

# TEIRESIAS-TEIREΣΙΑΣ

*A Review and Continuing Bibliography of Boiotian Studies*

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SUPPLEMENT 1

1972

[ 1. Internationales <sup>+</sup>Kongress über das antike  
Böotien. ]

<sup>+</sup>  
PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
FIRST INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE  
ON  
BOIOTIAN ANTIQUITIES

<sup>+</sup>  
ACTES  
DU  
PREMIER CONGRES  
INTERNATIONAL  
SUR LA  
BEOTIE ANTIQUE

(McGill University, Montréal, 18.3.1972)

Hil 25 44



Dépôt légal 3e trimestre 1972

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CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
J. M. FOSSEY, Tilphosaion?	1-16
A. SCHACHTER, Some Underlying Cult Patterns in Boeotia	17-30
R. J. BUCK, The Site of Ceressus	31-40
P. VIVANTE, Pindar, Pythian XI, 1-11	41-50
S. LEVIN, ἕκτω Ζεὺς: Boeotians Using their Dialect or Conforming to the National κοινὴ	51-60
P. ROESCH, Les Lois Fédérales Béotiennes	61-70
P.W. WALLACE, Boiotia in the Time of Strabo	71-76
MAPS AND PLANS:	
Figure 1	3
Figure 2	7
Figure 3	11
Figure 4	33
Figure 5	77

PREFACE

The First International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities took place at McGill University in Montreal on Saturday, March 18, 1972. It was occasioned by the presence at McGill, as a Visiting Professor under the auspices of the Coopération Franco-Québécoise, of Professor Paul Roesch.

Apart from those who read papers, the Conference was attended by students and members of the academic communities in Montreal. Some of the latter participated in the discussions which followed each paper.

Thanks to the generosity of McGill University, we are able to publish the proceedings of the Conference as a supplement to *Teiresias*. It is hoped that this will be only the first in a series of supplements, and that future conferences on ancient Boiotia will be held frequently.

The Editors of *Teiresias* wish to thank McGill University, and the Deans of the Faculties of Arts and of Graduate Studies and Research, for their generosity and interest. We also take this opportunity of thanking two students, Mrs. J. Hanigsberg and Miss E. Schwartz, for their assistance in transcribing the discussions. Finally, our warmest thanks go out to the other participants, particularly those who came from so far, for their efforts.



En 371 av. J. C. Cléombrote, roi de Sparte, fut ordonné d'envahir la Béotie avec son armée qui était alors en garnison en Phocide. Il avança jusqu'à Coronée où il s'arrêta, ou bien il était arrêté. Son progrès nous est décrit par trois écrivains anciens.

i. Xénophon, *Hell.* VI, iv, 3

οὕτω δὴ ἄγει τὴν στρατίαν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν [sc. ὁ Κλεόμβροτος]. καὶ ἦ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσεδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ τινι ἐφύλαττον οὐκ ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὄρεινήν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσιν.

ii. Pausanias, IX, xiii, 3

ὡς δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἐξήρτο ἤδη πόλεμος καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δυνάμει καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἤεσαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας μὲν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἀντεκάθητο ὑπὲρ τῆς Κηφισίδος λίμνης ὡς ποιησομένων ταύτῃ Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐσβολήν, Κλεόμβροτος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἀμβρόσσου τρέπεται τῆς Φωκέων· ἀποκτείνας δὲ Χαιρέαν, δις φυλάσσειν διετέτακτο τὰς παρόδους, καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Θηβαίους, ὑπερέβη καὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα ἀφικνεῖται τὰ Βοιώτια.

iii. Diodore, XV, 52, 1 - 53, 3

οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προάγοντες ὡς ἦκον εἰς Κορώνειαν, κατεστρατοπέδευσαν καὶ τοὺς καθυστεροῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ἀνέμενον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἐψηφίσαντο τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Ἀθήνας ὑπεκθέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδαν στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι τούτῳ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν, συμπρόντων αὐτῷ βοιωταρχῶν ἕξ. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας πανδημεὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατιᾶς ὄντας καταλέξας εἰς τὴν μάχην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἔχων τοὺς συμπάντας

οὐ πλείους τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων.

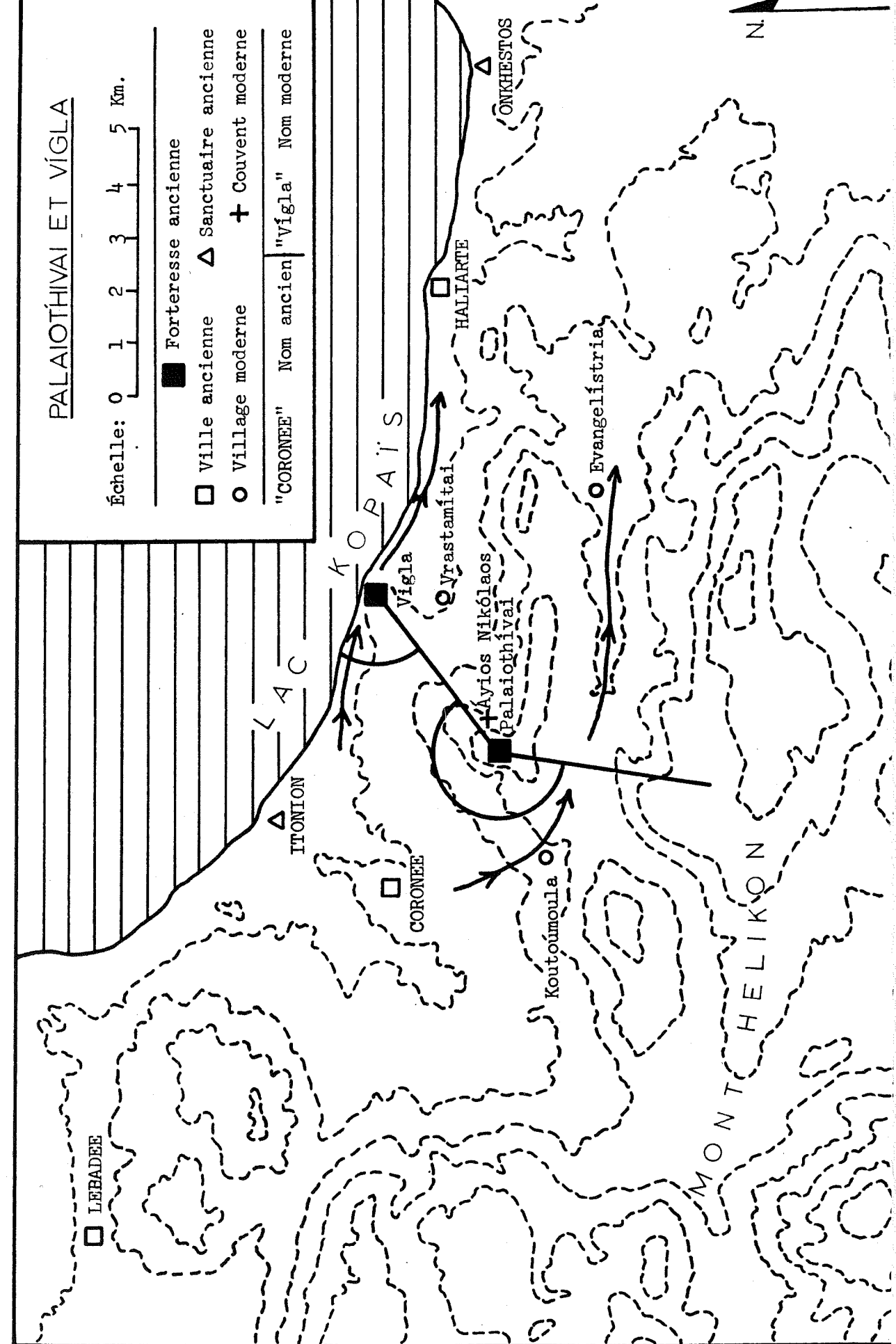
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εὐθύς γὰρ προαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ προκαταλαβόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν στενά, κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.

ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος πυθόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους προκατειληφέναι τὰς παρόδους, τὸ μὲν ταύτῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διέξοδον ἀπέγνων, πορευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος, καὶ διεξελεθὼν τὴν παραθαλαττίαν ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν οὖσαν ἐνέβαλον τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀκινδύνως.

Après Coronée Cléombrote dut reculer en Phocide pour rentrer dans la Béotie par une autre voie, celle de la côte sud de la Béotie. Cette dernière route a été récemment étudiée par W. K. Pritchett,<sup>1</sup> qui la poursuit jusqu'au champ de bataille à Leuktra où l'armée spartiate reçut une défaite écrasante. Ce qui nous intéresse ici n'est pas cette route même, mais les événements aux environs de Coronée.

Les trois écrivains grecs nous racontent à peu près la même histoire, mais avec certaines petites divergences. Le récit de Xénophon est le plus bref, et Pausanias y ajoute quelques détails; Diodore est plus discursif. Suivant ce dernier Cléombrote s'arrêta à Coronée pour attendre l'arrivée de certains détachements de son armée qui venaient en retard - nous ne sommes pas informés comment et pourquoi - et les Thébains profitèrent de ce délai pour occuper les défilés. Ainsi les Thébains purent empêcher Cléombrote de continuer vers l'Est, vers les plaines centrales de la Béotie. Les deux autres sources nous disent, en effet, que les Thébains avaient déjà occupé les défilés avant l'arrivée de Cléombrote à Coronée. Quoi que soit l'ordre exact de ces événements - et probablement nous aurions raison en préférant la version conjointe de Xénophon et Pausanias - l'occupation des défilés par les Thébains obligea les Lacédémoniens à reculer en Phocide et à rentrer dans la Béotie par l'autre voie.



Avant de considérer cette voie Pritchett remarque "Epameinondas had occupied with a strong force the narrow pass near Koroneia, between a spur of Mount Helikon on one side and Lake Kopais on the other".<sup>2</sup> En réalité les sources ne nous fournissent pas trop de précision sur la position occupée par les forces thébaines. Diodore, en premier lieu, l'appelle τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν στενά et, peu après, τὰς παρόδους. Xénophon emploie l'expression ἐπὶ στενῶ τινι et Pausanias dit que Epameinondas ἀντεκάθητο ὑπὲρ τῆς Κηφισίδος λίμνης.

Pour quelqu'un qui veut avancer de Coronée vers l'Est il n'y a que deux routes possibles (voir la carte, fig. 1). L'une suit la rive du lac Kopais, par le pied d'une montagne qui s'appelle actuellement *Pétra* ou *Vigla*, à travers le territoire d'Haliarte et ainsi aux plaines centrales. L'autre route monte du village *Koutoúmoula* (aujourd'hui "*Koróneia*") au col dominé par une autre montagne, *Palaiothívai*; ensuite elle passe par le vallon d'*Evangelístria* et arrive enfin sur le plateau de Thespies et la Béotie centrale. En effet, donc, ces deux montagnes, *Vigla* et *Palaiothívai* ne sont que les deux bouts d'une crête qui se projette, en direction nord-est, du Mont Helikon au lac Kopais.

Chacune de ces deux montagnes pourrait correspondre à la position des Thébains comme décrite par Pausanias ὑπὲρ τῆς Κηφισίδος λίμνης - "Kephis(s)is" étant tout simplement un nom alternatif pour "Kopais" en antiquité, et surtout quand on parlait de son bord sud.<sup>3</sup> En plus, une simple logique militaire indique très clairement que pour empêcher à une armée de procéder vers l'Est, partant de Coronée, il serait bien nécessaire d'occuper les deux défilés. N'occuper que l'une n'aboutirait à rien, car l'autre défilé serait libre. Et nous connaissons que les Thébains voulaient occuper chaque défilé.<sup>4</sup> Les Béotiens devraient avoir occupé les deux positions dont je parle pour pouvoir obliger Cléombrote qu'il retourne en Phocide sans disputer le passage. Xénophon ne nous parle que d'un défilé, mais son

récit est très bref. Diodore cependant nous parle d'une pluralité. En vérité la première fois sa description τὰ στενά ne veut rien dire, car le mot στενόν était souvent employé au pluriel avec un sens singulier, comme on dit actuellement en anglais "the Straits of Gibraltar",<sup>5</sup> mais la seconde fois Diodore écrit τοὺς πολεμίους προκατελιθφέναι τὰς παρόδους et ici la pluralité est bien claire.

En réalité les sommets des montagnes sont tous deux entourés de fortifications. Celles de *Vigla* ont été souvent mentionnées dans la littérature archéologique, mais celles de *Palaiothívai* plus rarement. Tournons donc maintenant à une considération de ces fortifications.

PALAIOTHIVAI (cf. plan, fig. 2)<sup>6</sup>

L. Ross, *Wanderungen* i, 31-2.

C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, i, 234.

P. Guillon, *La Béotie antique* 110, note sur pl. XXIX (q.v. pour la position de *Palaiothívai*).<sup>7</sup>

L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* 148 (Catal. 185, Type E26).

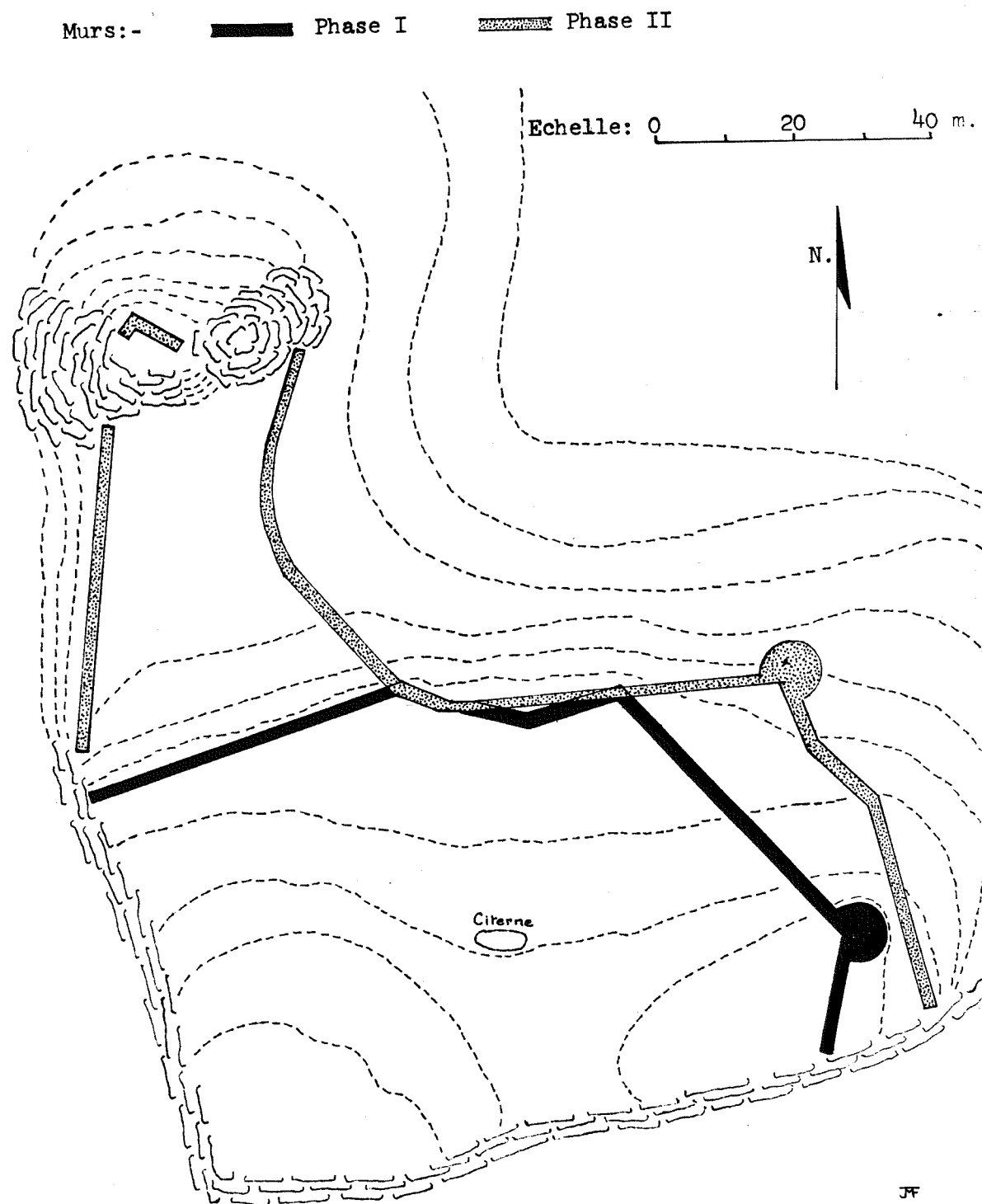
J. Fontenrose, *TAPA* c (1969) 125.

Sur ce sommet il y a deux circuits complets, dont l'un dans un style qui présente un mélange entre polygonal et une sorte de quadrangulaire irrégulier; l'autre style est un appareil tout à fait brut ("rubble walling"). Les deux circuits s'aperçoivent le plus clairement au Nord et à l'Est, mais on les discerne en entier assez facilement. L'une enceinte, celle de la construction brute, contient un espace notamment plus grand que celui de l'enceinte en polygonal/quadrangulaire.<sup>8</sup>

On remarquera que j'ai désigné la construction polygonale "Phase I", et la construction brute "Phase II". Cet ordre me paraît clair. Le circuit plus étendu doit être plus récent, car les deux murs sont conservés, encore aujourd'hui, jusqu'à une hauteur de 1.5m. à l'Est; si donc le plus petit circuit était la deuxième phase

Figure 2

PALAIOTHÍVAI, BOIOTIA.



les défenseurs auraient laissé un mur d'une certaine hauteur (probablement encore plus grande en antiquité que maintenant) hors de leur mur, et ainsi auraient fourni aux attaqués une protection très proche à leurs défenses. Une telle situation doit nous sembler inconcevable et cette simple logique militaire nous oblige à considérer le circuit polygonal comme le plus ancien.

Nous pouvons ainsi suggérer un ordre relatif des constructions, mais nous sommes encore loin d'établir une chronologie absolue. Le mélange polygonal/quadrangulaire de Phase I est identique au style des murs longs d'Orchomène - si identique qu'on est obligé de considérer la possibilité qu'ils sont contemporains. Les murs d'Orchomène sont ordinairement datés à l'époque archaïque, mais cette datation n'est fondée sur aucune raison précise. Pour la datation du style brut, *Palaiothivai* ne nous fournit aucune indication et nous devons tourner à l'autre fortification, celle de *Vigla*.

*VIGLA* (cf. plan, fig. 3)<sup>9</sup>

- L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, i, 31.
- W. M. Leake, *Northern Greece* ii, 136.
- W. Gell, *Itinerary*, 153.
- J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias V*, 167.
- P. Guillon, *La Béotie antique*, 110, notes sur pl. XXIX.
- S. Lauffer, *AA* (1940) 186.
- J. Fontenrose, *TAPA* c (1969) 125.

Les deux styles remarquables à *Palaiothivai* se retrouvent ici, mais avec une différence. Le polygonal constitue ici seulement une petite tour au Nord du sommet. La construction brute se présente encore dans une enceinte étendue dont la moitié a été réemployée à une époque récente, ce qui est désigné comme "Phase III". Cette troisième phase date simplement de l'époque de la résistance des Grecs contre les Turcs, et représente l'occupation de ce sommet par les forces D'Ypsilántis (d'où le nom du village voisin, auparavant

Vrastamítai, actuellement Ypsilánti).<sup>10</sup>

Suivant l'ordre de construction que j'ai essayé d'établir pour Palaiothívai je considère le polygonal de Víglá aussi comme "Phase I" et la construction brute comme "Phase II". En plus ici il y a une petite indication de chronologie plus exacte. A l'intérieur de la grande enceinte de Phase II, et loin de la tour de Phase I, j'ai trouvé un tesson à vernis noir du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.C. Certes, un seul tesson ne peut jamais être considéré comme preuve finale, mais c'est la seule indication que nous possédons.<sup>11</sup>




#### Comparaison et Conclusions

Les deux sites nous présentent donc les deux mêmes styles anciens de construction - je laisse à côté les activités d'Ypsilántis - mais avec une différence. Pour la Phase I il semble que nous avons un système comprenant une forteresse et un simple poste de guet. Ces constructions en polygonal ou polygonal/quadrangulaire ont une apparence de permanence et de solidité; certainement il ne s'agit pas d'un travail fait en urgence, mais une préparation faite avec soin pour durabilité. Au contraire, les constructions brutes, qui présentent un système de deux enceintes complètes, sont d'un travail qui peut être fait facilement en vitesse.

Ainsi les systèmes sont composés tous deux de fortifications à chaque bout de la crête, et de cette façon peuvent tous deux surveiller les défilés et toutes les routes Est-Ouest ou Ouest-Est dont nous parlions plus haut (cf. carte, fig. 1).<sup>12</sup> Néanmoins c'est les deux forteresses de la Phase II qui *dominent* également les deux défilés, car le poste du guet sur Víglá dans le système polygonal ne constituerait aucun obstacle sérieux à l'avance d'une armée puissante. Quand on considère que c'est exactement la Phase II aussi qui présente un travail facile à construire en vitesse, il est évident que cette

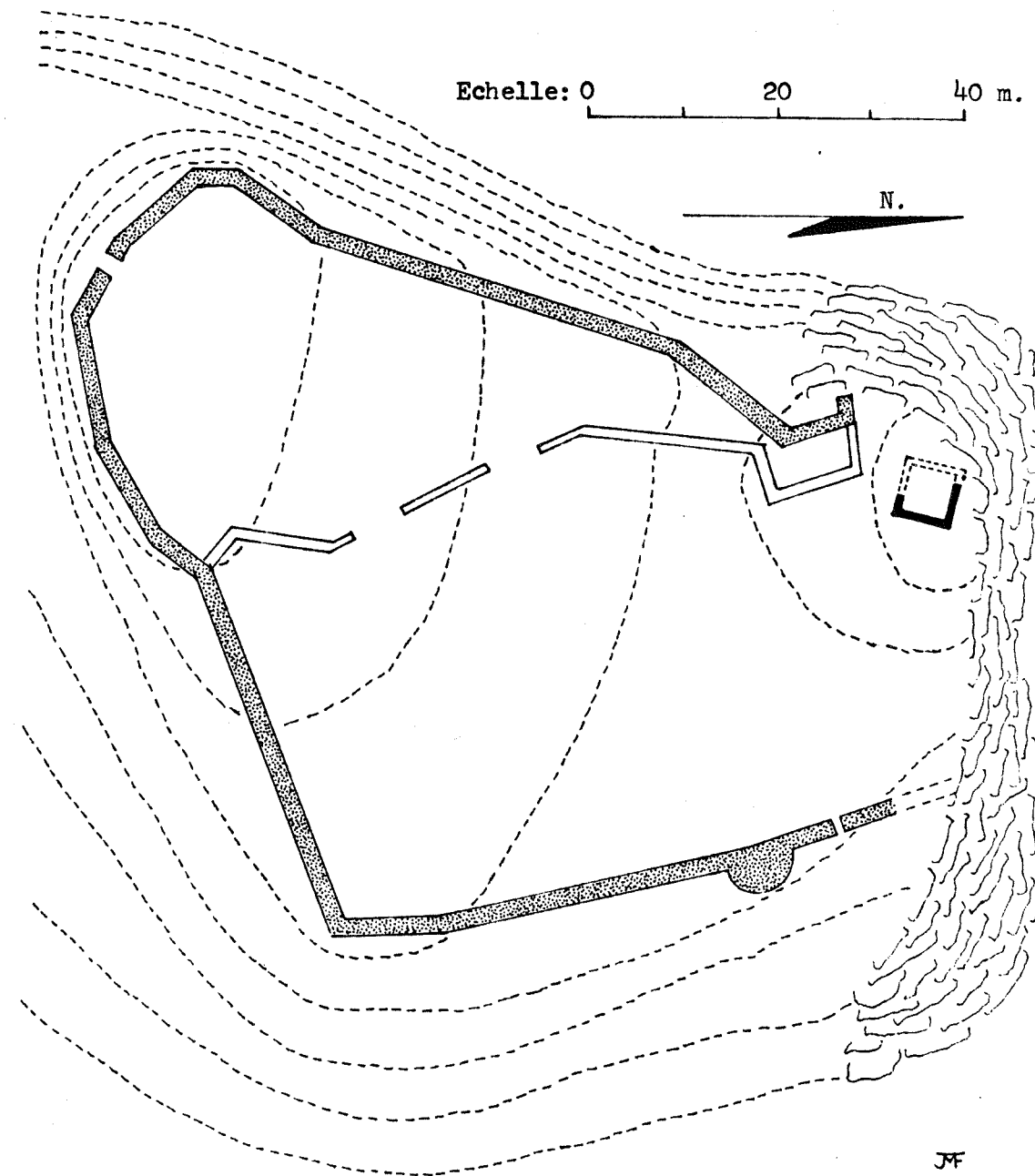
Figure 3

#### VÍGLA / PÉTRA, VRASTAMÍTAI, BOIOTIA.

Murs:-       Phase I       Phase II       Phase III

Echelle: 0      20      40 m.

N.



JF

phase répond mieux aux exigences de 371 av. J.C. Je suggère, donc, que dans ces fortifications brutes on voit le travail des forces thébaines - les traces, c'est-à-dire, de l'occupation par Epameinondas des défilés qui obligea Cléombrote de reculer en Phocide. Ce système domine très bien les routes, pouvait être construit en vitesse, et a fourni une petite indication d'une date dans le 4<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Le système polygonal est plus problématique. La similarité avec Orchomène, cependant, suggère peut-être que ce système pourrait représenter des fortifications de cette cité contre l'Est, c'est à dire contre le reste de la Béotie. Cette suggestion n'est pas trop osée, si l'on considère l'opposition qu'Orchomène semble avoir manifesté contre la Confédération béotienne pendant longtemps. Manque de fouilles, celle-ci ne reste qu'une hypothèse logique.

#### *Le Nom*

Nous revenons enfin au titre de cette étude, car il a toujours été considéré qu'une de ces fortifications doit être la forteresse Τιλφωσαίων<sup>13</sup> mentionnée par Démosthène et dont la possession par les Phociens au milieu du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle était d'une importance capitale - avec l'occupation en même temps de Coronée, Orchomène et Khorsiai.<sup>14</sup>

Quelle fortification des deux était Tilphosaion est difficile à déterminer.<sup>15</sup> La question est confuse par l'identification douteuse du sanctuaire de Tilphousaios Apollon.<sup>16</sup> Dans une étude récente de ce dernier problème, Fontenrose a répété la suggestion que le sanctuaire se trouvait au couvent actuel d'*Ayios Nikólaos*.<sup>17</sup> Bien sûr, ce site reste toujours le meilleur candidat pour le sanctuaire mais Fontenrose semble ignorer les réserves de Ducat,<sup>18</sup> réserves que je dois souligner, ayant moi aussi examiné en détail la région du couvent. J'ai trouvé, comme Ducat, que rien ne se présente là qui peut être plus ancien que l'époque byzantine.

Mais, si l'identification du sanctuaire doit rester encore incertaine, Fontenrose a fait tout de même une suggestion capitale en ce qui concerne le nom de la montagne. Il considère que le nom Tilphosaion pourrait bien indiquer la crête entière, et non seulement un de ses deux sommets. Nous avons souligné dans cette étude que la crête constitue une unité militaire autant que géographique. Si donc la crête entière pourrait porter le nom Tilphosaion, il est fort probable que les fortifications sur ses bouts portaient elles aussi, toutes deux, le même nom.

McGill University

Notes:-

1. *Studies in Greek Topography* i (1965) 52-57.
2. *Op. cit.* 56.
3. Str. ix, 411.
4. Cf. Pausanias *loc. cit.* sur la position de Khaireas dans le défilé au centre de Mont Helikon. Pour une discussion des routes d'Helikon voir A. R. Burn, *BSA* xliv (1949) 313-324, pl. 42.
5. Cf. *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> s.v. *στένον*, 2.
6. J'ai étudié ce site en avril 1968 avec l'aide précieuse de R. S. Green; qu'il trouve ici l'expression de ma profonde gratitude.
7. Cf. F. Schober, *RE* (1936) s.v. Tilphossion, 1045.
8. Mise à part la citerne, aucune trace de construction interne ne se présente, mais on remarque plusieurs fragments de tuiles sur le sol.
9. J'ai étudié ce site en mai 1966 et encore en avril 1968 avec R. S. Green.
10. Cf. Ross et Lauffer *loc. cit.*; l'activité d'Ypsilántis avait lieu en 1829.
11. Comme à *Palaiothívai* plusieurs fragments de tuiles se trouvent sur le sol aujourd'hui, mais il n'y a aucune trace de constructions internes.
12. Les lignes de vision indiqués sur la carte ont toutes été vérifiées sur le terrain.
13. Pour les orthographes différentes du nom, cf. Schober, *op. cit.* 1044.
14. Démosthène xix, 141 & 148.
15. Les archéologues précédants ont suggéré soit l'une, soit l'autre.
  - i. Pour *Palaiothívai*:- Ross, *loc. cit.*; Bursian, *loc. cit.*; Guillon, *loc. cit.*; id., *Trépieds* ii, 105 n. 2; id., *Bouclier* 87 n. 114; Schober, *loc. cit.*
  - ii. Pour *Víglá*:- Leake, *loc. cit.*; Gell, *loc. cit.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen* 560; Frazer, *loc. cit.*; Papakhatzès, *Pausanias V* 199 n. 1. (Conze et Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* xxxiii [1861] 84-6 & *Philologus* xix [1863] 180 ont suggéré que *Víglá* était le site d'Alalkomenai.)



16. Pour le culte et les sources anciennes et contemporaines voir A. Schachter *BICS* xiv (1967) 5.
17. *TAPA* c (1969) 119-131, surtout 126-7.
18. *REG* lxxvii (1964) 288-9.

\* \* \*

The following points arose from the discussion:

1. The polygonal style of construction employed in the fortifications at Vigla is repeated in a whole series of fortifications, e.g., at Kreusis, two towers north of Davlosis, another on Mt. Ptoion, and possibly the acropolis of Glisas/Sirtzi.
2. The location of ancient routes is a matter of some difficulty. In the case of "Tilphosaion", the two fortresses control what appear to have been the natural routes in antiquity between Koroneia and the east.

*SOME UNDERLYING CULT PATTERNS IN BOEOTIA* (See Map fig. 5)

by A. Schachter

This paper will deal with the apparent existence in Boeotia of several cult patterns, spread over relatively wide areas of the district and lying partially submerged beneath the surface. I have already dealt with one such cult type in an article in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* for 1967<sup>1</sup>, and I propose now to give a brief survey of several others which I think I have discovered. I shall restrict myself here to discussing these phenomena only as they appear in Boeotia, without making any attempt to link them with others outside of Boeotia.

A cult type, as I define it, refers to the appearance at different places and under different attributions of the same basic cult. Cult similarity may be posited for cult figures identical in appearance (for example, number and sex) and in function.

I have divided the types in question into the following categories: mixed sex, female groups, male groups, individuals and rites. The first I have dealt with in the article mentioned. Of the others, the female groups appear in threes and pairs, the male groups in pairs and in greater numbers; the individual types I call the underground oracle and the dying boy. I include one rite, a log procession.

*Female Trinities*

The characteristics of this type are, besides the sex and number, association with a spring, and possession of powers of fertility and inspiration. There are three trinities which fairly certainly belong to the group - the Charites of Orchomenos, the Muses of Helikon and the Three Parthenoi of Eleon - and several others which

may do so: the three Praxidikai of Telphoussion, the three Aphrodites of Thebes, the Sphragitid Nymphs of Mt. Kithairon.

The geographical range covers Boeotia from west to east. The earliest testimony for any one of these is Hesiodic, and we may put the type back at least that far.

The *Charites* of Orchomenos were, since Hesiod, three in number.<sup>2</sup> They were associated with a fountain (Akidalia<sup>3</sup>), and had powers of fertility<sup>4</sup> and inspiration.<sup>5</sup>

The *Muses* of Helikon seem also to have been three, not nine, in number at an early stage.<sup>6</sup> They were associated with a spring, in this case possibly two: Aganippe and Hippokrene. A hint that the Helikonian Muses were in origin fertility goddesses may be found in an inscription from Helikon, which lists the attributes of each Muse.<sup>7</sup> Among them are λέκτρα, γένος, ψή, ὠδίζ, functions not normally associated with the Muses, but eminently suitable for goddesses of fertility. I regard this inscription as evidence for the survival locally of belief in the primitive character of the Muses of Helikon. Their powers of poetic inspiration are of course well known.

The *Three Parthenoi*<sup>8</sup> of Eleon, east of Thebes, are attested only in Plutarch and probably in Augustan bronze coins of Tanagra. These goddesses are also associated with a spring, Akidousa (with which compare Akidalia, the fountain of the Charites of Orchomenos).

There are two other trinities in Boeotia, but not enough is known about them. I refer to the Praxidikai<sup>9</sup> of Telphoussion and the triple Aphrodite<sup>10</sup> of Thebes. All we know of these is the number, sex and names. Finally there are the Sphragitid Nymphs<sup>11</sup> of Mt. Kithairon, who inhabited a cave and possessed the power of mantic inspiration. All we know about them is their sex, name and function, and that there were more than one of them.

### *Female Pairs*

This type consists of two girls known not only by their own names, but by the name of their father as well. They might perhaps have been classified as a mixed group of three, but since the father in most cases plays a secondary rôle, I have focussed on the girls.

Where there is any evidence of character, they appear to have functioned as averters of evil, in the shape of famine or warfare, and to have gained fame by killing themselves.

The geographical distribution seems to cover western, central and eastern Boeotia. It is noteworthy that in almost every place where such pairs of girls are found, there is also evidence for a male pair.

*Alkis* and *Androkleia*, daughters of *Antipoinos* of Thebes,<sup>12</sup> were said to have been buried in the sanctuary of Artemis Eukleia. They had killed themselves in order to ensure victory against the Orchomenians.

The two daughters of *Skedastos*<sup>13</sup> of Leuktra - variously named, but most often referred to as *Leuktrides* - hanged themselves after being raped by two Spartans. The father, unable to obtain redress, killed himself. On the occasion of the battle of Leuktra, Epameinondas sacrificed to all three. We therefore have here evidence for a cult of averters of evil.

*Metioche* and *Menippe* were daughters of Orion at Orchomenos, but went by the name of *Koronides*.<sup>14</sup> Orion, of course, is usually associated with Hyria in Boeotia, and we might therefore suggest the possibility of a connection with that town: one of the sources for the story is said to have been Korinna. Koronos or Koronios is traditionally the founder of Koroneia.<sup>15</sup> The girls killed themselves

to put an end to a plague or drought, and were subsequently worshipped by the Orchomenians.

A fourth pair, *Henioche* and *Pyrrha*,<sup>16</sup> daughters of Kreon, were commemorated with statues in the Ismenion at Thebes. There is no other evidence concerning these two.

#### *Male Pairs*

In this group, which is found in most parts of Boeotia, I place Amphion and Zethos (at Thebes and Eutresis, and possibly Mt. Kithairon), Trophonios and Agamedes (at Orchomenos, Lebadeia and Hyria) and Leukippos and Ehippos of Tanagra, possibly also Kabiros and Pais of the Theban Kabirion. All of these, except the last-named, are connected with building. Furthermore, in all of the places mentioned, the pair itself consists of a dominant partner and a more shadowy counterpart: Amphion, Trophonios, Leukippos, Kabiros, and Zethos, Agamedes, Ehippos and Pais respectively.

*Amphion* and *Zethos*<sup>17</sup> are most closely connected with the walling of Thebes. Another story links them to Eutresis<sup>18</sup> (near the field of Leuktra, cf. the Leuktrides), and the story of their birth places it on Mt. Kithairon.<sup>19</sup>

One version of the story of *Trophonios* and *Agamedes* links them with Arkadia,<sup>20</sup> but the generally accepted tradition places their birth - as sons of Erginos - at Orchomenos in Boeotia,<sup>21</sup> and the adventure of the treasury of Hyrieus presumably at Hyria, while, of course, Trophonios as a cult figure is the oracular divinity of Lebadeia, where Agamedes was also commemorated.<sup>22</sup> The oracular Trophonios reveals elements of at least three cult types interwoven: first, as one of a male pair, second, as an example of the oracular cult type discussed in my aforementioned article, and third, as an example of the underground oracular deity, to be described below.

In addition to building the treasury for Hyrieus, Trophonios and Agamedes as a pair are best known as the architects of the Delphic Apollo's first temple.<sup>23</sup>

The story of the foundation of Tanagra by Poimandros is in some ways similar to that of the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus. From among the various versions of the tale, the figures of *Leukippos* and *Ehippos*<sup>24</sup> emerge as more or less constant. Although the outlines of the story are vague, one can at least say with some certainty that they were closely connected, as were Amphion and Zethos, and Trophonios and Agamedes, with building and architecture.

The same cannot be said of the last pair tentatively assigned to this group, *Kabiros* and *Pais*,<sup>25</sup> the two major deities of the Theban Kabirion. One of the relatively few common elements in the worship of the Kabiroi generally is, as Hemberg pointed out,<sup>26</sup> the apparently arbitrary and haphazard size of the cult group, which varied from sanctuary to sanctuary from two to seven deities. Since Boeotia does seem to contain a cult group consisting of a pair of male deities of whom one is senior and the other junior in status, and since these two criteria at least are met by the Theban Kabiroi, I have been tempted to add them to the list of members of this group.

#### *Larger Male Groups*

Relatively large groups of warriors - in a way perhaps male counterparts of the female pairs we have already examined - are found at Thebes, Thespiiai, and the Plataiid, thus in a relatively restricted area of Boeotia.

The so-called *Alkaidai*,<sup>27</sup> or sons of Herakles and Megara, share Herakles' cult at Thebes, as a passage of Pindar vividly reveals: they are eight in number and dead warriors: (χαλκοαῶν ὀκτὼ θανόντων<sup>28</sup>) worshipped with nocturnal rites and annual games.





Other sources give different numbers, but Pindar, describing a rite as performed in his native city, must be regarded as authoritative.

According to legend, Herakles fathered some 49 or 50 or 52 sons on the daughters of Thespios or Thestios of Thespiai.<sup>29</sup> Of these sons - called the *Thespiadai* - Iolaos took all but nine with him to Sardinia: of the remaining nine, two went to Thebes and the other seven remained at Thespiai where they were called *δημοῦχοι*.<sup>30</sup> There is no actual evidence for a cult, but they seem to be reasonably similar to the *Alkaidai*, and the connection with Herakles at both places cannot be wholly fortuitous.

The *Heroes Archegetai*<sup>31</sup> of the Plataiid, to whom the Greeks were instructed to pay homage before the battle of Plataia, were eight in number, and, one must assume, a warlike group. Of the names given to them two (*Aktaion* and *Androkrates*) are drawn from local mythology, two (*Leukon* and *Polyeides*) from Boeotian tradition, while the other four are otherwise unknown. My guess is that the names were attached to members of the group by a fairly late source.

I am less certain about the existence of other multiple groups of warriors in Boeotia. There are a number of other candidates: at Thebes, the group known variously as the Seven Against Thebes and the fourteen children of Niobe and Amphion, commemorated east of the Kadmeia at the place called *Seven Pyres*;<sup>32</sup> perhaps the *Seven Against Thebes* at Eleutherai;<sup>33</sup> and finally the mysterious *Trophoniadai* of Oudora.<sup>34</sup>

#### *Underground Oracle*

The two members of this group are *Amphiaraos*<sup>35</sup> and *Trophonios*:<sup>36</sup> both were regarded as human beings who, on being pursued by an enemy, were swallowed up by the earth and became oracular deities, possessed

also of healing powers. The oracle of Trophonios was situated at Lebadeia; Amphiaraos possessed apparently two oracular shrines: one at Oropos, at least from late in the fifth century BC,<sup>37</sup> and another in the vicinity of Thebes, which lapsed some time before the middle of the fifth century BC.<sup>38</sup>

Another characteristic of this type, aside from the feature that the oracular deity resided underground, was the method of consultation. At Oropos, the consultant first spent several days in purification, then slew a ram; the oracular response was delivered while the consultant slept on the hide of the sacrificed ram.<sup>39</sup> At the Trophonion, the ritual of consultation also included several days of purification, and the slaying of a ram, while the consultation itself took place at night as at the *Amphiareion*.<sup>40</sup> As I have already remarked, the oracle of Trophonios seems to be a blend of several types.<sup>41</sup>

#### *The Dying Boy*

The main characteristics of this group are the death of the protagonist, his association with water, and, in some cases, an association with vegetation, and perhaps non-Greek elements in the names.

The best known example of this type is *Narkissos*:<sup>42</sup> he is a youth who, for whatever reason, is drowned in a spring at Donakon ('reed thicket') near Thespiai. At the edge of the spring the flower sprang up. *Narkissos* is also commemorated at Oropos<sup>43</sup> and across the strait in Euboia.<sup>44</sup>

Somewhere in the vicinity of the river Kephissos is the location of the story of the youth *Argynnos*,<sup>45</sup> beloved of Agamemnon: he died at the Kephissos. *Argynnos* was the son of *Peisidike*, daughter of *Leukon* son of *Athamas*. *Leukon* and *Athamas* are generally located in

the areas immediately west and east of the Kopais.

In the Haliartia, according to Pausanias, was the river *Lophis*,<sup>46</sup> which sprang from the blood of a youth of the same name, slain by his own father: in this way the inhabitants found water in the land.

At Thebes we have the story of *Kaanthos*<sup>47</sup> (referred to in one source as *Klaaitos*<sup>48</sup>) who, according to Pausanias, was killed by Apollo and lay buried at the fountain of Ares, upstream from the Ismenion. *Kaanthos* had set fire to the Ismenion in order to free his sister *Melia* from Apollo's clutches. There are other versions of this story, but the basic elements are there.

Another dying youth associated with a stream, but rather late, is *Aktaion*:<sup>49</sup> his connection with *Gargaphia* at *Kithairon* does not seem to be original to the tradition.<sup>50</sup>

#### *Log Procession*

This rite is best known from the *Daidala*,<sup>51</sup> a festival of *Hera* at *Plataia*, but a similar procession seems to have formed the basis of the *Daphnephoria*<sup>52</sup> at the Theban *Ismenion*. Although the *Daidala* took place on *Mt. Kithairon*, Pausanias relates that, of the fourteen "daidala" in the procession, eight were allocated to *Plataia*, *Koro-neia*, *Thespiiai*, *Tanagra*, *Chaironeia*, *Orchomenos*, *Lebadeia* and *Thebes*, while the remaining six were shared by smaller towns.<sup>53</sup> This, and the inclusion of *Alalkomenai* in the aition, suggests that the rite once enjoyed "pan-Boeotian" status, and references to *Hera's* sojourn in *Euboia* indicate a possible further connection eastwards.<sup>54</sup> The rite itself culminated on *Mt. Kithairon*. The *Daphnephoria*, on the other hand, took place at *Thebes*, but the cult on the *Ismenion* shows other signs of having absorbed extraneous elements from the surrounding countryside, e.g., *Teneros*, eponym of the *Teneric Plain*.<sup>55</sup>

I discern in the rite of the *Daidala* three distinct elements:

one, a procession escorting an adorned log; two, a holocaust on a mountain top; three, a sacred marriage. Of the three, the third may be described as spurious. There is no sacred marriage, but the trappings of one are superimposed over the sacral procession.<sup>56</sup> To be sure, the celebrants of the *Daidala* in the second century AD regarded the procession from the *Asopos* to the top of *Mt. Kithairon* as a wedding procession, and treated the "daidala" like brides, but to compare the *Daidala* with well attested sacred marriages is to do no more than the *Plataians* did in the second century AD.

According to *Proklos*, who gives a detailed description, the *Daphnephoria* consisted of a procession led by a *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής*, followed by his nearest male relative bearing the *κῶπω*, a piece of olive wood adorned with garlands, and many other things, and a saffron robe. Following him was the *Daphnephoros*, holding laurel, wearing a golden garland, and otherwise richly dressed. He was followed by a chorus of maidens bearing twigs. The procession led to the sanctuary or sanctuaries of *Apollo Ismenios* and *Chalazios*.

It is interesting to note that both the *Daidala* and the *Daphnephoria* were celebrated at fairly lengthy intervals, the latter being enneateric.<sup>57</sup> If the *Daidala* and the *Daphnephoria* were at root the same rite, consisting basically of the bearing in procession of a log dressed in women's clothes, it follows that the log procession originally belonged neither to *Hera* nor to the *Ismenion* complex. The *Daphnephoria* is attested for the first half of the fifth century BC.<sup>58</sup> The cult of *Hera* at *Plataia* can be traced back at least to the first decades of the fifth century, and possibly earlier.<sup>59</sup> The rite may be assumed to be fairly early, as its connection with the ancient town of *Alalkomenai* might suggest.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Summary and Conclusion*

I have described briefly seven cult types found in *Boeotia*,

which are to be added to the one discussed in my article in *BICS*. The latter is apparently limited to western Boeotia. The 'larger male groups' seem to be restricted to central and southern areas (unless the Trophoniadai are to be included in the group), while the others can be traced in most parts of the region<sup>61</sup>. Practically all of the evidence for them is literary, which severely limits any attempt to trace origins. A detailed study of these types will have to examine their occurrence throughout the Greek world. Cult activity is definitely attested for all types except the male pairs and the dying boy: here too, a more wide ranging study might bring evidence to light.

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NOTES

1. *BICS* 14 (1967) 1-16.
2. Hesiod, *Theogony* 907-909.
3. Eteoklos, who was the first to worship them, was son of Kephisos (Hesiod, fr. 71 [Merkelbach and West; 39 Rz<sup>3</sup>]); a fountain is mentioned by Pausanias (9.38.2) but not definitely attributed to the Charites; a φρέαρ in *Geoponika* 11.4; Akidalia in Pindar, fr. 232 (Bowra; 244 Snell<sup>3</sup>), connected with the Charites by Servius (on Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.720).  
On Akidalia, see Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, p.154 and note 1, and *GdH* 1.188 note 4.
4. Ephoros *FGrH* 70F152; cf. Farnell, *Cults* 5.429ff.
5. e.g., Pindar, *Olympian* 14.1ff.
6. Pausanias 9.29.2ff.; and cf. Eumelos, fr. 17 Ki (three daughters of Apollo: Kephisos, Apollinis, Borysthenis). Other sources include: Ephoros *FGrH* 70F222; Varro in Servius on Vergil, *Eclogues* 7.21; Diod. Sicul. 4.7.2; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium* ch.14 (Lang); Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 14 (744C-D).  
Cf. B. A. van Groningen, "Les Trois Muses de l'Hélicon", *L'Antiquité Classique* 17 (1948) 287-296.
7. *SEG* 13.347.
8. Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 41 (301A-C); *BMC Central Greece* 65.52-54.
9. Pausanias 9.33.3 and 9.33.5; Panyasis, fr. 18 Ki; Dionysios *FHG* 4.394F3; *Anecd. Oxon.* 1.76.23ff.
10. Pausanias 9.16.3-4 (Apostrophia, Ourania, Pandemos); cf. F. Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes*, p.143-147.
11. Kleidemos *FGrH* 323F22; Pausanias 9.3.9; Plutarch, *Aristeides* 11.3-4 (329C-D); *Quaest. Conv.* 1.10.3 (628E-F).
12. Pausanias 9.17.1.
13. e.g., Diod. Sicul. 15.54.2-3; Pausanias 9.13.5-6; 9.14.3; Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 20-22 (288D-289D); *Amat. Narrat.* 3 (773-774D); *De Herod. Malign.* 1 (856F); Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.4.7.
14. Korinna, fr. 3 (656 Page); Nikandros in Antoninus Liberalis 25; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.685-704 (at Thebes); Schol. Lykophon 1247.

15. ?Hekataios *FGrH* 1F117; Pausanias 9.34.7-8; Steph. Byz. sv "Κορώνεια"; Schol. B. *Iliad* 2.503; Eustathios on *Iliad*, p.268.17; cf. *IG* 7.2873.
16. Pausanias 9.10.3.
17. e.g., Homer, *Odyssey* 11.260-265; Hesiod, fr. 182 (Merkelbach and West; 133 Rz.<sup>3</sup>).
18. Eustathios on *Iliad* 2.502; Menelaos *FGrH* 284F4; Strabo 9.2.28 (411); Steph. Byz. sv "Εὐτρησις".
19. Euripides, *Antiope*, *passim*; Pausanias 1.38.9; 2.6.1-4.
20. Ps.-Plutarch, *Prov.* 51 (*Paroem.* 1.329); Charax *FGrH* 103F5; Kosmas, *Migne PG* 38.512f.; Lactantius Placid. on Statius, *Thebais* 7.345; *Suidas* svv "Εἰς Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται"; "Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια"; Tzetzes on Aristophanes, *Clouds* 506a.
21. e.g., Pausanias 9.37.4ff.
22. Pausanias 9.37.7 (pit and stele); 9.39.6 (sacrifice: at pit of Agamedes?).
23. *Homeric Hymn (to Apollo)* 3.295-297.
24. Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 37 (299C-E); Schol. B *Iliad* 2.498; *POxy* 27.2463 (quoting Rhianos, Aristophanes of Boeotia, and one other).
25. Pausanias 9.25.5-10 (where they are called Prometheus and Aitnaios); plus many inscriptions.
26. *Die Kabiren* p.273ff.; 328ff.; esp. chart on p.330-331.
27. Pindar, *Isthmian* 4.67-74, and Schol.; Euripides, *Herakles* 1389-1392.
28. *Isthmian* 4.69.
29. Thespios: Ephoros *FGrH* 70F13; Diod. Sicul. 4.29.2-3; Ps.-Apollod. 2.4.10; 2.7.6; 2.7.8; Hyginus *Fab.* 162. Thestios: Hellanikos *FGrH* 4F3; Herodoros *FGrH* 31F20; Pausanias 9.27.6; Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.221-225.
30. Diod. Sicul. 4.29.4.
31. Isokrates 14.60; Plutarch, *Aristeides* 11 (325C-E); Clem. Alexandr., *Protr.* 2.40.2 (St.; 35P).
32. e.g., Pindar, *Olympian* 6.15-16; *Nemean* 9.22-24.
33. Euripides, *Suppl.* 754ff.
34. Charax *FGrH* 103F5; Pausanias 9.39.5; Plutarch, *De Fac. in Orbe Lunae* 30 (944E).

35. Summary of evidence in V. Chr. Petrakos 'Ο Ὠρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (Athens 1968) + 222pp.
36. *BICS* 14 (1967) 6-7.
37. Petrakos, *op. cit.*, p.66f.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Pausanias 1.34.5.
40. e.g., Pausanias 9.39.5-6.
41. See above, and also *BICS* 14 (1967) 9.
42. e.g., Ovid, *Metam.* 3.339ff.; Konon *FGrH* 26F1.24; Pausanias 9.31.7.
43. Strabo 9.2.10 (404); Eustathios on *Odyssey*, p.1967.36.
44. Probus on Vergil, *Eclogues* 2.48.
45. e.g., Hesiod, fr. 70.33 (Merkelbach and West; 37-38 Rz.<sup>3</sup>); Steph. Byz. sv "'Αργύριον"; Likymmios, fr. 1 (768 Page).
46. 9.33.4.
47. *Id.* 9.10.5-6.
48. *POxy* 10.1241.iv.5-10.
49. e.g., Pausanias 9.2.3.
50. Ovid, *Metam.* 3.155ff. is the earliest source for this.
51. Pausanias 9.3.1ff.; Plutarch *FGrH* 388F1.
52. Pausanias 9.10.4; Proklos in Photios, *Bibl.* 239, p.321A-B (Bekker).
53. Pausanias 9.3.6. The epithet "Kithaironia" is attached to Hera at Thespiai by Clem. Alexandr., *Protr.* 4.46.3 (St.; 40P).
54. Pausanias 9.3.1; Plutarch *FGrH* 388F1.
55. *BICS* 14 (1967) 4.
56. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p.53, and Wilamowitz, *GdH* 1.236.
57. Daphnephoria: Proklos, *loc. cit.* Daidala: Pausanias 9.3.3ff., and cf. Wilamowitz, *GdH* 1.236f.
58. Pindar, fr. 84 (Bowra; 94b Snell<sup>3</sup>).
59. e.g., Herodotos 9.52f.

60. Compare also Pausanias' "Little Daidala" (9.3.4-5), where the trees are collected at Alalkomenai, and Proklos, in Photios, *Bibl.* 239, p.321A-B (Bekker), where the laurel for the Daphnephoria is gathered from Helikon and the river Melas.
61. It is interesting to note that none of the cult types appears on the coasts of Boeotia. However, very little is known about the traditions current in these areas: nothing about the south coast, and on the north and east the only traditions concern Glaukos at Anthedon, the events at Aulis, and - if Hyria was a coastal town - the stories of Hyrieus, Orion and Lykos, Nykteus and Antiope at Hyria.

\* \* \*

The following points arose from the discussion:

1. On the question of Amphiaraos, the relations between his sanctuary at Oropos and the sanctuary of Aristomachos-Amphieraos at Rhamnous were cited. See J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamonte* (Paris 1954) pp.93-102, esp. p.97 (on the similarities).
2. The Boiotian trinities were, to all appearances, regarded as entities, and there was no apparent division of function, except possibly in the doubtful case of the triple Aphrodite (Apostrophia-Ourania-Pandemos) at Thebes.

THE SITE OF CERESSUS (See map, fig. 4)

by R. J. Buck

According to Plutarch (*Cam.* 18) The Boeotians fought and defeated the Thessalians ἐπὶ Κερήσσῳ, slaying the Thessalian leader Lattamyas in the process. It was a battle as important for the liberation of Greece as the later Leuctra. The Thessalians had controlled Greece ἄχρι Θεσπιαίας (*de Hdt. mal.*32), which should mean here "up to the borders of Thespieae" rather than "as far as (and including) Thespieae". In both citations Plutarch clearly implies that the Thebans took part in the battle; in fact, the contexts become nonsensical unless the Thebans are believed to have fought against the Thessalians at Ceressus. Pausanias (9.14) says that the Thespians used Ceressus twice as a place of refuge (in place of their non-existent acropolis), once at the time of the Thessalian attack and once after Leuctra, when Epaminondas took it without much trouble. He quotes an oracle that indicates that the battle with the Thessalians took place at the site itself, not somewhere in the neighborhood. He calls Ceressus an ἐχυρὸν χώριον, and this term, as well as his use of ἀνεσκευάσοντο, could well mean that the site was not a settlement.

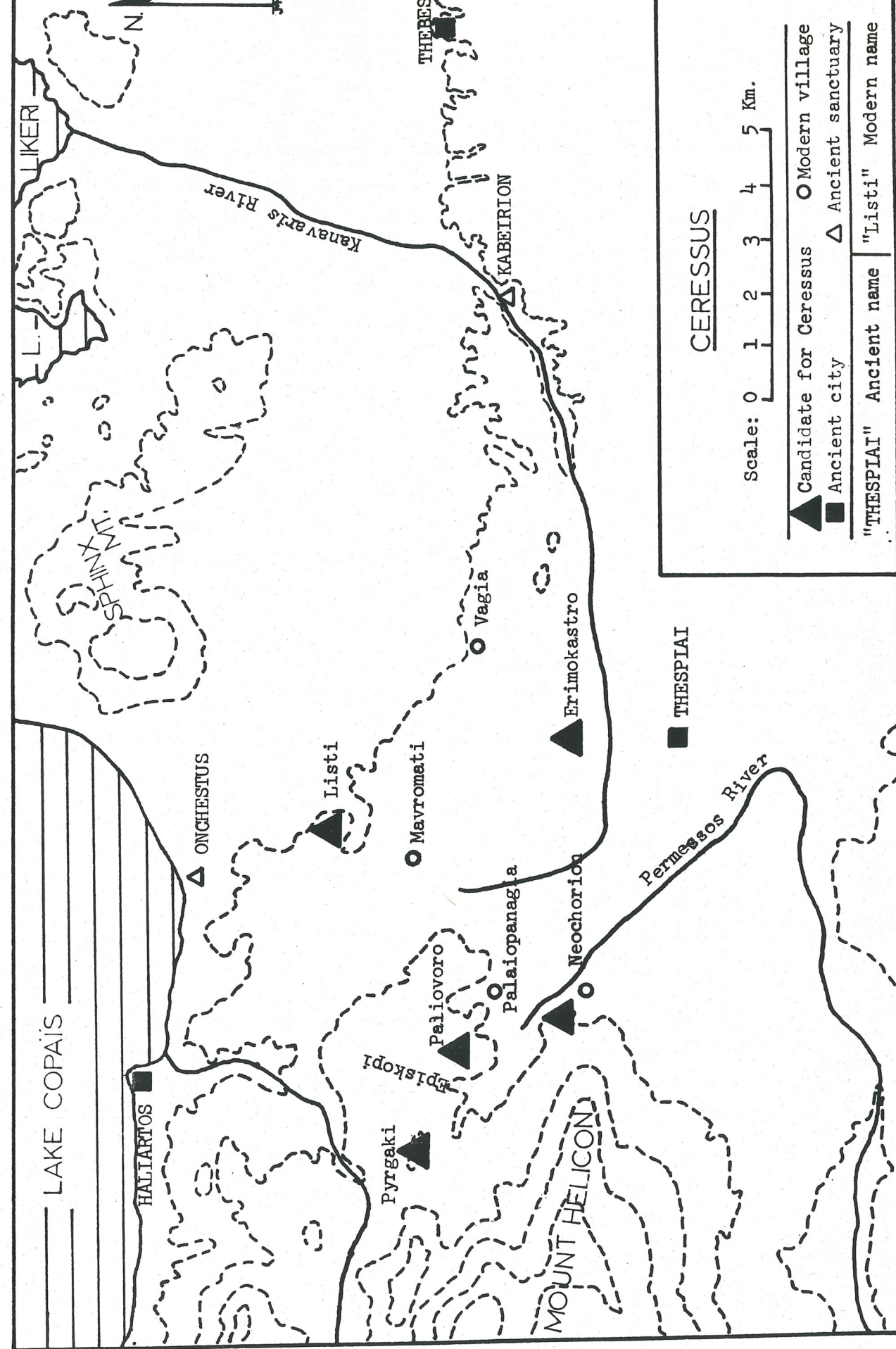
From all this it may be inferred that Ceressus was a defensible spot, not necessarily a settlement;<sup>1</sup> that it was defended against the Thessalians by the Thebans, and, no doubt, other Boeotians, as well as by the Thespians; that, since it was used seldom (if not only twice), it lay not too conveniently close to Thespieae, although in Thespian territory; that it did not pose a difficult problem of attack to a fourth century general like Epaminondas; that it should have been of such a nature as to seem to be assailable by cavalry. This last point deserves emphasis. The Thessalians' main strength



lay in their cavalry; no sane general, unless there are very strong reasons to the contrary, attacks when there is no apparent chance of success; Lattamyas should have had the hope of successfully employing his main force. Therefore Ceressus should be a location that at least gave the impression that cavalry could assault it.

A line of hills runs from Helicon southeasterly along the southern edge of the Theban (or Teneric) plain, separating it from the valley of the Kanavari. A low ridge, sometimes termed the Onchestus ridge, branches from these hills northeast towards Sphinx mountain, dividing the Teneric plain from the Copaic basin.<sup>2</sup> Three routes pass from the Copaic basin through this complex of hills towards Thebes and Thespieae. Two of them, represented by the lines of the modern railway and highway, go through the Onchestus ridge; the third follows a road through the main range of hills by way of the Permessus and Kanavari valleys.<sup>3</sup> The line of the modern highway has steeper grades than the railway approach, but is more direct and really not too difficult. It represents the commonly used route of antiquity.<sup>4</sup> The third route is harder going than the other two, is somewhat longer, and has much steeper grades in passing through the range of hills. The Permessus valley is narrow, particularly near Neochorion and Palaiopanagia, and the slopes flanking it are steep.

The main road provides the best route to Thebes and Thespieae, but the third route is not impossible, though far less obvious as a route for cavalry. Nonetheless it is somewhere along the third route that Ceressus has usually been placed. The railway line is too far to the north, well beyond Thespian territory, and the main road runs immediately below the hillock on which is the assumed site of Onchestus. The boundaries of Thespian territory should, therefore, lie south of the highway, and hence, Ceressus cannot be on the Onchestus ridge. As will be seen, however, there is a location within the modern limits of Thespian territory that overlooks the main road.



The most commonly accepted location is at Paliovero (variously termed Palaiopyrgo, Palaiopanagia, Ayios Taxiarchos), a hill about 1 km. west of the village of Panagia,<sup>5</sup> on which can be seen a ruined tower. It is about 5½ km. from the site of ancient Thespieae. It overlooks the valley of the Permessus from the west and affords a good view of the Copaic and Theban plains. It is a strong position, controlling a narrowing of the valley, but it is difficult to approach and has very steep slopes on three sides, the north, east and south. There are no good lines of retreat towards Thebes or Thespieae, only southwest towards the wilds of Helicon. Nor is it a suitable location even for sallying out to attack an enemy in the valley, since egress is as difficult as access. It is solely a defensive spot, one that would require siege operations for its reduction, but one that could provide the defenders with little opportunity to interfere with an invading army.

One km. west-northwest of Paliovero, across the stream Episkopi, is another conical hill, Pyrgaki, with a ruined Hellenic tower. This is commonly identified as the site of Ascra,<sup>6</sup> but recently has been claimed to be the site of Ceressus.<sup>7</sup> Much the same arguments can be applied to this site as to Paliovero, but with the additional disadvantage that it is 1 km. further from Thespieae and from the valley route. There could be virtually no chance of interfering with a force coming down the valley unless the advantages of this position were abandoned. It is also very far westward to be in Thespian territory.

A third site sometimes favoured is near Neochorion, on the hill just northwest of that village.<sup>8</sup> Ruins were observed here by Leake and others, and from an abandoned church an inscription was recovered (*I.G.* 7. 1862), that clearly identifies the place as a dependency of Thespieae. It holds a strong position overlooking the mouth of the valley; remnants of walls were observed on the west and

northwest of the hill, in the weakest sectors. Forces debouching into the Kanavari valley and turning east to Thespieae would pass immediately below the hill, well within striking range. It is, as Leake observed, the best position in the Permessus valley to interfere with any forces coming toward Thespieae. On the other hand, the only line of retreat lies up the vale of the Muses; a force occupying the hill at Nechorion would be cut off from Thebes and Thespieae.

A fourth site is one km. north of ancient Thespieae, on the site of modern Thespieae [labelled "Erimokastro" on the map, fig. 4 - Edd.], where it was thought<sup>9</sup> the substitute for the non-existent ancient acropolis might be located. This spot is not defensible except from the direction of ancient Thespieae, and so is generally rejected.

The first three of these four possible sites for Ceressus were occupied as settlements in Classical times; all seem to have had some fortification, though of uncertain date. The three are strong positions; Neochorion certainly, Paliovero probably and Pyrgaki perhaps are in Thesopian territory; all are fairly close to Thespieae and so could be used as refugee areas, Pyrgaki being least likely on this score. On the other hand all are on a route that is not as practicable for an attack on Thebes or Thespieae as is the highway route over the Onchestus ridge. Paliovero, Pyrgaki and Neochorion are hills with steep slopes, so steep that no cavalry could possibly assault them.

The Thessalians, strong in cavalry, sought battle where that arm could be employed efficiently. Their objective in the campaign seems to have been the reduction of at least Thespieae and probably all of eastern Boeotia. Their best route for attack would be over the Onchestus ridge into the Teneric plain and then either directly

towards Thebes or through the gaps in the hills east of Vagia towards Thespieae. On this route an infantry force in the plain, or on the slopes south of the plain could be dealt with very efficiently.

The route through the Permessus valley would lead the Thessalians into the Kanavari valley, with Thespieae waiting to be captured. But there would be opportunities for trouble in the defile, particularly near Neochorion. Only if the Thessalians were seeking out an enemy in the hope of breaking resistance would an attack in the Permessus valley be conceivable.

On the other hand, an infantry force, like that of Boeotia, might well desire to avoid a battle in the open. It would, as infantry armies in analogous circumstances did at Marathon and Plataea, try to hold high ground with slopes that would disorganize a cavalry attack, in a position that would block the enemy from its objective, or at least render the enemy liable to a flank attack. A position in the Permessus valley would not fulfil this strategy, since it would neither block the enemy from its objective nor render it liable to a flank attack, especially if the enemy chose the Onchestus ridge route. An infantry force in the Permessus valley could be ignored or eventually brought to battle near Thebes or Thespieae at a spot more convenient to the Thessalians.

There is, however, a location overlooking any line of approach to eastern Boeotia north of Helicon, and from which it is possible to deploy into the Permessus valley or towards the Onchestus ridge without difficulty. This is the hill of Listi, just north of the village of Mavromati. It is about a kilometre long, running east-west, with fairly steep slopes to the north, west and east and to most of the south, being separated from Mavromati by a steep-sided ravine. The slopes to the north and west are deceptive; they look much less steep than they are. The southwest corner, however, is



connected to the main line of hills running toward Thebes by a gently sloped saddle steep to the west. From the top of Listi there is a clear view over the Copaic and Theban plains as well as the Onchestus ridge and the entrance to the Permessus valley. It lies about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  km. from Thespieae and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  from the generally accepted site of Onchestus. It should be close to, and south of, the northern boundary of Thespian territory. Water supplies are available from streams running to the east and west; springs are alleged to occur on the lower slopes to the west. No walls or other architectural features are observable, but a few sherds, probably Early Helladic, can be seen at the base of the hill to the west. A neolithic site lies nearby.<sup>10</sup> Probably the hill was not settled in the Classical period. The name in /ss/, like that of the nearby Permessos, hints at a pre-Greek toponym.

Listi is a fairly good defensive location, not perfect, but adequate, large enough to encamp several thousand people and providing a good line of retreat into broken country, a line leading to Thespieae and Thebes. Since it is also possible to move against the Permessus valley and the Onchestus ridge, Listi is a good spot for a troop concentration, in fact the last good defensive spot between the Onchestus ridge and Thebes. It fulfils the requirement set out above for a spot in Thespian territory apparently assailable by cavalry, not too close to Thespieae and not necessarily a settlement, where a battle could take place.

If this is the case, then a Boeotian force stationed here would be well poised, from a reasonably secure base, for interfering with the Thessalians no matter which approach they attempted. An army here would have to be dealt with, while one in the Permessus valley could be made to conform to the Thessalians' movements. One can only surmise that the Thessalians attacked from the north over the deceptive slopes leading up to Listi, got winded and disorganized

and were repulsed by a Boeotian downhill attack. Such tactics could not be employed at the other sites, and a siege does not find countenance in Plutarch.

The fact that Epaminondas was able to deal with the Thespians so swiftly after Leuctra speaks for a site like Listi, a base, not a town, unequipped to stand a siege, especially not by as competent a general as Epaminondas, held by a group of citizens with the fight gone from them.

On most counts a place like Listi seems very probable as the site of Ceressus.

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Notes:-

1. As Bölte, *RE*, xi, s.v. "Keressos", 287, rightly observes.
2. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, II, 137; Philippson-Kirsten, *Griechische Landschaften*, I, 2, 469.
3. See Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 140, for a description of this route.
4. Philippson-Kirsten, *Gr.Land*, I, 2, 469.
5. Philippson-Kirsten, *Gr.Land*. I,2,452; Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 53 ff.; S. Rossiter *Blue Guide* (London, 1967), 340; Kirsten-Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde*<sup>5</sup> (Heidelberg, 1967), 238.
6. *Blue Guide* 340; Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 54; Philippson-Kirsten, I, 2, 459.
7. Kirsten in Philippson-Kirsten, *Gr. Land*. I, 2, 718 and Kirsten-Kraiker, 238. Ascra is set near Xeronomi, to the south of Helicon.
8. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, II, 500; Bölte *l.c.* (note 1), mentions it favourably.
9. By Ulrichs; idea rebutted by Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 53 f. and Bölte, *l.c.* (note 1).
10. *AA*, LV (1940), 186.

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During the discussion, reference was made to the discovery of Mycenaean pottery - as yet unpublished - at the foot of the hill at Listi. This pottery is now in the Thebes Museum.

PINDAR, PYTHIAN XI, 1-11

by P. Vivante

Pindar's Pythian XI begins thus:

Κάδμου κόραι, Σεμέλα μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀγυῖατις,  
 Ἴνώ δὲ Λευκοθέα  
 ποντιαῖαν ὁμοθάλαμῃ Νηρηϊδῶν,  
 ἕτε σὺν Ἡρακλέος ἀριστογόνῳ  
 ματρὶ παρ Μελίαν χρυσεῶν ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων  
 θησαυρόν, ὃν περιᾶλλ' ἐτίμασε Λοξίας,  
 Ἰσμήνιον δ' ὀνύμαξεν, ἀλαθέα μαντίων θῶκον,  
 ᾧ παῖδες Ἀρμονίας,  
 ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἐπίνομον ἠρωϊδῶν  
 στρατὸν ὁμαγερέα καλεῖ συνίμεν,  
 ὄφρα θέμιν ἱερὰν Πυθῶνά τε καὶ ὀρθοδίκαν  
 γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν κελαθήσεται ἄκρα σὺν ἑσπέρα  
 ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις ...

Daughters of Cadmus - Semele o dweller on Olympus,  
 and Ino White Goddess  
 sharer with the Nereides of the sea's deep chambers,  
 come with Heracles' mother blessed in her offspring  
 to the presence of Melia,  
 to the treasure of golden tripods,  
 which Loxias loved above all  
 and named it Ismenion,  
 a true seat of prophecy,  
 o daughters of Harmonia;  
 hither he now invites  
 all the neighbouring host of the heroines  
 to sing of holy Themis and Pytho.  
 and of the earth's navel the upholder of justice  
 at the fall of evening  
 to grace Thebes of the Seven Gates ...

In other Odes of Pindar, especially in their opening, a city is often asked to welcome home a victorious athlete. The present case is quite different. Thrasydaios, the victor in question, is somehow associated with the feast of Melia which, of course, has nothing to do with the Pythian Games or with Thrasydaios himself. We have here a rare passage. What stands out is the feast in itself and by

itself. It provides a solemn setting. It evokes the atmosphere of a local religious celebration; and, as such, it gives us a good example of rituals actually, if poetically, witnessed.

Who is Melia? She is known to us as a daughter of Ocean, loved by Apollo to whom she bare Tenerus who became Apollo's seer in Mount Ptoon and Ismenus who gave his name to the neighbouring river and to the shrine. We thus find here a local myth, a local belief and ritual - something which, for being local, is no less solemn: on the contrary, we might say, the local character is here a source of particular intensity. Pindar dwells on the same theme in Paeon IX 34 ff.:

ἐκράνθην ὑπὸ δαιμονίῳ τινὶ  
λέχει πέλας ἀμβροσίῳ Μελίας  
ἀγαυὸν καλάμῳ συνάγειν θρόον  
μήδεσίν τε φρενὸς ὑμ[ε]τέραν χάριν.  
λιτανεύω, ἑκαβόλε,  
Μοισαίαις ἀν[α]τιθεὶς τέχνα[ισ]ῶν  
χρηστήριον, [ἄπολ]λον, τ[εό]ν,  
ἐν ᾧ Τήνερον εὐρυβίαν θεμίτ[ων ποτὲ  
ἐξαιρετὸν προφάταν ἔτεκ[εν λέχει  
κόρα μ[ε]γέϊσ' Ὠκεανοῦ Μελία σέο ...

Close to Melia's immortal couch  
by god was I prompted  
to compose a bright strain with my flute  
and with the thoughts of my mind.  
I beseech you, far-shooting god,  
whilst I devote your shrine  
to the arts of the Muses.

There did Melia once bare mighty Tenerus  
strong interpreter of your decrees -  
Melia the daughter of Ocean  
wedded to you ...

It would be attractive to think that in the rest of the Paeon Pindar sang the scene of Melia's ravishment and of Apollo's love, in the way he sings of Apollo and Cyrene in Pythian IX.

Another fragment (Paeon VII 2-4) again mentions "the god's in-most shrine and the bright dwelling of Melia daughter of Ocean". Yet other fragments of uncertain classification, provided by Strabo (IX 412, 413), mention Melia's son Tenerus and his abode at the oracle of Mount Ptoon. Here we read about Apollo (Bowra fr. 30):

δινηθεὶς ἐπῆεν  
γᾶν τε καὶ <πᾶσαν> θάλασσαν  
καὶ σκοπιαῖσιν .....  
... ὀρέων ὑπερ ἕστα  
καὶ μυχοῦς διζήσατο βαλλόμενος κρηπίδας ἀλσέων.

Whirling he passed over land and sea  
and stood on the watch-towers of mountains  
and sought their caverns  
for the foundations of shrines ....

There follows, still in Strabo, the mention of "the three-peaked retreat of Mount Ptoon" (τὸν τρικάρανον Πτωίου κευθμῶνα) and of Tenerus "who bears the same name as the underlying plains" (ναοπόλον μάντιν δαπέδοισιν ὁμοκλέα).

All these allusions of Pindar refer to Melia in emotional language. They are suggestive; and yet they leave us in the dark. We do not know what feast it was that is celebrated at the opening of Pythian XI. We do not have a name for it. It presents certain peculiar features - above all the participation of goddesses and not gods, of heroines and not heroes; besides this, the fact that these divine beings are supposed to be actually present. The commentators do not have much to say on this part of the poem; only Farnell, it seems, who supposes that the feast in question celebrated the *hieros gamos* of Melia and Apollo.

The glowing reality of the feast contrasts with its obscurity. You will have trouble finding Melia in any mythological handbook. It is interesting that the only authority about her, besides Pindar, seems to be Pausanias who says (IX, 10):

Above the Ismenion you will see a fountain which is sacred to Ares. Adjoining this is the tomb of Kaanthos. They say that Kaanthos was the son of Oceanus and the brother of Melia and that the father sent him to seek the sister who had been ravished. As he found that Melia was in Apollo's possession and that he could not take her away from him, he set fire to Apollo's temple which is today called Ismenion; then the god, so the Thebans say, killed him with an arrow; there is nearby the grave of Kaanthos. They say that Apollo had two sons from Melia, Tenerus and Ismenius - to Tenerus the god gave the gift of prophecy, and Ismenius gave his name to the river.

It is significant that Pindar and Pausanias should share a common ground. In the above passage Pausanias does not quote anyone, he simply tells us what he saw and what he heard in the places he visited; and Pindar, in his own way, is equally attached to local features, to places and their haunting pieties. What Pausanias records descriptively, Pindar somehow recovers in its primitive mythical value; and, in doing so, he transmits to us something of the divine quality which clings to certain spots.

It is so with the Ismenion. As we read, we feel the religion of the place, but we can only guess the particular contents of the feast. Did the *hieros gamos* of Melia and Apollo serve to celebrate the presence of a divine seed in a mortal womb? Like Melia, these women were brides of gods or intimately connected with them - Alcmena and Semele who were loved by Zeus and gave birth to Heracles and Dionysos respectively, Ino who reared the infant Dionysos.

Whatever the case may be, there can be no doubt about Pindar's style in evoking the festal hour. It is both solemn and passionate - as if the shrine of Melia 'which Loxias loved above all else', 'true seat of prophecy', mattered to Pindar more than Delphi itself. Delphi, of course, commanded universal reverence; but we might suppose that, as it often happens, the more personal, more local centres exerted a more intimate spell; and there existed, especially in Boeotia, many other minor seats of prophecy - e.g., Lebadeia,

Eutresis, Tegyra, Oropus. Pindar never seems to show for Delphi the enthusiasm which he shows here for the Ismenion. In his treatment of myths on a larger scale - in Pyth.IV and V, for instance, and in Ol.VII - it is always the oracle of Delphi which gives the right response and opens the way to the future; but when it comes to his personal experience, it is not quite so. Another example in point is Pyth.VIII 55-60:

χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς  
'Αλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, φαίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνῳ,  
γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν  
ὅπαντασεν ἰόντι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' αἰδίμον,  
μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάσατο συγγόνοισι τέχνης.

Rejoicing I cover Alcmaeon with flowers  
and bathe him with song;  
close to me does he live, a guardian of all my goods;  
he met me while I was on my way to the earth's navel,  
and he touched on his prophecies  
with his native art.

This passage shows us that Alcmaeon, like his father Amphiaraos, was a seer and was honoured with a shrine - situated, presumably, near Pindar's house. We must take, it seems, Pindar quite literally. Alcmaeon actually met him - whether as an apparition or in some other form we do not know. Like the daughters of Cadmus he is present there and then.

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We have the impression that a Greek city - Thebes in this case - was peopled with animate points of reference. The myths are embedded in the landscape. See how the same name designates a landmark and a living being. Ismenus, for instance, is the river and the son of Melia. Melia herself, daughter of Ocean, conveys a sense of water, and yet she is the bride of Apollo. Thebes is a city of waters, of springs. "Dumb of heart is he who is not ever mindful of Dirce's waters" says Pindar (Pyth.IX 87). Elsewhere (Isthm.VI 74)

instead of saying "I shall dedicate to him my poem" (i.e., to Pytheas) he says: "I shall give him to drink of the holy water of Dirce". Similarly in Ol.VI 82-87, at the peak of the Ode, Pindar turns upon himself saying:

δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ λιγυρᾶς ἀκόνας,  
καί μ' ἐθέλοντα προσέλκει καλλιρόοισι πνοαῖς.  
ματρομάτωρ ἐμὰ Στυμφαλῖς, εὐανθῆς Μετώπα,  
πλάξιππον ἃ Θῆβαν ἔτικτεν, τᾶς ἐρατεινὸν ὕδωρ  
πίομαι, ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων  
ποικίλον ὕμνον ...

A sharpness of whetstone is laid on my tongue;  
gladly I feel it, over me it comes  
with fair streams of song.  
My mother's mother is from Stymphalos, flowering Metopa;  
she gave birth to Theba tamer of horses,  
whose lovely waters I drink as I am weaving my strain.

We are astonished by this language. What in other poets might be considered figures of speech or conceits is here the fruit of true associations rooted in the soil. Let us look at these names a little more closely. Metopa, whom Pindar calls 'my mother's mother', was a nymph, daughter of the river Ladon whose source is near Stymphalus in Arcadia and flows into the Alpheus. From Metopa and the Boeotian river Asopus Theba was born. Many were the daughters of Asopus; Pindar also mentions Aegina, others are mentioned in a fragment of Corinna that tells us how they were all wedded to gods. Now Theba is to Pindar a mother whose lovely waters he drinks as he is composing his poems.

This myth echoed in Pindar is very obscure. Nor can we gather much more from Corinna's fragment, except that Asopus sought nine of his daughters that had been ravished by gods, just as Oceanus sought Melia who was in the hands of Apollo. The obscurity of the myth is itself significant: it is hardly mentioned elsewhere and yet it is so deeply felt by the Theban Pindar. Again, as in the case

of Melia, Apollo and Ismenus, what stands out is the spell of a local belief, all the more intense in that it is rooted in a certain place and not converted into a religious or philosophical message. Thus Pindar, in the lines quoted above, shows an almost mystical participation in the underlying life of Thebes, through those waters that are transformed into a stream of song.

Mythology ceases to be here a report of divine or semi-divine action. This is perhaps why these myths could not find a place in the systems of the mythologists. We are far removed from the realm of narrative. We are also removed from literature in the strict sense of the term. At least in Pindar the mythical allusion is not, in this case, a literary theme. Mythology is here made to coincide with geography. It lies in the landscape or in the cityscape - as here in the waters of Thebes, in the many springs which no doubt were the reasons of its foundation at that particular spot. Spring, fountain, river, the overhanging rock, the mysterious cave suggested, embodied the myths. Where a myth grows into a religion and is universalized, or where it is converted into a story assuming a general aesthetic relevance - then, in such cases, these local relations are necessarily blurred and forgotten. But Pindar still feels very strongly the link between a place and its god.

It is in this spirit, perhaps, that we must read the opening of Pythian XI. Ino's tragic experiences with Athamas, Semele's sufferings through Hera's jealousy, the persecutions which Alcmena underwent after the death of Heracles - all these stories could not have had here the slightest place. Ino, Semele, Alcmena - like Melia - are here pure embodiments of a glorious moment, summoned up to establish a divine element in the life of the city. Similarly Melia, Metopa, Theba, Asopus hardly lend themselves to any complicated story. They underlie the delicate and elusive relations which bind places to the sense of divinity emanating from them.



They are names loaded with emotional significance. They neither have the abstraction of symbols nor the concreteness of real persons. Their value lies in their self-existence as images - images which are not fanciful, bound as they are to the place.

More than when we read Homer or the Tragedians we seem to touch here at the roots of mythical thinking. I mean that we recover here something of the mystery which undelies the representations of Greek myth - insofar as they spring from the mysterious suggestions of scenery. No poet that I know was more ready than Pindar to see an animate form, a body and a soul, in man-built cities as well as in nature. See, for instance, how powerfully in the fragment of a prosodion (Bowra 78-9) he represents Delos coming to a standstill supported on the water by massive pillars, like a temple waiting for its god; or how, in Olympian VII, he represents the island of Rhodes rising up from the depth of the sea. But even more we can observe his plastic animating touch in the way he treats the cities of men. The same name very often signifies both the city and the local nymph or goddess. So much so that we are often quite puzzled. At the beginning of Pythian IX, for instance, we read: "I am singing ... Telesicrates ... crown of horse-taming Cyrene - whom once the ... son of Leto ravished ...". As you see, horse-taming Cyrene is in the first phrase, obviously, the city; and in the next Cyrene is the nymph loved by Apollo; and later on in the poem it becomes again the city. So in Pythian IV Libya is at once the region of that name and the daughter of Epaphos, in the remarkable verse "the daughter of Epaphos will see planted within her the root ... of great cities" (Pyth. IV 14-15). It is especially Aegina, of course, that is so treated in the Aeginetan Odes. So in Pythian VIII 21-24:

ἔπεσε δ' οὐ Χαρίτων ἐκὰς  
ἀ δικαιοπόλις ἀρεταῖς  
κλειναῖσιν Αἰακιδᾶν  
θιγοῖσα νᾶσος ...

Not far from the Graces she fell at her place -  
this island of justice,  
and she touched on the might  
of Aeacus' children ...

Here as often she is a mother, a rearer of heroes, a fruitful island;  
but in Paean VI she is at once the island and nymph daughter of  
Asopus, sister of Theba, carried off and loved by Zeus (ib.123 ff.):

[ὄνο]μακλύτα γ' ἔνεσσι Δωριεῖ  
μ[ε]δέοισα [πό]ντῳ  
νᾶσος, .....  
ὁ πάντα τοι τά τε καὶ τὰ τεύχων  
ὄν ἐγγυάλιξεν ὄλβον  
εὐρύ[πα] Κρόνου  
παῖς, ὀδάτ<εσσ>ι δ' [ἐ]π' Ἀσ[ω]-  
ποῦ π[οτ' ἀ]πὸ προθύρων βαθύκολ-  
πον ἀ[να]ρέψατο παρθένον Αἴ-  
γιναν· τότε χρύσεια ἀ-  
ἔρος ἔκρουσαν κόμ[α]ι  
ἐπιχώριον κατὰ-  
σκιον νῶτον ἡμέτερον  
ἵνα λεχέων ἐπ' ἀμβρότων ....

O fair-named island, you are placed  
as a queen on the Dorian sea  
.....  
he that shapes events hither and thither  
put bliss in the palm of your hand -  
the son of Cronos far-sighted;  
for upon the streams of Asopus  
he once carried off from the portal  
the deep-bosomed maiden Aegina;  
golden tresses of mist then concealed  
the shadowy ridge of your land  
on the immortal couch ....

It is hard for us to understand these identifications of a land  
with a divinity conceived in human shape. But reading Pindar we can  
recapture, perhaps, something of the underlying imaginative process.

In the fragment just quoted the *hieros gamos* beautifully consummated on the island tells us of a rocky shape suddenly bursting into life. In the same way a Greek city rising upon its hill or close to its springs seems to be naturally grown out of the soil. Nature and the gods conspire to stir it into existence. We again have this impression, for instance, when Pindar invokes Syracuse at the opening of Nemean I:

Ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἄλφειοῦ,  
κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλος Ὀρτυγία,  
δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος,  
Δάλου κασιγνήτα.

Holy breathing place of Alpheus,  
Ortygia, young branch of Syracuse,  
couch of Artemis,  
sister of Delos.

As if Syracuse had grown out of the waters of Alpheus and under the protection of the gods. Thus the ruins of ancient Greek cities seem to be one and all with the underlying rocks - and it is difficult to know exactly where nature ends and the work of man begins.

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During the discussion, it was suggested that the Theban rite to which Pindar refers in the introduction to Pythian XI may have been the Daphnephoria, and Thrasydaios a Daphnephoros.

Ἰττω Ζεὺς: BOEOTIANS USING THEIR DIALECT OR CONFORMING TO THE NATIONAL κοινὴ

by S. Levin

At an early point in Socrates' famous dialogue with his two Theban friends (*Phaedo* 62a), we read καὶ ὁ Κέβης ἠρέμα ἐπιγελάσας, "Ἰττω Ζεὺς, ἔφη, τῆ αὐτοῦ φωνῆ εἰπὼν 'and Cebes with a soft chuckle said "Ἰττω Ζεὺς," speaking in his own dialect.' The Boeotian words are literally translated 'Let Zeus know'; in the context they are virtually equivalent to our formula 'Right you are!' or 'You bet!'. My present interest in the passage from Plato is centered upon the implication that Cebes lapsed into his native speech that time but otherwise he and his fellow Theban conversed with Socrates in Attic.

As a preliminary I must dispose of the textual or phonetic complications and a question of literary method. First, the manuscripts present the unfamiliar Boeotian expression with nearly every conceivable variant, although no deep corruption.<sup>1</sup> The true reading may well be Ἰττι ὦ Ζεῦ 'know, O Zeus' with the second person imperative rather than the third.<sup>2</sup> There is, besides, a minor issue over the opening letter of the god's name. Texts other than Plato<sup>3</sup> give it with Δ- in Boeotian, instead of Ζ-; the sound may have been odd so that Attic authors naturally wavered as to the writing of it. But anyhow Plato put down something in the first word -- the ττ -- to suggest the actual Boeotian sound; he did not summarily convert it into Attic.

A more interesting technicality, not to be dismissed outright, is Plato's general manner of composition whenever a character is not Athenian: Plato has everyone speaking Attic.<sup>4</sup> It is unsafe to infer that in real life all those people did speak Attic while visiting Athens. To depict or simulate dialects was appropriate to a



comedian, as such mimicry is part of the amusement. Also the historians Thucydides (5.77,79) and Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.1.23) copied a few documents in Doric, without the superfluous exercise of putting them into Attic. But whatever an author, other than a comedian, *composed* was written without the shadings of dialect natural to each character. Instead the dialect of the composition becomes that of all the characters.<sup>5</sup>

So Plato would no more have taken the trouble to put Boeotian forms continually into the mouths of his Theban characters than Thucydides put them into the mouth of the Theban general Pagondas (4.92) or the Theban and Plataean spokesmen in books 2 and 3. Whatever opinions may be entertained about the degree of historicity of Plato's other dialogues, he goes out of his way in this one to make clear that he was absent on the last day of Socrates' life (59b). So the words of the *Phaedo* were unmistakably composed by him, even if based in general upon an oral account he had heard. In most details of the *Phaedo* we can look for verisimilitude, not actual history -- e.g., how Cebes and Simmias may be supposed to have talked, rather than what they really said.

In regard to dialect, had it been common knowledge that they never spoke anything but pure Boeotian, Plato would still have written up their words in Attic. But the very fact that he calls attention to that one Boeotian phrase ἄττω Ζεῦς indicates to me -- and, I think, to Plato's original readers -- that the speech of Cebes and Simmias, in Socrates' company, is presumed to be Attic as a rule.<sup>6</sup> That their Attic would be tintured with a Boeotian accent, is inherently probable;<sup>7</sup> no one would have expected Plato to show that sort of minor divergence. But the inference that matters is this: the two Theban philosophers did not speak like the Boeotian peddler in Aristophanes' comedy, the *Acharnians* (860 ff.). Not one word of his Greek displays an Attic feature; nonetheless he and the

Athenian Dicaeopolis understand each other perfectly.

For casual communication each Greek could use his own dialect. Furthermore we learn from Plato's *Apology* (17c) that an Athenian court would not hold it against a non-Athenian if he pleaded his case in his dialect. But an intellectual conversation seems to have been different. Somewhat like a serious work of literature it called for a certain uniformity of tone. Or perhaps the goal of a meeting of minds impelled the participants to lay aside the outward particularity of native dialects. At any rate, cultivated Greeks acquired the habit of not just writing but also conversing in a κοινῇ.

What they adopted was hardly a blend but essentially the dialect of one cultural center.<sup>8</sup> For Cebes it was as though he had come from the outside to join a discussion already in progress. It was easier, more comfortable for all parties if he would conform to the dialect which the philosophical circle was used to. At that point it was Attic, which was rapidly becoming the κοινῇ of literate, up-to-date Greeks. Men with intellectual curiosity were attracted to Athens more than any other place, just as traders flocked to Piraeus. Both kinds of motive familiarized large numbers of people with Attic, and not just passively; they grew so interested in the high-pitched life of Athens that they participated in it themselves and took to discoursing like Athenians. When they went home and talked about local matters -- family, religious cults, politics -- no doubt they resumed their native dialects, which remained vigorous for several generations longer.<sup>9</sup>

The Boeotians, although living on the borders of Attica, were among the least enthusiastic Atticizers, in spite of some intermittent and troubled alliances. While the Attic κοινῇ was gaining ground, no Boeotians became famous for books written in it -- not



even on a plane with Aeneas Tacticus, the Arcadian. Boeotia produced no great literature in that period, unless Corinna, whose date is disputed, composed her dialect poems then.<sup>10</sup> The great Plutarch flourished after the κοινῆ along with the depopulation of Greece had virtually extinguished the dialects.

The modest influence of Athens upon Boeotia in the fourth century B.C. is most perceptible in the adoption of the Ionic alphabet. The Athenians had officially made the change themselves in 403/2, after much private use of the Ionic letters in the previous decades.<sup>11</sup> The most obvious advantage was that literary works of pan-Hellenic excellence were circulating in that alphabet. So when elementary instruction became geared to the reading of Homer and other classics, it was futile to perpetuate a local script alongside the one given precedence in the schools. The extant monuments from Boeotia in the fourth century are in pure Boeotian dialect; only the Ionic lettering allows the inference that the people must have been taught to read pan-Hellenic literature in school [on the Boiotian adoption of the Ionic alphabet, see P. Roesch, *Revue de Philologie* 40 (1966) 78-87. - Edd.]. That this included some recent Attic authors, such as Euripides, is only a possibility. But certainly the phonetic value of the letters, as applied to Boeotian, was based in part on the pronunciation of them in Attic; e.g., when the Attic diphthong ΟΥ, as in the word for 'not' or the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος, became a long monophthong with the sound [u:], the Boeotians then began to write the same two letters for their [u] sound, long or short, as in ΑΣΟΥΛΙΑΝ, ΘΟΥΣΙΑΝ (*IG.* 7.2407.9, 2410.14, etc.; cf. the Attic ἀσουλῖαν with [ü:], θουσίαν with [ü]).

Before the period of the Attic κοινῆ, the great Boeotian poets Hesiod and Pindar composed not in Boeotian but in the κοινῆ appropriate to their respective literary genres. By his own statement (*Op.* 630-640) Hesiod was the son of an immigrant from Cyme in Asia

Minor, an Aeolic town close to the main Ionic area. His origin may have been relevant or irrelevant to his use of the same meter as Homer, and the same variety of Greek -- notwithstanding the difference in subject and poetic temperament. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are very long narratives, enlivened with frequent speeches; Hesiod's poems are more like catalogues of lore, including some narratives but relatively brief ones.<sup>12</sup> It has often been remarked that the most Hesiodic passage in the *Iliad*, the catalogue of the ships, begins with Boeotia (2.494) and may therefore be the work of a local poet. But if Boeotia, with the shrine of the Muses on Mount Helicon, was indeed the original center for poetry in that vein, the content was of pan-Hellenic interest, not aimed particularly at a Boeotian audience, nor was the language affected much by the region.

The *Works and Days* has a revealing passage (654-662), disparaged by Plutarch in a lost work but significant nonetheless:<sup>13</sup> the poet tells of crossing the channel from Aulis on the mainland to Chalcis in Euboea (which was of course an Ionic settlement), and there winning a tripod for his hymn in a contest sponsored by the sons of Amphidamas; he dedicated the prize to the Muses of Helicon. The hexameter poet, although no Ionian himself, conformed to the κοινῆ that was mainly Ionic. For Ionians led the Greek world in celebrations where such poetry got a hearing.

In between this κοινῆ for epic or catalogue poetry and the later Attic κοινῆ for educated conversation and prose writing, there arose still another Doric κοινῆ for choral lyrics. The most illustrious lyricist, in the judgement of the ages, was Pindar of Thebes. But more than a century before his birth the custom of a singing and dancing chorus, trained by a poet of talent from the outside, was already established in Sparta and some other Doric towns. As A. Meillet has insisted, not one poet of note was a native Dorian, from Terpander on;<sup>14</sup> but regardless of their miscellaneous origin,

they all composed in practically the same Doric dialect with some admixture of Aeolic features. For their sponsors and the local performers were Dorian, until the rest of Greece came to value the beauty and perhaps also the social benefit of lyric choruses. By then the form was set, so that even when Pindar wrote paeans or epinician odes for his own townspeople to sing, they were in the Doric *κοινή* like the rest of his compositions. A large part of his patronage, to be sure, still came from Dorians -- in Aegina, Rhodes, Cyrene, Sicily, etc.<sup>15</sup>

In its contribution to literature Boeotia compares favorably with most parts of Greece; but circumstances determined that dialects other than Boeotian should gain prestige as *κοινά*, accepted by the Boeotian authors themselves. Corinna, however, is one that has come down to us in Boeotian dialect -- or at least in Boeotian spelling and with some Boeotian forms.<sup>16</sup> The extant remains of her lyrics tell vivid and detailed myths of the river Asopus and the mountains Helicon and Cithaeron -- a poetic horizon little broader than Corinna's actual view from the town of Tanagra. Her biography is a blank to us; being a woman, she would presumably have been less able than Pindar to go abroad, no matter how much her countrymen admired her. To our knowledge, at any rate, she did not write for foreign patrons, nor for a general Greek audience, nor in the Doric *κοινή*.

The minute sample that we have of Corinna is enough to suggest how the Boeotians entertained themselves from a huge fund of local lore. Some of it became known to the rest of Greece, chiefly through those poets who composed in the epic or the lyric *κοινή* and were masters, in fact, of all Greek mythology. In the long run, to be sure, less was preserved of Hesiod than of Homer, and less of Pindar than of Euripides. Close as they were to Helicon, somehow they never quite learned that empathy of characterization which

Homer and his Athenian successors excelled in; neither could they make a good story infinitely more fascinating through tension and relaxation cunningly timed. This disability, such as it is, does not extend to Plutarch, who was the prince of biographers; but it has circumscribed the achievement of the other Boeotian authors so that their words are esteemed rather than loved.<sup>17</sup>

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Notes:-

1. The most interesting readings are  $\zeta\tau\tau\iota \acute{\omega} \zeta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  B  
 $\epsilon\iota\tau\tau\acute{\iota}\omega \zeta\epsilon\upsilon$  W
2. This would give us an anomalous imperative ending  $-\tau\iota$  (\*-d|t<sup>h</sup>- actualized as  $-\tau\tau-$ ), whereas the Attic and Ionic form is  $\zeta\sigma\theta\iota$ .  $\epsilon\kappa\beta\alpha\theta\iota$  (Aristiphanes, *Ach.* 884) shows the normal ending; here the suffix did not entail an unwieldy consonant group, requiring some simplification. Inscriptional sources for the Boeotian dialect naturally fail to give evidence of the 2d person imperative.  
 However, in *Ach.* 911 (cf. note 3) it is  $\zeta\tau\tau\omega \Delta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ .  $\zeta\tau\tau\omega$  'Ηρακλῆς (860) is metrically irregular.  
 Plato, in a different text, the Seventh Epistle (345a), has " $\zeta\tau\tau\omega \zeta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ," φησὶν ὁ Θηβαῖος. (The readings  $\epsilon\zeta\tau\tau\omega$  and  $\eta\zeta\tau\tau\omega$ , although given by reputable mss., appear to be mere etacisms; hardly any scribe, however expert in Attic orthography, was proficient in Boeotian too.)
3. Corinna col. 3.13; Aristophanes, *Ach.* 911 (according to the best ms. R; the vulgate has  $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , the *lectio facillior*); Herodian, Περὶ μονήρου λέξεως 1.6 (*Grammatici Graeci* 3.2.911.9 Lentz); Choeroboscus, *Can. masc.* 10 *Gram. Gr.* 4.1.213.32-34 Hilgard).
4. E.g., Theodorus of Cyrene (*Theaetetus* 143d ff.), Parmenides and Zeno (*Parm.* 127e ff.), Protagoras (316b ff.), Gorgias (448a ff.), Meno the Thessalian (70a ff.), Timaeus of Locris and Hermocrates of Syracuse (*Tim.* 17a, 20c ff.), Diotima of Mantinea (*Symposium* 201e ff.).
5. The lyric portions of a tragedy count as a separate composition, for purposes of dialect, and diverge from Attic by reason of certain forms belonging to the Doric κοινή (see the latter part of this paper).
6. Why did Cebes lapse into dialect just then? (This interesting point was raised in the discussion of my paper at the Conference.) His motive can be inferred from the lack of an oath  $*\zeta\sigma\tau\omega \zeta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  or  $*\zeta\sigma\theta\iota \acute{\omega} \zeta\epsilon\upsilon$  in the entire Attic corpus. His exposure to the speech of Athenians is comparable, at least, to our acquaintance with their speech written down. What we cannot find, he probably never heard from them. So he fell back upon his native repertory for swearing.
7. As a Scot speaking English might pronounce *sore* with a Scottish "burr" in the *r* (whereas it would be *sair* in his own dialect).

8. The κοινή that is exemplified in the history of Herodotus and the medical works attributed to Hippocrates may well have been a language of educated conversation too. That it originated specifically in Miletus, rather than other places in the Ionic region of Asia Minor and the neighboring islands, is indemonstrable.
9. But from Isocrates (*Paneg.* 50), who says that those who had been drawn to Athens to learn what they could of the superior Attic thought and expression, went on to convey this mastery elsewhere, it is likely that in their role of educators they spoke Attic even in their home towns. Isocrates declares (perhaps with his eye on the Macedonians) that Attic acculturation more than Greek birth identified a man as a Greek. The κοινή that spread to non-Greek countries was of course Attic.
10. See D. L. Page, *Corinna* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, supplementary paper no. 6; London, 1953), pp. 65 ff.
11. Theopompus, *Phil.* 25, fr. 149 Grenfell-Hunt (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, Oxford Classical Text); K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, 3d ed. rev. by Eduard Schwyzer (Berlin, 1900), pp. 4-6.
12. My statement applies best to the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*; but even taking the *Aspis* (or *Shield of Heracles*) and the lost *Ehoiai* as authentic works of Hesiod, we have there no narrative on the scale of Homer. If the *Aspis* is not by Hesiod, it is still Boeotian in the prominence given to Thebes (2, 13, etc.) rather than Argos.
13. ταῦτα πάντα περὶ τῆς Χαλκίδος <καὶ> τοῦ Ἀμφιδάμαντος καὶ τοῦ ἄθλου καὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐμβεβλήσθαι φησὶν ὁ Πλούταρχος <ὅς> οὐδὲν ἔχοντα χρηστόν -- Agostino Pertusi (ed.), *Scholia Vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies* (Milan, 1955; Pubblicazioni dell' Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, nuova serie, Scienze filologiche v. 53), p. 205.23. But in *Septem sapientium convivium* (*Mor.* 153f-154a) Plutarch accepts the contest at Chalcis without reservation, and even the legend that the competitor whom Hesiod defeated was Homer! See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's comment; *Hesiodos Erga* (Berlin, 1928), p. 117.
14. *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, 7th ed. (Études et Commentaires LV; Paris, 1965), pp. 208-210.
15. The headings of the odes, in any edition, bring out the range of people that he wrote for.
16. Page (above, note 10), pp. 46-60, 65-66.

17. Upon hearing Professor Vivante's paper I am impelled to acknowledge that Pindar's words are indeed loved for their wondrous beauty, their evocation of a landscape which is at once real and divinely sparkling.

\* \* \*

During the discussion, it was suggested that Cebes may have used the Boiotian dialect for the oath because one tends, when swearing, to do so in one's native dialect.

LES LOIS FEDERALES BEOTIENNES (voir la carte, fig. 5)

par P. Roesch

Les trop nombreuses études consacrées aux "constitutions béotiennes" ont entretenu depuis plus d'un siècle une fâcheuse équivoque. Parler de "constitution" au sens moderne du terme, c'est supposer l'existence d'un ensemble cohérent, organisé, rédigé, de lois fondamentales régissant les rapports entre gouvernants et gouvernés. Y eut-il jamais en Béotie de "constitution" répondant à cette définition? Sans vouloir examiner cette question au fond, disons simplement que ni les textes littéraires ni les inscriptions ne permettent actuellement de répondre par l'affirmative.

Cependant la Béotie a eu des *institutions* communes. A plusieurs époques de son histoire, et sous des aspects parfois différents, elle a connu une organisation territoriale, elle a eu des magistrats dits "fédéraux", archonte, béotarques, thesmophylakes etc., et des organismes, assemblée et Conseil, chargés d'assumer des tâches à l'échelon de la Confédération, et non pas à l'échelon des cités. Tout cela était régi, naturellement, par des *lois fédérales*, sinon par des "constitutions". D'ailleurs l'existence même de ces institutions communes implique l'existence de lois fondamentales qui les organisent et en règlent le fonctionnement.

Or les textes littéraires et épigraphiques nous font connaître un certain nombre de ces lois fédérales, soit par de simples mentions, soit par la citation occasionnelle d'un article de loi. Dans l'exposé qui va suivre, ces lois ne sont pas classées chronologiquement, car pour la plupart d'entre elles il est impossible de déterminer la date à laquelle elles ont été votées. Certaines paraissent anciennes, d'autres sont manifestement plus récentes.

Ces lois sont de trois ordres: les unes sont des *lois organiques*,

qui règlent le fonctionnement des organes du gouvernement fédéral (n<sup>o</sup> 1 à 3); d'autres sont des *lois judiciaires*, qui s'apparentent aux lois organiques en ce sens qu'elles règlent le fonctionnement de la justice (n<sup>o</sup> 4 et 5); d'autres enfin, que l'on peut appeler *lois d'urgence*, ont été établies pour l'ensemble de la Béotie pour répondre à une situation bien déterminée.

I.- *Loi sur le mandat des béotarques.*

Cette loi nous est connue par les démêlés qu'ont eus Epaminondas et Pélopidas avec le gouvernement béotien pour avoir négligé de rentrer au pays à l'expiration légale de leur mandat d'une année.

- Pausanias, 9,14,5 : 'Ο μὲν δὴ χρόνος βουλευαρχοῦντι Ἐπαμινώνδα διήνυστο, τεθνάναι δὲ ἐτέτακτο ἐπιλαβόντα ἄνδρα τῆς ἀρχῆς· ὁ οὖν Ἐπαμινώνας ὑπεριδὼν ὡς οὐκ ὄντα ἐν καιρῷ τὸν νόμον ἐβουλευαρχεῖ. "Epaminondas était parvenu au terme de son mandat de béotarque, et la peine de mort était prévue pour tout citoyen qui conserverait plus longtemps cette magistrature; or Epaminondas, qui considérait avec mépris que cette loi n'était pas de circonstance, était béotarque ..."

- Appien, *H. de Syrie*, 41 : Θανάτῳ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐξημίῳ τὸν ἐκ βίας ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα ἀλλοτρίαν. "La loi punissait de mort celui qui exerçait par la force les fonctions d'un autre", c'est à dire les fonctions que devrait exercer le successeur.

Quelques lignes plus loin, Epaminondas déclare lors de son procès: "Je reconnais avoir exercé le commandement illégalement à cette époque" ('Ομολογῶ παρανόμως ἄρξει τόνδε τὸν χρόνον).

- Cornelius Nepos, XV : *Epaminondas*, 7,5 : *Lex erat Thebis quae morte multabat si quis imperium diutius retinisset quam lege prae-finitum foret.*

"Il y avait à Thèbes une loi qui punissait de mort quiconque conservait sa charge plus longtemps que la loi ne le prévoyait". Si C. Nepos dit *Thebis* au lieu de *in Boeotia*, c'est parce qu'à cette époque Thèbes représentait de loin la cité la plus puissante de la Béotie, et qu'en fait comme en droit Thèbes avait la majorité absolue dans toutes les institutions de la Confédération.

- Plutarque, *Pélopidas*, 24,2-3 : ... τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδει παραλαμβάνειν ἑτέρους εὐθὺς ἱσταμένου τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἢ θνήσκειν τοὺς μὴ παραδίδοντας· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι βουλευαρχαὶ καὶ τὸν νόμον δεδιότες τοῦτον καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα φεύγοντες ἀπάγειν ἔσπευδον ἐπ' οἴκου τὸ στράτευμα.

"(Les béotarques) devaient transmettre leur commandement à d'autres dès le début du premier mois de l'année, sinon ils étaient punis de mort au cas où ils ne le transmettraient pas. Les autres béotarques, tant par crainte de cette loi que pour échapper à l'hiver, étaient pressés de ramener l'armée au pays". Cette notation est importante car elle montre que la loi ne s'appliquait pas aux seuls béotarques de Thèbes, mais à tous les béotarques, et qu'elle était donc valable pour toute la Béotie.

- *Ibid.*, 25,2, Plutarque précise encore : Θανάτου γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω δίκας ἔφυγον ἐπανελθόντες, ὅτι τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μηνὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν βουλευαρχίαν ἑτέροις, δὴ Βουκάτιον ὀνομάζουσι, τέτταρας ὅλους προσεπεβάλλοντο μῆνας.

"Tous deux furent condamnés à mort à leur retour parce que, bien que la loi ordonnât de transmettre la béotarchie aux successeurs au premier mois de l'année, qu'on appelle Boukatios, ils avaient dépassé la date de quatre mois entiers".

II.- *Loi sur les thesmophylaques.*

Les thesmophylaques (τεθμοφούλακες en béotien) étaient des magistrats fédéraux chargés de faire respecter le droit béotien sur



l'ensemble du territoire de la Confédération (cf. *Thespies et la Confédération béotienne*, p. 149-159). Gardiens de la loi, ils étaient l'instance suprême du pouvoir judiciaire. Plutarque, *Quaest. Graecae*, 8 (292 D) y fait une brève allusion : Παραθήσομαι δὲ λέξιν μίαν ἐκ τοῦ θεσμοφυλακικοῦ νόμου, πλειόνων οὐσῶν ... Les copistes ont omis de transmettre la citation annoncée. Mais ce qui nous intéresse, c'est de savoir qu'il s'agissait d'une citation tirée de la loi sur les thesmophylakes; et comme ces thesmophylakes étaient des magistrats fédéraux, il est évident que la loi était une loi fédérale organisant la magistrature en question.

### III.- Loi sur les katoptai et les naopes.

Cette loi est mentionnée brièvement dans le devis de construction du temple de Zeus Basileus à Lébadée, *IG*, VII, 3073, l. 87-89. Après des dispositions relatives au contrôle des travaux, l'inscription précise: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα μὴ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ γέγραπται κατὰ τὸν κατοπτικὸν νόμον καὶ ναοποικὸν ἔστω.

"Que pour tout ce qui n'est pas inscrit dans le contrat, on se conforme à la loi sur les katoptai et les naopes". (Les katoptai étaient les contrôleurs des finances). La construction a été décidée par la Confédération, les béotarques sont chargés du contrôle général des travaux; la cité de Lébadée n'intervient pas dans cette entreprise. Il est donc exclu que la loi mentionnée soit une loi de la cité; c'est une loi fédérale. Cette loi n'est pas connue par ailleurs, et l'on ignore tout de son contenu. Mais il est vraisemblable qu'elle définissait les compétences des magistrats financiers.

Telles sont les lois organiques connues. Les deux lois suivantes concernent l'exercice de la justice.

### IV.- Loi sur les estimateurs d'expropriations.

Cette loi est mentionnée brièvement dans une inscription de

Tanagra, datée des années 230-220 environ (*REG*, 12, 1899, p. 53, l. 16-17). A la suite d'un oracle, la cité décide de transférer le sanctuaire de Déméter et Coré de l'extérieur de la ville dans la ville. Pour le cas où il faudrait exproprier des terrains appartenant à des particuliers, et pour régler les contestations possibles, on désignera onze experts, onze estimateurs pour résoudre les litiges éventuels : τὸ πολεμάρχῳ στασάνθῳ τιματὰς ἕνδεκα ἄνδρας κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν κυνὸν Βοιωτῶν.

Le texte précise bien qu'il s'agit d'une loi "commune aux Béotiens", d'une loi fédérale.

### V.- Loi sur les poursuites en recouvrement de dettes.

Cette loi est citée dans la grande inscription de Nikaréta à Orchomène, *IG*, VII, 3172 (Schwyzer, *DGE*, 523). La thespienne Nikaréta, qui a prêté une forte somme à la cité d'Orchomène, tente en vain de se faire rembourser; après avoir essayé diverses procédures, elle soumet le litige à la justice fédérale. La décision prise par la juridiction, πραχθήσονται κατὰ τὸν νόμον, est suivie de la citation d'un article de la loi (*IG*, VII, 3172, l. 27-35 = *DGE*, 523, l. 104-112) : ἡ δὲ πράξις ἔστω ἕκ τε αὐτῶν τῶν δανεισαμένων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐγγύων, καὶ ἐκ ἐνὸς καὶ ἐκ πλειόνων καὶ ἐκ πάντων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς.

"Que le recouvrement se fasse sur les débiteurs eux-mêmes et sur leurs garants, soit sur l'un d'eux, soit sur plusieurs, soit sur tous, et sur leurs biens". Le style de ce passage est très différent du reste de l'inscription; il est sec, impersonnel, précis; il prévoit les différents cas possibles et indique une gradation dans la gravité des peines. C'est sans aucun doute une citation de la loi elle-même.

Pendant longtemps on n'a connu - ou du moins on aurait pu ne connaître - que ces cinq lois. Mais récemment deux nouveaux textes

sont venus s'ajouter à cette série. Mais leur caractère est différent, car il s'agit de lois d'urgence.

VI.- *Loi sur la préparation militaire.*

Un décret de Thespies (*Acta of the Vth Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, p. 81-88) accorde la proxénie à un Athénien qui exerce dans la cité des fonctions particulières : en vertu d'une loi de la Confédération :

- 10 (...) Ἐπειδεὶ νόμος ἐστὶ ἐν τοῖ κοι-  
νοῖ Βοιωτῶν τὰς πόλεις παρεχόμεν  
διδασκάλως οὔτινες διδάξονθι  
τῶς τε παῖδας κῆ τῶς Ἰανίσκως
- 14 τοξευόμεν κῆ ἀκοντιδόμεν  
κῆ τάδδεσθη συντάξις τὰς περὶ  
τὸν πόλεμον ...

"Attendu qu'il y a une loi de la Confédération béotienne prescrivant aux cités de fournir des maîtres qui enseigneront aux enfants et aux adolescents à tirer à l'arc, à tirer au javelot et à manoeuvrer en formations de combat ..."

Ce texte est d'une importance capitale, car c'est la première fois dans l'histoire grecque que l'on voit une confédération organiser la préparation militaire non seulement des adolescents, des 'grands garçons' (*neaniskoi*), mais des enfants, donc de tous les jeunes de 12 à 17 ans, avant leur entrée dans l'éphébie. En effet, en vertu de cette loi, le maître désigné doit enseigner non seulement les exercices traditionnels du gymnase (tir à l'arc et au javelot), mais la manoeuvre militaire, c'est à dire, compte tenu de la date (vers 250), la manoeuvre de la phalange macédonienne. Cette inscription est évidemment en rapport avec les événements des années 252-245, qui ont vu la Béotie, après une longue période de paix, se

réveiller brutalement avec une armée démodée et mal entraînée, et des ennemis tout à l'entour. Elle s'est trouvée devant la nécessité urgente d'abord de réformer sa tactique et par suite son armement pour l'armée active, ensuite de prévoir dès l'enfance un entraînement des futurs éphèbes à la difficile manoeuvre de la phalange. C'est donc, selon toute vraisemblance, vers 252-250 que la Confédération a ordonné par une loi à chaque cité d'organiser chez elle cette préparation militaire. C'est là une intervention directe de la Confédération dans la politique des cités. Mais elle se justifie par le fait que chaque cité apportait sa contribution en fantassins et en cavaliers à l'armée béotienne unique. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'une telle mesure ne peut être qu'exceptionnelle et résulter d'une situation particulièrement grave. Je montrerai dans mes *Études sur la Béotie hellénistique* que la défaite de Chéronée en 245 est la conséquence, et non la cause, de cette réforme trop tardive.

VII.- *Loi sur l'embargo des produits agricoles.*

L'inscription, un décret de Chorsiai pour Kapon de Thisbé, (*Rev. Phil.*, 1965, p. 257), ne mentionne pas formellement une loi fédérale, mais son existence découle du contexte et de deux expressions. La cité de Chorsiai honore Kapon pour avoir ... violé la loi! En effet, malgré l'interdiction de transporter du blé d'une cité dans une autre, Kapon a fourni à ses risques et périls du ravitaillement à Chorsiai. Le décret précise (l. 4-6) : σπανοσιτίας γενομένης περὶ [τὰν χώρ]αν, κῆ τᾶν πολιῶν πασᾶων ἀπεψαφισμέ[νων τ]ὰν τῶ σίτω ἀποστολάν, ...  
"Comme une disette sévissait dans toute la région, et que toutes les cités avaient interdit par décret de faire sortir du ravitaillement..."

Par deux expressions, le décret insiste sur le caractère général de ces mesures. D'une part la disette sévit *dans tout le pays*, περὶ τὰν χώραν (si χώρα devait désigner le seul territoire de la

cités, on aurait ἐν τῇ χώρῃ); d'autre part τῶν πολιῶν πασῶν, toutes les cités (et ce ne peuvent être que les cités de Béotie) ont inter-dit par décret (ἀπεψαφισμένων) qu'on laisse sortir des vivres. Si toutes les cités ont pris une mesure identique au même moment et pour les mêmes raisons, c'est sans aucun doute parce que l'ordre leur a été donné par le gouvernement fédéral. Celui-ci, comme dans le cas de la loi sur la préparation militaire, a dû prendre un décret ou voter une loi valable pour tout le territoire béotien, et enjoignant aux cités de prendre chacune les mesures appropriées, conformes à la décision fédérale. Ce décret, qui date des premières années du IIe siècle a.C., montre une fois de plus combien était malveillante l'opinion de Polybe sur l'état de la Béotie à cette époque.

Il devait y avoir beaucoup d'autres lois fédérales, si l'on considère tout ce qui était organisé à l'échelon de la Confédération. On connaît les lois qui régissaient trois magistratures fédérales : il y en avait évidemment pour les autres. De plus, il y avait certainement des lois pour organiser, par exemple, la désignation des hiéromnémons chargés de représenter l'*ethnos* béotien à l'amphictionie delphique; pour ordonner la frappe des monnaies fédérales; pour régler le recrutement et le commandement de l'armée béotienne.

Il convient de poser une question de procédure. Comment ces lois étaient-elles votées, et comment étaient-elles mises en application par les cités? Il n'y a aucune difficulté pour le vote des lois; tout se passait au niveau de la Confédération comme au niveau de la cité : proposition de loi faite généralement par un béotarque, *probouleuma* après examen de la proposition par le Conseil fédéral, vote par le δᾶμος Βοιωτῶν. C'est la procédure que montrent les nombreux décrets fédéraux de proxénie. Nulle part il n'est question de ratification des décrets fédéraux par les cités;

ces décrets, une fois votés par le peuple béotien, étaient immédiatement applicables sur l'ensemble du territoire béotien. Il en allait sans doute de même pour les lois, qui devenaient exécutoires dans toute la Béotie sans que les cités aient à les ratifier. Et cela se comprend aisément : les béotarques représentaient plusieurs cités, le Conseil fédéral était l'émanation des cités, l'assemblée était constituée par tous les citoyens qui voulaient bien s'y rendre; au IIIe et au IIe siècle au moins, cette assemblée était ouverte à tous les Béotiens sans exception. Il n'y avait donc aucune raison de faire voter deux fois une loi, d'abord par les organes fédéraux, puis par les cités.

Le cas des lois d'urgence est évidemment différent. Ces lois prescrivaient aux cités de prendre certaines mesures à l'échelon local; elles ne pouvaient donner que des directives générales et ordonner à chaque cité de décider par décret des modalités pratiques d'application de la loi. C'est le cas de la loi sur la préparation militaire : la Confédération ordonnait à chaque cité de désigner des maîtres spécialisés; elle ne pouvait pas les désigner nommément elle-même; c'était donc à chaque cité de le faire.

Tout cela nous conduit à la conclusion que jusqu'au IIe siècle la Béotie se distingue des autres confédérations par une organisation structurée et centralisée, qui donne au gouvernement fédéral des pouvoirs étendus et un droit d'intervention directe dans la politique et l'économie des cités. Au IVe siècle Thèbes a abusé de ces droits qui lui ont permis de mettre la Confédération à son service. La Confédération qui a duré de 338 à 146 a su au contraire user modérément de ses pouvoirs et respecter l'autonomie des cités. Il n'en reste pas moins que la notion de supranationalité existe : les cités abandonnent au *Koinon* une partie de leur souveraineté, mais d'autre part elles contrôlent l'Etat par les assemblées populaires et par la désignation de magistrats fédéraux. Ainsi a-t-on

réussi, après bien des péripéties, à concilier un pouvoir central fort et l'indépendance des cités membres de la Confédération, et par là-même à assurer la souplesse de la politique et l'unité du pays.

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The following points arose from the discussion:

1. Our knowledge of Boiotian federal laws is restricted to allusions and/or decrees of application, rather than the actual documents.
2. Manumission decrees, although they exhibit formulaic similarities, may be regarded as belonging to a community wider than that of the Boiotian confederacy: e.g., the formulae in west Boiotian manumission decrees can be paralleled in Delphi.

*BOIOTIA IN THE TIME OF STRABO (See map, fig. 5)*

*by P. W. Wallace*

The Geography of Strabo describes the physical and historical geography of Greece in the last century before Christ, one of the most poorly documented periods in Greek history. Strabo sailed through the Cyclades to Corinth in 29 B.C. while on a journey to Rome, and perhaps visited Athens at the same time. It is not possible to say definitely whether or not Strabo saw any part of Boiotia. There is some possibility of autopsy in his section (9.2.6-14) on the coast facing Euboia, for that section is fresh and lively. He may have sailed along this coast, or, for that matter, may have paid a brief visit to some of the Boiotian cities. But if Strabo did see any part of Boiotia, he must have regarded his experience there as being too limited to be of much independent value. Though he describes the region in his own person, he never refers to a personal experience, but prefers to cite other authors.

On the other hand, Strabo's opinion of general social and economic conditions in Boiotia probably did not derive from the sources he cites -- the opinion that by the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. Boiotia was ruined and desolate. Strabo's description of social conditions could have derived from conversations which he had with native Boiotians, travelers, or merchants, who themselves knew well the status of Boiotia; but it is also possible, and I think, likely, that Strabo's impression of a desolate Boiotia resulted from his own (probably short and restricted) visit to that region. Though Strabo's depressing statements about conditions in Greece are usually regarded as exaggerations, there is good reason to believe that his observations on Boiotia accurately reflect the conditions which prevailed in that region toward the end of the last century before Christ.

Strabo makes two severe statements concerning the condition of Boiotia in his time:

"From that time on they [the Thebans in 316 B.C.] have gradually declined down to our day, and Thebes now does not have the character of a noteworthy village; it is the same with other cities, except Tanagra and Thespiiai, which have continued quite well, compared with the others" (9.2.5)

". . . but of the Boiotian cities only Thespiiai and Tanagra are now standing; and of the other cities only ruins and names are left." (9.2.25)

Strabo's second observation is certainly overstated, for the evidence of inscriptions shows that a number of cities were still in existence, and the many Boiotian cities which Pausanias found inhabited would not have sprung up in the years separating Pausanias from Strabo. Nevertheless, Pausanias notes again and again that Boiotian cities are ruined or deserted. But we must keep in mind that Strabo is writing a geography and is describing cities, which to him means not only architectural clusters, but living inhabitants. Many of the Boiotian towns might still have had a few families living in them, but when the general aspect of what was once a prosperous city is now one of roofless shells, crumbling walls, and grass growing over the cobblestones in the streets, it is not really an exaggeration to say that such a place is in ruins.

In Boiotian studies very little attention has been given to the Roman period, and there is consequently not enough evidence to say whether conditions in Boiotia were quite as bad as Strabo describes them. We have only the historical inference suggested by a review of events in Boiotian history in the last two centuries before Christ, when Greece was plagued with wars. The summary of

Boiotian history in this period confirms, I think, Strabo's observations, and gives some support to the contention that Strabo himself passed through the then bleak Boiotian territory. For the possible destitution of Boiotia in the time of Strabo, it may be appropriate to begin with the events surrounding the Third Makedonian War.

In 172 B.C., when Perseus realized that war with Rome was inevitable, he tried to win the support of the Greek states, but met with little success except in Epeiros and Boiotia, where he swayed a few cities. The embassy of Q. Marcius Philippus confirmed the loyalty of most of Greece, but was not wholly successful in Boiotia, where Koroneia, Thisbe, and Haliartos remained loyal to Perseus. Consequently, a rather important part of the Third Makedonian War consisted of the reduction of the pro-Makedonian cities of Boiotia. Haliartos, for example, was attacked by P. Cornelius Lentulus, the commander of the garrison at Thebes. After a desperate defense the city was taken, spoiled of its art objects, and razed to the ground. The inhabitants, to the number of 2500, were sold into slavery, and the territory was given to Athens. Koroneia was also destroyed.

The Boiotians also took part in the Achaian rising in 147 B.C., when Q. Caecilius Metellus invaded Boiotia and occupied Thebes. Polybius described the extreme demoralization of the Greeks in the regions involved; the terror-stricken populace threw themselves over cliffs and into wells, or fled hysterically. The Thebans in a body deserted their city. The next important events in Boiotian history begin in about 87 B.C., with the campaign of Sulla.

Long ago George Finlay observed: "From Sulla's campaign in Greece, the commencement of the ruin and depopulation of the country is to be dated." The severe reprisals, exhausting tribute, and the battles themselves of the Mithridatic War probably did more than

anything else to depopulate Boiotia. Sulla, receiving no help from home, was a heavy drain on the resources of Greece, whose troops, money, and supplies he used; Thebes, for example, was forced to supply tools, iron, and catapults for the siege of the Piraeus. Among the troops in the battle of Khaironeia was a contingent from Khaironeia itself. Boiotia probably suffered more from Sulla's campaigns than any state except Athens. Boiotia was the scene of the fighting and was punished for disloyalty. A number of Boiotian cities were destroyed. The troops of Mithridates destroyed Leba-deia, and Sulla destroyed Larymna, Anthedon, and Halai, and perhaps Alalkomenai and Orkhomenos.

From the battles of Sulla to the campaign of Caesar at Pharsalos (48 B.C.) was for Greece a respite of only 38 years, and during part of this time Greece was ruled by the rapacious L. Calpurnius Piso, and Boiotia is specifically mentioned as suffering under him. The demands of Pompey and Caesar on Greece during this campaign must have been very heavy; among other regions we are told that Pompey demanded troops from Boiotia.

Of the status of Boiotia at the time of the campaign of Aktion (31 B.C.) we have little particular knowledge, though Boiotia must certainly have suffered as much as the rest of Greece. Greece had just passed through an exhausting period of wars and conscriptions, and had not had enough time to repair the damages before it was oppressed by the forces of Antony and Cleopatra. Though supplies were brought from Egypt, the presence of these forces for a full year could only have increased Greece's difficulties, and when Antony's communications began to be cut, the increased exactions from the Greeks must have brought the population near starvation. Khaironeia, for example, was barely saved, for the news of Aktion allowed the porters -- one of whom was Plutarch's great-grandfather --

to distribute to the populace grain which was destined for the port at Antikyra. The conditions in Greece were so acute that Octavian, seeing the distressed circumstances of many cities, distributed supplies after his victory.

Two years later Strabo visited Greece. Sometime later still, when he came to write his account of the region, he clearly revealed his impression that Boiotia was depopulated and wasted. Where did he get this impression? Certainly not from the authors he names. Did he see Boiotia himself? How much did he see? Though Strabo is the only direct source we have for the physical conditions of Boiotia during this period, we cannot determine the accuracy of his information until more work has been done on Strabo and more archaeological exploration has taken place in Boiotia. For the present we can only say that conditions in Boiotia were probably very much as Strabo describes them. At least the historical context, falling as it does after a period of exhausting wars and before the lavishness of Hadrian and Herodes Atticus, suggests an impoverished and depopulated Boiotia. Only excavation and surface exploration can confirm or invalidate Strabo's remarks on the conditions of Boiotia in his time. Until such research takes place, we can only say that Strabo's picture of Boiotia is consistent with what historical evidence we have, and is probably, therefore, substantially correct.

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