 x 0.40 m) contained the intact skeleton of a child, while the others are larger cists with built stone walls, and their chamber size averages 1.65 x 0.85 m. Although the bone preservation was relatively poor, the tombs were used for multiple interments. One ‘tomb’ (labeled Tomb 3 in 2015 reports) we mistakenly believed was robbed out; it has now been shown to be the entry chamber to the large Tomb 5 that was fully excavated in 2016.

Although we did not expose the full perimeter of the BSS in 2016, we did find the continuation of the eastern wall and the constructions longest side (Fig. 2). In the southern half, the eastern wall began with a large orthostate and was consistently capped with pieces of the smooth blue limestone that give the building its name. Our work in 2016 found that the enclosure wall on the eastern side has a length of 17 meters, making it one of the largest Shaft Grave era constructions known from central Greece. The northern end of this eastern wall was also marked with an orthostate block.



Figure 2: Aerial BSS after the removal of constructions over Tomb 5. Top of white stone stele in center.

Running north-south down the center of the BSS area were two roughly made stone walls that offered structural supports for the clay dome above. With permission of and supervision by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia, we removed by mechanical means the five blocks of the easternmost wall on June 16, 2016. Excavating the fill below revealed a massive, fragmented capstone which continued to the west under wall 45.

Within the matrix of wall 45, the western wall, we noticed one very large, straight, vertical stone, which was a grave stele above Tomb 5. This remarkable discovery of a standing grave stele above an early Mycenaean tomb is unprecedented as far as we know. The stele remains standing but the capstones were lifted to reveal a large chamber measuring 2.78 x 1.33 m, with walls built of vertically placed cut stones. Tomb 5 is a built chamber tomb with a lateral entrance at its north-east corner, what in 2015 we called Tomb 3. The northern wall that spans “Tomb 3” and Tomb 5 is a single construction, and a vertical stone that acted as a door remains standing between the two spaces. Wear marks can be observed on this access block.

The excavation of the human remains in Tomb 5 was directed by bioanthropologist Nick Herrmann of Texas State University. All of the excavated soil was dry sieved and then water sieved for total collection. Over the course of eight consecutive days 594 units of human remains were carefully mapped, recorded, and identified (Fig. 3). A preliminary assessment of the commingled remains suggests a minimum of eight individuals are represented. This minimum estimate will likely increase once all the remains are analyzed in 2017. The deposition of bones showed multiple reuse of the tomb, with earlier remains concentrated and pushed toward the southwestern end of the tomb chamber. The parallel nature of an assemblage of long bones from several individuals shows that these bones were gathered together, perhaps by the handful and put in place. On the tomb floor, the articulated remains of three additional interments were found. Bone identifications, basic measurements, and general assessments were made at removal. The coordinate data and bone inventory are being processed and a general map of the human skeletal remains is being generated at Texas State University.

Several interesting grave goods were found associated with the articulated burials. The various ceramic vessels primarily date to the Late Helladic IA period (Fig. 4). The vessel types provide a succinct overview of Shaft Grave era ceramics, in general terms from earliest to latest - a Minyan cup, two matt painted vertical ring handled jugs, a bichrome cup, and an early Mycenaean painted askos. Finds include six whole ceramic cups, an askos, two pieces of ivory which possibly formed a sword pommel, spindle whorls, and several bronze artifacts: rivets, rings, and a dagger.

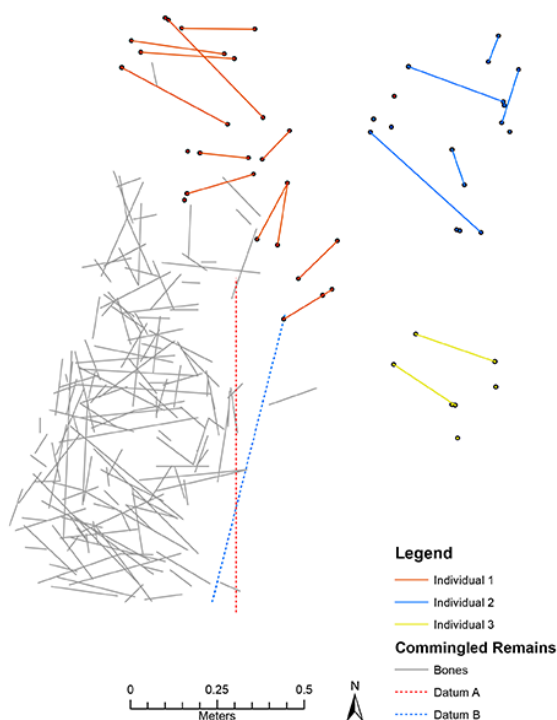


Figure 3: Schematic map of skeletal remains in Tomb 5.



Figure 4: Shaft Grave Era cups found in Tomb 5.

Although there are parallels for communal burials during this period, including other rectangular structures in central Greece, several features distinguish the tombs of the BSS. The enclosure complex is monumentalized by orthostate markers and tumulus, all apparently constructed during the Shaft Grave period. The construction was coordinated for numerous tombs, as suggested by a shared wall between Tombs 1 and 5. The preservation of the tumulus through later periods demonstrated respect through the palatial and post-palatial Mycenaean eras and probably in the Archaic period as well.

The Early Mycenaean date of all the graves is further confirmed by ceramics found in association with the construction of a series of cobble-stone platforms built at various levels above the individual graves. Clay bricks, well documented in stacks above these paved levels, formed a mound over the mass of the Blue Stone Structure. We also identified clay bricks of the tumulus along the exterior of the BSS wall at its south-east corner. The preservation of these various elements enable a rare opportunity to reconstruct the several phases of funerary activity – both the tombs’ use and after their architectural monumentalization – all during the Shaft Grave period.

Excavation north of the current tombs demonstrated that the BSS tumulus and cobble platforms do continue into this area, but several later constructions were also found in these trenches. A Medieval structure just beneath the modern surface is indicated by patches of a pebble floor, traces of walls, and a large deposit (over 100 kg) of roof tiles spread across NEA1c. Traces of a pyrotechnic feature to the west of this has not yet been dated, but could be a Mycenaean feature that was disturbed by the Medieval construction as well as later farming activities. Other large walls built framing the BSS are most likely constructions of the LH III period: Wall 108 to the west is formed of large boulders and seems to divide LH IIIC domestic constructions from the funerary mound. Wall 113 to the east is built directly above the north-east corner of the BSS, which was also covered by stone rubble packing that included Mycenaean as well as possible Geometric pottery. Despite these later constructions, it is important to note that elements of the BSS tumulus are preserved in the lower levels of these trenches, again with ceramics dating exclusively to the LH I period. We fully expect to clarify the stratigraphy through full analysis of the finds, and that tombs are most likely preserved at lower levels that will be reached next season.

The excavation of the Blue Stone Structure is not complete. The monumental size of the complex and the close density of the multiple early Mycenaean burials in just the southern part caused our work to proceed slowly but yielded good results. The central part of the enclosure, the area capped by the tumulus, still contains intact cobble surfaces which very likely cover more Mycenaean burials. Additionally, the eastern wall of the BSS now turns a corner to the west, at the northern extent of the building. It remains to fully identify this northern wall of the BSS, which is still covered by later Mycenaean and Medieval constructions.

Our team’s work in 2016 clarified some major questions about the site of ancient Eleon. We now know the nature of the burials that lay underneath the cobble fill and we will look for other grave steles marking them. For 2017 our priority continues to be analyzing material thus far excavated and to complete the excavation of the Blue Stone Structure. The four excavated early Mycenaean tombs conclusively demonstrate that Eleon maintained a burial monument. Later Mycenaean and Archaic occupants of the site refrained from building on it. Its form, while eroded somewhat, is unusual within the Mycenaean world and of great relevance to the emergence of Mycenaean elites and centers of power, such as the palace of Thebes.

462.0.04 Fabienne Marchand (University of Fribourg): conference on Boiotia’s external relations between the Bronze Age and the Roman Period, University of Fribourg, 7-9 June 2017.

Boiotia and the Outside World

Provisional programme

7 June 2017 – opening & reception

16.30 Fabienne Marchand
Welcome

17.00 Hans Beck
Boiotia, inside out (inaugural lecture followed by a reception)

8 June 2017

Panel I: Regional dynamics: the Boiotians and their neighbours

8.30-9.10 Albert Schachter
The Boiotians and their (immediate) neighbours

9.10-9.50 Sylvian Fachard
The Attic-Boeotian borders in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE

9.50-10.30 Roy van Wijk
Friends or Foes? The Athenians and Boiotians after the Persian Wars

10.30-10.50 coffee break (with posters)

10.50-11.30 Denis Knoepfler
Athènes et la Confédération béotienne au III^e siècle avant J.-C.: le témoignage des inscriptions attiques

11.30-12.10 Yannis Kalliontzis
Le koinon béotien et la Locride orientale

12.10-13.30 lunch

13.30-14.10 Sam Gartland
Boiotia and Sikyon in the Archaic and Classical periods

Panel II: Mycenaean Boiotia: elites and networks

14.10-14.50 Vassilis Aravantinos
Social Structure and Administration in Mycenaean Boiotia. Inside information and external feedback

14.50-15.30 Bryan Burns, for Brendan Burke and Alexandra Charami
Interregional and international aspects of Mycenaean Eleon in Boeotia

15.30-15.50 tea (with posters)

Panel III: The impact of war

15.50-16.30 Božidar Slapšak
title tbc

16.30-17.10 Christel Müller
La Béotie et Rome de la fin de la guerre mithridatique (86) à la formation de la province d'Achaïe (27)

19.00 Dinner for speakers

9 June 2017

Panel IV: Festivals and sanctuaries as mirrors of international relations

8.30-9.10 Sebastian Scharff

Bearers of hope. Agonistic answers to external criticism in Hellenistic Thebes

9.10-9.50 Fabienne Marchand

Foreign imprint on the religious landscape: Hellenistic kings and Boiotian sanctuaries

9.50- 10.30 Paul Grigsby

Patterns of Commemoration: Boiotian Dedications at Foreign Sanctuaries

10.30-10.50 Coffee (with posters)

Panel V: Foreign impact on local production: pottery and sculpture

10.50-11.30 Alexandra Charami

Les influences des ateliers béotiens au cours de la période hellénistique

11.30-12.10 Margherita Bonanno Aravantinos

The Hellenistic and Roman Funerary Stelai from Boiotia as expression of cultural and social identity

12.10-13.30 Lunch

Panel VI: Boiotia's economic relations

13.30-14.10 Isabelle Pernin

Les relations économiques de Thespies

14.10-14.50 Philip Bes

A Trail of Crumbs: Roman-Period Pottery from the Boeotia Survey

14.50-15.10 John Bintliff

From Polis to Imperium: Proto-Capitalism and Globalisation in Hellenistic to Roman Boeotia (& closing lecture)

15.10-15.30 Fabienne Marchand

Conclusions and farewell

Registration will open in the new year, but we now accept proposals for posters. These should be submitted to Roy van Wijk (roy.vanwijk[at]unifr.ch).

462.0.05 Salvatore Tufano (McGill University) *The Beginnings of Boiotian Local Historiography. Localism and Local Perspective in Boiotia Between the End of the Fifth Century BC and the Age of the Theban Hegemony*

Introduction

My PhD dissertation, defended in July 2016 at Sapienza University of Rome, focuses on Boiotian local historiography, in the first stage of its development, from the end of the Fifth Century BC¹ (Hellanicus' lifespan), to the age of the Theban hegemony, when it is highly reasonable to date Daimachus of Plataea: this universal historian represents a transitional figure towards a new phase of the genre and he was consequently chosen as a *terminus ante quem*.

A first theoretical section locates the research in the debate on the relationship between the so-called 'great historiography' and the local historiography, in order to check whether an emic outlook might be useful, if applied to Boiotia, for a contingent and verifiable approach to the birth of the genre. The second section of the thesis aims at providing a new critical text of the fragments of the genre, belonging to Hellanicus, Armenidas, Aristophanes of Boiotia and Daimachus of Plataea. The philological approach is combined with a new historical commentary on the fragments, necessary to highlight continuities and discontinuities of the genre. The uneven treatment of these texts in the available collections has hindered a full appreciation of the emic perspective: after the seminal section on Boiotia in the *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, in fact, all the later works have split these four authors.

Indeed, we should benefit today from a renewed attention to problems of cultural history and to Boiotia, as a fertile laboratory for the historical issue of localism. Meaningful epigraphic discoveries have been helping redefine our entire picture of the history of Boeotia, from the archaic to the classical age, since the important publication of a *kioniskos* in 2006 (Aravantinos, V.L., "A New Inscribed *kioniskos* from Thebes", *ABSA CI* (2006): 369-77). The proceedings of a conference published by N. Papazarkadas in 2014 (*The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia. New Finds, New Prospects*, Brill: Leiden – Boston 2014) contain helpful analyses of the main documents, currently in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, which inhibit the idea of a region without any regional institution in the first half of the Fifth Century: the explicit mention of federal magistracies, whose citation in the literary sources has been subject to excessive scepticism in the past, is a fact which will deserve further thinking, in view of a necessary new history of the region and of Thebes².

My research on the historiographical strand of localism in Boiotia profited from the different studies by A. Kühr (*Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam. Polis und Ethnos im Spiegel thebanischer Gründungsmythen*, Stuttgart 2006) and S. Larson (*Tales of Epic Ancestry. Boiotian Collective Identity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods*, Stuttgart 2007), which were both momentous in redefining new perspectives on the birth of the Boiotian *ethnos* in the archaic age: these monographs took advantage of a series of new anthropological and political trends in classics, such as the studies on ethnicity³, intentional history⁴ and discursive theory⁵. In addition, D.W. Berman (*Myth, Literature and the Creation of the Topography of Thebes*, Cambridge 2015) expanded our picture of the real and imagined topography of Thebes, putting together

¹ All the subsequent dates in the present *résumé* are to be meant BC, unless otherwise stated.

² Cp. Beck, H. – Ganter, A., "Boiotia and the Boiotian League", in Beck, H. – Funke, P. (eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, New York 2015: 132-57.

³ A good starting point, on how this topic influenced A. Kühr's book, is the review by J. McInerney (*sehepunkte* 8 (2008), nr. 4 [15.04.2008]: <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2008/04/13593.html>), to be read with the reply by M. Zahrnt (<http://www.sehepunkte.de/2008/06/kommentar/michael-zahrnt-ueber-rezension-von-als-kadmos-nach-boiotien-kam-19/>).

⁴ See Foxhall, L. – Gehrke, H.-J. – Luraghi, N. (eds.), *Intentional History. Spinning Time in Ancient Greece*, Stuttgart 2010 for an introduction to this approach.

⁵ Just consider the influence of philosophers like P. Bourdieu (*Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle*, Genève 1972) on J.E. Skinner (*The Invention of Greek Ethnography. From Homer to Herodotus*, New York 2012); on this matter, I dare quote my review of the latter's book on *MedAnt* XVII 2014 [2015] : 671-82.

the diverse strands, which contributed to its description in the literary sources. Finally, we should remember here the studies on ancient federalism: after the relevant legacy of the last century (Moretti, L., *Ricerche sulle leghe greche (peloponnesiaca-beotica-licia)*, Roma 1962; Larsen, J.A.O., *Greek Federal States*, Oxford 1968), new outlooks have drawn a more nuanced description of the relationship between the hegemonic city and the confederate cities, both in Italy⁶ and in other European countries, and in Canada⁷.

As well as hinging on the interest in the history of classical Boeotia, my dissertation then centred on a tradition of studies on Greek local historiography. Still, this genre as an expression of localism has not attracted a comparable attention, even with a few recent contributions on the relationship between universal and local historiography⁸. The success of the studies on mythography, exemplified by the two volumes of text and commentary of the early Greek mythographers by R. Fowler (*Early Greek Mythography, Volume I: Text and Introduction*, Oxford 2001; *Early Greek Mythography. Volume II: Commentary*, Oxford 2013), has cast shadows on the local perspective: on the one side, this is due to the objective absence of scholarship on local historiography in this region (with the notable exception, after the observations by F. Jacoby, of a short overview by G. Zecchini⁹); on the other side, the idea of the local historians being contemporary with and sharing crucial methodological points with Herodotus switched the discussion to one on the political use of this literary genre (cp. Fowler, R., “Herodotos and His Contemporaries”, *JHS* CXVI, 1996: 62-87). Scholars were mostly attracted by attidography¹⁰, while other partial exceptions generally limit themselves to the history of single poleis (a good starting point is Clarke, K., *Making Time for the Past: Local History and the Polis*, Oxford 2008).

Structure and Overview

The thesis consists of an introduction (1) and four chapters (2.1: Hellanicus; 2.2: Armenidas; 2.3: Aristophanes; 2.4: Daimachus of Plataea). The first chapter (1) starts with a state of the art on the relationship between universal and local history. The suggested method wants to put forward the local perspective, to study this topic: only an investigation of the historical frame and the local picture of the region, which is the subject of a historiographical work, allows a better understanding of the development of the genre and of the required prerequisites. In the second part of the Introduction, I apply this approach to Boiotia: what we can safely assume on Hellanicus' lifespan and the promotion of a political stability, under the *koinon* of the second half of the Fifth Century, suggest a starting date, for the writing of Boiotian local history, in the Twenties.

Besides, this hypothesis is strengthened by the consideration that, despite the probable pre-existence of a political and cultural regional entity, a political frame (and stability) was necessary to foster that attention to public archives, and to their reorganisation, which constitutes a compulsory premise to the birth of local historiography. For example, Aristophanes the Boiotian is explicitly recalled as having looked in the archontal lists (T 2 = *BNJ* 379 T 2b; T 1A Fowler: ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἀρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων ἱστορήσῃ), but we are poorly informed on where and how these structures were organised in Thebes. It is generally assumed that in Athens, from the second half of the Sixth Century (Sickinger, J.P., *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens*, Chapel Hill – London 1999: 35-92; Rhodes, P.J,

⁶ Sordi, M., *La lega tessala*, Roma 1958; Aigner Foresti, L. (ed.), *Federazioni e federalismo nell'Europa antica: Bergamo, 21 – 25 settembre 1992*, Milano 1994; Bearzot, C., *Federalismo e autonomia nelle Elleniche di Senofonte*, Milano 2004; Ead., *Il federalismo greco*, Bologna 2014.

⁷ See Beck, H. – Funke, P. (eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, [n.3].

⁸ Cp., most recently, Thomas, R., “The Greek *Polis* and the Tradition of *Polis* History: Local History, Chronicles and the Patterning of the Past”, in Moreno, A. – Thomas, R. (eds.), *Patterns of the Past. Epitēdeumata in the Greek Tradition*, Oxford 2014: 145-72.

⁹ “Rassegna di storiografia beotica”, in Bintliff, J. (ed.), *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece. Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference*, Oxford 1997: 189-200.

¹⁰ See Harding, P., “Local History and Attidography”, in Marincola, J. (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, II, Oxford 2007: 180-8.

“Public Documents in the Greek States: Archives and Inscriptions. Part I”, *G&R* XLVIII/1, 2001: 33-44), but, in other areas of the Greek Mediterranean, probably a century earlier (Lazzarini, M.L., “La scrittura nella città: iscrizioni, archivi e alfabetizzazione”, in Settis, S. (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, 2. Una storia greca, II. Definizione, Torino 1997: 723-50), there were archival practices, concerning first of all citizen rights (Pébarthe, C., “Les archives de la cité de raison. Démocratie athénienne et pratiques documentaires à l’époque classique”, in Faraguna, M. (ed.), *Archives and Archival Documents in Ancient Societies (Trieste, 30 September – 1 October 2011)*, Trieste 2013: 107-25), sanctuary administration and, in due time, justice matters too. We can now prove the existence of public figures, in function as secretaries, from the end of the Sixth Century, thanks to epigraphical indications (just think of the well-known *ποινικαστάς* Spensithius in Crete [van Effenterre, H. – Ruzé, F., *Nomima. Recueil d’inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l’archaïsme grec*, I, Roma 1994: n.22]), and to revealing artistic representation: sculptures read as public *γραμματεῖς* would seem to represent these public secretaries in Athens (three items on the Akropolis, dated 530-20, of disputed interpretation; Boffo, L., *Per una storia...*, [supra]: 9 and n.12; Faraguna, M., *Scrittura e amministrazione...*, [supra]: 68 and n.3) and in Thebes (a small statue now in the Louvre Museum, CA 684, showing a seating figure, who is writing: Sirat, C., “La morphologie humaine et la direction des écritures”, *CRAI* CXXXI, 1987: 7-56, spec. 46-8). I agree with R. Thomas (*Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 1989: 38-94), that, in the absence of an instinct of conservation, caused by, according to Rhodes (*Public Documents...Part II*, cit. supra: 139), a historical spirit, a real documentary mind-set, i.e. of appreciation and use of archive documents, was effective in Athens – and, it would seem, for Thebes too – only from the last quarter of the Fifth Century.

This production is hence later than Herodotus, in Boiotia, not as a reaction to his *Histories*, but for different reasons. The choice to limit the dissertation to Hellanicus, Armenidas, Aristophanes and Daimachus emerges from three considerations: firstly, judging from the main reconstructions of the genre (Jacoby, *FGrHist* III B, [n.3]: 151-3; Zecchini, *Rassegna...*, [n. 9]), these were the first authors who dealt with Boiotian local history. Secondly, I suggest new arguments to date them between the second half of the Fifth Century and the age of the Theban hegemony, making allowance for the new epigraphic habit which is emerging, in Boiotia, from a reconsideration of the epigraphic discoveries relating to the Fourth Century: the scanty linguistic evidence of the fragments can be linked to a general acceptance of the Ionic dialect and script in the years of the Theban hegemony; we cannot rule out the possibility that this regional evolution had an impact on other features of these works of Boiotian local historiography.

The ionisms *ποιεῦντες* and *καλεῦνται* in the F 3 (= *BNJ* 378 F 6; F **6 Fowler; *FGrHist* 378 F 6) by Armenidas cannot be used, in fact, to date him, since they are not typical of a specific stage of the history of the literary use of this dialect. Its status is subject to diachronic and diaphasic variations, which make it hard to say how much recurring to such ionisms might make an author more similar to Herodotus than, say, to Ktesias or other fragmentary authors of the same century (cp. Cassio, A.C., “La prose ionienne postclassique et la culture de l’Asie Mineure à l’époque hellénistique”, in Brixhe, C. (ed.), *La Koiné grecque antique II: la concurrence*, Paris: 147-70). It is easy to see that this same kind of contraction, already in Herodotus, is still present in the so-called *Grossattisch* of the Fourth Century: we cannot therefore assume that all the *Theban Histories* were written in the ionic dialect. We should at least know more about the local literary prose, but for the time being the only support can come from the epigraphic evidence. Here, the survival of the epichoric script until the second half of the Seventies is slowly superseded by the attico-ionic alphabet, maybe together with the reception of the cultural tradition this was attached to; scholars are now inclined to date this transition in the Seventies, as firstly suggested by D. Knoepfler (“Sept années de recherches sur l’épigraphie de la Béotie (1985-1991)”, *Chiron* XXII, 1992: 411-503; see, e.g., Vottéro, G., “L’alphabet ionien-attique en Béotie”, in Carlier, P. (ed.), *Le IV siècle av. J.-C.. Approches historiographiques*, E. de Boccard: Paris 1996: 157-81; Iversen, P., “New Restorations and Date for a Fragment of *Hestiatoria* from Thespiiai (*IThesp.* 39)”, in Reger, G. – Ryan, F.X. –

Winters, T.F. (eds.), *Studies in Greek Epigraphy and History in Honor of Stephen V. Tracy*, Paris 2010: 255-68). Another vexed topic regards the reason underlying this pattern change: the established explanation was that this introduction, probably imposed by Thebes, despite previous, occasional experiments, was the result of the democratic stance of the new leaders and institutions of the Boiotian *koinon* (Iversen, P., *New Restorations...*, cit. *supra*: 262-3; Mackil, E., *Creating a Common Polity. Religion, Economics, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2013: 337-9). According to Papazarkadas (“The Epigraphic Habit(s) in Fourth-Century Boiotia”, in Gartland, S. (ed.), *The Boiotian Fourth Century*, Oxford i.p.), actually, more stress should be put on Thebes’ will to assert oneself as a panhellenic power, through a medium of high readability and, I would dare add, in direct concurrence with the epigraphic habit of Thebes’ main hegemony contendant in these years, Athens. The epichoric script was consequently abandoned, despite being a clear mark of ethnicity (Luraghi, N., “The Local Scripts from Nature to Culture”, *ClAnt* XXIX, 2010: 68-91). We should finally make allowances for the circulation of Herodotus’ *Histories*, although we miss certain data, apart from the use of similar styles and techniques.

Finally, as I argue in a short profile of the development of the genre in Boiotia (1.1.4), the later works detach themselves from the previous ones, insofar as the new historical background emerging after the destruction of Thebes (335) and its refoundation (316) seems to have had an impact on the historiographical eye: so, there is a sense of unity among the first four authors, who form an isolable block.

In the final two sections of the Introduction, I focus on the testimonies directly pertaining to the date of Hellanicus, Armenidas, Aristophanes and Daimachus (1.2), and I provide a general synopsis of the themes dealt with in the fragments (1.3), such as the original population of the region, the foundation traditions of cities like Thebes, Chaeronea and Orchomenos¹¹ and the Boiotian relationship with Thessaly. This quick exemplification evidences a potential variety of topics, which could also directly touch contemporary events (1.3.4), even though the commentary tends not to highlight extensively the potential reference to present events, underlying the occurrence of certain myths.

The structure of the commentary starts from the philological issues concerning the fragments, and then proceeds with a consideration of the context and, only finally, with the content likely associable with the historian. The critical text is based on that of the *EGM* for Hellanicus, Armenidas, and Aristophanes of Boiotia, and on that of Jacoby (*FGrHist* 65) for Daimachus, but priority was always given to eventually more updated critical editions, whenever possible.

In the case of Hellanicus (2.1), I only considered the two fragments (1 and 2 = FF 50 and 51a Fowler; *FGrHist* 4 FF 50-1), which are explicitly ascribed to his *Boiotian Histories*: the first one mentions a population, the Ἐγγελεῖς, which lived in Boiotia probably before the very foundation of Thebes, and which can be therefore described as ‘Pre-Cadmean’. The second fragment offers a version of the foundation of Thebes, where only a few details might be originally due to Hellanicus. Since the other fragments by Hellanicus dealing with Boiotian and Theban matters are considered in the commentary, the section must be seen as an essay on Hellanicus’ picture of Theban and Boiotian history. We see, in him, a historian particularly careful to gather poorly attested variations and generally dissimilar from the other historians and playwrights, who worked in Athens in the last quarter of the Fifth Century.

I then shared Fowler’s decision, in *EGMI*, to consider all the 8 fragments ascribed by Jacoby to Armenidas (2.2), even though F 8 (= *BNJ* 378 F 4; F 8A Fowler; *FGrHist* 378 F 4) is certainly spurious: it had to be analysed, though, for scholarly completeness, to affirm its affiliation to Andromenidas, a peripatetic grammar of the Third Century. Apart from F 6 (= *BNJ* 378 F 7; 7 Fowler; *FGrHist* 378 F 7), an orthographic variation of Haliartos’ toponym, the other texts

¹¹ See further Vian, F., *Les origines de Thèbes. Cadmos et les Spartes*, Paris 1963; Breglia, L., “Barbari e cultori delle Muse: i ‘Precadmei’”, in Breglia, L. – Moleti, A. – Napolitano, M.L. (eds.), *Ethne, identità e tradizioni: la “terza” Grecia e l’Occidente*, Pisa 2011: 293-317; Prandi, L., “Il separatismo di Platea e l’identità dei Beoti”, *ibid.*: 237-52.

concern either mythical figures¹² or characters, who might imply a dispute between Thebes and other cities (Athens: F 3; maybe Sparta: F 5 [= *BNJ* 378 F 5; F **5 Fowler; *FGrHist* 378 F 5]). I wonder whether F 4 (= *BNJ* 378 F 3; F 3 Fowler; *FGrHist* 378 F 3), on the Bibline wine in Thrace, refers to the short-lived sea campaign, started in 364 by Epaminondas. I also try to show how A. Schachter's proposal (*BNJ* 378) to read Armenidas' *Theban Histories* as a topographical commentary to single areas of Thebes might underestimate the reference to other centres (Coronea: F 1; Haliartos: F 6; Thrace: F 4), which could have been described in *excursus*, starting from the Theban doors and the roads departing from them, as in Pausanias' Book IX (for this reading, see especially Musti, D., "La struttura del libro di Pausania sulla Beozia", in Μπεκιάρης, Αλέξανδρος Π. (ed.) 1988: *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας των Βοιωτικών Μελετών: Α' Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών (Θήβα, 10-14 Σεπτεμβρίου 1986)*, T. Α' τ. α', Αθήναι 1988: 333-45).

Under Aristophanes' (2.3) name, we possess a fragment (12 = F 9C Fowler; *FGrHist* 737 F 1), where it was necessary to finally prove that it belongs to the homonymous grammar from Byzantium. After arguing for the existence of two separate historical works, one on Thebes and the other one on Boiotia – despite an inescapable unease when assigning the excerpts to them, I comment on the single fragments, which can be sorted into three categories: first of all, a series of texts on Thebes, one of which (4 = *BNJ* 379 F 2b; F 9A Fowler; F 421 Slater) seems to portray a Theban defence against Naxos' allegations, on Dionysus' birthplace. The other two fragments mention Herodotus' arrival to Thebes (F 5 = *BNJ* 379 F 5; *FGrHist* 379 F 5) and Aristophanes' probable recourse to local calendars (F 6 = *BNJ* 379 F 5; *FGrHist* 379 F 5). A second series of fragments concentrates on Herakles (8 = *BNJ* 379 F 7; F 9B Fowler; *FGrHist* 379 F 7; F 439 Slater [sp.] e 9 = *BNJ* 379 F 8; F 8 Fowler; *FGrHist* 379 F 8): among these, I put forward to enlarge the witnesses to F 9, including a parallel passage in Tzetzes' commentary on Lykophron (F 9 B = Σ Tzetz. in Lyc. 50 (38,17-26 Scheer)): given the relevance of this figure for Thebes, his occurrence in a fragment by Daimachus (2 = *BNJ* 65 F 2; *FGrHist* 65 F 2) should not surprise us, although the latter historian did not technically write local history; we should highlight the distinctiveness of details being isolated in the biographic tradition on the hero, who is depicted, in the case of Daimachus (F 2), as a sheer man, his mother being Philomela and not the nymph Thetis. A third group of fragments, in Aristophanes, concerns traditions on other Boiotian towns, such as Chaeronea (F 7 = *BNJ* 379 F 3; F 3 Fowler; *FGrHist* 379 F 3), the shrine of Aphrodite Argynnis (F 10 = *BNJ* 379 F 9; F 9 Fowler; *FGrHist* 379 F 9) and that of Tilphossa (F 11 = *BNJ* 379 F 4; F 4 Fowler; *FGrHist* 379 F 4), and Tanagra (FF 1 = *BNJ* 379 F 1b; F 1A Fowler and 2 = *BNJ* 379 F 1a; F 3A Fowler; *FGrHist* 379 F 1): the fragment reporting the synoecism of this city is of utmost interest, because the author of the commentary quoting Aristophanes, Theon, lived under Augustus (2.3.2.1), which might indicate the circulation of Aristophanes' works for an age earlier than Plutarch.

The last author considered in the dissertation is Daimachus of Plataea (*BNJ* 65), whom I consider earlier and distinct from his namesake who worked as an ambassador for Antiochus I and wrote a book *On India* in the Seventies of the Third Century (*BNJ* 716; 2.4.1). Daimachus wrote a *History of Greece*, in spite of the fact that the title is not explicitly mentioned in the sources and that this deduction comes from Daimachus' being paired with Callisthenes and Anaximenes (T 1 = *BNJ* 65 T 1a; *FGrHist* 65 T 1a). While, to respect the structure of the *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, J. Engels, editor of Daimachus of Plataea for the *Brill's New Jacoby* (65), requotes the *Hellenica Oxhyrhynchia* as fifth fragment (*BNJ* 65 F 5), despite discrediting Jacoby's trust in this authorship ("Der Verfasser der Hellenika von Oxxyrhynchos", *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, I: 13-8), it now seems better to align with the few certain data on Daimachus and deny him for once this work, as G.L. Barber firstly suggested (*The Historian Ephorus*, Cambridge 1935: ix n.1; for a critical overview, cp. Camacho Rojo, J.M., "Daïmachos de Platées", in *DPhA* II, 1994: 537-40, spec. 537-8). The four fragments from his historical book (1-4) contain information which is not automatically understood through the Boiotian origin of the author, since I suggest that, in a

¹² Ithonos: F 1 (= *BNJ* 378 F 1; F 1 Fowler; *FGrHist* 378 F 1); Amphion: F 2 (= *BNJ* 378 F 2; F **2 Fowler; *FGrHist* 378 F 2); the Seven against Thebes: F 3; Actaeon: F 7 (= *BNJ* 378 F 8; F **8 Fowler; *FGrHist* 378 F 8).

universal history, more local perspectives might share the same literary span. Moreover, we know too little on Daimachus to attach him to a single political trend of the upper Theban classes in the Sixties, a decade which seems likely the underlying scenario of the current F 1 (= *BNJ* 65 F 1; *FGrHist* 65 F 1) on Aetolus: in the commentary, I contend that the genealogy being reported might be interpreted with regards to the Arcadian-Elean war and to the subsequent proliferation of genealogies on the respective eponymous heroes. Apart from the aforementioned material on Herakles (F 2), the other fragments on Solon (3 = *BNJ* 65 F 6; *FGrHist* 65 F 6), and on Pittakos (4 = *BNJ* 65 F 7; *FGrHist* 65 F 7), might find an accord with political events of the Fourth Century, respectively with the slow definition of a biographical tradition on Solon and with the political upheavals in Mytilene in the central decades. Daimachus, in addition, distinguishes himself for the existence of two other works, one on siegecraft (FF 5 = *BNJ* 65 F 3; *FGrHist* 65 F 3 and 6 = *BNJ* 65 F 4; *FGrHist* 65 F 4) and an *On Piety* (F 7 = *BNJ* 65 F 8; *FGrHist* 65 F 8).

The work therefore aimed at an improvement and enrichment of knowledge in two areas: in the first place, it is an original in-depth study on the history of Boiotia in a crucial age, from the end of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Mantinea, when a lively political evolution was combined with an adequate historiographical production, attracting external (Hellanicus) and internal voices, careful to report local traditions. Secondly, the Boiotian case of study wants to show how a different approach to the problem of the relationship between local vs. universal history, which gives a fair dimension to the historical processes happening in the region dealt with by the historians, allows us to solve the problem from a local point of view, without having to necessarily hinge on the greater, better known historians. It therefore acts, on the whole, as a heuristic tool, whose main lines are explained in the first part of the thesis, to be then applied to the texts, in order to check the relationship between the local dimension of these works and the historical background underlying them.

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