

TEIRESIAS SUPPLEMENT 3

ESSAYS IN THE TOPOGRAPHY  
HISTORY AND CULTURE OF  
BOIOTIA

EDITED BY A. SCHACHTER

MONTREAL  
1990

His 25 44  
(Suppl. 3)

ISSN 0381-9361

TEIRESIAS

Department of Classics, McGill University  
855 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 2T7

Dépôt légal 4e trimestre 1990  
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec  
National Library of Canada/Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

95-His-235

## PREFACE

It was originally intended that this collection of essays should celebrate the publication of the twentieth volume of TEIRESIAS. It was to be, and is, a simple inexpensive production, with the emphasis on content rather than on packaging.

The death of Paul Roesch on June 3rd has turned what was to have been a happy occasion into a sad one. In the circumstances, it seemed fitting to dedicate this book to his memory. Permission was sought from, and graciously given by, Mme. Geneviève Roesch, who has, moreover, provided the original of the photograph which appears overleaf.

The appreciation of Paul Roesch written by his close friend and colleague, Gilbert Argoud, reflects the feelings of all those who knew and worked with him, and who now cherish his memory.

AS

In Memoriam

PAUL MARIE AIMÉ ROESCH

21.05.1926 - 3.06.1990



## CONTENTS

Preface .....	3
GILBERT ARGOUD: Paul Roesch .....	9 - 10
Bibliographie de Paul Roesch .....	11 - 18

\*

### Topography

JOST KNAUSS: Zur Datierung der deukalionischen Flut in der Kopais .....	19 - 25
HANSJÖRG KALCYK, JOSEF WEICHENBERGER: Die Katawothren am ehemaligen Kopaissee in Böotien, Grld. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1985-1988 ...	27 - 32
MARK H. MUNN, MARY LOU ZIMMERMAN MUNN: On the Frontiers of Attica and Boiotia: the Results of the Stanford Skourta Plain Project .....	33 - 40

\*

### History

ROBERT J. BUCK: Boiotians in the Peloponnesian War, 432-404 B.C. ....	41 - 55
MARGARET L. COOK: Ismenias' Goals in the Corinthian War .....	57 - 63
SLOBODAN DUŠANIĆ: The <i>Theages</i> and the Liberation of Thebes in 379 B.C. ....	65 - 70
DAVID M. LEWIS: The Synedrion of the Boeotian Alliance .....	71 - 73
JOHN BUCKLER: <i>Χωρίς ἰππεῖς</i> : A Note on the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. ....	75 - 80
ARISTOULA GEORGIADOU: A Note on Claviger's emendation of Plutarch's Text (Pel. 18.7) .....	81 - 82
LUISA PRANDI: Platea e Tebe nel 335 (Considerazioni sulle Fonti di Arr. I.8-9) .....	83 - 87
BRIGITTE GULLATH: Die Arbeiten des Krates zur Kopais- entwässerung im Spiegel der literarischen Überlieferung ...	89 - 95

CINZIA BEARZOT: A proposito dell'Attendibilità di Pausania. I Beoti nel <i>Logos</i> Celtico (X,19,4 ss.) .....	97 - 102
ALBERT SCHACHTER: Ovid and Boiotia .....	103 - 109

\*

## Culture

ETTORE CINGANO: Lo strano Ingresso di Aiace nel <i>Catalogo delle Donne</i> esiodeo .....	111 - 117
PAOLA ANGELI BERNARDINI: Iolao in Pindaro: un Eracle minore? .....	119 - 123
PAOLO VIVANTE: Pindar Pythian XII .....	125 - 127
ALINA VENERI: Posidone e l'Elicono: alcune Osservazioni sull'Antichità e la Continuità di una Tradizione mitica Beotica .....	129 - 134
SAUL LEVIN: Evidence from Boeotian on the Attic Diphthong <i>OY</i> .....	135 - 138
DUANE W. ROLLER: The Boiotian Pig .....	139 - 144
SIMON CORNELIS BAKHUIZEN: Impressions of Boeotia: A Review Article .....	145 - 148

\*

## Illustrations

Paul Roesch (Lyon, 1983) .....	5
Vergleich der Schichtenfolgen und C <sup>14</sup> -Datierung der Torfschichten (Knauss) .....	21
Central Greece in Early 395 B.C. (Cook) .....	58
Central Greece in August of 394 B.C. (Cook) .....	61
Chaironeia, 338 B.C. (Buckler) .....	77

## Paul ROESCH

C'est avec émotion que nous pensons à notre ami Paul Roesch, Directeur de Recherche au CNRS, membre de l'Institut F. Courby à Lyon, Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, qui nous a quittés le 3 juin 1990. Né dans le Haut Rhin à Thann, le 21 mai 1926, Paul Roesch est venu s'ancrer à Lyon, sur les rives du Rhône et de la Saône, où il a fait toute sa carrière, après des études secondaires et supérieures à Dijon. Esprit lucide et accueillant, il incarnait à la perfection le chercheur, alliant rigueur et imagination, savoir et générosité.

Paul Roesch était croyant, et sa foi le guidait. C'était un homme du présent, avec une très vaste culture musicale et une grande connaissance du monde contemporain, qu'il nourrissait de sa passion pour la philatélie et son écoute des radios étrangères, souvent fort lointaines. Aucune des préoccupations de notre temps n'échappait à son esprit curieux et cultivé, qui aimait les longues conversations et les échanges d'idées. Mais il s'intéressait surtout à la Grèce antique, et plus particulièrement à la Béotie et à l'épigraphie béotienne, comme en témoigne son premier article sur le sujet dans la *Revue de Philologie* de 1965, "Notes d'Épigraphie béotienne".

Excellent épigraphiste, Paul Roesch lisait admirablement les textes gravés sur les pierres les plus mutilées et les plus usées. Je l'ai vu au travail durant trois jours, du matin au soir, afin de suivre le cours du soleil et ses reflets changeants sur la pierre, pour relire les inscriptions de la Base des Béotiens à Delphes. L'œil attentif et l'esprit critique toujours en éveil, il traquait les erreurs des lectures antérieures, pour arriver au texte le plus authentique, compte tenu des lacunes de la pierre. Paul Roesch connaissait à la perfection l'histoire de la Béotie antique, des origines à l'époque byzantine, et l'épigraphie béotienne lui avait permis de préciser les institutions de cette région de Grèce et leur évolution dans deux ouvrages remarquables, *Thespies et la Confédération béotienne*, Paris, 1965, et *Études béotiennes*, Paris, 1982.

Les pierres inscrites se lisent sur le terrain, où elles se trouvent, et Paul Roesch connaissait ainsi tous les villages de Béotie, qu'il avait maintes fois arpentés, tissant des liens d'amitié avec les habitants, intéressés par celui qui, à la lecture d'une inscription, évoquait leur passé et leurs grands hommes. C'est au cours de ces conversations dans les villages que Paul Roesch a pu se rendre compte combien était encore présent le souvenir d'Alexandre le Grand, qui avait incendié Thèbes en 335 avant JC : combien de fois, dans la campagne béotienne, ne lui a-t-on pas demandé si tel événement qu'il rappelait s'était passé avant ou après Alexandre. Le roi de Macédoine est resté peu de temps en Béotie, mais son action a marqué les esprits au point de l'imposer encore maintenant comme point de repère chronologique.

Arpenteur des terres béotiennes, Paul Roesch en connaissait tous les sites antiques et tous les villages modernes, avec leur particularité climatique et leur production, mêlant dans ses propos sources antiques et constatations modernes : ici on élevait des volailles, des anguilles ou des truites, là on produisait du vin, ailleurs on cultivait des céréales, des oignons ou du coton. Sa connaissance du terrain l'a conduit à quitter parfois l'épigraphie pour étudier des forteresses, des ports ou des sanctuaires de Béotie. Rien de ce qui était béotien ne le laissait indifférent, et il trouvait injuste la réputation que traînent les Béotiens depuis l'antiquité, réputation qui trouve son origine à Athènes, dont les habitants étaient jaloux des richesses de leurs voisins. Mais aucun élément, ni dans les institutions béotiennes, que Paul Roesch a si bien contribué à mettre en évidence, ni dans les arts

béotiens, qu'il s'agisse de sculpture ou de céramique, ne justifie la fâcheuse réputation faite à ce peuple, dont il était le défenseur ardent.

Chaque fois qu'il allait en Grèce, Paul Roesch séjournait à Thèbes, où il avait de nombreux amis. Il faisait de la Cadmée son poste d'observation, il regardait, il écoutait, il cherchait, au Musée et dans ses réserves, et dans la masse d'informations et de documents recueillis, il savait discerner l'essentiel de l'accessoire pour débusquer les réalités de la vie quotidienne en Béotie. Il a ramené ainsi à Lyon une vaste documentation, consignée avec méthode dans ses carnets et classeurs. Sa disparition prématurée ne lui a pas permis d'achever les publications en cours d'élaboration, souvent tout près de leur achèvement, qu'il s'agisse de la prosopographie béotienne, du Corpus d'inscriptions de cités, comme Thespies, Chéronée et bien d'autres, ou d'inscriptions isolées, comme la célèbre souscription des femmes de Tanagra pour le déplacement du temple de Déméter. Le travail est fait, les documents sont prêts à être publiés, retenus seulement par la rigueur et les scrupules du chercheur.

Paul Roesch était un savant, qui, autour du Professeur Jean Pouilloux, de l'Institut de France, a fait partie de l'équipe fondatrice de l'Institut Fernand Courby, à Lyon. Homme de terrain, il prit part à de nombreuses campagnes de fouilles à Salamine de Chypre, avec l'équipe lyonnaise de l'Institut Courby. Depuis le Congrès International d'Épigraphie de Cambridge, en 1967, il a participé régulièrement à tous les Congrès d'Épigraphie, et à beaucoup de colloques internationaux, où il était apprécié par la communauté scientifique internationale. Au nombre des revues qui bénéficièrent de sa collaboration, *Tirésias* eut le privilège d'accueillir, pendant de nombreuses années, le bulletin critique de l'épigraphie béotienne, que Paul Roesch établissait avec minutie. Ses compétences lui valurent d'être appelé à siéger en 1987 à la section 39, Sciences de l'Antiquité, du Comité National du CNRS, et nous avons organisé ensemble le Colloque International du CNRS "La Béotie antique" qui s'est déroulé du 16 au 20 mai 1983 à Lyon et Saint-Étienne. Avec son esprit ouvert et disponible, Paul Roesch était un professeur remarquable, qui gagnait les étudiants à l'épigraphie par la richesse et la clarté de ses exposés. Il excellait comme conférencier, avec une parfaite maîtrise de la langue au service de ses vastes connaissances, piquant la curiosité de l'auditoire, en mêlant l'insolite et le quotidien, l'anecdote et les idées fortes. Il n'hésitait pas d'ailleurs à s'exprimer avec autant de maîtrise et d'aisance en anglais, en allemand ou en grec moderne. Il a beaucoup travaillé et beaucoup publié, et dans son désir de faire mieux connaître la Grèce et le monde méditerranéen, il a créé les Conférences de l'Institut Courby, qu'il a organisées et animées pendant plus de dix ans, pour un public assidu et attentif. Exigeant et sûr, méthodique et loyal, généreux et courtois, le savant laisse à ses disciples et amis, et ils sont nombreux, en suprême don, le soin de parcourir les voies qu'il a lui-même défrichées et balisées.

Gilbert Argoud  
Centre Jean Palerne  
Université Jean Monnet - Saint-Étienne

## BIBLIOGRAPHIE DE PAUL ROESCH

### OUVRAGES

#### - Publiés:

*Thespies et la Confédération béotienne* (Paris, De Boccard, 1965) 296 p., 20 pl., 1 carte h.t. (Prix Ambatielos de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1967).

*Études béotiennes* (Paris, De Boccard, 1982) 562 p., 8 plans et cartes dans le texte, 20 pl. h.t. (Prix Desrousseaux de la Société des Études grecques; prix Ambatielos de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1982).

*La Béotie antique. Actes du Colloque international du CNRS, Lyon et St-Étienne, 16-20 mai 1983.* P. Roesch et G. Argoud éditeurs (Paris, Éditions du CNRS, 1985) 419 p., nombreuses illustrations dans le texte.

*Salamine de Chypre, XIII: Testimonia Salamina 2, Corpus épigraphique.* (avec J. Pouilloux et J. Marcillet-Jaubert et la collaboration de L. Darmezine) (Paris, De Boccard, 1987) 151 p., 23 pl.

#### - En préparation:

*Thespies de Béotie*, corpus des inscriptions, monnaies, témoignages, géographie historique et histoire: I. *Les Inscriptions de Thespies* (1350 inscriptions et prosopographie); II. *La cité de Thespies* (en cours de rédaction).

*Les Inscriptions de Coronée (Béotie)* (en préparation).

*Studies in Ancient Greek Medicine*, six articles remaniés et complétés, traduits en anglais par l'auteur; à paraître à Chicago, Ares éd.

### COLLABORATION AUX OUVRAGES SUIVANTS

*Choix d'Inscriptions grecques*, travaux de l'Institut d'Épigraphie grecque de Lyon sous la direction de J. Pouilloux (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1960) (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, IV*).

*La Civilisation grecque de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, sous la direction de Ch. Delvoye et G. Roux, tome II (Bruxelles, 1969): "Thèbes de Béotie", p. 377-388 et pl. 135-139.



*Nouveau Choix d'Inscriptions grecques*, par l'Institut Fernand-Courby de Lyon (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1971).

*The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton University Press, 1976) dix-sept articles: Akraiphia, Anthedon, Askra, Aulis, Chaironeia, Haliartos, Keressos, Kopai, Lebadeia, Leuktra, Orchomenos, Ptoion, Sanctuary of the Muses, Tanagra, Thebai, Thespiiai, Thisbe.

*Salamine de Chypre, IV: Anthologie salaminienne* (Paris, De Boccard, 1973) Chapitre V: "Une inscription digraphe du Ve siècle av. J.-C.", p. 81-85.

*Index du Bulletin épigraphique* de J. et L. Robert (Paris, Belles-Lettres)  
I. *Les mots grecs* (208 p.; 1972)  
II. *Les publications* (262 p.; 1974)  
III. *Les mots français* (123 p.; 1975)

*Supplément 1966-1973*, par A.-M. Vérilhac et J. Marcillet-Jaubert (470 p.; 1979)

*Historia tou Hellenikou Ethnous*, tome VI (Athènes, 1977): "Boiotia", p. 173-176 (la Béotie impériale; en grec).

*Salamine de Chypre, XI: Une résidence byzantine, "L'Huilerie"* (Paris, 1980) "Inscriptions et graffites", p. 38-40.

#### À l'impression:

*Histoire de Chypre*, sous la direction de V. Karageorghis (à paraître en grec à Athènes). Deux chapitres sur l'histoire et l'administration de l'île à l'époque ptolémaïque (45 pages).

*Pausanias en Béotie: notes archéologiques et historiques au livre IX de Pausanias* (texte établi par M. Casevitz, traduit par J. Pouilloux).

#### ARTICLES PUBLIÉS

- 1) "Notes d'Épigraphie béotienne", *Revue de Philologie*, 1965, p. 252-265.
- 2) "Inscriptions du Musée de Thèbes", *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1966, p. 61-85 et pl. IV-VIII.
- 3) "L'inventaire sacré de Thespias: l'alphabet attique en Béotie", (avec J. Taillardat), *Revue de Philologie*, 1966, p. 70-87.
- 4) "Les Sarapieia de Tanagra" (avec M. Calvet), *Revue Archéologique*, 1966, p. 297-332.
- 5) "Une tablette de malédiction de Tébessa", *Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne*, 2 (1966/67), p. 231-237.
- 6) "Théodôros, gouverneur de Chypre", *Revue Archéologique*, 1967, p. 225-238.

- 7) "Siphai, port de Béotie", *Les Cahiers d'Histoire*, 1969, n° 4, p. 7-9.
- 8) "Inscriptions béotiennes du Musée de Thèbes", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 94 (1970), p. 139-160.
- 9) "Korseia, Chorsiai et la IIIe Guerre sacrée", *Les Cahiers d'Histoire*, 1970, p. 374-376.
- 10) "Une loi fédérale béotienne sur la préparation militaire", *Acta of the 5th Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967* (Oxford, 1971), p. 81-88 et pl. 2.
- 11) "Sur un nouveau recueil de lois sacrées: F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées des cités grecques", *L'Antiquité Classique* 40 (1971), p. 201-209.
- 12) "Une dédicace en l'honneur de Vespasien à Salamine de Chypre", *Bull. de Corresp. Hellénique* 95 (1971), p. 573-580.
- 13) "Les lois fédérales béotiennes", *Teiresias*, Suppl. I (1972), p. 61-70.
- 14) "Une inscription athénienne au Musée de Thèbes", *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 6 (1973), p. 142-145.
- 15) "Pouvoir fédéral et vie économique des cités dans la Béotie hellénistique", *Akten des VI. intern. Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972* (*Vestigia*, 17; Munich, 1973), p. 259-269.
- 16) "Sur le tarif des poissons d'Akraiphia", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 14 (1974), p. 5-9.
- 17) "Note sur le décret des Hellènes en l'honneur de Glaucon, frère de Chrémonidès", *Z. Pap. Epigr.* 15 (1974), p. 180-182.
- 18) "La citoyenneté fédérale en Béotie", *Teiresias*, Suppl. II (paru en 1979): Actes du IIe Colloque international sur la Béotie antique, Montréal, 1973; p. 27-31.
- 19) "La forteresse de Dritsa (Béotie)", *Les Cahiers d'Histoire*, 1974, p. 279-80.
- 20) "Les Hérakleia de Thèbes", *Z. Pap. Epigr.* 17 (1975), p. 1-7 et 1 pl.
- 21) "Epigraphica - 1976", Appendice épigraphique à *Teiresias*, 1976 (35 p.).
- 22) "Les archontes stéphanéphores d'Anthédon", *Z. Pap. Epigr.* 24 (1977), p. 179-185 et pl. III b.
- 23) "Zeus Karaios", *Les Cahiers d'Histoire*, 22 (1976 paru en 1977), p. 79-80.
- 24) "Onchestos, capitale de l'État fédéral des Béotiens", *Les Cahiers d'Histoire*, 22 (1976 paru en 1977), p. 82-83.
- 25) "Epigraphica - 1977", Appendice épigraphique à *Teiresias*, 1977 (41 p.).
- 26) "Le calendrier d'Hésiode", *Mélanges N. Kontoléon* (Athènes, 1977), p. 26-32.

- 27) "Neuf actes d'affranchissement de Chéronée" (avec J. M. Fossey), *Z. Pap. Epigr.* 29 (1978), p. 123-137.
- 28) "Acte d'affranchissement de Coronée en Béotie" (avec J. M. Fossey), *Z. Pap. Epigr.* 29 (1978), p. 138-141.
- 29) "La cavalerie béotienne à l'époque hellénistique", *Actes du VIIe Congrès intern. d'Epigraphie grecque et latine, Constantza 1977* (Bucarest-Paris, 1979), p. 243-251.
- 30) "Convention militaire entre les cavaliers d'Orchomène et ceux de Chéronée" (avec R. Étienne), *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.* 102 (1978), p. 359-374.
- 31) "Les Lagides à Salamine: épigraphie et administration", *Actes du Colloque CNRS "Salamine de Chypre", Lyon, 1978*, p. 249-256.
- 32) "Epigraphica - 1978", Appendice épigraphique à *Teiresias*, 1978 (26 p.).
- 33) "Fragments de deux règlements économiques de Salamine de Chypre", *Report of the Depart. of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 1979, p. 352-357.
- 34) "Epigraphica - 1979", Appendice épigraphique à *Teiresias*, 1979 (16 p.).
- 35) "Le géographe Skylax et la côte méridionale de la Béotie", *Mémoires de Centre Jean-Palmerie, II* (Saint-Étienne, 1980), p. 123-130.
- 36) "Epigraphica - 1980", Appendice épigraphique à *Teiresias*, 1980 (17 p.).
- 37) "Athéna Itonia", *Les Cahiers d'Histoire*, 1981, p. 164-165.
- 38) "Au pays des Muses: Thespies de Béotie", *Bull. Ass. G. Budé*, 1981, fasc. 3, p. 264-267.
- 39) "Médecins publics dans l'Égypte impériale", *Mémoires du Centre Jean-Palmerie, III* (Saint-Étienne, 1982), p. 119-129.
- 40) "Le culte d'Asclépios à Rome", *Mémoires du Centre Jean-Palmerie, III* (1982), p. 171-179.
- 41) "À propos de P. W. Wallace, 'Strabo's Description of Boiotia. A Commentary'", *L'Antiquité Classique* 51 (1982), p. 251-258.
- 42) "Épigraphes de Coronée" (avec L. Darmezis), *Z. Pap. Epigr.* 51 (1983), p. 135-156 et pl. VI-IX.
- 43) "Epigraphica - 1981-1982", Appendice épigraphique à *Teiresias*, 1982 (paru en 1983; 48 p.).
- 44) "Les grands sanctuaires d'Asclépios: du miracle à la thérapeutique", *Conférences d'Histoire de la Médecine, Cycle 82-83* (Institut d'Histoire de la Médecine, Université Claude-Bernard/Lyon-I), Lyon, 1983, p. 1-21.
- 45) "Un décret inédit de la ligue thébaine", résumé de la communication faite à l'Association des Études Grecques le 7 mars 1983, *REG* 96 (1983), p. XIX.

- 46) "L'Amphiaraiion d'Oropos", dans *Temples et Sanctuaires* (TMO, n° 7, Lyon 1984), p. 173-184.
- 47) "La base des Béotiens à Delphes", *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1984, p. 177-195.
- 48) "Médecins publics dans les cités grecques", *Conférences d'Histoire de la Médecine, Cycle 83-84* (Institut d'Histoire de la Médecine, Université Claude-Bernard/Lyon-I), Lyon, 1984, p. 11-35.
- 49) "Un décret inédit de la ligue thébaine et la flotte d'Épaminondas", *REG* 97 (1984), p. 45-60; résumé dans la *REG*, 1983, p. XIX.
- 50) "Médecins publics dans les cités grecques", *Histoire des Sciences Médicales*, 18, fasc. 3 (1984), p. 279-293.
- 51) "Les taureaux de bronze du Kabirion de Thèbes et l'écriture archaïque béotienne", *Actes du 3e Congrès intern. sur la Béotie antique, Montréal-Québec, 1979* (Amsterdam, 1985), p. 135-144.
- 52) "La Justice en Béotie à l'époque hellénistique", *Ibid.*, p. 127-134.
- 53) "L'Asklepieion d'Alipheira en Arcadie", *Bull. de la Soc. des Amis de la Bibliothèque Salomon-Reinach*, N.S. 3 (Lyon, 1985) p. 22-23.
- 54) "Les femmes et la fortune en Béotie", dans *La Femme dans le monde méditerranéen*, I (TMO 10, Lyon, 1985), p. 71-84.
- 55) "Epigraphica - 1982-1985", Appendice épigraphique à *Teiresias*, 1985 (22 p.).
- 56) "Trente ans d'études sur la Béotie antique", dans *La Béotie antique, Actes du Colloque intern. du CNRS, Lyon-St Étienne, mai 1983* (Paris, ed. du CNRS, 1985), p. 14-40.
- 57) "L'eau et les textiles: Chorsiai de Béotie", dans *L'Homme et l'eau*, III (TMO 11, Lyon, 1986), p. 93-99.
- 58) "Trois inscriptions de Thespies", dans *Studien zur Alten Geschichte, Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht*, vol. III (Rome, 1986), p. 769-775 et 2 pl.
- 59) "La tyrannie dans le monde grec antique", dans *De la tyrannie au totalitarisme* (Annales de l'Université Lyon-3, 1986) p. 9-21.
- 60) "Un faux historique à la gloire d'Hippocrate", dans *Hippocrate et son héritage, Actes du Colloque franco-grec d'Histoire de la médecine, Lyon, 9-12 octobre 1985* (Lyon, 1987), p. 43-49.
- 61) "Femmes médecins dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine", dans *Conférences d'Histoire de la Médecine, Cycle 86-87* (Université Claude-Bernard/Lyon-I; Lyon, 1987), p. 39-50.
- 62) "Médecins publics dans les cités grecques à l'époque hellénistique", dans *Archéologie et Médecine, Actes du Colloque d'Antibes, 23-25 octobre 1986* (CRA-Valbonne, 1987), p. 57-67.

- 63) "Une dédicace de Chorsiai en Béotie", *Arch. Delt.* 35 (1980 paru en 1986), tome A', p. 224-225.
- 64) "Epigraphica - 1986", Appendice épigraphique à *Teiresias*, 1987 (19 p.).
- 65) "Y eut-il des rapports entre la Béotie, l'Épire et l'Illyrie?" *Actes du Colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 octobre 1984.*
- 66) "La douleur dans la mythologie grecque", dans *Histoire de la Neurologie*, réunion franco-italienne, Lyon 25 juin 1988. Collection Fondation Mérieux, Lyon, 1988, p. 9-20.
- 67) "La douleur dans la mythologie grecque", *Conférences d'Histoire de la Médecine, Cycle 87-88* (Lyon, 1989), p. 213-222.
- 68) "L'Aulos et les aulètes en Béotie", dans *Boiotika. Vorträge vom 5. internat. Böotien-Kolloquium* (Munich, 1989), p. 203-214.
- 69) "Décrets de proxénie d'Orchomène pour des Phocidiens", *Mélanges offerts à Georges Roux*, Lyon 1988.
- 70) "Mais qui donc étaient les Béotiens?" *Bull. de l'Association Guillaume-Budé* (1988).
- 71) "Cultes égyptiens en Béotie", *Actes du Colloque internat. "Egitto e Storia antica"*, Bologne, août-sept. 1987.
- 72) "Fontaines de Béotie", *Actes du Colloque sur "L'Eau dans les Cités grecques"*, Athènes, 20-24 mai 1988.

## ARTICLES EN COURS DE RÉDACTION

- "Décrets de Thèbes pour les juges d'Oropos", à paraître dans *Tychè*.
- "Inventaires et souscriptions dans le sanctuaire de Déméter et Coré à Tanagra", avec M. Casevitz, à paraître dans *Chiron*.
- "Sitônia à Coronée", à paraître dans *Arch. Ephém.*
- "Actes d'affranchissement d'Orchomène de Béotie", à paraître dans *ZPE*.
- "Les inscriptions de la base des Béotiens à Delphes", à paraître dans le *BCH*.
- "Un bronze inscrit d'Akraiphia".
- "Inscriptions de Béotie Centrale" (inscriptions recueillies en 1988).

## COMPTES-RENDUS CRITIQUES

- 1) W. K. Pritchett, Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone: *Rev. Phil.* 1965, p. 298.
- 2) W. K. Pritchett, Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, I: *Rev. Phil.* 1967, p. 290-293.
- 3) C. A. P. Ruck, IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 2323, the List of the Victors at the Dionysia: *L'Antiquité Classique*, 37 (1968), p. 732-733.
- 4) H. J. Thissen, Studien zum Raphiadekret: *L'Antiquité Classique*, 38 (1969), p. 320-322.
- 5) R. Meiggs - D. M. Lewis, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions: *L'Antiquité Classique*, 39 (1970), p. 280-281.
- 6) R. K. Sherck, Roman Documents from the Greek East: *L'Antiquité Classique*, 39 (1970), p. 285-289.
- 7) Altertümer von Pergamon, VIII 3: Die Inschriften des Asklepieions, par Chr. Habicht: *Gnomon*, 43 (1971), p. 387-392.
- 8) H. Beister, Untersuchungen zu der Zeit der thebanischen Hegemonie: *Rev. des Ét. Grecques*, 84 (1971), p. 176-177.
- 9) Labraunda, III 1: The Greek Inscriptions, part 1, par J. Crampa: *Rev. Archéologique*, 1971, p. 353-356.
- 10) W. K. Pritchett, The Choiseul Marble: *Rev. Phil.* 1971, p. 130-131.
- 11) O. W. Reinmuth, The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.: *L'Antiquité Classique*, 41 (1972), p. 714-715.
- 12) S. C. Bakhuizen, Salganeus and the fortifications on its mountains: *L'Antiquité Classique*, 42 (1973), p. 736-739.
- 13) W. Peek, Epigramme und andere Inschriften aus Lakonien und Arkadien: *L'Antiquité Classique*, 41 (1972), p. 712-713.
- 14) F. Schindler, Die Inschriften von Bubon (Nordlykien): *L'Antiquité Classique*, 42 (1973), p. 329-334.
- 15) T. Linders, Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia found in Athens: *L'Antiquité Classique*, 42 (1973), p. 327-328.
- 16) I. Stoian, Études Histriennes: *Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.*, 52 (1974), p. 656-658.
- 17) Labraunda III 2: The Greek Inscriptions, part 2, par J. Crampa: *Rev. Archéologique*, 1974, p. 364-365.
- 18) J. H. Kroll, Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates: *Rev. des Études Anciennes*, 1974, p. 173-174.
- 19) P. Siewert, Der Eid von Plataiai: *Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Histoire*, 52 (1974), p. 1063-1064.

- 20) H. Engelmann - R. Merkelbach, Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai, I (Nr. 1-200): *Rev. Phil.* 1974, p. 331-333.
- 21) Inscriptions de Délos: Actes administratifs (n° 89-104/33) par J. Coupry: *Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.* 53 (1975), p. 153-154.
- 22) H. Engelmann - R. Merkelbach, Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai, II (Nr. 201-536): *Rev. Phil.* 1977, p. 104-105.
- 23) Gianfranco Maddoli, Cronologia e Storia: Studi comparati sull'*Athenaion Politeia* di Aristotele: *Rev. Phil.* 1977, p. 105-106.
- 24) T. B. Mitford - I. Nikolau, The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis: *Rev. Archéologique*, 1976.
- 25) L. Moretti, Iscrizioni Storiche Ellenistiche, II: *Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Histoire*, 55 (1977).
- 26) *Études d'Archéologie Classique*, V (Nancy, 1976): *Kratylos* 21 (1977), p. 120-123.
- 27) R. Étienne - D. Knoepfler, Hyettos de Béotie (BCH, Suppl. III, 1976): *Rev. des Études Anciennes* 82 (1980), p. 338-341.
- 28) E. N. Lane, Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis (CMRDM), IV: Supplementary Men-Inscriptions from Pisidia: *Rev. des Ét. Anc.* 82 (1980), p. 118-119.
- 29) J. Wiseman, The Land of the Ancient Corinthians (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, vol. 50): *Rev. Phil.* 1980, p. 156-157.
- 30) S. Düll, Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens: *Gnomon*, 1980, p. 685-688.
- 31) R. J. Buck, A History of Boeotia: *Phoenix*, 1981, p. 267-271.
- 32) P. Salmon, Étude sur la Confédération béotienne (447/6 - 386): *L'Antiq. Classique*, 1983.
- 33) R. Lonis, Guerre et religions en Grèce à l'époque classique (1979): *Rev. Phil.* 1982, p. 321-324.
- 34) Th. Ihnken, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Bd. 8: Inschriften aus Magnesia am Sipylos (1978): *Rev. Phil.* 1983, p. 309-310.
- 35) E. Manni, Geografia fisica e politica della Sicilia antica (Testimonia Siciliae Antiquae, I.1) (1981): *Rev. Phil.* 1984.
- 36) *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, V: *Tituli Lydiae*, Fasc. 1: Regio septentrionalis ad Orientem vergens, par P. Hermann (Vienne, 1981): *Gnomon*, 1985.
- 37) *I Santuari e la Guerra nel Mondo classico*, a cura di M. Sordi (Milan, 1984): *Aevum*, 1985.
- 38) G. Sacco, Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Porto (Rome, 1984): *Gnomon*, 1986, p. 748-750.
- 39) Cl. Antonetti, Sigle epigrafiche greche di Tauromenio (Venise, 1985): *Epigraphica (Rome)*, 1988.
- 40) J. M. Fossey, The ancient topography of Eastern Phokis (Amsterdam, 1986): *Gnomon*.

## ZUR DATIERUNG DER DEUKALIONISCHEN FLUT IN DER KOPAIS

J. Knauss, Prof.Dr.-Ing.,  
 Versuchsanstalt für Wasserbau Obernach  
 -Oskar v.Miller-Institut,  
 Technische Universität München

In meinem, in der AW 1987 erschienenen Aufsatz "Deukalion, Lykoreia, die große Flut am Parnaß und der Vulkanausbruch von Thera (im Jahr 1529 v.Chr.?)" glaube ich über eine Verbindung naturwissenschaftlicher Überlegungen mit archäologischen Befunden nachgewiesen zu haben, daß in einem besonderen Datenpaar der Parischen Chronik (F.Gr.Hist.239 Marmor Parium) ein hoher Grad an realer Geschichtlichkeit zu erkennen ist (1), nämlich in der Angabe über den Zeitpunkt der deukalionischen Flut und der Dauer des Aufenthaltes von Deukalion in Lykoreia am Parnaß.

Ich möchte hier noch einmal kurz die wichtigsten Punkte meiner Beweisführung für den Realitätsgehalt der Eintragungen 2 und 4 im MP (Marmor Parium) vortragen. Die sachlichen Informationen und die zeitlichen Angaben des MP werden bestätigt durch:

- die Lokalisierung der uralten Siedlung Lykoreia auf dem Inselberg Koumoula im Talgrund des Katawothrenbeckens Livadi am Parnaß,
- durch die vorliegende archäologische Datierung der Besiedlung des Koumoula in einen relativ engen Zeitraum, Ende MH - Anfang SH, der in einer auffälligen Übereinstimmung mit den Angaben des MP über den Aufenthalt von Deukalion in Lykoreia steht, was besagt:
- Abbruch der Besiedlung bzw. traditionsgemäß Untergang von Lykoreia durch Überschwemmung am Anfang der mykenischen Epoche.
- Naturwissenschaftliche Erklärung der Flutkatastrophe und der besonderen Fluchtgeschichte Deukalions aus der Inselbergsituation.
- Gedankliche Verbindung der Explosion des Vulkans auf der Ägäisinsel Thera (Santorin) und der griechischen Sintflut (Ursache-Wirkungs-Prinzip in der Abfolge Erdbeben, Vulkanausbruch, Emissionen, Starkregen, Überschwemmungen).
- Archäologische Datierung des Untergangs von Akrotiri auf Thera durch den Vulkanausbruch in genau die Zeit, die das MP für die Flut angibt.
- Einbruch in der Besiedlung von überschwemmungsgefährdeten Landschaften Griechenlands laut den Aussagen der Archäologie in den Epochen SH I (1550-1500) und SH II A (1500-1450), insbesondere in der Kopais, den geschlossenen Bec-

ken Arkadiens und den weiten Ebenen Thessaliens - und dies als Folge der Sintflut. Die Verbindung von Datierungen aus dem Nahbereich (Untergang von Lykoreia), der Nachbarschaft (Siedlungseinbruch in der Kopais) und dem Fernfeld des Ereignisses (Untergang von Akrotiri) geben dem Datum der Parischen Chronik für den Eintritt der griechischen Sintflut im Jahr 1529 v.Chr. ein hohes Maß an Wahrscheinlichkeit. Damit gewinnt aber auch das Datum für die Ankunft des Deukalion am Parnaß und den Beginn seiner Regentschaft in Lykoreia im Jahr 1574, also 45 Jahre vor der Flut an Zuverlässigkeit.

Aus den älteren wie den jüngeren Studien zu konstruktiven Fragen der minyschen Wasserbauten ist bekannt, daß die Steinmauern an den Kanaldämmen und Polderdeichen auf die oberste Tonschicht der Seeablagerungen aufgesetzt wurden (2).

Bei dem extremen Hochwasserereignis der deukalionischen Flut und bei der Überschwemmung, die zum Untergang der Phlegyer führte (Paus.9,36,5-6), dürfte neben den kalkhaltigen Schwebstoffen auch eine beträchtliche Menge an erdigen Substanzen in den See eingetragen worden sein (3). In ungestörten Bereichen des ehemaligen Seebodens könnte eine auffällige Humusschicht dem letzten Tonpaket aufliegen, dessen Oberseite gemäß MP in die Zeit um 1500 v.Chr. zu datieren wäre.

In der Schichtenfolge der im Mai 1984 geöffneten Baugrube für ein großes Silo der Kopaisgesellschaft am Eingang in die Bucht von Akraiphia ist diese Auflage tatsächlich vorhanden (4). Eine schwärzliche Humusschicht von etwa 5 cm Stärke erscheint unter einer 40 cm starken Schicht aus brauner, sandiger Erde und über einer ebenfalls 40 cm starken Tonschicht. Dann folgt eine besonders markante, rund 15 cm dicke Schicht aus schwarzem Torf, die einer 150 cm mächtigen Schicht aus grauem Ton aufliegt, welche ihrerseits von einem schmalen braunen Band unterteilt wird. Unter der großen Tonschicht ist eine weitere, rund 15 cm dicke Schicht aus schwarzem Torf zu sehen, darunter folgt brauner Ton (Abb.1).

Aus den beiden Torfschichten entnahm ein Forscherteam der Universität Cambridge, England (5) im Mai 1984 einige Proben, für die eine Radiocarbon-Datierung durchgeführt wurde. Die von H.Allen 1989 veröffentlichten Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen (6) lieferten die folgenden zwei  $C^{14}$ -Daten, die ich nach der sinusförmigen Ausgleichskurve für die Kalibrierung von konventionellen Radiocarbon-Daten (7) in mittlere Kalenderdaten umgerechnet habe:

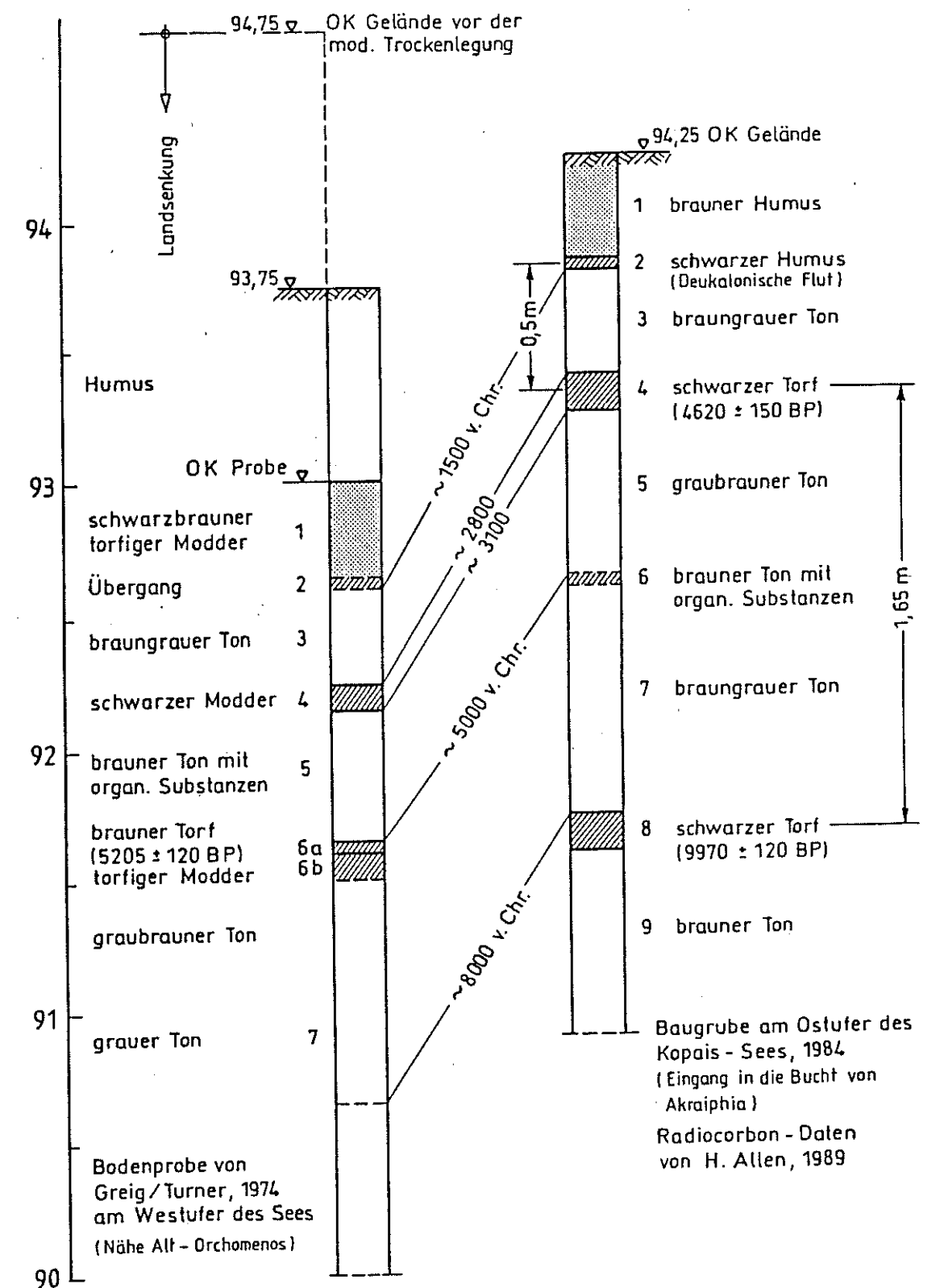


Abb. 1: Vergleich der Schichtenfolgen und  $C^{14}$ -Datierung der Torfschichten

	Schicht 4	Schicht 8
C <sup>14</sup> -Datierung	4620 ± 150 BP	9970 ± 120 BP
	-1950	-1950
mittlerer	2670	8020
Korrekturwert	+ 550	+ 550 (extrapolierte Kurve)
Datum v. Chr.	3220 ± 150	8570 ± 120

Die Differenz der beiden Daten (5350 Jahre) kann dem mittleren Abstand der beiden Schichten (165 cm) gegenübergestellt und zur Bestimmung einer mittleren jährlichen Sedimentationsrate (0,308 mm/Jahr) benützt werden. Von der Mitte der Schicht 4 bis zur Mitte der Schicht mit dem schwarzen Humus (Nr.2) besteht ein Abstand von rund 50 cm (Abb.1). Wenn man vom mittleren Kalenderdatum der Schicht 4 mit der ermittelten Sedimentationsrate über diese 50 cm nach oben rechnet, kommt die Schicht 2 in die Zeit 1595 ± 150 v. Chr. und damit in den Bereich des zeitlichen Ansatzes für die deukalionische Flut nach MP (1529 v. Chr.).

Die Bildung der Tonschichten erfolgte durch die Sedimentation von anorganischen Schwebstoffen in tieferem Wasser, die aus den umgebenden Gebirgen vor allem über die großen Flüsse im Westen des Beckens in den See gelangten. Die Torfschichten sind sehr wahrscheinlich vor Ort entstanden und zwar immer dann, wenn eine Änderung in der Zufluß-Abfluß-Situation die Randbereiche des Sees in Flachwasser- bzw. Wasserwechselzonen verwandelte. Wenn man für die Bildung der sicherlich etwas zusammengepreßten Schicht 4 aus Torf eine mittlere Wachstumsrate von rund 0,5 mm/Jahr annimmt, dann könnte die 15 cm starke Torflage einem Zeitraum von etwa 300 Jahren entsprechen. Legt man die Unterseite der schwarzen Humusschicht in das Jahr 1500 v. Chr., dann kann für die Schichtenfolge mit der berechneten mittleren Sedimentationsrate und der geschätzten Wachstumsrate des gepreßten Torfes folgende Zeiteneinteilung ermittelt werden:

UK Schicht 2		1500 v. Chr.
Schicht 3 - Ton (400/0,31)	+1300	
OK Schicht 4		2800 v. Chr.
Schicht 4 - Torf (150/0,5)	+ 300	
UK Schicht 4		3100 v. Chr.
Schicht 5 - Ton (600/0,31)	+1950	
OK Schicht 6		5050 v. Chr.
Schicht 6 - Torf ( 50/0,5)	+ 100	
UK Schicht 6		5150 v. Chr.
Schicht 7 - Ton (850/0,31)	+2750	
OK Schicht 8		7900 v. Chr.
Schicht 8 - Torf (150/0,5)	+ 300	
UK Schicht 8		8200 v. Chr.

In der Abb.1 ist der Bodenaufschluß in der Baugrube am Ostufer des Sees, der durch Zufall sowohl der englischen wie der deutschen Forschergruppe bekannt wurde, einer Bohrkernauswertung von J.R.A.Greig und J.Turner am Westufer gegenübergestellt, deren Ergebnis 1974 veröffentlicht wurde (8). Die Entnahmestelle liegt rund 1,75 km südöstlich des möglichen Siedlungsplatzes für Alt-Orchomenos (9) und etwas tiefer im ehemaligen See als die Grube im Osten. Im oberen Bereich entsprechen sich die Schichtenfolgen. Die Tiefendrainage bei der modernen Entwässerung der Kopais hat die Schichten auf der Westrampe des Sees offensichtlich ein wenig zusammengedrückt und abgesenkt. Im Bohrprofil von Greig und Turner fehlt die Schicht 8. Dort war der See in dieser Zeit vermutlich noch so tief, daß keine aquatischen Pflanzen wachsen konnten und die Moorbildung noch nicht in Gang kam.

Greig und Turner konnten für ihren Bohrkern auch eine Pollenanalyse durchführen, die einige paläobotanische Feststellungen zu den oberen Schichten des Kopaisbodens ermöglichen, welche mit der in Abb.1 vorgenommenen zeitlichen Korrelation mit den Daten der Baugrube an wissenschaftlicher Bedeutung gewinnen (10). Im einzelnen sind dazu folgende wichtige Gesichtspunkte anzumerken:

- Die Zeit nach 1500 v. Chr. ist an der Meßstelle durch ein sprunghaftes Ansteigen der Pollen von Moosen und Sauergräsern gekennzeichnet, ein deutliches Anzeichen dafür, daß der Uferbereich infolge der wasserwirtschaftlichen Maßnahmen der Minyer zur Wasserwechselzone (im Winter naß, im Sommer trocken) wurde und die Moorbildung in Gang kam (11). Das ebenfalls steile Ansteigen von Olivenpollen deutet auf eine Intensivierung der Landnutzung hin, der Rückgang von Gräserpollen vielleicht auf eine Zunahme des Ackerbaus.
- Die schwarze Torfschicht (Nr.4) aus der Zeit um 3000 v. Chr. zeigt an, daß die betrachteten Stellen am West- und Ostufer des Sees einige Jahrhunderte lang in einer Wasserwechselzone lagen, was bedeutet, daß sich der See mehr in die Mitte des Beckens zurückgezogen hatte und die Uferzonen im Sommer austrockneten. Die Torfschicht markiert archäologisch das ausgehende Neolithikum (N) bzw. die 1. Phase des Frühhelladikums (FH I) und damit eine Zeit, für die eine intensive Besiedlung der Seeränder, vor allem auch der Geländeinseln (Magoulen) im Beckeninneren nachgewiesen ist (12). Die Pollenanalyse von Greig und Turner zeigt für diesen Zeitabschnitt einen hohen Anteil an Gräsern und einen niedrigen an aquatischen Pflanzen.
- Um 5000 v. Chr. treten im Pollendiagramm zum ersten Mal See-



rosen und Tausendblätter auf. Die Sauergräser steigen sprunghaft an. Die Eichenpollen gehen drastisch zurück. Es werden erstmals Olivenpollen festgestellt. Nach meiner Meinung kündigt diese Beobachtung den Übergang vom tiefen zum flachen See an der Meßstelle an und deutet damit auf eine gewisse Änderung in der Zufluß-Abfluß-Situation. Greig und Turner werten die Ergebnisse ihrer Studien zusammenfassend so: "There is little evidence of climatic change in the period from 7000 BC to the present day and it appears that major change can be ruled out" (13). Man wird also eher an Veränderungen in den Abflußverhältnissen zu denken haben (Bildung neuer Katawothren) als an ein Nachlassen der Zuflüsse (allgemeine Trockenheit).

- Um 8000 v.Chr. verzeichnet das Pollendiagramm einen Hochpunkt bei den Eichen, das verstärkte Auftreten von Kiefern und einen totalen Rückgang von Wacholderpollen. Nach Greig/Turner könnten diese Änderungen den Übergang von Bewaldung zur Macchia-Vegetation anzeigen, die heute das Bild der Berge um die Kopais bestimmt.

Der Bohrkern von Greig u. Turner liegt auf einem älteren Schüttkegel des Kephissos, die Baugrube auf dem Standwall am Eingang in die Bucht von Akraiphia. Zur Ergänzung und Überprüfung der bislang möglichen Aussagen zur Geschichte des Kopais-Sees und der menschlichen Aktivitäten im Becken wäre eine Probe aus der Mitte des Sees besonders wünschenswert, z.B. in der Nähe der merkwürdigen Steinhäufen im Zentrum der Talsenke (14).

#### Anmerkungen:

- (1) J.Knauss, Deukalion....., AW3 (1987) 23-40. Dazu auch J.Knauss, Die Melioration des Kopaisbeckens durch die Minyer im 2.Jt.v.Chr. Kopais 2, 1987, Bericht Nr.57 d.Inst.f.Wasserbau der TU München, Kap.4.3 "Die Überschwemmungskatastrophen" und ders., Die Griechische Sintflut in Legende und Wirklichkeit, Beitrag zum Colloque EAU, Athen, Mai 1988.
- (2) Vgl. dazu in Kopais 2, 226ff, und J.Knauss, Mykenische Wasserbauten in Arkadien, Bötien und Thessalien, Akten Kongreß Wasser Berlin 89, Symp.Hist.Wasserversorgung.
- (3) Dazu ausführlich in Kopais 3, 1990, Kap.2.5.1 "Die große Flut in der Kopais und ihre Auswirkungen" u. Kap.A im Anhang "Anmerkungen zu einigen sedimentologischen Untersuchungen und Pollenanalysen im Gebiet des ehemaligen Sees".
- (4) Vgl. dazu auch das Foto Abb.6.4 in Kopais 1, 1984.
- (5) Dazu J.L.Bintliff u. A.M.Snodgrass, The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years, Journal of Field Archaeology, Vol.12/2 (1985) 123-161.

- (6) H.Allen, A Postglacial Record from the Kopais Basin, Greece, Paper presented at the Symposium "The Impact of Ancient Man on the Landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean Region and Near East", Groningen, 1989. Die genaue Lage der Proben in den Schichten der Baugrube verdanke ich einer persönlichen Mitteilung der Autorin.
- (7) Nach H.Mommsen, Archäometrie, Teubner, Stuttgart 1986, 224 (Bild 83 nach J.Klein u.a., Radiocarbon 24, 1982, 103: Über die Dendrochronologie gewonnene Eichkurve für C<sup>14</sup>-Daten).
- (8) J.R.A.Greig u. J.Turner, Some Pollen Diagrams from Greece and their Archaeological Significance, Journal of Archaeological Science 1974,1,177-194.
- (9) Vgl. dazu Kopais 2, 32ff.
- (10) Dazu H.-J.Höper, Der Ostthessalische und der Bötische See, Anmerkungen zur Geschichte zweier ehemaliger Seen in Ostgriechenland, Münstersche Geographische Arbeiten 27 (1987) 175-187; s.auch Bintliff/Snodgrass a.O. (s.o. Anm.5) 155: "The main need for the future must be to obtain a better-preserved organic deposit, preferably with the addition of C<sup>14</sup> dates to give a frame work of absolute dates".
- (11) In der Zeit von 1300 v.Chr. bis 1900 n.Chr. (3200 Jahre) ist eine mittlere Torfhöhe von 2,25 m entstanden (s.Abb 3.1 in Kopais 2), was einer mittleren Wachstrumsrate von 0,7 mm pro Jahr entspricht.
- (12) Vgl. dazu die Angaben in R.Hope Simpson und O.T.P.K.Dickinson, A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age, I, Göteborg 1979, 235ff (z.B. G5-Magoula Pyrgos, G7-Kopai, G8-Magoula Kavkala, G9-Gla); s.a. J.M. Fossey, Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia, I, Chicago 1988.
- (13) Greig u. Turner a.O. (s.o. Anm.8) 193.
- (14) Vgl. dazu die Ausführungen in Kopais 2, 116ff ("Die Steinhäufen in der Mitte des Beckens"), zu ihrer Lage die Eintragung in Karte 1 im Anhang des Berichtsheftes von 1987.

DIE KATAWOTHREN AM EHEMALIGEN KOPAISSSEE IN BOOTIEN, GRLD.  
VORLAUFIGER BERICHT ÜBER DIE UNTERSUCHUNGEN IN DEN JAHREN  
1985-1988\*

Hansjörg Kalcyk,  
Josef Weichenberger

Noch vor 100 Jahren war das Kopaisbecken im Herzen Bōotiens ein sumpfiges Binnenseegebiet, das wegen seiner widrigen klimatischen Verhältnisse von den Menschen gemieden wurde. Als endlich die Ebene trockengelegt war, traten im ehemaligen Seegrund die Reste gewaltiger Erdbauten zutage, deren Deutung seither die Fachwelt beschäftigte. Nach der Überlieferung war diese Ebene einst fruchtbares Land, die Lebens- und Einkommensgrundlage der Stadt Orchomenos, deren sagenhafte Könige wegen ihres Reichtums berühmt waren. Die natürlichen Gegebenheiten ließen eine Nutzung der Ebene nur unter der Voraussetzung zu, daß zuvor entsprechende Meliorationen durchgeführt waren. Solche Arbeiten waren in den erhaltenen Dämmen und Gräben deutlich erkennbar und führten allgemein zu dem Schluß, daß bereits in früherer Zeit Ingenieure in der Kopais am Werk gewesen waren. Schon im ausgehenden 19. Jhd. interpretierten Kambanis und Philippson die sichtbaren Reste dahingehend (1).

Zuletzt legte J. Knauss ein neuartiges Modell vor, das aus einer Hochwasserableitung und Entwässerung sowie einer Landgewinnung innerhalb der Ebene durch die Einrichtung von Poldern bestand (2).

Wesentlicher Bestandteil aller gedanklichen Modelle waren die Katawothren, von deren Funktion sämtliche Entwässerungsmaßnahmen abhängen. Bereits vor den Eingriffen des Menschen nahmen diese Katawothren große Mengen des Wassers auf, das sich im Becken sammelte und schafften es durch das umgebende Gebirge nach außen.

### 1. Aufgabenstellung

In den Jahren 1985 bis 1988 untersuchten wir in 4 zum Teil mehrwöchigen Einsätzen sowohl über wie unter Tage sämtliche noch auffindbaren Katawothren. Neben der Lokalisierung, der Befahrung, der Vermessung, der Kartierung und der photographischen Dokumentation sollte vor allem auch festgestellt werden ob und inwieweit die Katawothren in künstlichen Entwässerungssysteme eingebunden waren. Bei den Vermessungen wurde ferner der jeweilige Außenbereich berücksichtigt; ein besonderes Augenmerk galt darüberhinaus den auf die Vorfluter zuführenden Gerinne.

### 2. Die Lokalisierung

Philippson, der das Phänomen und die grundsätzliche Bedeutung der Katawothren für die Kopaisebene als einer der ersten erkannt und beschrieben hatte, berichtete von insgesamt 25 Katawothren. Seine



Benennungen und Nummerierungen werden in der folgenden Darstellung weitgehend übernommen. Als sehr nützlich erwiesen sich auch die Untersuchungen italienischer Höhlenforscher aus dem Jahre 1983, wiewohl diese vorwiegend höhlenkundlich orientiert waren (3).

Trotz dieser gründlichen Arbeiten konnten nicht mehr alle von Philippson aufgeführten Höhlen wiedergefunden werden. Dies gilt für die Katawothre bei Gla (Nr.10), die Katawothren an der Phtelia (Nr.11, 12), die Katawothren am Ostrand (Nr.16,17,18,19) sowie für die "Kleine Katawothre" bei Kaniski (Nr.22).

Aus den Geländeuntersuchungen ergab sich immerhin soviel: Die Katawothre bei Gla (Nr.10) dürfte vermutlich ehemals ein Bodenschlinger gewesen sein, der dann im Zuge der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzung des Geländes um die Felseninsel verschüttet wurde; das selbe Schicksal dürfte auch die "Kleine Katawothre" (Nr.22) ereilt haben.

Die Zugänge der entlang des Ostrandbes findlichen Katawothren (Nr.16-19) sind wahrscheinlich bei Felssprengungen im Zuge eines modernen Straßenbaus zerstört worden.

Ungestört sind die Felsränder an der Phtelia. Dort gibt es zwar zahlreiche Spalten und Grotten, aber keine davon kann als Katawothre bezeichnet werden.

Bei den ausgedehnten Erkundungsgängen, die sich durch das z.T. dichte Buschwerk entlang der Beckenränder mehr als beschwerlich gestalteten, gelang es eine von den italienischen Höhlenforschern entdeckte neue Katawothre nochmals zu lokalisieren, zu befahren und zu dokumentieren(4).

### 3. Die Befahrung

Die Befahrung der Katawothren war zum Teil ein nicht immer einfaches Unterfangen und stellte an die körperliche und psychische Kondition aller Beteiligten hohe Anforderungen. Nicht befahren werden konnten die Katawothre bei Langonas (Nr.3), die in der älteren Literatur als Katawothre "1 km nördlich von Topolia" bezeichnet wird. Langonas ist eine aus einigen Häusern bestehende Ansiedlung. Ebenfalls nicht befahren werden konnten die Sikia (Nr.5), die Wristika (Nr.13), welche durch den zulaufenden Kanal zwar eindeutig zu lokalisieren war, vermutlich aber nach dem äußeren Gepräge zu schließen einmal ein Bodenschlinger war, und die Katawothre von Moulki (Nr.24). Entweder waren die Zugänge zu schmal (Nr.3, Nr. 24), oder verschüttet (Nr.5). Die Große Katawothre von Kaniski (Nr.21) konnte aus Sicherheitsgründen nur wenige m weit befahren werden. Angefüllt mit einer dicken übelriechenden Schlammbrühe bestand die Gefahr, daß in ihrem weiteren Verlauf lebensgefährliches Sumpfgas auftreten könnte.

Die übrigen Katawothren wurden - soweit die Gänge passierbar waren - befahren. Bei der Katawothre Nr. 2 mußten wir uns

allerdings erst durch eine rezente Mülldeponie an den Eingang heranarbeiten. Insgesamt konnten etwa 3500 m Höhlengänge befahren werden.

An einigen besonderen Stellen wurden einfache Reinigungen durchgeführt, um die Höhe und vor allem ein Profil des eingeschwemmten Schlammes zu erhalten.

### 4. Das Innere der Katawothren

Die Katawothren bestehen in ihrem Inneren aus relativ leicht überschaubaren Gangsystemen, die in der Regel kluft- oder Schichtgebunden sind. Meist gibt es nur einen Hauptgang, der zugleich der Wasserableitung diente, wie deutlich aus den Massen eingelagerten Schlammes zu erkennen war; stellenweise liegt der Schlamm heute bis zu einem m über dem gewachsenen Höhlenboden. Die wenigen Verzweigungen führten, soweit wir sie befahren konnten, immer auf den Hauptgang zurück. Die Katawothre Paleomilos bei der Kapelle des Hagios Nikolaos (Nr.14) verfügt beispielsweise über ein begehbares Gangsystem von etwa 1270 m Länge, doch nur 400 m davon dienten der eigentlichen Wasserableitung.

Die Gänge sind an den Stellen, wo natürliche Felsbarrieren sie blockierten, künstlich erweitert worden. Dabei entstanden Durchlässe, die mindestens 60 cm, im höchsten Falle 80 cm breit waren. An längeren Engstellen wurden hingegen keinerlei erkennbaren Eingriffe vorgenommen.

### 5. Einbauten in den Katawothren

Nahezu alle Katawothren besitzen in ihrem Inneren künstliche Einbauten. Es sind mehr oder weniger lange manchmal mannshohe Trockenmauern, die aus Bruchsteinen aufgeschichtet sind. Sie stehen vorwiegend entlang von Weitungen des natürlichen Ganges und dienten wohl in der Hauptsache dazu, daß einströmende Wasser ungehindert, d.h. ohne unnötige Strudelbildung, fließen zu lassen. In der Katawothre Paleomilos (Nr.14) wurden bei einer Ganglänge von 400 m 34 solcher Mauern aufgenommen, in der Katawothre Nr. 4 waren es auf 260 m Länge sogar 24 Mauern.

Andere Weitungen unter Tage sind zumelst bis unter die Decke mit Schlamm angefüllt. Dabei wurde fast immer auf eine sorgfältige Schichtung geachtet. Auf diese Weise entstanden z.T. regelrechte Stufenpyramiden, mit - je nach der Deckenhöhe - mehreren Absätzen, die wiederum 1 bis 2 m hoch sein konnten. Ein besonders kunstfertiger Aufbau fand sich in der Paleomilos (Nr.14), wo die einzelnen Absätze noch zusätzlich durch in den Schlamm gegrabene Trittstufen miteinander verbunden waren. Sie erfüllen noch heute ihren Zweck.

Die Fundamente der Schlammhalden waren meistens mit aufgeschichteten Bruchsteinen armiert.

Trotz der heute zum Teil bis zu einem m mächtigen Sedimentationsschicht in der Kanaltrasse lassen die vielen Schlammhalden

auf intensive Reinigungsphasen schliessen. Stellenweise belegen armdicke Sinterablagerungen und Tropfstein auf den Mauern und Schlammhalden, daß diese Arbeiten aus älterer Zeit stammen. In einer Halde der Paleomilos (Nr.14) lassen sich aus den Farben des Schlammes drei verschiedene Aufhäufungen erkennen. Auf einer dunklen liegt eine helle Schicht, der wiederum eine ins Braune gehende folgt.

In den Weitungen zeigen abgebrochene und wieder nachgewachsene und dann zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt ein weiteres Mal abgebrochene Tropfsteine auf verschiedene Reinigungsperioden hin, deren zeitlicher Abstand relativ groß gewesen sein dürfte.

An einer Versturzstelle in der Binia (Nr.7) fanden wir die teilweise stark mit Sinter überzogenen Skelette zweier Menschen.

Eine Überraschung besonderer Art bot sich bei der Befahrung der Katawothre am Südhang der Kokoretsa (Nr.20). Durch den sehr engen und schwer begehbaren Gang, der um einiges tiefer liegt als der Eingangsteil der Höhle, gelangten wir über eine Geröllhalde ansteigend zu einer großen Halle. In der 50 m langen, 15 m breiten und ebenso hohen Weitung fanden wir Keramik, Tierknochen von Schaf, Rind und Schwein sowie die Reste zahlreicher Feuerstellen, alles bedeckt von einer dicken Schmutzschicht, die von den großen Fledermauskolonien, die nun hier wohnten, herrührte. Von dieser Wohnhöhle aus war eine weitere, etwas kleinere Halle zu erreichen, die ebenfalls dichte Besiedlungsspuren aufweist. Einige Keramikteile wurden sichergestellt und der zuständigen Ephorie übergeben; es handelte sich um Stücke aus neolithischer, fh aber auch sh Zeit. Der ursprüngliche Zugang der Höhle wurde ebenfalls gefunden; er dürfte allem Anschein nach durch ein Erdbeben verschüttet worden sein. Die schmale, heute noch vorhandenen Restöffnung bietet nur noch den Fledermäusen einen Durchschlupf. Die Verbindung der beiden Wohnhöhlen dürfte vermutlich ebenfalls erst durch ein Erdbeben hergestellt worden sein.

Festzuhalten ist, daß die beiden Wohnhöhlen mit der eigentlichen Katawothre nicht in Verbindung gestanden haben. Erst ein Erdbeben dürfte dies zustande gebracht haben.

Die Katawothre an der Kokoretsa war allem Anschein nach ehemals ebenfalls ein Bodenschlinger.

Am südlichen Beckenrand liegt die Katawothre Mavromati (Nr.23). Sie erscheint wegen ihres nur auf einer Länge von 6 m begehbaren Innenbereichs anfangs unbedeutend. Die Höhle endet in einigen unpassierbaren Spalten. Wenn die Katawothre aber mit Wasser gespeist wird, was noch heute besonders nach starken Regenfällen vorkommt, ist aus diesen Spalten ein lautes Glucksen zu hören (Diod. 17,10; Ailian. var.hist. 12,57; Arr. 1,7).

#### 6. Naturbedingte Schäden an den Katawothren

Die Sagen, die über die Katawothren und ihre Zerstörung durch

Herakles aus der antiken Tradition bekannt sind, lassen in manchem den Schluß zu, daß sie sich auf Erdbeben und in deren Folge auf entstandene Schäden an den Katawothren beziehen. Aus diesem Grunde wurden mutmaßliche Versturzsituationen näher untersucht.

Klarheit konnte dabei über den Versturzeitpunkt der "Großen Katawothre" (Nr.8) gewonnen werden. Links von dem mächtigen Deckeneinsturz wurde ein bislang unbekannter Seitengang mit einer Gesamtlänge von mehr als 100 m entdeckt, der am Ende steil abfällt. In diesem Seitengang wurden drei Mauern vermessen, die eindeutig den ehemaligen Wasserlauf regulieren halfen. Im Gang aufgefundene Keramik wurde für eine Auswertung sichergestellt. Die Nachrichten aus dem 19.Jh., die die Aufnahmefähigkeit dieser Katawothre sehr eindrucksvoll schildern, können aufgrund der Beobachtungen vollauf bestätigt werden. Der heute so eindrucksvoll sichtbar Versturz dürfte die Funktion der Katawothre nicht unbedingt beeinflußt haben.

Eine weitere Versturzsituation existiert an der Spitia-Katawothre (Nr.5). Auch hier sind hinter dem Geröll und den riesigen Versturzböcken im Eingangsbereich der Katawothre noch Klüfte und Spalten begehrbar; auch eine Trockenmauer wurde festgestellt. Inwieweit Beeinträchtigungen durch den Versturz entstanden kann nicht beurteilt werden. Etwa 50 m vor der steil abfallenden Felswand, in der sich die Katawothrengänge befinden liegen zwei Bodenlöcher, die heute noch 0,5 bzw. 1,0 m tief sind. Sie konnten einmal durchaus als Bodenschlinger gedient haben.

Eine dritte Versturzsituation gibt es bei der Sikia-Katawothre (Nr.6), auf die ein geradlinig gezogener Kanal zuführt, der sich noch deutlich im Gelände als dunkle Bodenverfärbung erkennen läßt. Vor der eigentlichen Versturzstelle ist das Gerinne beidseitig armiert.

In der Paleomilos (Nr. 14) ist ein großer Versturzböck mit zwei Pfeilern unterstützt, wovon eine aus ortsfremdem Material besteht. Nach dieser "Pforte des Drachen"(5) ist der einmal verstürzte Katawothrengang wieder freigelegt und mit Mauern abgesichert worden.

#### 7. Zusammenfassung

Die Vielzahl der angetroffenen Spuren menschlicher Tätigkeiten in den Katawothren lassen deutlich das Bemühen erkennen, die Abflüsse des Beckens nicht nur frei zu halten sondern diese soweit es möglich war, sogar zu optimieren. Fürs erste ist es schwierig, diese Maßnahmen zeitlich einzuordnen, zumal man auch im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit, als vor vielen Katawothren Mühlen installiert waren, an ihrer Funktionsfähigkeit interessiert war.

Zwei große Reinigungsperioden lassen sich aber deutlich erkennen. Diese finden auch ihren Niederschlag in zwei vorerst nur grob kategorisierbaren Bautypen bei den Halden und den Mauern. Hier ist

einmal die grobe Anhäufung zu sehen, der die kunstvolle Pyramidenform mit Stufen und Armierung gegenübersteht. Gleiches ist bei den Mauern zu beobachten, einerseits bloße Anhäufung von Bruchstein sowie die sorgfältige Schichtung desselben Material.

Nahezu jede der befahrenen Katawothren zeigte das Nebeneinander dieser verschiedenen Formen. Insgesamt kann man schon jetzt sagen, daß der Mensch in der Kopais ein genaues Wissen um die Funktion und die Bedeutung der Katawothren besessen hat und dies nicht erst seit dem Mittelalter oder Neuzeit.

#### Anmerkungen

\* Die Arbeiten wurden im Rahmen des von J.Knauss initiierten und durchgeführten Munich Kopais Project begonnen und im Jahre 1988 beendet. Zu danken ist ganz besonders der griechischen Ephorie in Theben und dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Athen, das uns mit Rat und Tat unterstützte. Ein abschließender, umfassender Bericht ist für den Archäologischen Anzeiger vorgesehen.

1. M. Kambanis, Le dessèchement du lac Copais par les anciens I, BCH 16, 1892, S.121-137; ders., Le dessèchement du lac Copais par les anciens II, BCH 17, 1893, S.322-342. A. Philippson, Der Kopais-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung, Ztschr. Gesellsch. für Erdkunde 29, 1894, S.1-90.
2. J. Knauss, B. Heinrich, H. Kalcyk, Die Wasserbauten der Minyer in der Kopais - die älteste Flußregulierung Europas, Institut für Wasserbau TU München, Bericht 50, 1984; J. Knauss, Die Melioration des Kopaisbeckens durch die Minyer im 2.Jt.v.Chr. Wasserbau und Siedlungsbedingungen im Altertum, Institut für Wasserbau TU München, Bericht 57, 1987.
3. M. Bertolani, A. Rossi, La zona speleologia del lago Copaide (Bcozia, Grecia Centrale) in: Atti Bologna 1983, S. 205-248.
4. Bertolani a.O.
5. N.-A. Siderides, Les Katavothres de Grèce, Spelunca 8, 1911, Nr.63 et 64, S.6.

#### ON THE FRONTIERS OF ATTICA AND BOIOTIA: THE RESULTS OF THE STANFORD SKOURTA PLAIN PROJECT

Mark H. Munn and Mary Lou Zimmerman Munn,  
Stanford University

The archaeological survey project announced in our preliminary report in TEIRESIAS 1986 (AB pp. 7-10) was brought to a successful conclusion in 1989. We are pleased to present here a summary of the results of our study of the Skourta plain. Quantitative information is left to more specialized studies and to the final publication. The following is a synopsis of our general conclusions based on our present interpretation of the data.

The Skourta plain is the highest and largest of several basins and valleys in the Kithairon-Parnes mountain massif. Geological study by our colleague Eberhard Zangger (Cambridge Univ.) has shown that in the Pleistocene era the basin was covered by a lake which deposited the sediments now forming the moderately deep soil in the center of the plain. This lake was drained in the Pleistocene by the opening of the sinkhole that still provides the chief exit for water in the central basin. Soils in the central basin and several smaller valleys around it have been slowly eroding ever since, but the landscape, with its pine and maquis covered hills and slopes, has been comparatively stable since the end of the last Ice Age.

Man brought cultivation into this environment in the Early Neolithic era, focusing first on the best soils in the central basin. There two small mounds, little more than two hectares each, preserve abundant remains of pottery, daub, chipped obsidian and chert, and a variety of ground stone tools. These and other smaller sites on hills round about attest the Neolithic occupation of the area, when cultivation must always have been combined with hunting and the pasturage of animals.

Evidence for an increased emphasis on the pastoral resources of the area is clear by the Final Neolithic era of the 4th and early 3rd millenia B.C. Along with the grindstones that suggest grain production and the use of other domesticated or wild plant products, many sites of this era have produced spindle whorls, indicating wool production. Many of these sites are hilltop settlements, often overlooking passes in exposed positions which seem unsuited for year-round occupation in this highland, where the winters are cold and

often snow-bound. It seems highly probable that many of these were seasonal settlements of a people who brought their animals to lowland pasturage in Attica or Boiotia during the winter. Such a pattern of local transhumance, which is characteristic, in variant forms, of the use of this region in later times, implies a degree of specialization on the part of the transhumant pastoralists. Networks for the exchange of their pastoral produce must have existed to enable them to specialize in the grazing of sheep and goats (probably more the last), which was an especially appropriate means of converting the resources of this mountainous area into usable foodstuffs and other animal products. This pattern in turn implies that these mountains were by now part of a regional socio-economic system that also embraced a significant portion of the adjacent lowland plains.

The Final Neolithic settlement pattern persisted into the first half of the 3rd millennium in EH I. Remarkably, however, there is no trace of EH II settlement in the plain. No environmental condition has been identified in the study of the Holocene soil history that could account for this abandonment. The absence of habitation in this highland must be explained as a cultural phenomenon. Yet it occurred in a period of substantial development elsewhere. Thebes, for instance, became a sizable town for the first time in EH II (a convenient summary of the emerging cultural complexity of EH II in Greece is provided by Wiencke, *AJA* 93, 1989, 495-509). In a period when lowland settlements were growing it would be most remarkable if this highland were not somehow exploited. Seasonal pasturage could have been, and probably was, carried on here by people who built no lasting settlements, and whose campsites have left no discernable traces (such a phenomenon is paralleled later in the 9th-6th centuries B.C.). After a millennium or more in which seasonal transhumance was practiced with durable settlements in and around the Skourta plain, their abandonment now requires an explanation. The process must have been regional, reflecting in some way the dominance that lowland centers exercised over this highland. As a hypothesis, we suggest that the emergence of centralized rival states in Attica and Boiotia in EH II polarized the settlement pattern, and left this mountain zone as an uninhabited borderland. A similar process in the proto-historic period of the 9th-6th centuries B.C. is described below.

Evidence for permanent habitation in the area re-emerges in the MH II-III era. At that time the mountaintop site of Panakton, above the southwestern edge of the plain, is extensively occupied for the first time (only scant traces of Early Neolithic pottery indicate earlier activity there). A few

other small sites in the area are occupied in MH III-LH I, but Panakton is by far the most substantial site of this and the later Mycenaean era. The absence of other settlements immediately around the central Skourta basin, the largest tract of arable land in the area, in LH II-III suggests that Panakton in effect controlled the exploitation of this basin during this period, possibly as an outpost of one of the major Mycenaean palatial centers. Early Mycenaean material (LH I-II) seems better represented on the surface than later, until LH IIIC, which is abundant. We look forward to investigating this sequence stratigraphically when we return to excavate Panakton (see below).

Beyond the central Skourta basin, in the hills and small valleys below the summits of Parnes to the east, there are a number of smaller Mycenaean sites which, collectively, span the full range of LH I-IIIC. The most intriguing of these peripheral sites are clustered in and between the remote Mazareika and Vountima valleys, more than ten kilometers northeast of Panakton. While most of the smaller Mycenaean sites here and elsewhere in our survey area are located on or beside small tracts of arable land, two small fortified settlements in this northeastern sector are located atop precipitous peaks, surrounded by deep ravines, in situations that can only be explained by a need for defensive strength. One of these, an enclosure known as Kastro, is MH III-LH I in date. The second and larger settlement at Ayia Marina, is LH IIIA2 (late)-LH IIIC. The remoteness of this northeastern sector, and the great natural strength of the two citadels, suggest that the inhabitants of these glens and crags sought to protect and separate themselves from peoples beyond the peaks that surrounded them, perhaps because they were ethnically distinct and politically more or less independent of the Mycenaean Greeks who dominated the plains. Traditions of Pelasgians in these mountains at the end of the Bronze Age (Proklos apud Photios *Bibl.* 321b3) raise the possibility that these sites may have formed a Pelasgian enclave in Parnes.

Strongholds in these mountains, at the head of the Isthmus and straddling Attica and Boiotia, were of local if not regional importance in the events attending the end of the Bronze Age. Panakton itself, a substantial settlement in LH IIIC, also had a substantial Protoegeometric habitation phase before it was abandoned. To the south, overlooking the small Kokkini valley which contains a Mycenaean site and later an Attic deme, or deme satellite settlement, the rugged summit of Korynokastro was occupied and fortified in the LH IIIC-Protoegeometric period. LH IIIC habitation at Ayia Marina, noted above, was accompanied by LH IIIC and possibly also

Protogeometric habitation at a few other small sites in the northeastern sector. With the final abandonment of these Dark Age sites, the entire upland area of the Skourta plain was left uninhabited for some four centuries (roughly 9th-6th centuries B.C.). Only in the lower Kokkini valley, not far from the plain of Eleusis, is there evidence suggesting continuous habitation from the Geometric through Archaic eras.

This settlement void corresponds to the formative period of the Classical poleis of Athens and Thebes. Other surveys in lower plains and valleys (the Cambridge-Bradford survey around Thespias and Haliartos, and the Stanford survey around Hermion and Halieis in the southern Argolid, e.g.) have shown that a gradually increasing number of rural sites is characteristic of the Late Geometric-Archaic period, but our upland does not conform to this pattern. The special circumstances that existed here are alluded to in a textual source. According to Thucydides 5.42.1, in a dispute with the Athenians over Panakton the Thebans appealed to "ancient oaths" (ancient from a 5th-century perspective) according to which both sides agreed that neither would inhabit Panakton, but that they would graze it (i.e. the area around Panakton) in common. Our survey has given this passage a chronological dimension: whenever the alleged oaths may have been sworn, already in the Geometric period the Parnes-Kithairon highlands constituted a borderland between regional states focused at Thebes and Athens.

In precisely the period when these mountains were open pasturage directly controlled by no local inhabitants, there is evidence for a Corinthian presence on Parnes and Kithairon. The archaeological evidence comes from outside of our survey area, from excavations that are not fully published. These are the excavations of the ash altar to Zeus on the summit of Mount Parnes and the investigations of the cave of Antiope on Kithairon near Eleutherai (see Pausanias, 1.32.2 and 38.9). On Parnes, excavations by E. Mastrokostas turned up large quantities of Corinthian alabastra and aryballoi of the 7th and 6th centuries, as well as Corinthian pottery of the Geometric period. A similar range of Corinthian pottery was discovered by E. Stikas at the cave of Antiope above Eleutherai. Literary evidence that is highly suggestive in this context comes from the famous description of the transfer of the infant Oedipus from the shepherd of the king of Thebes to the shepherd of the king of Corinth at their common summer pasturage on Kithairon (Sophokles *O.T.* 1123-45). The abundance of small Corinthian vases on Parnes, remarkable when it is contrasted with the near absence of such vases from the contemporary ash altar to Zeus on Mount Hymettos, has so far defied explanation. It may now be considered, together with

the comparable material from the cave sanctuary on Kithairon, as dedications by herdsmen coming from the Corinthia, who shared the common pasturage of Kithairon and Parnes, including the Skourta plain, with herdsmen of Boiotia and Attica.

This pattern was changing by the late 6th/early 5th centuries B.C., when substantial habitation returned to the Skourta plain at Panakton, Stephani, and Ayios Dimitrios. These settlements represent Athenian encroachment upon this common pasture land. Likewise, the contemporary formations of an Athenian deme at Oinoe and the absorption of Eleutherai into Attica are part of a process of Athenian aggrandizement resented by the Thebans, and probably by their Corinthian allies of the Peloponnesian War era.

The fortress at Panakton secured the Athenian presence in this area. Destroyed by the Boiotians during the Peloponnesian War, it was rebuilt by the Athenians before the middle of the 4th century, and it became a regular ephebic garrison post at least by the Lykourgan era. This last is attested by a fragment of an ephebic inscription of the tribe Leontis found by us at Panakton in 1988. Control of pasturage, and, increasingly, of the agricultural potential of the plain must have been the chief concern of the Athenian garrison at Panakton. *IG II* (2nd ed) 1672, 271-72, attests a wheat production of the plain equal to one-tenth the wheat production of the rest of Attica for the year 329/8 B.C. The first-fruits of this harvest "from Drymos" were delivered to the Goddesses at Eleusis by the authority of the general at Panakton.

Archaeological evidence for an intensified agricultural exploitation of this area in the late Classical era is clear. By the second half of the 4th century individual farmsteads were being established in great numbers around and outside the plain, on both the Athenian and the Boiotian sides. Political and military friction created by common interest in frontier land is attested both by literary and archaeological evidence. Demosthenes 19.326 makes mention of the regular Athenian military presence required at Panakton after the conclusion of the Sacred War in 346 B.C., in response to threats against the area from the Boiotians. Boiotian concern for this frontier is demonstrated by the watchtower at Pyrgaki above Tsoukrati, overlooking the northeast edge of the plain. This tower and its twin at Limiko further east on Parnes mark the southern limits of specifically Tanagran control of this hinterland.

The general proliferation of farmsteads across this countryside, on both sides of the frontier reached its height at the turn of the 4th to the 3rd centuries B.C. Most of



these small sites did not outlast the 3rd century, however, and around 200 B.C. a significant change in the settlement pattern was underway. Panakton itself seems to have been abandoned at some time not far from the turn of the 3rd to the 2nd century B.C. Economic interests could no longer justify or support a significant Athenian presence in the area. For the cultivators and pastoralists who continued to use these uplands from the 2nd century B.C. into the Roman Imperial era, habitation was limited to a series of small hamlets along the northern edge of the plain. It seems likely that Tanagra, whose prosperity during this period is attested, exploited this hinterland after Athens.

The Late Roman era of the 4th-6th centuries A.D. saw a renewed interest in settlement in this area. The few sites inhabited since the later Hellenistic era continued to be occupied, and many new sites (individual farmsteads or small hamlets) spread over the rest of the area. Settlements at Eleutherai and Oinoe also flourished in this era, after having been abandoned for some centuries. This prosperity came to an end within the second half of the 6th century A.D., probably in connection with the Slavic invasions.

Nothing is known of settlement in the area for at least three centuries. A single coin of Leo VI found near Skourta suggests some habitation by the end of the 9th century, but datable pottery does not become abundant until the later 11th century. At that time the monastery of Hosios Meletios was established on Kithairon, and the influence of Meletios and his followers in this underpopulated part of Attica is archaeologically attested in our area. A moderate number of Middle Byzantine sites are dispersed throughout the area. All are associated with chapels, and many if not all of them are likely to have been among the many dependencies of the monastery of Meletios. The most substantial of these foundations was the monastery near Pyli now known as Zodochos Piyi. Within a strong enclosure, along with remains of cells and the ruins of a lavishly decorated church (rebuilt in a more modest fashion in the late 19th century), there are remains of a bath which were excavated by A. Orlandos in 1926. The luxury implied by this facility is borne out in the pottery and small finds, which include a variety of imported fine wares, glass vessels, sea shells, and possibly also ostrich egg shells. Orlandos has suggested that this monastery may have been an imperial foundation, endowed by the Komnenoi.

Settlements of the Middle Byzantine era all continued into the era of Frankish domination, during which period many new settlements were established. Frankish towers at Pyli and

Panakton attest the interests of powerful lords in the arable land of the plain, and probably in the protection of the direct route between Thebes and Athens which ran across it. It was at this time, possibly under the Catalan Duchy of Athens of the 14th century, that the Albanian population was first introduced to the area.

Numerous sites are known to have been occupied in the course of the three and a half centuries of Turkish domination, but numbers alone do not imply continuous prosperity or growth in population. As many as half of the sites occupied in the Frankish era were abandoned either at the beginning or within the first half of the Turkish era, and a significant portion of the remainder were occupied for no more than a few generations before being abandoned. A few of these were small villages in the hills east of the plain, which were abandoned in the 18th or early 19th century. These were the dwellings of the Dervenochoriotes of Skourta, who commanded the respect of the Pasha of Chalkis, and who produced their share of heroes in the War of Independence. These mountaineers paid for their modicum of independence by a hard existence in countryside too rough to be of interest to the Turks. The better land in the central Skourta basin may, on the other hand, have been controlled by Turkish landlords. Dervenosialesi, as Pyli was formerly known, is said to have been among the properties of one Sali Aga, Voivode of Thebes in the later 18th century. The status of these villages of the Skourta plain in the later Turkish period, and their economies in the pre-mechanized modern era, are the subject of continuing research by our colleague Allaire Chandor Brumfield (U. of Maryland).

Our study of surface remains in the Skourta plain will soon be followed by excavations at Panakton in collaboration with Dr. Angeliki Andreiomenou, Ephor of Antiquities at Thebes. The further investigation of Panakton promises to add significant detail to the outline of history as we have recovered it. In the fieldwork which now completed, and in the study which is underway, we have enjoyed the collaboration of Allaire Chandor Brumfield (ethnography), Ada Kalogirou (Neolithic pottery), John Kroll (Classical coins), David Romano (survey), Jeremy Rutter (Bronze Age pottery), Guy Sandars (Byzantine pottery), and Eberhard Zangger (geology). Throughout this work we have had the assistance and cooperation of the staff of the Ephoreia of Thebes, especially Angeliki Andreiomenou and Alexandra Christopoulou, of the American School of Classical Studies, and of students of Stanford University. Financial support has come from Stanford, the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, the Robert Rosenberg Fund, and Angie and Louis Lieber. We thank all for their support.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES: In addition to TEIRESIAS 1986, AB 7-10, previous reports on the Stanford Skourta Plain Project are found in:

M. Munn and M. L. Z. Munn, "Studies on the Attic-Boiotian Frontier: The Stanford Skourta Plain Project, 1985," in *Boeotia Antiqua* 1, J. Fossey, ed., Amsterdam 1989, 73-123 (a detailed report of the first season).

M. Munn, "New Light on Panakton and the Attic-Boiotian Frontier," in *Boiotika*, 5th Internat. Boiotian Colloquium, H. Beister and J. Buckler, eds, Munich 1989, 231-44 (a summary of 1985 finds, with special emphasis on Panakton and its connections in pre-classical legend).

M. Munn, "On the Frontiers of Attica and Boiotia," in *Proc. 1st Internat. Congress of the Society for Boiotian Studies* [titles in Greek], A. Bekiaris, ed., Athens 1988, 363-371 (evidence for the Attic-Boiotian border in the 4th c. B.C.).

For comparison of survey results elsewhere, cf. T.H. van Andel and C. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past*, Stanford 1987 (southern Argolid), and J. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass, "The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years," *JFA* 12 (1985), 123-61. Exploration of the cave of Antiope is noted by E. Stikas, *ArchEph* 1940, 16-17; we thank Effie Baziotopoulou Valavani, Epimelete of Megara, for information about the discoveries made there. Excavation on the peak of Parnes is reported by E. Mastrokostas, *ASatene* 61 (n.s. 45, 1983), 339-44; see also the summary by M. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. 16 (1976), 100-101; we thank Vasileios Petrakos, Ephor of Attica, for information about finds from Parnes. Study and Excavation at Zoodochos Piyi is reported by A. K. Orlandos, "The Monastery of the Panayia-Zoodochos Piyi on Kithairon," in *Archive of Byzantine Monuments of Greece* [in Greek] 1, 1935, 161-78.

## BOIOTIANS IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 432-404 B.C.

Robert J. Buck,  
University of Alberta

The rôle of the Boiotians in the Peloponnesian War has been comparatively lightly studied.<sup>1</sup> The general view has been that Boiotia was a steadfast Spartan ally.<sup>2</sup> The Boiotian League (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν), however, had its own agenda and its own interests, and both of these diverged from Sparta's quite frequently and sharply. Shortly after the end of the Peloponnesian War Boiotia became openly hostile to Sparta, but there had been divergencies before. There is another widely held view that the League was under the domination of Thebes, and that Theban control was tightened and enlarged during the War.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these suppositions seems to be really the case.

Oligarchic exiles spearheaded the overthrow of the Athenian domination of Boiotia,<sup>4</sup> and so it is reasonable to infer that an oligarchic rule was established in Boiotia in 446 and continued. If it was similar to the one described by the author of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (usually

1. N. Demand, *Thebes in the Fifth Century* (London, 1982) 40-44; P. Salmon, *Etude sur la confédération béotienne (447/6 - 386)* (Brussels, 1976) 111-121; M.L. Cook, "Ancient Political Factions: Boiotia 404 to 395," *TAPA* 118 (1988) 57-85; C.J. Dull, *A Study of the Leadership of the Boeotian League from the Invasion of the Boiotoi to the King's Peace* (Ph.D. Diss., Wisconsin, 1975) *passim*, esp. 82; R.J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton, 1979) 155; P. Roesch, *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* (Paris, 1965) 42; G. Clarke, *A History of Boeotia, 405-395 B.C.* (M.A. Thesis, U. of Alberta, 1986) 39; M.L. Cook, *Boeotia in the Corinthian War: Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics* (Ph.D. Diss., U. of Washington, 1981; University Microfilms, 1983) 1-4.

2. C.D. Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories* (Ithaca and London, 1979) 147; Cook, *Boeotia in the Corinthian War*, 1, 3; Clarke, *A History of Boeotia, 405-395*, 48f.

3. See, e.g., Salmon, 112; Demand, 40-44; Cook, *Boeotia in the Corinthian War*, 3.

4. Buck, *History*, 150-153; Salmon, 34-43.

referred to as P), as is normally held to be the case, then it was one dominated by the hoplite class.<sup>5</sup>

This hoplite oligarchy seems to have had a certain missionary zeal for spreading the benefits of the oligarchic system by word and deed. Among its deeds might be included the incident at Plataia that triggered the Peloponnesian War. It is sometimes forgotten that it was made at the invitation of some prominent Plataians, (οἱ πρότεροι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ γένοι [Thuc. 3.65.2]) led by one Naukleides, who had hoped to gain power for themselves, destroy their opponents and attach (προσποιήσαι) their city to the Thebans.<sup>6</sup> There had long been an oligarchic faction in Plataia, causing trouble as far back as the Persian Wars.<sup>7</sup> Thus it seems a reasonable inference that the idea was to make Plataia a hoplite oligarchy, too.<sup>8</sup> The dispute between oligarchs and democrats was bitter throughout much of Greece before the Peloponnesian War, and Boiotia was a place where important developments were made in the theory and philosophy of oligarchy.<sup>9</sup>

The presence of two Boiotarchs with a small invading force of 300 men leads to two other inferences. First, that the attempt at Plataia was under League auspices; it was not simply a ploy by Thebes; Plataia was, in spite of Thucydides' turn of phrase, to be brought into the Boiotian League.<sup>10</sup> Second, the small size of the force meant that it was symbolic: no resistance was really expected, and a considerable measure of support was anticipated,<sup>11</sup> and, as indicated above, quite a few Plataians seem to have supported the attempt. It nearly succeeded, according to Thucydides, and it was only the softness of the Boiotarchs,

5. Demand, 35-40; Hamilton, 138f.; Salmon, 49, 55-58.

6. Thuc. 2.2.2ff.; A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols., (Oxford, 1945-1981, henceforth *HCT*) *ad loc.*, vol. 2, p. 3; Salmon, 80f., 112.

7. Plut. *Arist.* 13; Buck, *History*, 143 and note 17.

8. Buck, *History*, 161f.

9. Buck, "Boeotian Swine as Political Theorists," *EMC* 25 (1981) 47-52; Demand, 39.

10. Thuc. 3.65.2; Buck, *History*, 161f., Salmon, 81.

11. Buck, *History*, 161f.; Demand, 40; L. Prandi, *Plataea: momenti e problemi della storia di una polis* (Padua, 1988) 99.

who decided not to kill the democratic leaders, as requested to do by Naukleides and his friends, that led to counter-attacks and the eventual massacre of the Thebans.

One of the prominent figures among the attackers, though not a Boiotarch, was the Theban Eurymachos, son of Leontiades, the "most powerful" man at Thebes (Thuc. 2.2.2). As the son of one of the Theban leaders of the Persian Wars,<sup>12</sup> he was clearly a member of a leading family. It is a reasonable conjecture that such a man was the leader of a political faction. To judge from his behaviour, it should have been pro-oligarchic, anti-Athenian and anti-democratic.

A faction, a *hetaireia*, (ἑταιρεία) can vary in size considerably. It is sometimes argued that a *hetaireia* must be small, but the evidence from Herodotos that Kleisthenes added the whole Demos to his (προσεταιρίεσται) contradicts this.<sup>13</sup> The leadership of a faction, however, was probably concentrated in the hands of a small group of aristocrats. If it resembled the oligarchic leadership of 396, it would be by no means exclusively composed of Thebans. Such a faction would stay in power because it reflected the sentiments of the majority of the hoplites in Boiotia, not simply of those in Thebes.<sup>14</sup> There seems to have been another, a pro-democratic one, quite widespread but out of power, with many of its leaders in exile. Nonetheless, it was of sufficient importance to have influence on Athenian strategic thinking, as will be seen below.

When the news of the attack on Plataia reached Athens, the Athenians interned the Boiotians resident in Athens and sent troops to Plataia to evacuate the women and children (Thuc. 2.2-7). The Boiotian forces in reprisal for the massacre sent a contingent of cavalry and infantry to join the forces of the Peloponnesian League, while the remainder laid waste Plataia (Thuc. 2.12). There was a skirmish at a place called Phrygia between Athenian and Boiotian cavalry, settled in favour of the Boiotians when the infantry intervened (Thuc. 2.22). It is remembered chiefly because the dead were among those whose burial was the occasion for Pericles' great funeral speech.

The Boiotian League probably participated in the Peloponnesian invasion of Attica in 430.<sup>15</sup> After 429, how-

12. Hdt., 7.205.2, 7.233; Buck, *History*, 131ff.; 152, 160; *HCT* 2.3f.

13. Hdt. 5.66.2; Cook *TAPA* 118 (1988) 76, 77, 79, argues that a faction had to be small.

14. So also Cook, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 59.

15. Thuc. 2.47; cf. Salmon, 112; P. Cloché, *Thebes de Béotie* (Namur, 1952) 77; Demand, 41.



ever, its main effort was concentrated on the siege of Plataia until its fall in 427. This was marked by the judicial murder of the 200-odd men of the Plataian garrison, in recompense, one might think, for the slaughter of the 300 Thebans.<sup>16</sup> Several Plataians of the pro-Theban faction (ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα φρονούντες) still cultivated and inhabited their land during the siege and for some time after the surrender of the town (Thuc. 3.68.3). They were joined by Thebans who held some of land confiscated by the League (δημοσιώσαντες) on ten-year leases. Although these Plataians, like the inhabitants of Skolos and Skaphai, moved to Thebes for security in 425,<sup>17</sup> Plataia as a political unit still existed. Even a decade later, when the Athenians claimed Plataia, the Thebans said that it had voluntarily joined the League (Thuc. 5.17.2.).

In the meantime a Boiotian, Hermaiondas, joined the Spartans in their mission to Mytilene before the revolt (Thuc. 3.5.3).

The Athenians attempted a combined operation against the Boiotians in 427/6.<sup>18</sup> A landing by the hoplites of the Athenian fleet in the territory of Tanagra was coupled with an invasion by the full Athenian army. Whether or not it was counter to the advice of Perikles, to avoid land campaigns against the Peloponnesians (Thuc. 1.143), it was successful. A Boiotian League force of Tanagraians and Thebans was met and defeated. There were no Peloponnesians present. The Athenian aims, if any, in the operation remain unclear. Perhaps it was to impress the pro-democrats, as well as to give experience in amphibious tactics. It did, however, apparently alert the Boiotians to weaknesses in their mobilization system, weaknesses that were quickly rectified, to judge by their swift reaction at Delion.

Boiotia seems to have supported the Spartan foundation of Trachis in 427/6. The colony did nothing except irritate its northern neighbours and give the Boiotians and the Phokians a buffer with their ancient enemy Thessaly, something of advantage to the Boiotians;<sup>19</sup> but, on the other hand, it gave Sparta a foothold in an area where Spartan and Boiotian interests might not necessarily coincide. This becomes clear in 419 when the Boiotians took over the colony

16. Thuc. 3.52-68.

17. *Hell. Oxy.*, FGrH 66F1.12.3; Prandi, 108; Buck, *History*, 160; Salmon, 82; for date see also Salmon, 85f. with citations.

18. Thuc. 3.91 and *HCT ad loc.*

19. For the foundation of Trachis and its results, Thuc. 3.92-93 is clear and concise.

and expelled the Spartan governor for incompetence. They did this, they said, because they wished to forestall any Athenian initiative here, and they caused great offense at Sparta (Thuc. 5.52). No doubt the expedition of Agis to the Malian Gulf in 413 is connected with this incident.<sup>20</sup> Trachis, then, was a spot that saw trouble arise between Sparta and Boiotia quite early on.

Boiotia was the objective of another ambitious plan undertaken in 427/6 this time by Demosthenes. It failed, but it is of significance that it was thought feasible to attack Boiotia from the west (Thuc. 3.94-98), and it, too, may well have had some aim of stirring up pro-democratic, and therefore pro-Athenian support. The various elements of the Delion campaign all worked up to this point.

In 424/3 the Boiotians sent a force of 2200 hoplites and 600 cavalry, even before Brasidas and the Spartans arrived (Thuc. 4.72), to help secure Megara, where there had been an attempted democratic coup with Athenian aid.

Later in the same year the Athenians devised an elaborate plan of concentric attacks against Boiotia, which would take it out of the war and democratize it. The plan relied heavily on the assistance of the pro-democrats, whom the Boiotian government also took seriously.<sup>21</sup> The Athenians were to land on the south coast at Siphai, which was to be betrayed to them by (local Thespian?) democrats; to receive Chaironeia in the west from the Phokians and local Orchomenian democrats, who were to be aided by mercenaries hired from the Peloponnese by wealthy exiles. Finally, the Athenians were to invade the eastern areas with their full levy and occupy and fortify the sanctuary of Delian Apollo for a base of operations. The success of all these attacks depended upon precise timing; all were to be done on a fixed day. In this way the Boiotians would have to split their forces and be fatally weakened. (Of course, the Athenians would also have to split their forces, but this was apparently not considered too much of a hazard.) Demosthenes was in command in the west and Hippokrates in the east.

The names of a few Boiotian democratic leaders are known, including a Theban exile, Ptoiodoros (Thuc. 4.76.3), who played a key rôle in negotiations, and two Orchomenians, who were honoured by Athens, Potamodoros and his son Eury-

20. Thuc. 8.3.1; cf. *HCT* 5.369.

21. Thuc. 4.76; Salmon, 114f.; L. Moretti, *Ricerche sulle leghe greche* (Rome, 1961) 157-162; W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, 2 (Berkeley, 1969) 24-36; *HCT* 3.568-572.

tion.<sup>22</sup> The fact that some of the exiles were wealthy enough to hire mercenaries leads to the inference that there was support in the highest reaches of the hoplite census, presumably among some aristocrats. This makes it clear that during the Archidamean War there were two factions in Boiotia: one in power, oligarchic and pro-Spartan, headed by a small aristocratic cadre, among whom had been Eurymachos, no doubt succeeded by his son Leontiades; and another, pro-democratic, that was out of power, with much of its leadership in exile, including Ptoiodoros.

Apparently some months were consumed in the negotiations and the planning, and there were serious leaks, most notably by a Phokian, Nikomachos, who told all he knew to the Spartan authorities. They in turn told the Boiotian government. This led to the crushing of the Orchomenian and Thespian democrats and consequently of the possibility of undisputed occupation of Siphai and Chaironeia. There was still a chance, however, that the assaults might succeed. This was rendered completely impossible by a mistake in the timing; Demosthenes made his attempt several days too early. He was met by the whole League army and decided not to attempt an opposed landing. He withdrew, and the army marched off to Delion, where they trounced the Athenians very handily by themselves. No Peloponnesian forces helped in the battle, though some arrived in time for the siege and assault on the Athenian fortifications at the sanctuary. If the Athenians had made no errors, the Spartan forces would have come to the rescue far too late to do any good, a point presumably not lost on the Boiotians. They, like the Athenians at Marathon, never forgot their victory; they embellished their towns with stoas and monuments, and they established a special festival called the Delia.<sup>23</sup>

It should be noted that the Boiotarch Pagondas referred the question of whether to engage the enemy (surely a key point of policy to a Greek state) to the hoplites. He canvassed their opinion *lochos* by *lochos*, as if the Boiotians voted by units, like the equally oligarchic Romans in their *comitia centuriata*.<sup>24</sup> It seems a reasonable conjecture that the Boiotians for their major federal decisions voted by *lochoi* in their districts, with the major-

22. IG I<sup>3</sup> 73; IG I<sup>3</sup> 72 may also refer to happenings connected with this time, though Lewis dates it to 414/3.

23. Diod. 12.70; Demand, 42, 115.

24. Thuc. 4.91; he had the supreme command at this time, even though all the other Boiotarchs were opposed; no doubt he had the right to make executive decisions. Moretti, *Leghe greche*, 142, is wrong in considering his appeal to the army illegal.

ity of the *lochoi* in each district carrying such questions as who would be elected.

Delion was a hard-fought battle, and the Thespian hoplites on the left wing had suffered heavy casualties, apparently most of their contingent (Thuc. 4.96.3, 4.133.1). Shortly thereafter, in 423, the Thebans tore down the walls of Thespiiai. "They had always wanted to do this, and now they had an easy opportunity, since the flower of the Thespians lay fallen in battle" (Thuc. 4.133). This action is often taken as an example of Theban imperialism: they gained 6/11 of the offices necessary to control the League with 2/11 of the expenses.<sup>25</sup>

There is, however, another possible explanation: that the majority of the Thespian hoplite class had supported the Federal (not the Theban) regime and governing faction, that is, the oligarchy. When they were killed, the support for both the Federal regime and the oligarchic faction also perished.<sup>26</sup> This in turn should mean that a minority of hoplites and an important segment of the non-hoplite classes were thought liable to support democracy. Hence the Thebans, and the rest of the Boiotian federation, after the Thespians lost so heavily, thought that for the preservation of the oligarchic, hoplite control they had to demolish the walls of Thespiiai. In 414, the "Demos" of Thespiiai tried a coup against the ruling oligarchs (Thuc. 6.95.2); Theban hoplite forces rescued the Thespian government, arresting some of the revolutionaries and expelling others. It was not so much *Theban* hegemony as *hoplite*, oligarchic hegemony that was important. The hoplite classes of Boiotia stuck together. A Thespian contingent of hoplites was part of the force sent by Boiotia to Sicily in 413 with a Thespian Boiotarch (Thuc. 7.19.3). Probably this could only be done because the democratic faction was crushed, and there was no risk to the Thespian oligarchs. Clearly, however, the non-hoplite classes throughout all Boiotia were not trusted.

There are two pieces of evidence that support this interpretation. First, the circumstances of the massacre of the inhabitants of the Theban town of Mykalessos by Thracian mercenaries of Athens in 413 (Thuc. 7.29.4). The Thracians

25. Demand, 41f., e.g., following Roesch, *Thespias*, 42, and Moretti, 165, sees this as an example of Theban tyranny. Most authorities assume that the victory redounded to Theban credit, Salmon, 116, Cloché, 84f., M. Sordi, "Aspetti del federalismo greco arcaico: autonomia e egemonia nel koinon beotico," *A&R* 13 (1966) 55. This is, however, not necessarily the case.

26. Buck, *History*, 160 and Larsen, "The Boeotian Confederacy and Fifth-century Oligarchic Theory," *TAPA* 86 (1955) 47-50, for this other point of view.

easily passed through the ruined and unrepaired walls. They were neglected for the same reason that led to the pulling down of the walls of Thespiæ: to allow for quick entry by Federal hoplites in case of trouble from democrats or other subversives.

Second, Oropos, captured by the Boiotians in 412/11 with the aid of the Oropians themselves (Thuc. 8.60.1). Its hoplite class was unwilling to remain in the Boiotian League, and the town withdrew about 409. It is noteworthy that the League did not oppose its withdrawal. It is also noteworthy that Oropos returned to some subordinate position in the League in 401, when its hoplite class requested help from the Boiotians against the "Demos" during *stasis*.<sup>27</sup> Oropian membership in the League depended on the views of the governing class of Oropos. Any factional leadership or Federal control was exercised with the consent of the ruling faction of the hoplites at Oropos: it seems reasonable to conclude that it was exercised with the consent of the governing faction of the hoplites of each of the other cities. Although Thebes was the leader, it was not the sovereign.

Skirmishes had doubtless continued throughout the Archidamian War along the Boiotian-Attic border, but during 422 the Boiotian seized the important Athenian border post of Panakton and some prisoners (Thuc. 5.3.5).

One of the provisions of the Peace of Nikias was the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*, and it is not surprising that the League refused to sign, along with the Corinthians, Eleans and Megareans (Thuc. 5.17.2). The Boiotians and the Megareans, the hoplite oligarchies north of the Isthmus, began to pursue a common policy diverging from that of Sparta. Nonetheless, they refused to go along with Corinth and Elis and make an alliance with Argos, thinking that "the Argive democracy would be less advantageous to them, since they were oligarchies, than the Spartan system of government" (Thucydides 5.31.6). This clearly shows that the Boiotian governing faction still had ideological views about oligarchy and oligarchic solidarity. Even if they were quarrelling with Sparta, it was not a sufficient reason to

27. Diod. 14.17.1-3; Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F12; Clarke, 55f.; Cook, *Boeotia in the Corinthian War*, 56-61. Diodorus reports that the town was resettled seven stades from the sea, but kept its own government even when becoming part of Boiotia. The move inland was temporary, since when the Athenians regained Oropos after 383, they probably shifted the settlement back to the coast. Frazer 2.466 *ad Paus.* 1.34f. Presumably the town was not given full membership status in the League until after 396, since P does not mention Oropos in his description of the eleven districts, though this is not a particularly strong argument.

switch sides and make up to any democratic state. The League had, shortly after the Peace, arranged for an armistice with Athens, renewable every ten days.<sup>28</sup>

Boiotia's and Megara's policies were not distinct enough from Sparta's to lead to hostilities and reprisals,<sup>29</sup> but different enough to cause anxiety and trouble at Sparta, as the Trachis incident makes clear. Sparta began seriously to attempt to get Boiotia to join the Peace. With some naivete<sup>30</sup> Sparta urged Boiotia to hand over both Panakton and the Athenian prisoners, so that Sparta could trade them for Pylos. The simplicity of this suggestion, repeated twice in Thucydides (5.35.5 and 39.2), has caused some doubt in the minds of many scholars about the validity of the text here.<sup>31</sup> After all, what was in it for Boiotia? Probably Gomme and Dover are right in concluding that Sparta was simply arrogant.

In the next winter the Boiotians escaped getting entangled in some tortuous double-dealing inside the Spartan Government (Thuc. 5.36). The Ephors Kleoboulos and Xenares, who were opposed to the Peace of Nikias, asked the Boiotians and Corinthians to work together, so as to make an alliance with Argos, which in turn might lead Argos ultimately to become an ally of Sparta. This would do two things: first, it would ease pressure on the two to join the Peace of Nikias, since an alliance with Argos by Sparta would lead to trouble with Athens, with friendship all around for the others; and, second, it would stymie Athens, who may well under Hyperbolos already have been negotiating with Argos.<sup>32</sup>

The Boiotian envoys met some high-ranking Argives, by no accident,<sup>33</sup> who were enthusiastic for a deal, as were the Boiotarchs. The latter, however, had to refer the matter to the quadripartite Federal Council, "which had the supreme power." The Council, however, refused to accept their advice, "fearing to go in opposition to Sparta" (Thuc.

28. Thuc. 5.26.2, 5.32.5.

29. Thuc 5.39 and *HCT ad loc.*

30. *HCT* 4.40f., *ad* 5.36.2.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Cf. R.J. Buck, "The Sicilian Expedition" *AHB* 2(1988) 73-79, esp. 77.

33. Thuc. 5.37.2. Thucydides seems to be indicating by ἐπετηροῦν that there had been some pre-arrangement between the ephors and the Argives for the meeting with the Boiotian envoys.

5.38.2-3). The Council was clearly oligarchic in sympathy and ideologically solid. It is worth underlining that it was the Federal Council that had the ultimate say, the  $\kappa\hat{\omega}$ - $\rho\sigma$ . Since the Council was chosen from across Boiotia, it is clear that the oligarchy and its controlling faction were federation-wide. It was in the Council that the hoplites' ideological views on oligarchy and oligarchic solidarity were made clear. It is also clear that the Council's acquiescence should not have been taken for granted.<sup>34</sup> It may be that in actual fact the Council's veto was expected; it would be a diplomatic way of disentangling Boiotia from Spartan intrigues. It seems quite likely that some of the governing faction feared to be caught in the cross-fire from Spartan political disputes and neatly side-stepped, to Boiotia's advantage. On the other hand, it may be that the "backbenchers" of the oligarchic faction simply refused to go along with their leaders.

Sparta was now so anxious to get the prisoners and Panakton that they finally agreed to the Boiotian price: a separate alliance against Athens (Thuc. 5.59.3). The Boiotians in this way negated any hope for progress by the Spartan peace party: they turned over the prisoners to Sparta and prepared to turn over the site to Spartan commissioners, with the walls demolished.<sup>35</sup> Athens was not mollified by obtaining a ruined site, and this, together with the Spartan-Boiotian alliance, was a major factor in inclining it towards concluding an alliance with Argos (Thuc. 5.46.2). Sparta had little choice but to stick with Boiotia rather than to try to improve relations with Athens. All in all Boiotia did quite well out of her manoeuvres. In fact, it seems not unlikely that Boiotia obtained a reciprocal alliance between equals rather than that of the status of a subordinate ally, the norm in the Peloponnesian League.<sup>36</sup>

The incident at the Olympic Games of 420, when a Spartan, Lichas, son of Arkesilas, gave the credit for his victory to the Boiotian People, at least indicates some closeness between the two powers at this time (Thuc.

34. As noted by Cook, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 67f.; T. Kelly, "Cleobulus, Xenares, and Thucydides' Account of the Demolition of Panactum," *Historia* 21 (1972) 163, argues that the Boiotarchs were completely deterred "from even proposing such an alliance." This contradicts Thucydides and goes beyond the evidence. Thucydides says explicitly that the Boiotarchs tried and were turned down.

35. Thuc. 5.39.3, 5.42.1.

36. Cook, *Boeotia in the Corinthian War*, 53 and n. 14 (pp. 82f.).

5.50.4) The occupation of Herakleia mentioned above apparently dispelled this feeling briefly, but the efforts of Athens and Argos drove them together again. In 418 the Boiotians sent a strong contingent to the levy of Sparta's allies, 5000 hoplites, 5000 light-armed, 500 cavalry and 500 *hamippoi*. This was twice the size of the Corinthian force (Thuc. 5.57.2).

By 415, at the time of the despatch of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, the Boiotians were massing on the frontier with Attica,<sup>37</sup> and a small Spartan force was despatched to help them in accordance with the Boiotian-Spartan agreement (Thuc. 6.61.2). It got as far as the Isthmus before it was halted; its advance caused a considerable uproar at Athens in which Alkibiades was accused of inviting them, so as to betray the city to them. Probably the Spartan Government had decided to go to war with Athens (Thuc. 6.93.11), but not as yet, and it stopped the force at the Isthmus before trouble began. The Boiotian reaction to the cancelling of Spartan support is not recorded.

When hostilities actually did start, the Boiotians gained a great deal of booty by their assiduous raiding of Attica.<sup>38</sup> In 413 they sent a contingent of 300 hoplites with three Boiotarchs to Sicily, two Theban and one Thespian (Thuc. 7.19.3). Presumably the troops were Theban and Thespian in proportion; the latter had a narrow escape from the Athenian blockading patrols but eventually arrived safely at Syracuse (Thuc. 7.25.3-4). The force was intended to be symbolic, like the one at Plataia, but it did useful service in the campaign (Thuc. 7.43.7). The Boiotians were a major power on the Spartan side, as they said themselves (Thuc. 3.62.5) and as they demonstrated by the size of their forces in the Peloponnese and the fact that they were asked to provide twenty-five ships for a new 100-ship navy, an amount equal to the contribution of Sparta itself (Thuc. 8.3.2). They also provided ten triremes to the Lesbians (Thuc. 8.5.2).

In 412/11 the Boiotians captured Oropos, as we mentioned above, thanks to aid from the Eretrians and the Oropians themselves, with no Peloponnesian assistance (Thuc. 8.60.1). This was followed the next summer, in 411, by the capture of Oinoe after the end of the oligarchy.<sup>39</sup> Boiotian ships were involved at Kynossema (Thuc. 8.106.3), and

37. Andok. 1.455.

38. Thuc. 7.19.1-2, 7.27.8; Diod. 13.9.2; *Hell. Oxy.* 12.4.5; cf. Demand, 43; Hamilton, 147; W.G. Hardy, "The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia and the Devastation of Attica," *CP* 21 (1926) 346-355.

39. Thuc. 8.98; Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.28.

at Arginusai in 406, with the left wing of the Peloponnesian fleet under the command of Thrasondas of Thebes.<sup>40</sup> At Aigospotamoi the Boiotian commander was Erianthos of Thebes, the one who later proposed the destruction of Athens.<sup>41</sup>

In 408 a Boiotian force served at Byzantium, where another Theban, one later prominent as a leader in the faction of Leontiades, Koiratadas, was captured,<sup>42</sup> while a 900-man cavalry brigade joined in Agis' attack on Athens.<sup>43</sup> The Boiotians made a good profit from the Dekel-eian War, but they came into close contact with Agis II; this seems to have been an unpleasant experience for them, since he was, even for a Spartan, arrogant and hybristic, especially to the Boiotian Federal officials.<sup>44</sup> There are hints that relations were becoming somewhat strained in the latter part of the War.<sup>45</sup>

P says in the context of 395 that two factions, one under Ismenias, Antitheus and Androkleidas, and another under Leontiades, Asias and Koiratadas (no doubt the one captured at Byzantium), had quarrelled over the question of relations with Sparta. It is worth emphasizing that both factions were not simply Theban groups, but were federation-wide. P says that Leontiades' group, though not in power in 395, had previously been in the ascendant "for a long time" (χρόνον συχνόν).<sup>46</sup> The other faction, that of Ismenias, had taken over a little earlier (μικρῶ πρότερον). Leontiades' is clearly the old pro-oligarchic faction, the one that had been in power since before the Peloponnesian War. It was accused of being too friendly with

40. Diod. 13.98.4, 13.99.5-6.

41. Paus. 10.9.9; SIG<sup>3</sup>, 115. His name is variously spelt, Erianthos, Erianthes, Arianthios. He was apparently the son of Lysimachidas, and may be a kinsman or be identified with the Boiotarch Arianthides, son of Lysimachides, from Thebes at Delion (Thuc.4.91). Cf. Salmon, 194. He should have been a member of the governing faction.

42. Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.15, 1.3.17, 1.3.21-22.

43. Diod. 13.72.3-9.

44. *Hell. Oxy.* 17.2. P suggests that there was interference by Agis in the internal affairs of Boiotia. Cf. Clarke, 53.

45. Salmon, 120; Cloché, 96.

46. *Hell. Oxy.*, FGrH 66F1.12.1,2. Cook *TAPA* 118 (1988) 62f. For chronology see Clarke, 43, and Hamilton, 146f.

Sparta, while that of Ismenias was accused of being soft on Athens.<sup>47</sup> Ismenias' group was anti-Spartan, wishing "to avoid destruction at the hands of the Lakedaimonians" and alleged to be anxious to involve Boiotia in an war with Lakedaimon.<sup>48</sup> The comments of P (12.1) unfortunately contain a lacuna, but the phraseology of what is left indicates that Ismenias' group was not really pro-Athenian. It may have been professedly pro-democratic (at least Pelopidas was a member later),<sup>49</sup> but any links with the earlier pro-democratic faction of Ptoiodoros are not demonstrable.<sup>50</sup>

It may be that the financial windfall received by Ismenias at some point before 400 put him in the position to be a leader of the opposing faction, or to revive the old pro-democratic one.<sup>51</sup> It may well be that those of pro-democratic sympathies supported the faction of Ismenias *faute de mieux*. The social links of some of its members with such Athenian democrats as Thrasyboulos and Anytos, and the allegations reported in P all hint at some pro-democratic leanings.

The old pro-democratic faction had been crushed several times, including the abortive coup in Thespiai, but many of its leaders had long been in exile; the other faction, that of Eurymachos and Leontiades, remained in firm control of the state and the constituent cities down to 405, but it apparently lost control soon after that.

The first unequivocal evidence for trouble comes from the meeting of the Council of the Allies in the winter of 405/4, after Aigospotamoi. The Corinthian and Boiotian delegates argued for wiping out (ἐξαλείφειν) Athens, but the Spartans said they would not agree to this.<sup>52</sup> The Boiotian delegate, identified in Plutarch (*Lys.* 15.2) as Erianthos, was later alleged to have exceeded his

47. *Hell. Oxy.*, FGrH 66F1.12.1, 2.2.

48. 48 *Id.* 1.13.1.

49. Plut. *Pel.* 5.1-3.

50. Pace R.J. Bonner, "The Boeotian Federal Constitution," *CP* 5 (1910) 410, who sees continuity.

51. Plato *Meno* 90a; *Rep.* 336a; J.S. Morrison, "Meno of Pharsalos, Polycrates and Ismenias," *CQ* 36 (1942) 57-78; Cook *TAPA* 118 (1988) 81, n.83.

52. Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.19.; Isok. 14.31; Andok. 3.21; Plut. *Lys.* 15; Salmon, 119f.; Hamilton, 146f.; Cook, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 74; G.W. Botsford, "The Constitution and Politics of the Boeotian League," *PSQ* 25 (1910) 288.

instructions.<sup>53</sup> Eriantnos, as noted above, held a senior command during the battle of Aigospotamoi, and so as a high officer, a navarch, he should have been a member or supporter of Leontiades' group. The rejection by Sparta would have been a defeat for the faction of Leontiades: the repudiation by the ideological model, Sparta, as well as the barbarous inhumanity of the suggestion, could be capitalized upon by the faction of Ismenias. The allegations that Eriantnos exceeded his instructions sound like defensive explanations of a beleaguered administration.<sup>54</sup>

There was now a problem for the Boiotians as to what they should do. Spartan arrogance and intransigence indicated that Boiotia should continue to look to her own interests. A policy that encouraged *stasis* among the Athenians would be the most useful. It could conceivably keep Athens weakened indefinitely. If the faction supported won, then a friendly group in power might conceivably be grateful and repay favours. Otherwise, clandestine support for the loser might keep Athens distracted, especially if the losing group commanded some popular support. I suggest that it was on this line of argument that the Ismenian faction based a campaign to gain power during the winter of 405/4 and the early spring of 404: reproaches and rebukes for the brutality of Leontiades' suggestion, as well as for the supine acceptance of the snub from the Spartans (it was similar Spartan treatment that had brought the Athenian Kimon down); advocacy of support for an Athenian faction, preferably the Athenian democrats; and advocacy of attempts to get a proper share of the loot from Dekeleia. In the spring of 404 came the conditional peace with Athens and shortly thereafter the rise of the Thirty Tyrants. It must have been around the same time that the Ismenian group gained predominance, after a sufficient number of hoplites switched their support. If there were a block-voting system, as I have suggested above, it would not take too many voters switching to overturn the administration.

By the summer of 404 the anti-Spartan movement was flourishing. No doubt the *hybris*, the arrogance of

---

53. Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.19-20 and 3.5.8.

54. Cook, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 83, argues this point, but she also argues that the defeat of Leontiades' group does not mean that Ismenias was in control. Surely the reversal of policy implies just that: that the swing voters had swung over to abandon the long-established policy and to start baiting Sparta. It seems clear that a discreetly anti-Spartan, but still basically oligarchic set of tactics matched the aspirations and aims of the Boiotians, and precisely that seems to have been the policy of the Ismenian faction: to stay on top by keeping the swing voters on their side.

Spartan officials like Agis II made the Boiotians receptive, but care for their own interests seems to have been the principal reason. The Boiotian demanded a the tithe of the booty from Dekeleia for Ptoan Apollo.<sup>55</sup> By making this claim they gave a severe diplomatic insult to King Agis, almost as harsh as the one against Agesilaus some years later.<sup>56</sup> The Spartans gave way, but even ten years later they still were bitter about it. Then the Boiotians began to give aid and shelter to the Athenian democrats, at about the same time or a little later than the tithe incident.<sup>57</sup> Then the Boiotians (not simply the Thebans) gave open support for the exiles and refused to extradite them at the request of the Thirty and Sparta.<sup>58</sup> By the end of 404 the change was complete and the steps to the fighting in 396/5 were started.

It is clear that the support given to the Athenian democrats was in line with their general policies of self-interest, self-preservation and self-advancement. The Boiotians were, however, careful, and continued to be so for several years, to keep from provoking Spartan reprisals.

---

55. Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.5. The *hybris* of Agis and others may have helped to harden Boiotian attitudes, W.P. Henry, *Greek Historical Writing* (Chicago, 1967) 210.

56. For the enormity of the insult, Clarke, 52f., after G.E. Underhill, *A Commentary on the Hellenica of Xenophon* (Oxford, 1900) xxviii.

57. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.4; Diod. 14.32.1; Clarke, 131f.; Cook, *Boeotia in the Corinthian War*, 7f.

58. Plut. *Lys.* 27.3; *Pelop.* 6.4; Lysias 12.95; Cook, *Boeotia in the Corinthian War*, 8.



## ISMENIAS' GOALS IN THE CORINTHIAN WAR

Margaret L. Cook,  
St. John's University,  
Collegeville, Minnesota

In 395 B.C., Boiotia began a war against Sparta, for reasons which no surviving ancient source explains and in which few modern scholars have shown much interest. Only when war was certain did Boiotia seek an alliance with Athens; a few months later Corinth and Argos joined the alliance. Although some work has been done on the motivations of Athens, Corinth, and Argos in this war, relatively little attention has been paid to Boiotian goals.<sup>1</sup> Consideration of the network of Spartan alliances in central Greece before the war, and of the results of Ismenias' diplomatic initiative and a neglected military campaign in the winter of 395/4, does much to illuminate Boiotian motivation and goals. (See maps below.)

Ismenias' faction, which began the war, had opposed Sparta when it aided the Athenian democrats in exile in 404, but a lacuna in the Oxyrhynchus historian's account of the outbreak of the Corinthian War (P 17 [12].1) leaves us without explicit information about its policy. The idea that Ismenias' faction was anti-Spartan, while true, does not seem an adequate explanation of its policy in 395.

Spartan insolence and greed after the Peloponnesian War led to widespread hostility toward Sparta,<sup>2</sup> but it is not easy to identify behavior which would be especially offensive or threatening to Boiotia. Spartan arrogance in usurping all the spoils of the war is frequently cited by the ancient sources,<sup>3</sup> but this cannot have worked the same hardship in Boiotia as in, for instance, Corinth, since Boiotia profited during the Dekeleian War (P 17 [12].3-5), and had successfully demanded Apollo's tithe at Dekeleia (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.5).

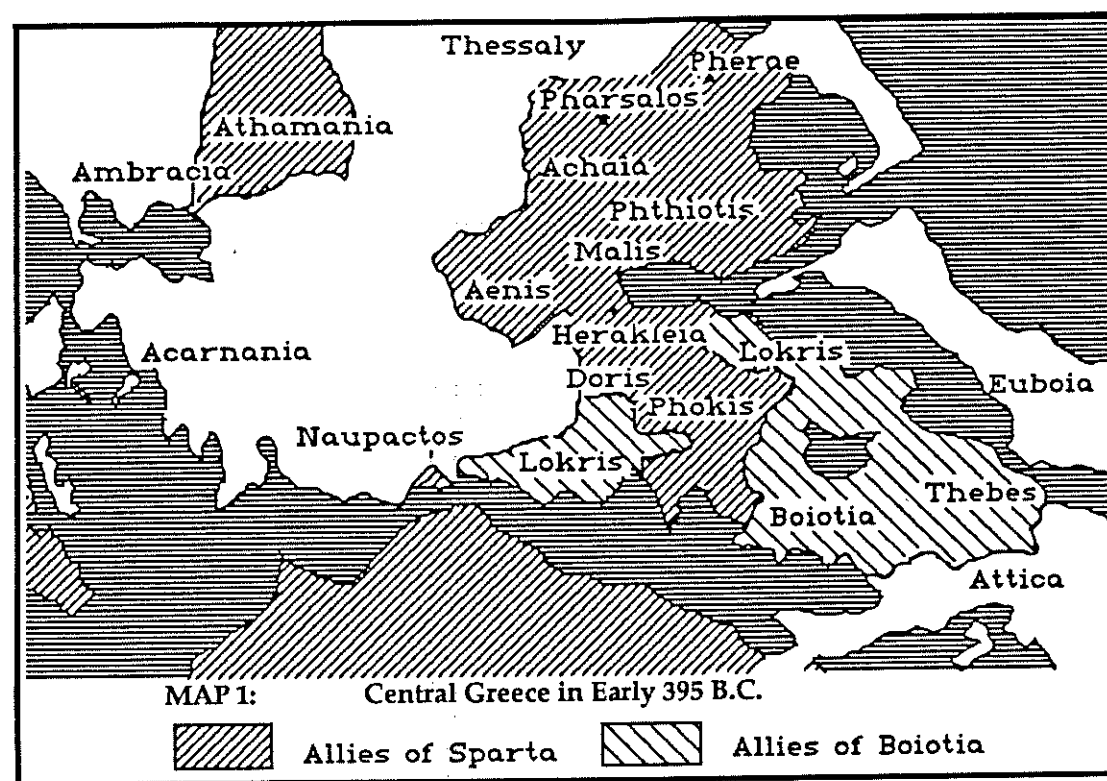
The Spartan demand, late in 404, for extradition of the Athenian exiles was an infringement on the autonomy of Thebes and the other states involved, and had been resented. However, there was no Spartan retaliation for Thebes' refusal to comply, nor for her refusal to join Pausanias against the democrats in the Peiraieus in 403, nor for her refusal to join Agis against Elis in 399. In fact, Sparta offered no direct affronts to any of the major states, and had ignored the repeated defiance of Corinth and Boiotia.

Sparta's surrender of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor as the price of Persian support may have been distasteful, but there is no evidence that this provided a focus of resentment in the way that the same agreement in the King's Peace did, particularly in Boiotia, which had no ties there. Nor does her assumption of the naval empire of Athens. Spartan control of the Aegean must have been humiliating to Athens, and threatening to Corinth, whose wealth depended in large part on shipping. It cannot have been of much concern to the Boiotians, who showed no interest in naval power until the time of Epameinondas.

However, an examination of Spartan influence and control in central Greece tells a different story (see Map 1<sup>4</sup>).

The most significant change in the Spartan position in central Greece between the wars was her reassertion of control over Herakleia in 398. The Spartan government sent Herippidas as harmost to restore order to their former outpost and colony at Herakleia Trachinia after civil discord had arisen there. He executed some 500 ringleaders, made war on the surrounding Oetaeans, who had "revolted," and sent them into exile. Diodorus remarks that the Boiotians

restored these "after five years" (Diod. 14.38.4-5). We can safely assume, on the basis of Spartan presence in Herakleia in 395 (Diod. 14.82.6) that Herippidas or a replacement remained in Herakleia.



Sparta had founded Herakleia as a colony in 426 in response to appeals from Trachis and Doris for help against the Oetaeans, and also because the spot was strategically placed as a base against Euboia and controlled the road to Thrace. A Spartan commander was stationed there and defended the place against repeated Thessalian harassment. (Thuc. 3.92.1-93.3). In 420, the Spartan commander Xenares was killed there in a battle against Thessalians and other nearby tribes (Thuc. 5.51). In the following year the Boiotians accused Xenares' successor Agesippidas of mismanagement, dismissed him, and took over Herakleia. A pretext of concern that the Athenians might take it was offered, but the Spartans were angry (Thuc. 5.52). The situation in the next few years is obscure, but by 409, Labotas, a Spartan harmost was stationed at Herakleia and was killed by the Oetaeans (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18). We hear nothing further until the sending of Herippidas; it is possible that Labotas was not replaced, and the fact that the situation was seriously disordered when Herippidas arrived (Diod. 14.38.4-5) supports this view.

Andrewes points to the disproportion between the purported intent of the colony in 426 and the actual scale of the foundation as evidence that "Sparta, or a party in Sparta, favored expansion in this direction for its own sake."<sup>5</sup> Later he says of the expedition of Herippidas, "it is clear that in the early 390's, Sparta resumed on a substantial scale the policy of which the foundation of Heraclea was an earlier symptom."<sup>6</sup>

Probably at the same time, and in any case before 395, the Spartans set a garrison in Pharsalos, in support of Lykophron of Pherai. The date is uncertain, but it is unlikely that the

Spartans were actively supporting Lykophron as early as 402, since they were allies of Cyrus, who was supporting the Aleuads against Lykophron. There was a Spartan garrison stationed in Pharsalos in support of Lykophron in 395 (Diodoros 14.82.5-6), and Xenophon has Jason of Pherai in 371, explain his friendly feelings toward Sparta on the basis of his father Lykophron's "friendship" with them (*Hell.* 6.4.24). It seems likely that the Spartan garrison in Pharsalos was a manifestation of that friendship, and it seems reasonable to associate its installation with the renewal of the Spartan forces at Herakleia.

Spartan actions in Herakleia and Pharsalos must have caused some alarm in Boiotia. Perlman, arguing that the Spartans did not interfere in the internal affairs of Greek states, deprecates the importance of Herippidas' arrival, the execution of 500 colonists, and the war against the surrounding peoples thus: "Heraclea was a Peloponnesian colony founded as a military base. When need occurred Sparta restored the strength of her military base."<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to see what need he means. There were no threats to Sparta in central or northern Greece in 398, nor had there been for some time. Certainly the civil discord at Herakleia did not constitute one. A Spartan garrison at Herakleia during the Peloponnesian War was easy to justify as a strategically important base against Athenian interests in Euboia, Thrace, and the Hellespont. That military need had now vanished. The reorganization of Herakleia is the first clear expression of continuing Spartan interest in central and northern Greece, and was therefore the most significant and threatening act since the end of the Peloponnesian war.

Andrewes alone treats the Spartan activities in central Greece, and in particular the garrison at Herakleia, in greater detail, and gives some attention to the implications of this activity for Boiotia. The activities of Sparta around the gulf of Malia, which Andrewes attributes to Lysander, "must have a bearing on the vexed question of the causes of the Corinthian War." He laments P's failure to tell us the "arguments or emotional levers [Ismenias] used to get their countrymen to vote for war." He complains of Perlman's analysis, "I think he seriously underestimates the importance of what Sparta was doing on the borders of Boiotia."<sup>8</sup>

Certainly there is no reason to suppose that Sparta intended a direct attack on Boiotia at this time, nor that Boiotia expected one. Direct Spartan aggression had been confined to small and relatively helpless states like Elis. Moreover, she had ignored repeated acts of recalcitrance, defiance, and finally insolence on the part of Boiotia. As Cawkwell says, "Sparta was engaged in Asia. There could be no question of immediate danger to Thebes."<sup>9</sup> Further, there is nothing to suggest that Boiotia expected an attack. In fact, our sources stress that Ismenias had to resort to a secret and indirect method to force the Spartans to invade Boiotia, so that he could appeal to Athens for a defensive alliance.<sup>10</sup>

The significance of Spartan re-occupation at Herakleia lies elsewhere. Sparta was already allied with Phokis, Doris, Aenis, Malis, Athamania, and Achaia Phthiotis, and claimed the right to arbitrate in Kephallenia and Naupaktos as well. With these alliances reinforced by Spartan troops and a Spartan commander at Herakleia, there could be little possibility of expansion of Boiotian influence and leadership in central Greece. In fact, taken as evidence of Sparta's intended sphere of influence or control, it suggests the cutting off of any possibility for Boiotian expansion in any direction, as both Cloché and Cawkwell imply when they speak of the "encirclement" of Boiotia.<sup>11</sup>

The lack of an immediate Boiotian response is conclusive proof that Ismenias' faction did not have full control of the federal council at this time. Leontiades' pro-Spartan faction seems somehow to have prevented a Boiotian protest. By 396, however, the insolence of the Boiotarchs towards Agesilaos at Aulis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.3-4) shows that Ismenias' faction had gained the upper hand. Spartan restraint, especially with regard to the cities of mainland



Greece, had been to the advantage of Leontiades' faction; her renewed imperialism would give strength to the faction of Ismenias.

Before the beginning of the Corinthian War, Boiotia's only alliance was with the Lokrians, yet the size of her contingents in the Peloponnesian War, both in men and in ships, show that she was comparable to Lakonia in resources.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, we know that Thebes prospered greatly during the later years of that war. Her military skill was such that she was given the command position on the right wing by her allies in the early years of the Corinthian War, and at both Nemea and Koroneia, the Boiotians quickly defeated the troops facing them (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.15ff.) Spartan and Boiotian troops met each other face-to-face only once in this period, in the second phase of the battle at Koroneia in 394: the result was a draw.<sup>13</sup> The Boiotians might reasonably have believed themselves to be their equals.

The natural direction for Boiotian ambitions was to the northwest, into Phokis. The fertile Kephissos river valley was the most likely focus for hopes of territorial gain. It was also the natural route for any invasion of Boiotia from central or northern Greece, and Orchomenos, whose loyalty to the Confederacy was always uncertain, lay on the Kephissos just within Boiotia. If Orchomenos defected, as it did in 395, it would be difficult to hold the entrance against an invader. Extension of Boiotian control further up the valley would give better protection and cut Orchomenos off.

Domination of Phokis by forcing her into a subordinate alliance would have been as useful as actual annexation in protecting Boiotia from invasion from the north, as well as increasing the number of soldiers she could call up at need. This would be a necessary first step toward control of all of central Greece. The ploy by which Ismenias induced the Boiotians to provoke the Spartans into war (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.4, P 18[13].4) depended on the Boiotians being willing, even eager, to invade Phokis.

Only Cawkwell suggests the possibility that Boiotia had hopes of territorial expansion of her own:

"... it was not clear that [Ismenias' faction]... were not bent on more than the unification of Boeotia... in the course of [the Corinthian War] the Boeotians invaded Phocis and tried to take Hyampolis (P 18 [13].5), an important site strategically and close enough to the Boeotian border to raise doubts about whether had they taken it they would have been willing to let it go. What confidence could Sparta have that Boeotia had no ambitions to extend her power in central Greece?"<sup>14</sup>

Cawkwell's primary concern was to justify Agesilaos' policy, and he does not pursue this question further.

This impulse must have been the "emotional lever" which Ismenias used to persuade his countrymen to go to war. Thus his faction was not only anti-Spartan faction but a pro-Boiotian expansionist faction. His goal must have been the hope of eventual expansion of her sphere of influence by a network of alliances, and more immediately, a weakening of Sparta's dominance, in central Greece; in this Boiotia was quite successful in the early years of the Corinthian War.

The death of Lysander at Haliartos significantly improved prospects for military success against Sparta. Corinth joined the alliance of Athens and Boiotia against Sparta—a fact which was to determine the course of most of the events of the land war<sup>15</sup>—as did Sparta's ancient enemy Argos (Diod. 14.82.1). The combined armies of these four major states constituted a large enough force to rival the entire Peloponnesian League army, as Xenophon's account of the battle of Nemea (4.2.13-23) makes clear.

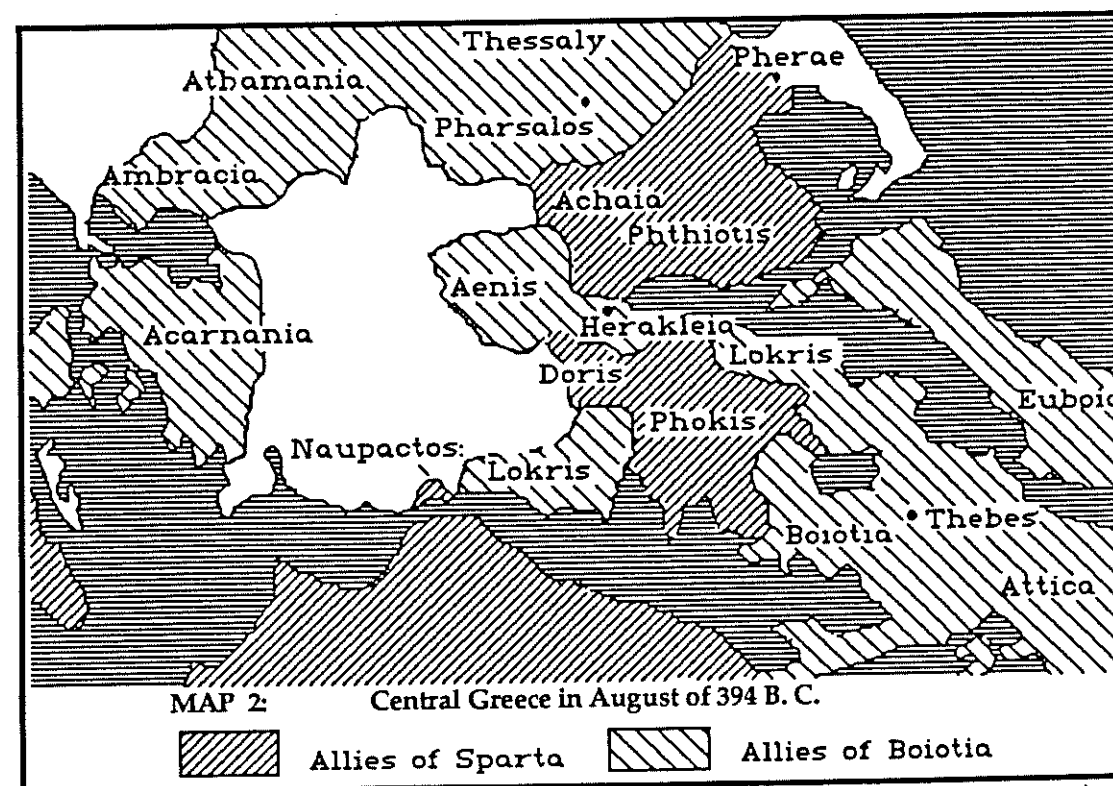
The first act of the coalition was to arrange for the coordination of the war effort. The first offensive move was, however, not military but diplomatic: they sent out ambassadors throughout Greece, inviting revolts from Sparta. They hoped to persuade the cities of the

Peloponnesians to join them, but in this they failed, due to Sparta's military supremacy. Outside the Peloponnesians, the coalition was more successful—Corinth's colonies Leukas and Ambrakia, the Akarnanian, Chalkidian, and Euboian confederacies and Boiotia's ally the Lokrian confederacy all joined the coalition. Since Megara shared borders with Corinth, Athens, and Boeotia, it must surely have joined as well.

This impressive list was only a beginning, for Ismenias marched north in the same autumn to acquire further allies. Our only source for this campaign is Diodorus 14.82.5-10. It is generally accepted that Diodorus' ultimate source for these years was P (through Ephorus).<sup>16</sup> Given the precise numbers, the circumstantial details and the generally matter-of-fact tone, we may feel confident that the following account rests on P's authority:

At the request of Medios of Larissa, then at war with Lykophron, the council of the coalition sent him 2,000 soldiers, with whose help Medios captured Pharsalos, which was garrisoned by Spartans. The Boiotians and Argives then left Medios and captured Herakleia, killing the Spartans captured there, but letting the other Peloponnesians go. They then restored the Trachinians who had been exiled by the Spartans. The Argives were left behind as a garrison when Ismenias led the Boiotians in further campaigns. (Diod. 14.82.5-7)

The distinction made between Spartans and other Peloponnesians at Herakleia surely reflects the continuing hope of defections from the Peloponnesian League. It is also evident that the entire expedition was predominantly a Boiotian affair. Apparently all the Argives were left as a garrison at Herakleia; since it seems improbable that the garrison amounted to more than 200 to 300 men out of 2,000, we may conclude that the Argive force was a small part of the army which was sent north with Ismenias. Central Greece was of more interest to the Boiotians than to their allies.



Ismenias wasted no time, but having persuaded the Aeginetians and Athamanians to revolt from Sparta, he promptly collected an army of 6,000 of his new allies, gathering them at

Naryx in Lokris, near the upper end of the Kephissos valley. The Phokians, led by a Spartan, Alkisthenes, who probably had been left by Pausanias when he retreated from Haliartos into Phokis a few months earlier, anticipated Ismenias by invading Lokris. Ismenias won the ensuing battle, although at the cost of some 500 men. He then disbanded his army for the winter (Diod. 14.82.7-10).

While Ismenias had not been able to win a victory of any great magnitude nor occupy any Phokian territory, nevertheless the first season of the war had produced a vastly different situation in central Greece from that just before the outbreak of the war, and one which offered much greater opportunity for Boiotian expansion. Map 2 shows the results.<sup>17</sup>

Ismenias' northern expedition in late autumn 395 was highly successful at breaking Sparta's hold on central Greece and at forming a network of Boiotian alliances which, by surrounding Phokis, offered some hope of Boiotian expansion there, as Map 2 shows. The alliance with Medios of Larissa, who with their help now controlled Pharsalos as well, was to cause considerable difficulty to Agesilaos when he returned from Asia Minor the following summer (Xen. Hell. 4.3.3-9).

The campaign clearly demonstrates the special concern which the Boiotians felt about the Spartan domination of central Greece. It also reveals a Boiotian attempt to extend her influence, and at Herakleia even control, beyond Boiotian borders. This confirms that the Boiotian motivation in the Corinthian War was based on ambition to expand in central Greece, and on her fear and resentment of Spartan domination which prevented that expansion. The extent of the alliances Ismenias made, while in part reflecting widespread anxiety about Spartan intentions in central Greece, is further evidence of the seriousness of Boiotian interest in this area. At the same time, Ismenias' expedition also reveals that Boiotian interests were fundamentally different from those of her allies in this war. This difference was to have a profound effect on the course of the war; when the theater of war proved to be near Corinth, Boiotian participation in the war grew half-hearted, as they had little to gain by success there.

<sup>1</sup> K.L. McKay, "The Oxyrhynchus Historian and the Outbreak of the Corinthian War," CR 3 (1953) 6-7; I.A.F. Bruce, "Athenian Foreign Policy in 396-395 B.C.," CJ 58 (1963) 289-295; S. Perlman, "The Causes and the Outbreak of the Corinthian War," CQ 14 (1964) 64-81; I.A.F. Bruce, "Internal Politics and the Outbreak of the Corinthian War," Emerita 28 (1960) 75-86; D. Kagan, "The Economic Origins of the Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.)," PP 80 (1961) 321-341; C.D. Hamilton, Sparta's Bitter Victories (Ithaca, New York:1979); S. Accame, Ricerche intorno alla guerra corinzia, (Naples: Collana di Studi Greci, 20, 1951); P. Cloché, "La Politique thébain de 404 à 396 av. J.-C.," REG 31 (1918) 315-343.

<sup>2</sup> Spartan resentment: Xen. Hell. 3.5.8-15, 2.4.30; Plutarch Lysander 13.5, 27.2; Isokrates 4.110-118; Demosthenes 18.96f.; Diodoros 14.33.6; Justin 5.10.12.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, Lysander 27; Xen. Hell. 3.5.3. It is clear from Xen. Hell. 3.5.12 that it widely was viewed as offensive.

<sup>4</sup> Sources: Phokis: P 18 [13]; Xen. Hell. 3.5.3; Pausanias 3.9.9; Herakleia: Diod. 14.38.4ff.; Polyaeus 2.21, Xen. Hell. 3.5.6; garrison at Pharsalos: Diod. 14.82.7; Xen. Hell. 6.4.24; Thessaly: Xen. Hell. 4.3.1; Oetaea, Malis, Aenis: Xen. Hell. 3.5.6; Kephallenia, Naupactos: Diod. 14.34.2; Athamania: Diod. 14.82.7.

<sup>5</sup> A. Andrewes, "Two Notes on Lysander," Phoenix 25 (1971) 219.

<sup>6</sup> Andrewes, 223.

<sup>7</sup> Perlman, 75.

<sup>8</sup> Andrewes, 223-5.

<sup>9</sup> G. Cawkwell, "Agesilaos and Sparta," CQ 26 (1976), 81.

<sup>10</sup> Tod 101, Xen. Hell. 3.5.16 both explicitly report a defensive alliance.

<sup>11</sup> Cloché, 334; Cawkwell, 81.

<sup>12</sup> Thuc. 8.3.2; Diod. 13.72.4, and see Cawkwell, 81ff.

<sup>13</sup> Lysander at Haliartos was leading an army of Phokians, Herakleians, and other allies from central Greece, but no Spartans; Pausanias, who brought the Spartan army, arrived too late for the battle. For the battle between the Spartans and the Boiotians at Koroneia, see Xen. Hell. 4.3.15ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cawkwell, 81.

<sup>15</sup> Hamilton, 264f., has pointed out the strategic importance of holding Corinth, particularly from Athens' point of view. While this is true, Hamilton does not take adequate account of the fact the Boiotia began the war with no guarantee of Corinth's alliance, and did not gain until after the battle of Haliartos. Indeed, the alliance of Corinth resulted in most of the fighting of the later years of the war being confined to an area of no use or interest to Boiotia; in this sense the acceptance of the alliance with Corinth was a strategic error.

<sup>16</sup> Bruce, An Historical Commentary on the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia (Cambridge: University Press, 1967) 206; G.L. Barber, The Historian Ephorus (Cambridge: University Press, 1935), 46-67.

<sup>17</sup> Sources: Oiteia: Diod. 14.38.5; Herakleia: Diod. 14.82.5-7; Achaia Phthiotis, Thessaly: Xen. Hell. 4.3.1; Larissa, Pherae: Diod. 14.82.5-6; Pharsalos: Xen. Hell. 4.3.1; Euboia, Leukas, Ambracia, Acarnania, Chalcidice: Diod. 14.82.3; Athamania, Aenis: Diod. 14.82.5-10; Attica, Corinth Xen. Hell. 3.5.23, Diod. 14.82.1

THE *THEAGES* AND THE LIBERATION OF THEBES IN 379 B.C.\*

Slobodan Dušanić,  
University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign, and  
University of Belgrade

Both the date and the authorship of the *Theages*, the main source of the present note, are disputed. In antiquity, the genuineness of the dialogue, included in the fifth tetralogy of Plato's works, was never questioned. Modern critics--with one important exception, that of P. Friedländer--tend to deny its authenticity, differing widely as to its chronology. For the moment, suffice it to cite three points upon which scholars seem to have come near to a *consensus*: the language and the style of the *Theages* betray a good fourth-century writer; its Academy background and the quality of its argument show that, if not by Plato himself, it must have been composed by somebody quite close to the Scholarch; the cumulative effect of various indications deriving from its philosophical content and literary expression, controversial as they are when examined separately, suggests nevertheless a product contemporary with Plato's dialogues before c. 370 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The subject of the *Theages* is politico-educational, and related to that of the *Alcibiades Maior*. The eponym of our dialogue, an ambitious Athenian youth (Demodocus' son, obviously an historical person), asks Socrates to be his teacher in the *ta politika* (127 A). Socrates warns him that the success of their collaboration will depend on the decision of the *daimonion* (128 B)--the same known as *Sokratous daimonion* from Xenophon, Plato and several other ancient authors. That "divine mentor" (W.K. Guthrie) may intervene to say that a friend of Socrates should be dissuaded from doing certain things or participating in certain undertakings. Four examples are cited of such men and occasions: (a) Glaucon's son Charmides and the events leading to the battle at Mantinea in 418 B.C. (128 D-E);<sup>2</sup> (b) Timarchus and the affair of the "murder of Nicias" (129 A-C); (c) the Athenians (which means Alcibiades in the first place) and the Sicilian expedition of 415 B.C. (129 C-D); lastly, (d) "Sannion the beautiful" and Thrasyllus' campaign in Asia Minor, 409 B.C. (129 D)<sup>3</sup>. In all of them, the *daimonion's* intervention has proved prophetic, though disobeyed. The people in question, having declined to follow the divine advice given to them through Socrates, chose to take part in the violent actions; as a result, they incurred misfortunes of diverse sorts, even death ([b], cf. [c,d]).

The dialogue's text of (b), obscure to modern readers, deserves to be quoted in full:<sup>4</sup>

"And" (Socrates addresses Theages) "if you are willing to inquire of Clitomachus, the brother of Timarchus, what Timarchus said to him, when, being about to die, he went right against the daemon, both he and Euathlus, the runner in the stadium, who received Timarchus when he was an exile, will tell

you what he then said". (Theag.) "What did he say?" (Socr.) "O Clitomachus, said he, I indeed am now going to die, because I was unwilling to be persuaded by Socrates. But why Timarchus said this, I will tell you. When Timarchus rose from the banquet, together with Philemon the son of Philemonides, with the view of murdering Nicias the son of Heroscamander, they two alone were cognizant of the plot; and Timarchus, as he rose, said to me, What do you say, Socrates? Do you continue drinking; but I must rise (and go) somewhere. I will, however, return shortly, if I am successful. And there was the voice. And I said to him, By no means, said I, rise up; for there has been to me the usual daemon signal. Upon this he stayed. And after a slight interval, he was again going away, and said - Socrates, I am going. And there was again the voice. Again, therefore, I compelled him to stay. The third time, wishing to escape me unnoticed, having watched me, while I had my attention otherwise engaged; and thus departing he perpetrated the acts, through which he went away about to die. Hence he told his brother, what I have now told you, that he was going to die, through his not believing in me".

According to the common opinion of present-day historians and students of Plato, the characters and events described here are unidentifiable and not attested in other sources.<sup>5</sup> The essence of that conclusion appears *a priori* suspicious. The author of the *Theages* exemplifies the wisdom of Socrates' *daimonion* in the political sphere, which is a natural choice in view of the dialogue's theme and the eponym's wish to become a statesman;<sup>6</sup> a private crime, remaining known only within a narrow circle centred at Timarchus, would contradict that fact, and, of course, it may be doubted whether Socrates would drink together with such people at all. The expeditions either referred or alluded to in (a), (c) and (d) count among the famous events of the classical period; an analogous importance and celebrity is expected from the topic of (b), which occupies, in the conversation of the *Theages*, much more space than (a), (c) and (d) taken together. If the personal names figuring in (b) are not to be found in the *rerum scriptores* dealing with the major happenings of Socrates' epoch, that need not imply that (b) had no connection with the actual events of high policy. For reasons psychological as well as practical, Plato and the authors of the *logoi Sokratikoi* in general systematically used certain devices of a mystifying and allusive art which include anachronisms<sup>7</sup> and putting the actual anthroponyms and phenomena of public life under decipherable masks.<sup>8</sup> With regard to those fictional techniques of the Platonic literature,<sup>9</sup> we propose to see in (b) a veiled reference to the liberation of Thebes in 379 B.C. Several arguments may be adduced in favour of that proposal.

First, the (anti)hero of (b) was a refugee (in the house of Euathlus, 129 A), well received among those who gave him sanctuary (cf. 129 B 1). Judging

from his contact with Socrates--who in turn always felt unwilling to leave his native city--Timarchus was not an Athenian living elsewhere<sup>10</sup> but a foreigner living in Athens. That well accords with the position of Pelopidas' group of exiles in 382-379 B.C. (cf. *Plut. Pel. 6, 2*). Other details, less significant or less reliable, concerning Timarchus in 129 A-C are to say the least also compatible with this interpretation.<sup>11</sup>

Second, it was possible--indeed inevitable, from the moralist's point of view--to take the murder for the salient trait of Pelopidas' *coup d'état*. The assassination of Archias and his fellow "tyrants" was nothing less than the *conditio sine qua non* for the change of the Theban regimen (cf. *Xen. Hell. V 4, 9*; *Diod. XV 25, 2, et al.*) As such, it was predictable and feared by the pious or the wise, even those who were not numbered among the *lakonizontes* (*Plut. Mor. 576 F-577 A*, of Epameinondas). The drama of the deed impressed itself deep into Greek minds. The author of the *Theages* (if we understand correctly his message in [b]) and the extant historical narratives of the *coup* agree on that point.

Third, the "Nicias, the son of Heroscamander" (129 B) seems a transparent allusion to the fact that the conspirators' main victim was Archias the Theban (father's name not recorded). The names Nicias and Archias are of the same length and ending, and share the privilege of banality. In a manner typical of Plato's fiction,<sup>12</sup> the patronymic reveals the ethno-geographical provenance of the man with the hidden identity. It is derived from a hydronym--the name of the river-god Scamander, to be exact--evidenced in three parts of the Greek world: the Troad, Sicily and Boeotia.<sup>13</sup> Ancient readers will have thought of this last, where the anthroponyms formed from river-god names enjoyed a great popularity.<sup>14</sup> And, for what it is worth, Boeotia (Thebes)--unlike the other two--lay near enough to Athens to make it possible that the departure of the men who were to kill "Nicias" looked casual, a walk for local hunt (ancient historians on 379) and/or the epilogue of a banquet (the *Theages*).

Fourth and decisively, Plutarch's essay *De Genio Socratis*, inspired by the *Theages* in many respects,<sup>15</sup> devotes much attention to a Boeotian called Timarchus who was acquainted with Socrates as well as with Cebes and Simmias, the Pythagorean friends of the conspirators. Following his own line of blending the fictional with reality,<sup>16</sup> the author of the *De Genio Socratis* depicts a Timarchus still less resembling Pelopidas' partisan than does the author of the *Theages*. Plutarch's Timarchus is a Chaeronean and a religious thinker, not a Theban and a revolutionary; both the features of Timarchus' portrait in the *De Genio Socratis* were clearly invented in order to assimilate the man with Plutarch himself.<sup>17</sup> But the whole framework of Plutarch's treatise, also cast in the form of a dialogue, unites the discussion of Socrates' *daimonion* with an account of Melon's and Pelopidas' exploits of 379.<sup>18</sup> That and other similarities<sup>19</sup> with the *Theages* 128-129 show that Plutarch

understood (b) in the same way as it is interpreted in our paper. His vast knowledge of Plato, and also of Boeotia's past, make it more than probable that the *De Genio Socratis* cannot be wrong here.

The interest of the foregoing analysis, if its results are accepted, is two-fold. On the one hand, it adds something to our perception of Plato and Plutarch. To focus upon a much debated point, it lends some support to the thesis of the *Theages*' authenticity and implies a dating of that dialogue in the period (probably months) immediately after 379 B.C.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, it throws light on certain aspects of Attico-Theban relations of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. The *Theages* completes what has already been deduced from the *Phaedo*, the *De Genio Socratis* and a number of other texts:<sup>21</sup> the circles of Socrates and Plato, together with the Pythagoreans of Boeotia and the Peloponnese, combined political activities with philosophical researches which bore *i.a.* on the problem of the immortality and the "daemonic" nature of the soul.<sup>22</sup> On all the levels of those interconnected efforts, the notion of violence was rejected as politically unproductive and theologically condemnable.

\* The author is grateful to Professor and Mrs. John Buckler for their friendly and manifold help concerning this paper.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. P. Friedländer, *Plato* (transl. H. Meyerhoff), II (1964 [1965]), p.147-154; W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, V(1978), p.392-394. Cf. H. Thesleff, *Phronesis* 34(1989), p.8 with note 33, p.20ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to the phrasing of 128 D-E, Charmides wanted (and was urged against) "to contend for the stadium at Nemea" (transl. G. Burges). In the arcane language of Plato's comments on politically delicate matters, this refers to the Attico-Peloponnesian relations of 420-418 B.C., with Alcibiades in the *Hintergrund* (S. Dušanić, *The Birth of the Academy...*[a book in preparation]).

<sup>3</sup> Socrates speaks of the campaign as not yet finished but already threatening to bring Sannion's death or "something near to it".

<sup>4</sup> Translated by G. Burges (*The Works of Plato*, IV, 1855, p.413f.).

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. J. Kirchner, *PA* 13625, 6535, 14271; J. Souilhé, the *Budé Platon* XIII 2, 1930, p.156 note 2; P. Friedländer, *Plato*, II, 1965, p.153. Only Burges, *op.cit.*, p.413 note 3, and W. Christ, "Plutarch's Dialog vom Daimonion des Sokrates", *S.-B. Ak. München* (Philos.-philol. u. d. hist. Cl.), 1901, p.95, connected the Timarchus of the *Theages* with the Timarchus of Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis*, without any further observation on the subject and with the same assertion that 129 A-C pertains to an event unknown elsewhere. I arrived at the solution explained *infra* some ten years ago (cf. *Coll. int. du CNRS*, "La Beotie antique", 1985, p.234f., with note 70), in the happy time when Paul Roesch was alive and preparing his Colloquium on Ancient Boeotia.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Plat.Rep.* VI 496 B-C.

<sup>7</sup> The *Menexenus* (244 D ff.) and the *Symposium* (193 A: the dioecism of Mantinea) provide the best-known instances.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. mythological (*Phaedr.* 261 B-C; 269 A).

<sup>9</sup> Isocrates labels them, maliciously but without naming Plato explicitly, *pseudologia* and *poikilia* (XII 78;246).

<sup>10</sup> *Pace* Kirchner (above, note 5).

<sup>11</sup> He has a brother (Clitomachus), who obviously remained in Thebes but did not participate in the slaughter of the "tyrants": cf. the pair of Epameinondas (disapproving of the conspirators' violence) and Caphisias (a participant in it) in Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis*, a treatise which closely imitates the fiction of the *Theages* (below) but also reflects its author's having more historical information about the events of 379 than found in extant sources. An ally of Timarchus is called Philemon, the son of Philemonides: cf. the name of the conspirator Phyllidas (not Phyllidas, cf. S.N. Kumanudis, *Theb. Prosop.* 2055); but "Philemon" may have been an allusion to an Athenian (Pelopidas' sympathizer) too. "The runner in stadium", characterizing Timarchus' host, recalls "the stadium at Nemea" (128 E; *supra*, note 2) and probably hints to another partisan of the anti-Laconian policy. "I will...return shortly...": a detail with a literary function only or an allusion to a planned mission of the Thebo-Attic *rapprochement* (cf. *Plut.Pel.* 12, 1; *Xen.Hell.* V 4,9; *Diod.XV* 25,4) ? Timarchus' death, in the presence of Clitomachus: cf. *Diod.XV* 25, 3. The names of Clitomachus, Euathlus, perhaps also Timarchus, seem unhistorical and selected because of the etymological meaning (cf. 122 D).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the Er, the son of Armenius, of *Rep.* X 614 B ff. (*REG* 92,1979, p.342-347). Other, less direct, parallels include the Gadirus and the Azaes of the *Critias* (114 B-C; *Ant.class.* 51, 1982, p.27f.51).

<sup>13</sup> In Boeotia, Scamander became another name of the Inachus (the *aition* in *Plut.QG* 41; cf. W.R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, 1928, p.161f., 176-179). Among the Eastern Greeks, the personal name Heroscamander and its numerous cognates (cf. Bechtel-Fick, p. 251) must have pointed to the river of Troy; in Boeotia, so far as I can see, it is not attested otherwise. The geographical affinity of its one bearer in Athens (*PA* 6536) remains uncertain.

<sup>14</sup> One can cite the fictional Caphisias and Hismenodorus in Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Friedländer, *op.cit.*, p.328 note 16 (on *De Gen.* 580 C ~ *Theag.* 128 D); A Corliu, *Plutarque, le démon de Socrate* (1970), p.93f. (on *De Gen.* 580 E ~ *Theag.* 129 B).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. J. Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony*, 371-362 B.C. (1980) p.37ff., 286 note 53.

<sup>17</sup> Corlu, *op.cit.*, p.60f. (with bibl.); cf. Ph.H.De Lacy and B. Einarson, the Loeb ed. of the *Moralia*, VII(1959), p.365 with note a. The *Theages* shows us, though, that neither the name nor the historical *exemplum* of Timarchus was an invention of Plutarch's; on that point, Burges and Christ (above, note 5) understood the *De Genio Socratis* better than the later students of the essay. Plutarch himself seems to signal his reader that the Timarchus of the *De Genio* is given some fictional traits (cf. 519 F, on Timarchus' date [*infra*, note 20]; 589 F [a "fable" which "is perhaps best to conceal"], on his religious experience).

<sup>18</sup> The problem of the unity of the *De Genio Socratis* has been much explored, most recently by M. Riley, *GRBS* 18(1972), p.257-273. Professor Riley is generally right in explaining the *De Genio*'s connection between the narration of political events and the philosophical discussions as an expression of Plutarch's wish to "comment philosophically on a topic from the *Lives*"(p.273) and in attributing to Plutarch the conviction (or the philosophical axiom) that "the liberation of Thebes was divinely guided" (p.272). However, in the present author's opinion, Professor Riley has neglected somewhat the influence of Plato on the *De Genio*--specifically, upon the duality of its theme. That duality reflects similar structures met with in many dialogues of Plato's, with the *Phaedo* and the *Theages* as the closest models of Plutarch's treatise.

<sup>19</sup> Notably *De Genio* 581 D echoes *Theag.*129 C-D("Sicily" reproduces our [c], "Delium" is a variation of our [a]).

<sup>20</sup> The anachronisms in Plato--when intentional and bearing a certain emphasis on them--usually indicate that the dialogues containing them were published shortly after the affairs referred to in the anachronistic manner (cf. *supra*, note 7). Plutarch's anachronism concerning Timarchus at 519 F (cf. the Loeb editors' note *ad loc.*) seems to imitate that of *Theag.* 129 A-C (our [b]).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. my article cited above, note 5.

<sup>22</sup> The "Timarchus" of the *Theages* had a longeval or, rather, a composite historical prototype, with two periods of activity which interested the politico-philosophical *continuum* of the circles around Socrates and Plato: one in c.420-415/3 B.C. ([a] - [d] are listed chronologically, if the Platonic facet of [b] is set aside), the other in c.382-379 B.C. The prototype's core may be defined as an atticophile Theban with philosophical proclivities and political ambitions. The Attico-Arcadian connections that inspired the *Symposium* were a similar case (S. Dušanić, in: *Recueil des travaux de la Faculté de philosophie de Belgrade* XVI A,1989, p.9-30).

## THE SYNEDRION OF THE BOEOTIAN ALLIANCE

David M. Lewis,  
Oxford University

I started from the fact that one will look in vain in the most modern account of the Theban hegemony<sup>1</sup> for any reference to a major development in its institutions. Although the evidence has been clear to see and long recognised<sup>2</sup>, modern recognition of it is to be found in other contexts<sup>3</sup>. I therefore thought it might be worth restating the matter in a volume dedicated to Boeotia. I had virtually finished my note when I realised that it had all been said ninety years ago<sup>4</sup>. But since no one now alive seems to have read the article<sup>5</sup>, it may be useful to say it all over again. More general thoughts about the selective nature of our use of our predecessors may suggest themselves.

On the Theban stone which records contributions to the Sacred War (*IG* VII 2418 = *Tod* 160), there are recorded under the archons Aristion and Agesinikos two contributions from the Byzantines. The precise dates of these archons do not concern us here; there is no doubt that they are Boeotian federal archons of the 350s; at least one archon, Nikolaos, intervened between them.

Attached to the statements of the Byzantines' gifts are notes telling us who brought the money:

11-13 σύνεδροι Βυζαντιῶν [εἰνίξαν]  
τὸ χρυσίον Κερκίνος Εἰροτίμω, Ἀγ - - -  
Δηλοπτίχω, Διωνύσιος Εἰραίωνος. *vacat*

24-25 σύνεδροι εἰνίξαν Ἰῶσις Καρατίχου  
[Π]αρμενίσκος Πυράμου. *vacat*

On a stone from Thebes, in a Boeotian context, there cannot be any doubt about the interpretation. This is evidence for a federal *synedrion*, in some way attached to the Boeotian League, to which the Byzantines sent three representatives in one year, two in another.

It cannot be the case that Byzantion had joined the main Boeotian federal structure. The words τὰ συνέδρια do appear in the description of the Boeotian League in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (XVI (XI) 4), but I am disposed to think them non-technical. In the period of the Theban hegemony, the assembly of the League probably described itself as the *damos*<sup>6</sup> and does not seem to have had any representative nature<sup>7</sup>; it would match ill with our visiting *synedroi*. We would in effect have to believe that the Byzantines became Boeotians<sup>8</sup>.



Another model lies close to hand. At this time, the Second Athenian Confederacy possessed a *synedrion* with allied *synedroi*. It sat at Athens, forming a third chamber alongside the Athenian *boule* and *demos*. Is it not likely that someone had conceived the idea of creating a similarly organised alliance of οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι? It would not be over-hazardous to call that someone Epaminondas.

There is a more explicit text, which seems to prove that the organisation went back into the 360s. In Xenophon, *Hellenica* VII.3.11, a Sicyonian defending himself before the Theban *boule* for the murder of Euphron uses the following argument: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναμνήσθητε ὅτι καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε δήπου τοὺς φυγάδας ἀγωγίμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμάχιδων. ὅστις δὲ ἄνευ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμάχων δόγματος κατέρχεται φυγάς, τοῦτον ἔχει τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποθνήσκειν; "Then remember this too. You voted, as you will recall, that from all cities of the alliance exiles should be subject to extradition. But what about an exile who returns without any general resolution of the allies? Can anyone say why such a person should not be put to death?"<sup>9</sup> The 'you' of the first sentence is formally, perhaps in fact<sup>10</sup>, the Thebans. But the second sentence is unmistakable evidence for the concept of a collective allied decision, and it is described in exactly the same language as a decree of the *synedrion* of the Second Athenian Confederacy<sup>11</sup>.

Swoboda made the further claim that Xen. *Hell.* VII.5.4, in which the Phocians define their treaty obligations as to extending only to defending Theban territory, not to marching against others, showed that this Boeotian alliance, was founded on defensive alliances (*epimachiai*), and that this was a further imitation of the Second Athenian Confederacy. This seems to be the foundation of his belief that the new system started as a *mittelgriechisch Staatenbund* before any Boeotian invasions of the Peloponnese. That argument will hardly hold. It is very hard to find any alliance-formula other than an *epimachia* in the fourth century. The alliances which forged the Corinthian War against Sparta had all been *epimachiai*<sup>12</sup>, and no one supposes that anything remotely federal was involved.

We cannot therefore be certain that the Thebans started the system during their expansion in Central Greece in 370. The idea may have started as a means of associating the Peloponnesian allies acquired during their invasions of the Peloponnese<sup>13</sup>. Swoboda, for some reason, did not think it likely that Peloponnesian states joined the Theban Confederacy, though he had to make an exception for Sicyon, for which, as we have seen, there is clear evidence.

I am not here concerned to confront the realities of the situation and to determine how far the structure thus revealed really worked or how often the allied *synedrion* actually met. I merely affirm that there is good evidence that the Boeotians, hardly later than the fairly early 360s, tried to imitate the Athenian model, and that the structure was thus available for later recruits from further afield. It is clear that at least Byzantium did join<sup>14</sup>.

## NOTES

1. J. Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony, 371-362 B.C.* (1980). In fact, on pp. 222-3, Buckler explicitly denies the existence of the machinery I try to deduce here.
2. The first step was taken by Koehler, *Hermes* 24, 1889, 643.
3. J. Cargill, *The Second Athenian League* (1981), 113 n. 46, 169; S. Hornblower, *The Greek World 479-323 B.C.* (1983), 168, 232.
4. See Swoboda, *Rh. Mus.* 55, 1900, 466-9.
5. The latest reference to it I have so far found is the compressed summary by Swoboda himself in Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* II (1926), 1425-6, not an inaccessible book.
6. *IG* VII 2407, 2408 (partly restored), *SEG* XXXIV 355 (restored).
7. See Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (1955), 72.
8. There are possible Hellenistic parallels, but not for any state so distant.
9. Penguin translation.
10. The Athenian assembly passed just such a resolution in the fifth century, infringing the judicial autonomy of all its allies; *ML* 40.29-31.
11. Cf., e.g., Aeschin. II 60: ὅ τι δ' ἂν βουλευῆται ὁ δῆμος, τοῦτ' εἶναι κοινὸν δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.
12. See *Tod* II 101-103.
13. It is at least arguable that the Athenians had already tried in 371 to incorporate Peloponnesian states into their own Confederacy (*Xen. Hell.* VI. 5.1-3).
14. I offer no scrutiny of Buckler's view (p.172) that Byzantium refused to enter a formal alliance with Epaminondas's naval expedition of 364, but I do not understand on what it is based. A useful treatment by Cawkwell, *CQ* n.s. 22, 1972, 270-1, neglects the evidence of *IG* VII 2418, and the text is even more surprisingly absent from Buckler, *Philip II and the Sacred War* (1989).

John Buckler,  
Urbana, Illinois

Although the battle of Chaironeia was one of the truly decisive conflicts of classical antiquity, surprisingly little is known of it, and that little has unfortunately and unnecessarily been embroidered by modern historians. This note aims simply at unravelling some of that embroidery. Specifically, it argues against the prevalent view that at Chaironeia Alexander led a force of cavalry in a flanking attack against the Boiotians who stood opposite him.<sup>1</sup> Diodoros, the principal source for the battle, depicts Alexander's actions at 16.86.3: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα [after the engagement began] τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φιλοτιμουμένου τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ φιλοτιμίας ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείποντος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ συναγωνιζομένων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πρῶτος τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων τάξεως ἔρρηξε καὶ πολλοὺς καταβαλὼν κατεπόνει τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένους. He thus states that Alexander broke the solid formation of the enemy with those who assisted him in the fighting. Plutarch (*Alex.* 9.3) supports this aspect of Diodoros' testimony, and he further (*Pel.* 18.7) corroborates it when he describes Philip's inspection of the slain Sacred Band after the battle. When Philip came to the place where the Thebans had fought and fallen, he remarked that they had bravely faced the *sarisai* of his army. Although the *sarisa* was sometimes used by light cavalry, the first use of it in this context cannot be dated earlier than Alexander's campaign at the Granikos River in 334 BC.<sup>2</sup> The *sarisa* was primarily and normally the weapon of the Macedonian infantry.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the point of Plutarch's story is that the Thebans had stood to the death rather than flee. This interpretation takes Plutarch's words (*Pel.* 18.7) ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶν τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁ Φίλιππος ἔστη κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ συνετύχανε κεῖσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἐναντίους ἀπηνητηκότας ταῖς σαρίσαις ἅπαντας ἐν τοῖς [στενοῖς] ὄπλοις καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμειγμένους literally to mean that the Sacred Band had faced the enemy.<sup>4</sup> This view is strengthened, if one accepts Claviger's emendation of τοῖς στέρνοις, ἐν ὄπλοις καὶ instead of the bracketed στενοῖς. The Lion of Chaironeia is another, but mute, testimonial to the stout-heartedness of the Sacred Band.<sup>5</sup> Lastly, Polyainos (4.2.2, 7) states that Philip retired slowly in the face of a vigorous Athenian attack.

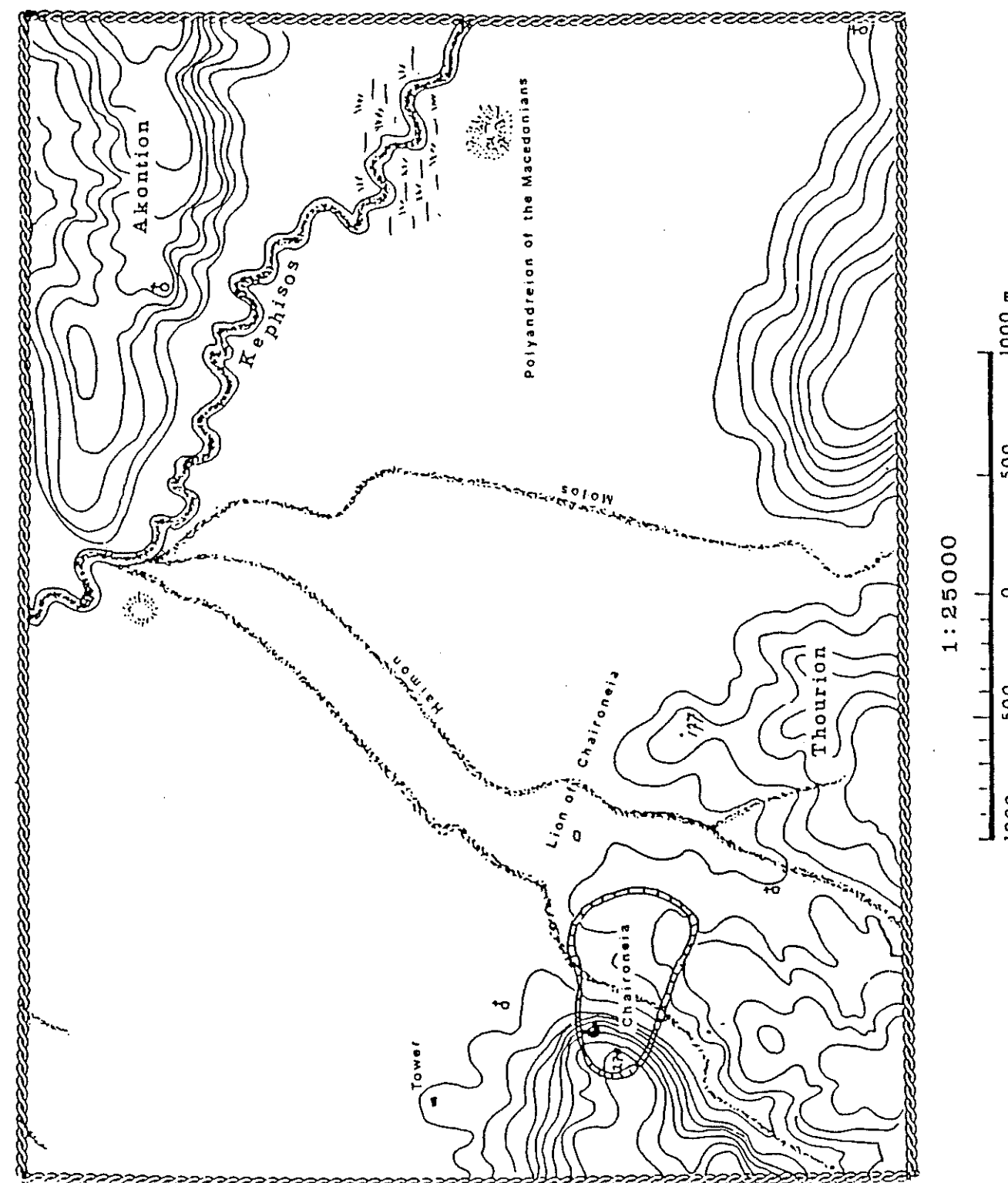
The ancient sources portray the Macedonians in a line in effect extending from the foothills of Mt. Thourion to the Kephisos river. Philip



commanded the right wing near Chaironeia, and Alexander the left, which was anchored on the river. On the Greek side the Athenians opposed Philip, while the Boiotians faced Alexander. Some modern scholars have also postulated that in the course of the action Alexander launched a mounted assault against a Theban flank. A.R. Burn, in a dramatic reconstruction, writes of Alexander bringing his superior cavalry "in on the flank of the devoted Theban infantry, already held by the Macedonian infantry in their front".<sup>6</sup> N.G.L. Hammond interprets Alexander's cavalry attack somewhat similarly. He envisions a gap opening between the Boiotians and Athenians into which Alexander charged. As a result, "the Sacred Band, encircled by Alexander's cavalry, was annihilated".<sup>7</sup> While not accepting the concept of any flanking maneuver, A. Ferrill offers a different explanation of how cavalry could have frontally charged hoplites standing in compact order.<sup>8</sup> In his view, the Macedonian cavalryman could have released his *sarisa* "immediately before or on impact, so as not to unhorse the rider". J.R. Ellis also posits a mounted frontal assault against the Theban line, without explaining how it could have been done.<sup>9</sup> Others have been equally unsuccessful in explaining the role of the Macedonian cavalry during the battle.

In fact, there are several good reasons to doubt that Alexander led a mounted attack on the Sacred Band or that he took them in flank. First, although Diodoros (16.85.5) mentions the presence of about 2000 cavalry in Philip's army, he nowhere mentions its use in battle, much less names Alexander as the commander of it. For that matter, no ancient source describes cavalry action at Chaironeia. In short, all hypotheses about cavalry, Macedonian or Greek, belong to the realm of modern speculation. Ferrill's suggestion that a heavy-armed Macedonian cavalryman could inflict great damage on a phalanx suffers from a severe defect. Even if the Macedonians released their *sarisai* on or shortly before impact, it is still not easy to see how they could have maintained their mounts.<sup>10</sup> Nor does it explain what damage the cavalry could thereafter have done to the Sacred Band, especially at close quarters. The initial shock would presumably have inflicted a certain number of casualties on both sides; but having expended their *sarisai*, the Macedonians could hardly have penetrated the Sacred Band or cut down 254 of them. Until someone offers a reasonable explanation for the way in which a frontal cavalry assault could have crushed the Theban formation, no one else need give any credence to the idea.

There remains the matter of a flanking attack. Whether mounted or afoot, Alexander could not easily have turned the right flank of the Theban line, which was firmly anchored on the Kephisos river, and the Kephisos



Adapted from J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder I* (Berlin 1903) Karte 4.

was broad and deep enough to present an obstacle both to cavalry and infantry.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, in the vicinity of the battlefield the river often overflowed its banks to create marshy terrain, and Theophrastos (*History of Plants* 4.11.3) testifies to these conditions at the time of the battle.<sup>12</sup> There was no reason to fear attack from this quarter. Only on the left could the Boiotian line be taken in flank, and to suppose an attack here one must believe a very improbable anecdote from Polyainos (4.2.2, 7), who claims that Philip ordered his wing, while facing the Athenians, to make an orderly withdrawal to lure the Athenians onto higher ground (ὑπερδεξιῶν τόπων) and thus into a trap.<sup>13</sup> The ruse worked, and the Athenians vigorously pursued Philip's men only to face a Macedonian counter-attack that overwhelmed them. The difficulty for Philip to maintain contact with his other forces is immediately apparent. Yet here is where some scholars suggest that the creation of a gap on Philip's left allowed Alexander the opportunity to launch his cavalry attack against the Boiotian left flank.

It is high time that this unlikely stratagem, mentioned only by an often undependable source, be rejected.<sup>14</sup> In the first place, no one has found Polyainos' higher ground.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, H. Delbrück has remarked on the improbability that any such maneuver could actually have been possible under the circumstances: "600 Meter rückwärts gehen kann kaum ein einzelner Mann auf guter Straße, ohne zu stolpern; eine Phalanx, die das (*sic*) im Gelände unternehmen wollte, würde binnen kurzem einer über dem andern auf der Erde liegen".<sup>16</sup> It also fails to explain even Diodoros' imperfect account of the action. Diodoros and Plutarch agree that Alexander was in the forefront of the attack--that is the point of their having mentioned the fact in the first place. The reconstruction that Alexander at the head of his cavalry took advantage of the newly-opened gap means that he initially held a position behind his own phalanx, which was already engaged. If Alexander only later turned the Theban left flank, already pinned by the Macedonian phalanx, then Polyainos' unlikely testimony makes nonsense of better sources.

Given the evidence of the best sources and the realities of the terrain, a simple solution can be offered that does justice to both. On that day at Chaironeia Philip and Alexander led frontal assaults on foot against their opponents. The Macedonian phalangites under Alexander, through their courage, discipline, strength, and ability, cut through the Sacred Band and the other Boiotians in direct confrontation.<sup>17</sup> It was infantry headlong against infantry; and one can say, as of Marathon, that cavalry played no significant part in the action. It was once again a case of χωρίς ἰππεῖς.

<sup>1</sup> G. Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon* (London and Boston 1978) 148; P. Cloché, *Philippe II* (Saint-Etienne 1955) 263; *Histoire de la Macédoine* (Paris 1960) 238; J.R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism* (London 1976) 197; A. Ferrill, *The Origins of War* (London 1985) 177; J.R. Hamilton, *Alexander the Great* (London 1973) 36; N.G.L. Hammond, and G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia II* (Oxford 1979) 597-603; D. Magnino, *Plutarco, Alessandro* (Milan 1987) 61 n.60; U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great* (New York 1967) 40; G. Wirth, *Philipp II.* (Stuttgart 1985) 133.

<sup>2</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.14.1; Polyb. 12.20.2; Lammert, "Sarisse", *RE* 1A (1920) 2515-2530, especially 2515-2516, 2521; H. Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst I* (Berlin 1908) 174, n.3, also comments on the evolution of the *sarisa* phalanx. Cf. also A.B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander I* (Oxford 1980) 62-63, 110, 352; Ferrill, 176-177.

<sup>3</sup> W.W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (Cambridge 1930) 11-16; G.T. Griffith in M.B. Hatzopoulos and L.D. Loukopoulos, edd., *Philip of Macedon* (London 1981) 59, 62.

<sup>4</sup> *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> s.v. ἀπαντάω, I.2.c.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 9.40.10; cf. Strabo 9.2.37. J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece V*<sup>2</sup> (London 1913) 210, observes that the marks of the their wounds were still visible on the unearthed skeletons. See also G. Soteriades, *AM* 28 (1903) 301-330; 30 (1905) 113-120; P.W. Wallace, *Strabo's Description of Boiotia* (Heidelberg 1979) 147-148.

<sup>6</sup> *Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic World* (London 1964) 40-41.

<sup>7</sup> *Klio* 31 (1938) 210; *A History of Greece*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1967) 569-570; cf. also G. Lolling in *Baedeker's Griechenland*<sup>4</sup> (Leipzig 1904) 159.

<sup>8</sup> *The Origins of War* (London 1985) 176-177.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. n.1 above, 197-198.

<sup>10</sup> Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.18-19; cf. also J.K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970) 58.

<sup>11</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 5.2.12; Plut. *Pel.* 16; *Dem.* 19; *Sulla* 16.12; 17.6-7; J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder I* (Berlin 1903) 149-150, 163; Hammond, *Klio* 31 (1938) 207; G.L. Cawkwell, *CQ* 39 (1989) 379; personal observations of 1 October 1970, 10 July 1986.

<sup>12</sup> See also Strabo 9.2.19, 37; 9.3.16; Paus. 9.41.7, and J. Knauss, *Die Melioration des Kopaisbeckens durch die Minyer im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (Munich 1987) 182.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. especially Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder I* 165-167.

<sup>14</sup> F. Lammert, "Polyainos", *RE* 21 (1952) 1432-1436; W.W. Tarn, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1970) s.v. "Polyaenus", 853. M.M. Markle, III, *AJA* 82 (1978) 488-489, who does not seem to have examined the terrain himself, accepts the authenticity of the stratagem, despite the physical difficulties of the operation that he himself recognizes.

<sup>15</sup> W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* II (London 1835) 192-201; Hammond, *Klio* 31 (1938) 208; W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 62 (1958) 310.

<sup>16</sup> *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* I (Berlin 1908) 173.

<sup>17</sup> Only A. Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone* (Florence 1934) 159, shares this view. A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Demosthenes* (New York and London 1914) 384-385, and *CAH* VI.263, observes that nothing is heard of cavalry during the battle. See also J.F.C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (New Brunswick 1960) 35. Finally, my thanks to Dr. Slobodan Dusanic, who kindly read a draft of this piece.

A NOTE ON CLAVIGER'S EMENDATION OF PLUTARCH'S TEXT (PEL. I.8-9)<sup>1</sup>

Aristoula Georgiadou,  
University of Illinois

Buckler argues against the view of a frontal cavalry assault or a flanking attack postulated by some modern scholars to have been launched by Philip and Alexander against the Thebans during the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. To strengthen his view of a frontal Macedonian infantry assault against their Theban opponents Buckler lends partial support, though cautiously, to Claviger's emendation of τοῖς στέρνοις, ἐν ὄπλοις καὶ instead of the bracketed στενοῖς suggested by Ziegler in agreement with Schaefer and Sintenis. Claviger's emendation, however, does not derive any support from other sources in Greek literature. The expression ἐν στέρνοις, which is commonly found both in prose and poetry is regularly used either to describe strong emotions of any kind residing within the breast, as for example θυμός/ἔρως/θάρσος ἐν(ὶ) στέρνοις, or it refers to wounds inflicted on the breast, as for instance τραύματα ἐν στέρνοις λαβών/τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐν στέρνοις φέροντες. There is no parallel whatsoever which may suggest that the expression ἐν τοῖς στέρνοις could also be taken to mean a frontal encounter of two armies. For this reason, Claviger's conjecture can simply be dismissed. Better evidence for the Macedonian frontal assault against their opponents can be drawn from the word ἐναντίους, which is not necessarily used here in a hostile sense- it refers to the preceding τριακοσίους, and not to the Macedonian opponents -, but to denote the position of the Thebans facing their enemy at the

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Prof. J. Buckler for drawing my attention to this vexed passage in the *Pelopidas* of Plutarch and Prof. Sansone for providing valuable comments on the above emendation.

time of the crucial encounter. There are three instances in Plutarch where the word ἐναντίος refers to wounds suffered while facing the enemy: *Aem.* 20.4 ἐναντίας πληγάς; *Pel.* 4.7 ἐπὶ τραύματα λαβὼν ἐναντία; *CatMa.* 1.7 τραυμάτων τὸ σῶμα μεστὸν ἐναντίων εἶχε. Based then on this specific use of the word ἐναντίος in Plutarch's writings, the passage in question, namely ἐναντίους...ταῖς σαρίσαις, should be interpreted as "face to face with the sarisai", "opposite the sarisai", while the hostile notion of the encounter between the two armies can still be implied. Buckler's argument then of a frontal attack of the Macedonian infantry against the Theban infantry can rightly find additional support in the word ἐναντίους with the puzzling στενοῖς remaining in brackets until a more appropriate conjecture can throw more light on this vexed passage.

PLATEA E TEBE NEL 335 (CONSIDERAZIONI SULLE FONTI DI ARR. I.8-9)

Luisa Prandi,  
Università Cattolica di Milano

Il ventennio che va dalla battaglia di Cheronea alla conclusione della guerra lamiaca rappresentò un momento delicato, e in un certo senso anomalo, nei rapporti fra Platea e il resto della Grecia. Proprio all'inizio del periodo, nel 338, veniva infatti avviata la ricostruzione della città sotto l'egida macedone, un'iniziativa destinata ad introdurre un elemento nuovo nella conflittualità già viva fra le poleis greche. La decisa scelta di campo dei Plateesi a favore della Macedonia non soltanto li mise in posizione antagonistica a quella delle altre città ma determinò anche spaccature all'interno della "comunità" ormai da tempo esule: non tutti i Plateesi infatti abbracciarono la causa di Filippo, non tutti si trasferirono nella costruenda città. Lo fece comunque un sufficiente numero di individui perchè Platea potesse avere autorità nel novero degli alleati greci di Filippo e poi di Alessandro, un gruppo geograficamente omogeneo e viepiù cementato da un viscerale ed antico odio nei confronti di Tebe: oltre ai Plateesi, gli Orcomeni, i Tespiesi e i Focesi.

Dopo Cheronea, come dopo la pace comune del 386, la maggior parte dei Plateesi mostrò di privilegiare il recupero di una polis, di una chora, di una forma anche ristretta di autogestione, rispetto alla fedeltà ad una linea politica coerente: in pratica, alla fedeltà agli indirizzi politici di Atene che aveva contraddistinto le scelte dei Plateesi dal 519 alla fine della guerra del Peloponneso ma che nel IV sec. era divenuta sempre più scarsamente remunerativa, dal momento che Atene non conduceva un'attiva politica antitebana. D'altro canto, proprio l'accoglienza e la protezione accordata a quanti nella Grecia centrale erano tradizionali avversari dei Tebani permetteva a Filippo di tenere in scacco l'ex egemone beotica, non diversamente da quanto aveva fatto Sparta negli anni '80-'70. Si trattava però di una situazione potenzialmente esplosiva, dal momento che né Tebe né i suoi confinanti avevano mai dato prova di moderazione e, soprattutto, che tutti erano esacerbati sia dai torti subiti in passato sia dalle tensioni che l'ascesa della Macedonia provocava nelle città greche, incerte e divise sulla posizione da assumere. L'episodio cruciale, il banco di prova, per così dire il detonatore dell'esplosione, fu la rivolta e l'assedio di Tebe nel 335<sup>2</sup>. Risulta chiaro, dalla documentazione in nostro possesso, che nella decisione di annientare la città dopo la resa giocò un ruolo notevole l'interesse dei nemici di Tebe ad applicare una sorta di contrappasso che a

vrebbe loro consentito di appropriarsi della chora tebana. Ma Alessandro non fu succube della loro sete di vendetta e il dibattito, già antico, sulle sue responsabilità mostra che la drastica misura presa nel 335 corrispondeva alle volontà del Macedone. Gli storici che narrano l'episodio sono, con diverse sfumature, favorevoli ai Tebani e ostili ai loro confidenti, riproducendo un atteggiamento che era diffuso fra i Greci contemporanei, che erano rimasti storditi e increduli davanti al trattamento inflitto a Tebe e non disposti a concedere in quel momento attenuanti agli altri Beoti e ai Focesi che sedevano al fianco del vincitore. Se questa interpretazione sembra valere a grandi linee per tutte le nostre fonti, risulta però particolarmente interessante riesaminarla nel caso di Arriano, il quale si sofferma in modo rivelatore sull'episodio.

L'obiettivo principale di queste mie pagine, un po' a metà fra letteratura e storia<sup>4</sup>, è appunto quello di analizzare e di valutare la sua testimonianza sotto questa prospettiva, scegliendo come cartina di tornasole proprio l'accenno a Platea che a mio avviso riveste - nell'economia del commento ampio dedicato all'episodio - una notevole importanza.

A I.8 Arriano richiama esplicitamente la testimonianza di Tolemeo (138F3) sulla meccanica dell'intervento di Alessandro e dei Macedoni nella presa della città; il cap. si conclude (8.9) con la precisazione che l'accanimento maggiore contro gli abitanti proveniva non dai Macedoni ma da Focesi, Plateesi e dagli altri Beoti, che non rispettarono nessuno, né i supplici, né le donne, né i bambini. Su questa chiusa si innesta il commento alla presa e al sacco della città, che risulta nettamente tripartito.

A 9.1-5 Arriano raccoglie degli esempi storici, rivisitati con l'intento di dimostrare che la sventura toccata a Tebe non aveva avuto uguali, sul piano della grandezza, della durezza e dell'imprevedibilità. Il limite fondamentale dell'enumerazione, originato dalla tendenziosità dell'assunto, è che non solo almeno la metà dei casi non è in realtà confrontabile, perché troppo diverse sono le oggettive condizioni degli eventi paragonati, ma anche che lo storico enfatizza in modo artificioso le differenze.

I tre casi citati che appaiono suscettibili di un confronto più pertinenti sono quelli di Platea, di Melo e di Scione, anche se si trattava di località medio-piccole destinate ad imporsi all'opinione ellenica molto meno di Tebe. E mi sembra molto significativo il fatto che mentre di Melo e Scione lo storico ricordi che erano isole - e quindi per così dire sotto la giurisdizione di Atene - e affermi che il massacro delle loro popolazioni recò più disdoro a chi lo perpetrò che sbigottimento ai Greci, invece a proposito di Platea egli liquida molto sbrigativamente il caso dicendo che era stato un piccolo pathema perché piccola era la città e modesto il numero dei giustiziati. A rigor di logica Platea era località più rilevante di Melo o di Scione; inoltre, se la presa della città nel 427 non sorprese nessuno perché era assediata da tre anni, il trattamento

che venne riservato agli arresi non fu in tutto routine bellica né provocò particolari simpatie a coloro che lo decisero; semmai fu la strage ateniese di Scione che si configurò come una risposta a distanza a quella spartano/tebana di Platea. Ma la noncuranza quasi sprezzante dell'accenno a Platea in Arriano emerge compiutamente dal confronto con la seconda sezione del commento, quella in cui viene dato spazio all'interpretazione contemporanea sulla sciagura di Tebe.

A 9.6-8 Arriano riporta in modo anonimo l'opinione - definita non infondata - che un avvenimento così eccezionale andasse ricondotto all'ira divina abbattutasi sui Tebani per le loro colpe. Escludendo l'accenno alla volontà di distruggere Atene nel 404, i 'crimini' dei Tebani si riassumono nel loro passato medesimo (2 accuse) e nel comportamento verso Platea: ma è quest'ultima vicenda ad assorbire il maggior numero di accuse specifiche (3 e parte di una 4°) e ad includere quella, di per sé molto grave, di un massacro non ellenico'.

Pare difficile conciliare l'ou mega pathema di 9.5 con l'ouch Ellenikes sphages di 9.7, riferiti alla medesima vicenda del 427, se non si considera che sono ambedue visioni di parte e che l'uno sembra replicare all'altra. E proprio questo mi fa pensare che sotto 9.1-5 non stia una raccolta convenzionale e libresca ma una rassegna meditata che lascia trapelare polemiche ben più antiche di Arriano.

L'opinione moderna più autorevole circa la testimonianza di Arriano, quella espressa dal Bosworth sulla scorta dello Jacoby si può sintetizzare in due punti:

a - i parr. 1-5 sono 'a purely literary exercise', che ha come filo conduttore un'imitatio tucididea, e sono da ascrivere in toto ad Arriano;<sup>8</sup>  
b - i parr. 6-8 derivano con buona probabilità da Aristobulo.

Sul punto b mi sembra si possa senz'altro concordare, nel senso che l'(anonima) ira divina che punì i Tebani per le loro colpe nei confronti dei Greci, colpe che i contemporanei formalizzarono all'interno del sinedrio, costituisce l'esatta controparte, la lettura antitetica dell'ira di Dioniso che a posteriori avrebbe colpito Alessandro per il trattamento riservato ai Tebani (si presume innocenti). Inoltre, in base alla prima ricostruzione Alessandro risulta ulteriormente alleviato da responsabilità dalla precisazione (9.8) che le onerose iniziative prese nei confronti di Tebe furono frutto della volontà degli alleati ellenici; e che proprio a vantaggio di questi ultimi andassero tali iniziative è confermato dal fatto che ben 3 delle 5 clausole avrebbero in varia misura recato benefici alle città limitrofe (distruzione di Tebe, spartizione del suo territorio, ricostruzione e fortificazione di Orcomeno e di Platea)<sup>9</sup>.

Alla totale estraneità del Macedone alla rovina di Tebe non credevano nemmeno i suoi difensori, ma un accorto bilanciamento delle responsabilità poteva minimizzare la sua parte. Ed è su questo punto che divergono le due sezioni del cap. 9 di Arriano.



La seconda parte - parr.6-8, che lo storico deriverebbe da Aristobulo - sembra avere l'obiettivo di mostrare che: Tebe meritava in una certa misura la punizione divina per la sua slealtà (medismo) e la sua ferocia (massacro di Platea). In altri termini, Aristobulo accoglieva e si faceva portavoce dell'interpretazione dei fatti data dagli alleati greci di Alessandro, interpretazione in base alla quale Alessandro risultava senz'altro in ombra ma essi venivano a loro volta giustificati nel loro drastico operato.

Invece i parr.1-5 mostrano, attraverso l'interpretazione alquanto forzata di una scelta di casi, l'obiettivo di convincere il lettore che: Tebe venne colpita da una sciagura smisurata sotto vari aspetti, e non commisurabile con altre. In questo modo, dal momento che non viene discussa la colpevolezza della città, ancor meno viene chiamato in causa il comportamento di Alessandro, l'una e l'altro letteralmente assenti dal commento.

E nel giudizio minimizzante sull'ou mega pathema di Platea rispetto al pathos...Ellenikon di Tebe sta il nocciolo di un'interpretazione - caratterizzabile come 'tebana'<sup>10</sup> - che viene preannunciata a 8.8, là dove Arriano precisa che dopo l'ingresso in città i Macedoni non si comportarono con rabbia ma che Focesi, Plateesi e gli altri Beoti non ebbero pietà di nessuno: egli seguiva evidentemente una fonte che attribuiva ai Macedoni il consueto comportamento dei vincitori e che additava invece negli alleati greci un esempio di implacabilità che non si arrestava nemmeno davanti alle cose più sacre; la menzione della crudeltà dei Plateesi, già condannata in base all'antitesi con l'atteggiamento dei Macedoni, diviene ancora più condannabile nel momento in cui dai confronti emerge che la sorte toccata alla loro città non giustificava in realtà tanto risentimento e non li candidava al ruolo di vittime.

Il nome della fonte di Arriano si trova citato a 8.1: Tolemeo di Lago. Lo Jacoby<sup>11</sup> che pure è propenso ad estendere la dipendenza da un lato al cap.7 e dall'altro a 10.9, ritiene due inserimenti estranei all'opera del re d'Egitto sia la rassegna di esempi (1-5) sia l'excursus sull'ira divina (6-8): ma se estranei essi risultano fra di loro, perchè testimoni di una diversa interpretazione ed accentuazione delle responsabilità, nella prima si ravvisa, come ho cercato di sottolineare, un'affinità di ottica propria con le notizie sicuramente tolemaiche presenti nell'Anabasi<sup>12</sup>. Arriano, trovando nelle sue guide privilegiate un bilancio sensibilmente differenziato della sventura tebana, ha preferito evitare un'antitesi netta e ha mirato ad una combinazione: ha riportato la valutazione generale data dall'autore che stava già seguendo per la narrazione degli eventi bellici, Tolemeo, e vi ha affiancato a 6.8 - con una ripresa, che mi sembra rivelatrice, sulla gravità del pathos - l'interpretazione accolta da Aristobulo; per concludere in modo tecnico con le decisioni prese dal sinedrio, un'elencazione che a rigor di logica poteva, e direi doveva, trovarsi nelle opere di ambedue gli storici di Alessandro.

1 Per quanto segue rimando alle analisi e alle conclusioni che ho tratto in Platea. Momenti e problemi della storia di una polis, Padova 1988, 133-45.

2 Sui fatti del 335 cfr. B. Gullath, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Boiotiens in der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen, Frankfurt 1982, 20-4 e 60-72; per un aspetto particolare H. Graßl, Alexander der Große und die Zerstörung Thebens, Festschrift G. Wirth, I, Amsterdam 1987, 271-8.

3 Diod. XVII.9-14; Iust. XI.3-4; Plut. Al. 11-2. Particolarmente forte è l'indignazione presente nel testo di Diodoro, mentre il racconto di Giustino, pur cedendo alla drammatizzazione, appare più equilibrato; ancor di più lo è quello di Plutarco, che evidenzia in Alessandro la volontà di sfruttare il caso di Tebe come un exemplum e gli alleati greci come uno schermo. Sulla sua posizione cfr. G. Dobesch, Alexander der Große und der korinthische Bund, GB 1975, sopr. 80-3; G. Wirth, Vermutungen zum frühen Alexander (I), StudClas 1979 = "Studien zur Alexandergeschichte", Darmstadt 1985, sopr. 177-9.

4 Si tratta della continuazione ideale della mia relazione Quattro interpretazioni del "topos plateese" (Erodoto, Tucide, Isocrate, ps. Demostene), tenuta alla 'Sixth International Boeotian Conference', Bradford (26-30 June 1989), in stampa.

5 Arriano ricorda: la spedizione ateniese in Sicilia, la resa di Atene nel 404, le sconfitte di Leuttra e di Mantinea, la presa di Platea nel 427, il trattamento inflitto a Melo e a Scione. Uno spirito analogo pervade l'excursus di Polyb. XXXVIII.2-3, con il quale lo storico vuole dimostrare che la distruzione di Corinto nel 146 non aveva precedenti; ma nella scelta e nel commento dei casi - in parte uguali - non si avvertono, a differenza dell'Anabasi, delle punte polemiche.

6 Naturalmente Scione non è un'isola, pur avendone in un certo senso la conformazione di fatto.

7 Cfr. F. Jacoby, FrGrHist, 2D Komm., 501-2 (ad 138F3); A. B. Bosworth, A historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander, I, Oxford 1980, 84-5.

8 Egli reagiva (139F59) all'idea che la morte di Alessandro fosse dovuta al bere eccessivo quale risultato dell'ira di Dioniso (espressa "a caldo" da Efippo, 126F3), e forse spostava l'accento sui demeriti di Tebe.

9 Il che spiega anche la fedeltà di costoro alla causa macedone in occasione della guerra lamiaca, cfr. Diod. XVIII.11.3-5 e Paus. I.25.4.

10 Mentre il disprezzo che Tolemeo mostra per gli alleati greci di Alessandro può essere una connotazione personale, il giudizio riduttivo sulla bontà delle ragioni di Platea gli deve provenire da una fonte tebana, molto probabilmente da quanti scamparono al massacro in virtù dei loro legami con i Macedoni (Arr. I.9.9).

11 Cfr. Jacoby, FrGrHist, 501.

12 In una rassegna improntata a Tolemeo non stupisce l'assenza (segnalata con perplessità dal Bosworth, A historical..., 85) della distruzione di Olintho, che era una responsabilità macedone non dirottabile sui Greci.

## DIE ARBEITEN DES KRATES ZUR KOPAISENTWÄSSERUNG IM SPIEGEL DER LITERARISCHEN ÜBERLIEFERUNG

Brigitte Gullath,  
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,  
München

### 1. Alexander und Boiotien

Legt man die überlieferte Geschichtsschreibung zugrunde, so ist das Verhältnis Alexanders des Großen zu Boiotien durch ein einziges Ereignis geprägt: den thebanischen Aufstand und die daraufhin erfolgte Zerstörung Thebens durch Alexander und seine Verbündeten. Gegenüber diesem die ganze spätere Antike hindurch als schrecklich empfundenen Strafgericht fällt seine von den Alexanderhistorikern erwähnte Hilfe für den Wiederaufbau von Plataiai und Orchomenos kaum ins Gewicht, die ja auch nur eine Belohnung seiner Bundesgenossen gegen Theben und außerdem die Fortsetzung der schon von Philipp II. um 338 v. Chr. begonnenen Politik war.<sup>1</sup> Daß Alexander in Boiotien daneben noch eine dauerhafte positive Leistung hinterlassen hat, die gründliche Überholung des alten Entwässerungssystems in der Kopais, erfahren wir von den Alexanderhistorikern nicht. Nachdem die archäologischen Überreste dieser Arbeiten in jüngerer Zeit mehrfach behandelt worden sind,<sup>2</sup> soll hier ihr Niederschlag in den literarischen Quellen untersucht werden.

### 2. Die literarische Überlieferung zu Krates

Lediglich bei drei antiken Schriftstellern finden sich kurze Notizen über die Arbeiten des Krates in der Kopais: bei Strabon in der Beschreibung Boiotiens, bei Diogenes Laertios unter dem Namen Krates und im geographischen Lexikon

des Stephanos von Byzanz unter dem Stichwort Athenai.  
Die umfangreichste Quelle zu den Arbeiten des Krates ist Strabon (9, 407):

πάλιν δ' ἐγγουμένων τῶν πόρων, ὁ μεταλλευτῆς Κράτης, ἀνὴρ Χαλκιδεύς, ἀνακαθαίρειν τὰ ἐμφοράγματα <ἄρξας> ἐπαύσατο, στασιασάντων τῶν Βοιωτῶν, καίπερ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστολῇ φησιν, ἀνεψυγμένων ἤδη πολλῶν, ἐν οἷς οἱ μὲν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν οἰκεῖσθαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ὑπελάμβανον, οἱ δ' Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Ἀθήνας παρὰ τὸν Τρίτωνα ποταμὸν.

'Als sich aber die Kanäle<sup>3</sup> wieder verstopften, (begann) der Bergbautechniker<sup>4</sup> Krates, ein Chalkidier,<sup>5</sup> die Verstopfungen auszuräumen, hörte aber wieder auf, als unter den Boiotern Unruhen entstanden, obwohl, wie er in einem Brief an Alexander schreibt, schon viele Gegenden trockengelegt waren, wo die einen das alte Orchomenos vermuteten, die anderen Eleusis und Athenai am Triton.'

Diogenes Laertios (4, 23) erwähnt nur kurz als einen weiteren Krates 'den Kanalbauer,<sup>6</sup> einen Zeitgenossen Alexanders': ταφρωρύχος Ἀλεξάνδρω συνών.

Ausführlicher ist wieder die Nachricht des Stephanos von Byzanz (s.v. Athenai):

(Ἀθήναι) Βοιωτίας, ἣ ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἀναφανείσα μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ἐπικλυσθῆναι τῆς Κωπαίδος, ὅτε Κράτης αὐτὴν διετάφρευσεν. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἡ πόλις, ὡς τινες μὲν φασιν, Ἀθήναι, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀρχομενός, ὡς οἱ Βοιωτοί.

'(Athenai) in Boiotien, das aus dem See auftauchte nach der früheren Überschwemmung der Kopais, als Krates ihn mit Gräben durchzog. Die Stadt wurde Athenai genannt, wie die einen sagen, nach anderen Orchomenos, wie den Boiotern.<sup>8</sup>

Der Informationsgehalt der drei angeführten Stellen ist unterschiedlich. Die meisten Informationen bietet Strabon, obwohl der Text an dieser Stelle gestört ist und möglicherweise einige Worte fehlen. Strabon berichtet von den Verstopfungen in den Kanälen des Kopaisgebiets, die Krates wieder ausgeräumt habe, bezeichnet das trockengelegte Gebiet und nennt Unruhen unter den Boiotern als Grund für die Beendigung der Arbeiten. Vor allem aber überliefert er mit dem Hinweis auf Krates' Brief an Alexander sowohl die Quelle seiner Informationen als auch den Auftraggeber für die Arbeiten des Krates.

Demgegenüber ist Diogenes Laertios wesentlich knapper, der Krates lediglich als Zeitgenossen Alexanders bezeichnet. Seine Benennung als ταφρωρύχος entspricht der Schilderung des Stephanos von Byzanz, daß Krates die Kopais mit Gräben durchzogen habe. Unterscheidet sich die Beschreibung des Stephanos hierin von der Strabons, so stimmt sie in der Bezeichnung der trockengelegten Städte - abgesehen von der Auslassung von Eleusis sowie der zusätzlichen Nennung der Boioter - wieder mit der Strabons überein. Alexander wird bei Stephanos nicht erwähnt.

### 3. Die Quelle der literarischen Überlieferung

So unterschiedlich die drei Texte auf den ersten Blick den Vorgang berichten, im Kern muß ihnen aufgrund der gezeigten Überschneidungen eine gemeinsame Quelle zugrunde liegen.<sup>9</sup>

Zu dieser Quelle, in der sich der von Strabon zitierte Brief des Krates an Alexander fand, lassen sich die folgenden Vermutungen anstellen.

Strabon benützte bei seiner Beschreibung Boiotiens in weiten Passagen Apollodors im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. verfaßten Kommentar zum homerischen Schiffskatalog. Stephanos von Byzanz verwendete sowohl dieses Werk (direkt oder indirekt) als auch Strabon.<sup>10</sup> Da Stephanos in diesem Fall Informationen bietet, die bei Strabon nicht vorkommen, muß seine Quelle hier Apollodor sein. Die Notiz des Diogenes Laertios läßt sich ebenfalls (mittelbar oder unmittelbar) auf diese Quelle zurückführen, da er zum einen - wie Strabon - Alexander erwähnt, zum anderen seine Beschreibung der Arbeiten sich mit der des Stephanos von Byzanz deckt.

Die drei Texte sind somit nicht voneinander abhängig, sondern verwenden verschiedene Angaben aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle. Ihre Unterschiede erklären sich durch Auslassungen.



Apollodors Kommentar führt übrigens, wie sich in Strabons Beschreibung von Boiotien an verschiedenen Stellen zeigt, häufiger unterschiedliche Versionen an, seien es verschiedene historische Zustände<sup>11</sup> oder - wie hier - unterschiedliche Benennungen von schon lange untergegangenen Städten.

#### 4. Der Umfang der Arbeiten des Krates

Die Arbeiten des Krates lassen sich zeitlich zwischen Herbst 335 v. Chr. und Frühjahr 331 v. Chr. festlegen.<sup>12</sup> Ihr genauer Umfang und die Zuordnung archäologischer Überreste zu ihnen sind allerdings nur zum Teil geklärt. Als sicher anzunehmen ist nach Strabon die Reinigung der Kanäle des alten minyschen Bewässerungssystems, zu vermuten ist daneben auch die Reinigung der Katawothren.<sup>13</sup> Dazu kommt nach Stephanos von Byzanz das Anlegen eines Kanals durch die Ebene, den Lauffer 1970 entdeckte und als 'Alexanderkanal' dem Krates zuwies.<sup>14</sup> Dagegen ist die Verbindung des Krates mit den unvollendet gebliebenen Schächten zur Anlegung eines Stollens am Kephalaria-Paß nach wie vor umstritten.<sup>15</sup>

#### 5. Vergleichbare Arbeiten und ihre Überlieferung

Der Grund für die geringe Kenntnis von derartigen Arbeiten liegt im Mangel an ausführlichen literarischen Quellen. Die Tätigkeit Alexanders für die Kopais ist, wie gezeigt, nicht bei den Alexanderhistorikern überliefert, sondern eher zufällig in ganz anderen Zusammenhängen. Alexander veranlaßte später noch öfter wasserbauliche Maßnahmen: bei der Gründung Alexandrias (wieder durch Krates)<sup>16</sup> sowie in Babylonien, wo er das alte mesopotamische Kanalsystem besichtigte

und ausbessern ließ. Nur die zuletzt genannten Maßnahmen sind in der Alexanderhistorie ausführlicher beschrieben.<sup>17</sup> Daß Alexander oder Philipp II. vermutlich auch bei Philippi Sümpfe trockenlegen ließ, ist dagegen nicht in literarischen Quellen überliefert, sondern nur einer erst kürzlich publizierten Inschrift zu entnehmen.<sup>18</sup> Gleichfalls nur epigraphisch überliefert sind auch die um 125 n. Chr. von Hadrian veranlaßten Arbeiten zur Kopaisentwässerung.<sup>19</sup> In der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts wurden auch für die Stadt Eretria Entwässerungsarbeiten durchgeführt, die ausschließlich durch eine Inschrift bekannt sind.<sup>20</sup> Eine Verbindung zwischen diesen Arbeiten und denen des Krates muß allerdings Spekulation bleiben, vor allem da Krates nicht, wie früher angenommen, aus Chalkis stammt. Mit den Arbeiten in Eretria sind eher die in Attika durchgeführten Entwässerungsarbeiten vergleichbar, die durch vier Inschriften des 4. Jahrhunderts bezeugt sind.<sup>21</sup>

#### Anmerkungen

- 1 Vgl. dazu B. Gullath, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Boiotiens in der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen, Frankfurt a.M., Bern 1982 (Europäische Hochschulschriften 3, 169), S. 12-16.
- 2 S. Lauffer, Topographische Untersuchungen im Kopaisgebiet, Arch. Delt. 26, 1971, Chron. 239-245; ders., Topographische Untersuchungen im Kopaisgebiet 1971 und 1973, Arch. Delt. 29, 1973/4, Chron. 449-454. Die Wasserbauten der Minyer in der Kopais, Untersuchungsergebnisse 1984, München 1984 (Institut für Wasserbau und Wassermengenwirtschaft, Techn. Univ. München, Bericht 50) sowie J. Knauss, Die Melioration der Kopais durch die Minyer im 2. Jt. v. Chr., Generelle Forschungsergebnisse 1985-87, München 1987 (Institut für Wasserbau und Wassermengenwirtschaft, Techn. Univ. München, Bericht 57. Kopais 2).
- 3 πύργος bezeichnet z.B. Flußläufe (Liddell-Scott s.v.). An Kanäle denkt auch Kalcyk in: Die Wasserbauten der Minyer, S. 53.

- 4 Übersetzung nach S. Lauffer, Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion, 2. Aufl. Wiesbaden 1979 (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, 11), S. 18.
- 5 Krates stammte nicht, wie meist übersetzt, 'aus Chalkis', sondern aus Olynth und war Bürger des Chalkidischen Bundes, vgl. Gullath, Untersuchungen S. 26f.
- 6 Liddell-Scott s.v. ταφρωρύχος nennt nur diese Stelle.
- 7 Sonst für militärische Befestigungen gebraucht, vgl. Polyb. 3,105,11 und Plut. Pomp. 62.
- 8 Im Widerspruch dazu nennt Paus. 9,24,2 'die Boioter' als Quelle zu Athen und Eleusis. Diese Zuschreibung entstand vermutlich durch Verkürzung.
- 9 Gegen P. Guillon, Les Trépieds du Ptoion, Paris 1943, 2, 187f., der zwei verschiedene Quellen annimmt. Vgl. dazu Gullath, Untersuchungen S. 32 Anm. 3.
- 10 Vgl. B. Niese, Apollodors Kommentar zum Schiffskataloge als Quelle Strabo's, Rhein. Mus. N.F. 32, 1877, S. 267-307 und G. Neumann, Fragmente von Apollodors Kommentar zum homerischen Schiffskatalog im Lexikon des Stephanos von Byzanz, Diss. Göttingen 1953. Niese, a.a.O. S. 276 stellt bereits fest: "sicher ist, dass da, wo Stephanus über Orte des Schiffskatalogs mit Strabo übereinstimmt, ohne aus ihm geschöpft zu haben, die gemeinschaftliche Quelle beider nur Apollodor sein kann."
- 11 Vgl. seine Äußerungen zu Parasopien (9, 409) und zu Medeion (9, 410); dazu B. Gullath, Veränderungen der Territorien boiotischer Städte zu Beginn der hellenistischen Zeit am Beispiel Thebens, in: Boiotika, Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Bötien-Kolloquium, München 1989 (Münchener Arbeiten zur Alten Geschichte, 2), S. 165f.
- 12 Zwischen der Zerstörung Thebens und der Gründung von Alexandria, s. Gullath, Untersuchungen S. 28-31; zu den 'Unruhen', die den Arbeiten ein Ende setzten, ebd. 30f.
- 13 Kalcyk in: Die Wasserbauten der Minyer S. 53 und Knauss, Die Melioration der Kopais S. 137.
- 14 Lauffer, Arch. Delt. 26, 1971, Chron. S. 243 und Arch. Delt. 29, 1973/4, Chron. S. 449f. Zusammenfassung in: ders., Wasserbauliche Anlagen des Altertums im Kopaissee, in: Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Techn. Univ. Braunschweig, Mitteilungen 71, 1981, S. 250-252. Dazu auch Knauss in: Die Wasserbauten der Minyer, S. 233-237 ('Krates-Kanal') und Knauss, Die Melioration der Kopais S. 136-138.
- 15 Zu den bereits 1893 von Kambanis beschriebenen Anlagen zuletzt Kalcyk in: Die Wasserbauten der Minyer S. 245ff.

- Für Krates als Erbauer sprach sich nach Kambanis und Guillon auch Lauffer aus, Rez. P. Guillon, La Bèotie antique, Gnomon 24, 1952, S. 483 und Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Techn. Univ. Braunschweig, Mitteilungen 71, 1981, S. 252, vorsichtiger in dem Vortrag Problèmes du Copais, solutions et énigmes, in: La Bèotie antique, Actes du Colloque International à Lyon-Saint Etienne, 16-20 mai 1983, Paris 1985, S. 103, wo er noch eigene Untersuchungen ankündigte. Dagegen zuletzt Knauss, Die Melioration der Kopais S. 272f.
- 16 Überliefert im Alexanderroman (Ps.-Kallisth. 1,31,9-10), v.a. in der syrischen Fassung, vgl. Gullath, Untersuchungen S. 27f.
  - 17 Arr. 7,21,1-22,5; vgl. S. Lauffer, Alexander der Große, München 1978 (dtv WR, 4298), S. 182f.
  - 18 Publiziert von C. Vatin, Lettre adressée à la cité de Philippe par ses ambassadeurs auprès d'Alexandre, in: 8th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Athens 1982, Athena 1984, 1, 259-270. Vgl. dazu L. Mitsizis, A royal decree of Alexander the Great on the lands of Philippi, Ancient World 12, 1985, S. 3-14. Nichts zur Trockenlegung bei N.G.L. Hammond, The king and the land in the Macedonian kingdom, Classical Quarterly N.F. 38, 1988, S. 382-391.
  - 19 S. J.M. Fossey, The city archive at Koroneia, Euphrosyne N.S. 11, 1981-82, S. 44-59. Auf den Mangel an literarischen Quellen verweist Lauffer in: La Bèotie antique, S. 103.
  - 20 IG XII 9,191 A; vgl. dazu Lauffer, Gnomon 24, 1952, S. 483.
  - 21 S. G. Klaffenbach, OPOI ENNAIAE, MDAI(A) 76, 1961, S. 121-126, bes. 125.

A PROPOSITO DELL'ATTENDIBILITÀ DI PAUSANIA. I BEOTI NEL  
LOGOS CELTICO (X,19,4 ss.)

Cinzia Bearzot,  
Università di Venezia

La critica moderna, antica e recente, concorda nel ritenere poco attendibile il logos del l. X in cui Pausania tratta l'invasione celtica della Grecia nel 279(1). Il racconto deriverebbe infatti da una tradizione tarda e confusa e sarebbe viziato da un esasperato atenocentrismo e da una evidente adesione al modello storiografico erodoteo(2). La narrazione pausaniana, in effetti, non è priva di aspetti di dubbia storicità, collegati soprattutto con il ruolo degli Ateniesi, presentati come i protagonisti assoluti della resistenza anticeltica -soprattutto alle Termopili, ma anche dopo il passaggio dell'Eta e durante la ritirata dei barbari (X,20,5; 21,4-7; 22,12; 23,11)- nonostante le forze molto esigue (1500 uomini in tutto): in particolare, suscitano molte perplessità la presenza, o comunque la funzione, della flotta ateniese e il conferimento del comando supremo a Callippo, stratego del contingente attico(3). Questi ed altri particolari rivelano poi un insistito parallelismo con il racconto erodoteo(4), che ha indotto i critici a dubitare della storicità del racconto pausaniano nel suo complesso e ad inficiarne il valore per la ricostruzione degli eventi del 279. A ciò si aggiunga che Pausania non manca di una sua ben precisa ideologia storica, ispirata ad un radicale atenocentrismo o comunque ad un ellenocentrismo "classicista" che lo induce a privilegiare i protagonisti delle vicende della Grecia classica (VI-IV sec.) rispetto alle nuove forze emergenti nell'ellenismo (5): anche nel nostro caso, il predominio dato, nel racconto, oltre che agli Ateniesi, ai Focesi -protagonisti assoluti della difesa di Delfi (22,11 ss.)-, accompagnato ad un sostanziale oscuramento del ruolo degli Etoli -che della vittoria furono i veri artefici e che ne godettero storicamente i frutti, come Pausania sa e non nega, evitando però di insistervi-, obbedisce alle scelte di fondo che guidano il Periegeta nella valorizzazione del contributo storico offerto dalle diverse stirpi greche(6).

Ma i criteri ispiratori di queste scelte -atenocentrismo, ellenocentrismo "classicista", riproposizione del modello storiografico-

grafico erodoteo- appaiono veramente così condizionanti da togliere attendibilità storica all'intero logos? Ho cercato altrove di dimostrare che anche laddove il peso dell'ideologia e del modello letterario appare maggiore (X,23), esso non è mai tale da inficiare la storicità del racconto (7). Si potrebbe inoltre osservare che, per esempio, il ruolo preciso dei Focesi nella difesa di Delfi scaturisce necessariamente dall'esiguità delle altre forze presenti (22,13), dalla conoscenza dei luoghi, così decisiva nel racconto del Periegeta (23,5), dall'assenza del grosso del contingente etolico, sviato in Etolia dall'attacco diversivo di Acicorio (X,22,2 ss.) e non sembra, pertanto, privo di fondamento storico. Quanto all'oscuramento del ruolo degli Etoli, è vero che Pausania scivola sul loro contributo alla difesa della Grecia -insistendo piuttosto sul fatto che essi, costretti ad abbandonare gli alleati per difendere il proprio paese, collaborarono scarsamente alla salvaguardia di Delfi-, ma non ignora né la forza del contingente etolico, né l'importanza che esso ebbe nello svolgimento generale della guerra, né le celebrazioni della vittoria sui Celti messe in atto dagli Etoli. Infine, al di là dell'accentuazione del loro contributo, l'esiguità delle forze ateniesi viene senz'altro ammessa. L'impressione che se ne trae è che Pausania, nel seguire le proprie linee di ispirazione, si renda certamente responsabile di accentuazioni e di oscuramenti indebiti, ma che, al di là di essi, lasci trapelare la sostanza storica. Sarebbe pertanto fallace respingere in toto il racconto pausania in base agli aspetti, pur giustificatamente dubbi, cui si è accennato, perché esso propone in ogni caso dati che non possono essere spiegati in chiave ideologico-letteraria e sembrano rimandare allo svolgimento effettivo degli eventi.

E' questo, io credo, anche il caso della menzione dei Beoti tra i protagonisti degli avvenimenti nel logos celtico. Essi sono ricordati in primo piano nel catalogo delle forze greche, con il loro forte contributo oplitico (10000 uomini) e i nomi dei quattro beotarchi a capo del contingente (X,20,3). Inoltre Pausania ricorda la loro partecipazione, insieme agli Ateniesi, all'inseguimento dei Galati in ritirata dopo la sconfitta di Delfi (X,23,11). Ne risulta un forte peso militare e un attivo contributo alle operazioni offerto dai Beoti, i quali appaiono un elemento molto significativo dello schieramento panellenico contro i "barbari dell'Oceano"(8). Ora, la diffusa tendenza a svalutare il racconto di Pausania impone di domandarsi fino a che punto questo dato -che non risulta da altre fonti- sia storico o non risenta piuttosto dei condizionamenti ideologici e

letterari cui si è fatto cenno, tenendo conto anche del fatto che il catalogo costituisce una evidente ripresa erodotea e si presta quindi a forzature, e che i Beoti, come è stato notato (9), furono i soli tra i Greci a non lasciare pubbliche celebrazioni della vittoria sui Galati. C'è allora nel pensiero di Pausania qualcosa che poteva indurlo ad accentuare fittiziamente il ruolo dei Beoti?

Si è detto che Pausania privilegia Ateniesi e Focesi sugli Etoli in ossequio alla propria tendenza a valorizzare gli elementi dell'Ellade classica e alla rilettura erodotea, in chiave di riproposizione delle guerre persiane, che egli fa della lotta contro i Galati. Nessuno di questi due orientamenti può giustificare un'accentuazione indebita del ruolo beotico. Se è vero che, teoricamente, la menzione dei Beoti si comprenderebbe all'interno di un criterio "classicista", va però notato che essi non hanno, per Pausania, la rilevanza degli Ateniesi, paladini indiscussi della libertà greca, o dei Focesi, sempre presenti nei momenti "forti" in cui la Grecia si mobilita a difesa dei propri ideali(10): i Beoti, infatti, spesso mancano all'appello in occasioni significative, come le guerre persiane o la guerra lamiaca. A ciò va aggiunto che la Beozia, per l'età ellenistica, è molto trascurata dal Periegeta(11): terra di conquista nelle lotte fra i successori di Alessandro, essa non sembra avere più rilevanza particolare per la storia della libertà greca, non assumendo significative iniziative di contrapposizione nei confronti dei Macedoni. Non si può pertanto affermare che il ricordo dei Beoti nel logos celtico sia guidato da un particolare interesse di Pausania nei loro confronti. Tantomeno è possibile ricondurre la menzione all'influenza erodotea: nel catalogo proposto da Erodoto (VII,203) per il 480, citato dallo stesso Pausania (X,20,1-2), i contingenti beotici (700 Tespiesi e 400 Tebani) sono estremamente esigui, oltre che -per quanto concerne i Tebani- infidi per il sostanziale orientamento medizzante dei Beoti nel loro complesso. Nonostante il rimando esplicito al modello letterario erodoteo, il dato che Pausania fornisce è certamente indipendente da Erodoto. Ne consegue che la menzione dei Beoti e la sottolineatura del loro contributo non possono dirsi condizionate dall'ideologia pausania o dalla preoccupazione di riproporre il modello erodoteo. Esse riflettono un dato storico, e cioè l'effettivo valore dell'apporto beotico alla resistenza anticeltica, apporto che ben si comprende alla luce della potenza della lega beotica all'epoca dei fatti(12) e della percezione particolarmente viva della minaccia celtica nella Grecia centrale. Diversamen-

te dal caso di Atene, la valorizzazione dei Beoti proviene interamente dalla tradizione storiografica contemporanea sull'invasione, che Pausania ha utilizzato (forse direttamente) nel logos. Tradizione da cui emergono chiaramente un filone ateniese, forse di impronta democratico-nazionalista (Democare? Filocoro?), che costituisce la fonte base (I,4 e X,19,4 ss.), e un filone diverso, con una visione più ampia degli avvenimenti (non atenocentrica e interessata anche alla fase macedone e a quella etolica della guerra), utilizzato per integrare aspetti che il primo filone obnubilava e che potrebbe forse essere identificato con Ieronimo di Cardia, autore che Pausania sembra conoscere direttamente e che tiene sempre presente, se non altro come referente negativo(13). Entrambe queste tradizioni avevano interesse, per motivi diversi, a ricordare il ruolo beotico nella resistenza anticeltica: la tradizione democratica ateniese per il sostegno offerto dai Beoti all'Atene di Democare contro Cassandro durante la "guerra dei quattro anni"(14) -l'alleanza è celebrata ancora nel 271/70 nel decreto di Lachete, figlio di Democare, in onore del padre(15)-, Ieronimo per la sua familiarità con il mondo beotico (era stato armosta di Tebe negli anni successivi al 292), pedina fondamentale nella politica greca di Demetrio Poliorcete(16).

Il logos celtico di Pausania non può, quindi, essere liquidato come centone di tradizioni tarde, pesantemente condizionato dal criterio atenocentrico e "classicista" e dalla preoccupazione erodotea. Se è certamente vero che il Periegeta gonfia il contributo ateniese ed enfatizza fin dove può i paralleli con le guerre persiane, tuttavia non può negarsi una sua sostanziale adesione a dati storici che risalgono ad una articolata tradizione contemporanea e che, se pur utilizzati in una prospettiva precisa, non possono per questo dirsi ignorati o stravolti. La attenzione nei confronti dei Beoti, che non si lascia spiegare in chiave diversa, ha certamente un preciso fondamento storico, che del resto non manca del tutto nemmeno in caso di insistite accentuazioni (come a proposito dei Focesi) e che, laddove manca (come forse nel caso degli Ateniesi), obbedisce comunque a linee di deformazione facilmente identificabili e messe talvolta in esplicito rilievo.

Qui come altrove, Pausania, pur con la sua ispirazione erodotea e il suo pensiero storico atenocentrico e "classicista", non appare affatto inattendibile nella sostanza e, lungi dall'essere liquidato con sufficienza, merita di essere preso in attesa considerazione. Quello del logos celtico non è che un esempio che rivela la necessità di riprendere il problema generale

dell'attendibilità di Pausania, con particolare riguardo alla storia ellenistica, per la quale la Periegesi, a motivo del vuoto di tradizione determinato dalla caduta delle fonti primarie (quando non anche di quelle secondarie), costituisce fonte spesso unica e comunque preziosa.

## NOTE

- 1) Cfr. anche I,4. Per la data v. G. Nachtergaele, Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes. Recherches d'histoire et d'épigraphie hellénistique, Bruxelles 1977, 132 ss., 172 ss.
- 2) Bibliografia e problemi in C. Bearzot, Fenomeni naturali e prodigi nell'attacco celtico a Delfi (279 a.C.), CISA XV, Milano 1989, 71-72.
- 3) Chr. Habicht, Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens in 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr., München 1979, 91 ss., con bibliografia precedente.
- 4) Cfr. M. Segre, La più antica tradizione sull'invasione gallica in Macedonia e in Grecia (280-279 a.C.), Historia I,4 (1927), 25 ss.; Nachtergaele, Les Galates..., 140 ss.; Bearzot, Fenomeni..., 72-73.
- 5) C. Bearzot, La Grecia di Pausania. Geografia e cultura nella definizione del concetto di Hellàs, CISA XIV, Milano 1988, 90-112, in particolare 108 ss., con l'ipotesi che il Periegeta identificasse la vera Grecia con l'Ellade anfizionica classica.
- 6) Per tutti questi aspetti v. Bearzot, Fenomeni..., 79 ss.
- 7) Bearzot, Fenomeni..., 73 ss.
- 8) B. Gullath, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Boiotiens in der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen, Frankfurt a.M. 1982, 207 ss.
- 9) Nachtergaele, Les Galates..., 209.
- 10) V. Chr. Habicht, Pausanias und seine 'Beschreibung Griechenlands', München 1985, 105 ss.
- 11) Nel l. IX si parla pochissimo di storia ellenistica: l'unico episodio significativo che viene ricordato è la ricostruzione di Tebe, su cui v. C. Bearzot, Cassandro e la ricostruzione di Tebe: propaganda filellenica e interessi peloponnesiaci, in pubblicazione negli Atti della Sixth International Boeotian Conference, Bradford 26-30 June 1989.
- 12) Nachtergaele, Les Galates..., 143; Gullath, Untersuchungen..., 203 ss.
- 13) Per le citazioni di Ieronimo cfr. I,9,8 = F.Gr.Hist. 154

F 9; I,13,9 = 154 F 15. Per questi problemi rimando al mio lavoro, in preparazione, su Storia e storiografia ellenistica in Pausania il Periegeta.

- 14) Cfr. Gullath, Untersuchungen..., 176 ss.  
 15) Vit. X orat. 851 d-f = F.Gr.Hist. 75 T 1.  
 16) Gullath, Untersuchungen..., 179 ss., 184 ss.

## OVID AND BOIOTIA

Albert Schachter,  
 McGill University

This paper deals first with the Boiotian stories and allusions in Ovid, and second, with some of the poet's friends and their connections with Boiotia. My interest in this subject was aroused by an article by Giampiera Arrigoni, who argued that the sacred grove in which Atalanta and Hippomenes made love was the sanctuary of Demeter Kabeiria and Kore, west of Thebes, Ovid's "Veteres Di" being the Theban Kabiroi. I have gone further still and suggested that the sacred spot about which Ovid wrote was the Kabirion itself.

The Kabirion was a mystery sanctuary, about which very little was written before Pausanias. Any information which Ovid might have obtained about it was therefore more likely to have come from a local informant than from a literary source. For the story (*Met.* 10.560-707), Ovid follows the Hesiodic tradition, where Atalanta is the daughter of Schoineus, eponym of Boiotian Schoinos, and her suitor Hippomenes, rather than the Arkadian version where Atalanta was the daughter of Iasos and her successful suitor Melanion. The two versions were variously contaminated throughout antiquity. Ovid presents two persons called Atalanta, an Arkadian in the hunt for the Kalydonian Boar (*Met.* 8.317ff.), and a Boiotian who raced her suitors to death. Hippomenes was the son of Megareus, son of Onchestus, son of Neptune. This genealogy places the event within a local Boiotian context, in the vicinity of Thebes, specifically between the town of Thebes and its western borders<sup>1</sup>.

What seemed to be the Boiotian flavour of the story led me to wonder, first, whether there were any other examples of this local colouring in Ovid's other Boiotian stories, and second, where he might have acquired it.

The story of Narcissus, conflated by Ovid with that of Echo (*Met.* 3.343-510), was located by Konon at Thespias (*FGrH* 26F1.24). Pausanias (9.31.7) set his versions at Donakon ("Reed Bed"), between Thespias and Thisbe. In Ovid, Narcissus was the son of the river Cephissus and the nymph Leiriope, a name derived from *leirion*, a kind of narcissus. Although no source earlier than Ovid or Konon tells the story, it might have reached them through or from Phanokles, one of the sources for the story of Orpheus, and a possible source of at least one Boiotian story in Propertius, to which I shall return<sup>2</sup>.

The mise-en-scène of three other stories has been moved by Ovid from the west of Boiotia -- usually Orchomenos -- to Thebes. One is the story of Ath-



amas and Ino. Ovid follows the main lines as developed by Euripides, and derived ultimately from the Hesiodic catalogue. In his *Ino* and the first version of the *Phrixos*, Euripides locates the action in Thessaly, but in the second *Phrixos* it is set in Orchomenos. Pseudo-Apollodoros (1.9.1-2) places the scene in "Boiotia". Athamas is normally at home in western Boiotia, and although he marries one of Kadmos' daughters, he comes no closer to Thebes than the Athamantian Plain, in the northeastern corner of Lake Kopais.

The other two stories are found in a version related by Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 10 and 25), and attributed by him to Nikander and the Tanagran poetess Korinna. One (10), which is also told by Plutarch and Ailian, is about the daughters of Minyas, who refused to accept the call to worship Dionysos, and were punished accordingly. All other sources locate the misadventure of the Minyades at Orchomenos, but Ovid (*Met.* 4.1-5.62) sets it at Thebes, and substitutes for the madness of the sisters their metamorphosis into bats.

In the other story (*Met.* 13.675-704) Ovid describes a goblet given to Aeneas by Anius of Delos, a gift he had received from Therses of Thebes, and the work of one Alkon. On it was pictured seven-gated Thebes, and two daughters of Orion, who slew themselves, and from the ashes of whose funeral pyre two youths -- the Coroni or Coronae -- sprang. Orion usually belongs to Hyria, which is traditionally located in eastern Boiotia, so that finding his daughters at Orchomenos, where Antoninus (25) and his sources put them, is interesting in itself. Ovid, as noted, moves the setting to Thebes, and in fact seems to be following a different version from the others, where there is nothing about two youths springing from the ashes, but instead the two girls, Metioche and Menippe, are transformed into comets, and worshipped annually.

The alleged creator of the goblet, Alkon, has an ethnicon which varies with the manuscripts, among Nileus, Lidius, Lindius, and in one correcting hand, Hyleus. The last would make him a Boiotian from Hyle, and has been accepted by modern editors since Merkel. It is seen as a gesture by Ovid to the Homeric shield-maker Tychios of Hyle (*Iliad* 7.219-221). An artist called Alkon who worked in metal is known from a passage attributed to the comic poet Damoxenos (fr. 1 Edmonds; early third century BC), from the *Culex* (66-67), and perhaps -- if it is the same person -- from the Elder Pliny (*Nat.* 34.40 [141]). None of these gives a city of origin, so that the localization may have been Ovid's doing. Homeric Hyle was near Lake Kephisis (*Iliad* 5.709), and is one of those Homeric sites which no longer existed in later antiquity, so that the identification would be a pure fiction on Ovid's part. However, there is epigraphic evidence that a village called Hyla or Hyle existed in the second century BC in the territory of Thespiiai, while Stephanos of Byzantium notes that Hyle was said to have been named after a daughter of Thespius<sup>3</sup>.

Ovid's other Boiotian stories in the *Metamorphoses* do not diverge much

from the canonical versions, but one other may have been his own invention. This is the contest between the Muses of Thespiiai/Helikon and those of Pieria (5.294-678), reminiscent of the contest in Korinna between Kithairon and Helikon, in which the former was victorious (fr. 654 col. 1 *PMG*). Ovid awards the palm to the Helikonian Muses. Here we seem to have a gracious acknowledgement of the art of his Boiotian predecessor, Hesiod, and perhaps a nod in the direction of Thespiiai itself.

The last Boiotian example is also the earliest, and does reflect a source peculiarly Boiotian and unusual even within that tradition. This is the reference in *Amores* 3.32-34 to Thebe as one of the consorts of the river Asopos. Usually she is one of the river god's daughters, and in some traditions is the wife of Zethos. Ovid makes her not only the wife of Asopos, but also the mother of five of his children. The ultimate source of this may be Korinna, a substantial fragment of whose poem on the daughters of Asopos survives (fr. 654 col. iv *PMG*), and it is conceivable that at least some of his Boiotian offspring were fathered on Thebe.

For almost all of these stories a literary source can be postulated. For the daughters of Minyas and the story of Thebe, it might have been Korinna. The deviation in the story of the daughters of Orion suggests either contamination or an intermediary. The story of Narcissus shares its main element, that of a youth who drowns, with other Boiotian tales, but especially that of Argynnos, also connected with the Kephisos. The story of Argynnos is mentioned by Propertius (3.7.21-24), who elsewhere shows some familiarity with and interest in things Boiotian. Both he and Ovid may have shared the same source, perhaps Phanokles (see *Coll. Alex.* 108F5). On the other hand, the story of Argynnos can be traced back at least to Aristophanes of Boiotia (*FGrH* 379F9) and Likymnios of Chios (fr. 768 *PMG*), and may have been referred to in the Hesiodic Catalogue (fr. 70 M-W). Argynnos seems to have been named after a place near the north-east Kopais, and at least two proper names of Boiotians, derived from Argynnos, appear on inscriptions, one from near Kopai (*IG* 7.2781 and *SEG* 15.161). So this too is a local Boiotian legend in origin, and perhaps both it and the story of Narcissus were transcribed by an early cataloguist.

I have also noted that Ovid followed the Hesiodic cataloguist for the genealogy of Atalanta. But in addition to this, he depended for one incident on autopsy or personal anecdote, that is the story of the defilement of the sanctuary of the "Veteres Di". If these were the Theban Kabiroi, then knowledge of the site must have been gained on the spot.

Even Ovid's displacement of three stories to Thebes, far from betraying his ignorance, might be said to reflect his familiarity with contemporary Boiotia. In his time, Boiotian Orchomenos was insignificant and hardly a site worthy of great events. In fact, the only Orchomenos of which Ovid does take note is the Arkadian one (*Met.* 5.607 and 6.416). Thebes, on the other hand, although much reduced from its former dimensions, was still a relatively prosperous and lively town. Strabo, in calling Thebes little

more than a village (9.2.25 [403]), is following a rhetorical tradition in which the fate of Thebes exemplifies how the mighty are brought low. In fact, under the Empire, Thebes was prosperous enough to undertake major reconstruction at the Kabirion, and important enough to have its own local mint, a distinction it shared in Boiotia with Tanagra and Thespiiai.

Ovid's use of Boiotian themes goes back to the earliest stages of his poetic career, the second last decade of the first century BC. The poetess Korinna, a possible source for at least some of these themes, seems not to have come to public attention outside Boiotia until the first century BC, and then mostly as the subject of learned grammatical comment<sup>4</sup>. As she wrote in the Boiotian dialect, it is more likely than not that the stories came to Ovid and Propertius through some intermediary, either by word of mouth or in the form of a mythographical handbook. A handbook dealing with Boiotian stories drawn from Boiotian literary sources -- Korinna, Hesiodic catalogues -- might have been put together in Boiotia itself, and we can now direct our attention there.

Any connection Ovid may have had with Boiotia would have been through the family of Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus, Octavian's naval commander at Actium, who had a solid reputation as an orator and man of letters. He was at the centre of a literary circle which included Tibullus, and he befriended Ovid at the outset of his literary career. The poet later counted Messalla's two sons among his own friends, although they distanced themselves from him during his exile. Of these sons, the elder was Marcus Valerius Messalla Messallinus, cos. 3 BC, slightly younger than Ovid. The younger brother was Marcus Aurelius Cotta Maximus. He was consul in 20 AD, and his birth must have postdated his brother's by so long that Syme postulated a different mother for each.

Messalla Corvinus, the father, was the great-grandfather of Statilia Messallina, the last wife of Nero. Her mother was a sister of Titus Statilius Taurus, cos. 44 AD, and Titus Statilius Corvinus, cos. 45 AD. Their father was Titus Statilius Taurus, cos. 11 AD. It has been surmised, from his son's cognomen Corvinus, that this Titus Statilius Taurus married a sister of Cotta Maximus, that is, a daughter of Messalla Corvinus by his second marriage, who appears in the genealogy as Valeria.

Titus Statilius Taurus, cos. 11 AD, and his brother Sisenna Statilius Taurus, are held by Syme to have been the younger brothers of the monetalis Statilius Taurus, who predeceased them, and, accordingly, sons of that Titus Statilius Taurus who was commander of Octavian's land forces at Actium, and, therefore, a close colleague of Messalla Corvinus. Of the sons of Taurus, the younger, Sisenna, is known for being the later owner of Cicero's town house, while Titus' only claim upon posterity has been his being grandfather of Statilia Messallina and father of two consuls. It is through the two brothers, Sisenna and Titus, that the road leads us back to Boiotia. Here the evidence is entirely from inscriptions and comes almost exclusively from Thespiiai<sup>5</sup>.

The region of Thespiiai had been the centre of activity for Italian negotiatores since the second century BC. Many of them had substantial holdings in the area. The Statilii Tauri were chief among those who had interests in Thespiiai, and exercised their patronage directly on leading families of the region. The funereal monument of the Statilii in Italy includes several names of freedmen and other dependents who obviously came from the region of Thespiiai, such as Eros, Helikon, Spinther, Musaeus, and even one Eros Boeotianus.

Sisenna Statilius Taurus is mentioned in an inscription from Thespiiai in which his wife or daughter is honoured by the city, while Titus was honoured in an inscription from Megara<sup>6</sup>.

A Titus Statilius Taurus -- either Octavian's marshal or the consul of 11 AD -- appears on an inscription which commemorates the dedication of a statue of Taurus, the patron, by Polykratides, the priest, the latter being a member of a leading Thespian family. Since there is no recipient deity named, it is to be assumed that Taurus himself had been deified, presumably after his death. This assumption is supported by a number of boundary stones, all inscribed θεοῦ Ταύρου, "property of the god Taurus". While it was unusual under the Empire for a mortal not connected with the imperial family to be deified, the apotheosis of prominent Romans was less rare under the Republic, especially in the east. On the whole, it seems likely that the Taurus deified at Thespiiai was the older rather than the younger bearer of the name.

Roughly contemporary with this would have been the appearance of the name Polykratides near the head of a fragmentary list of victors in the athletic agon, the Erotideia and Romaia, which is dated firmly between 2 BC and 6 AD, by the appearance on it of a victorious chariot raced -- in the sense of entered -- by the future emperor Tiberius. Tiberius was a friend of Messalla Corvinus, and both of Messalla's sons also enjoyed his favour. Perhaps, therefore, Tiberius' entry in the race at Thespiiai was no mere coincidence. The only other similar event we know of is a victory won by his equipage at the much more famous Olympic Games<sup>7</sup>.

Messalla's friendship with Tiberius was converted by his sons into something more like adulation. Messallinus distinguished himself for his "pietas in totum nomen Iuli" (Ovid, *Pont.* 2.2.21). At the first meeting of the Senate after the death of Augustus, he proposed that the oath of allegiance to the ruler be renewed annually, and, some years later, he proposed that public thanksgiving be rendered not only to Tiberius but also to the women of the imperial family<sup>8</sup>.

At Thespiiai too, there was public devotion to the imperial household. Augustus died on August 19th, 14 AD, and was deified on September 17th. Scarcely two months later, on November 12th, 14 AD, a group of Thespians, nineteen in all, comprising four Roman citizens, five Greeks, and ten liberti, made a joint dedication, which has been interpreted as referring to the

cult of the newly deified Augustus. Of the ten freedmen, four are identified as liberti of Titus Statilius Taurus.

More striking still is the devotion to the mother of Tiberius, Livia, restyled Julia Augusta under the terms of Augustus' will in August or September 14 AD. For a time the combined athletic Erotideia and musical Mouseia bore the additional titles Kaisareia and (Agon) of Julia Augusta respectively. Livia/Julia was even, on at least one occasion, identified with Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses. This appears at the beginning of a victors' list; after the three conventional initial competitions (for trumpeter, herald, epic poet) there follows a list of victorious enkomio-graphoi, one for Augusta Julia Mnemosyne, one for Taurus, one for the Muses, one for Messaleinos. Clearly these are Titus Statilius Taurus and his brother-in-law. Perhaps this stone marked the celebration of the Erotideia and Mouseia held soon after the death of Augustus and the elevation of Livia, which could have taken place as early as November 14 AD, for we know that, at least in the second century AD, the Mouseia took place at that time of year<sup>9</sup>.

This is some distance from Ovid, growing old and disillusioned in Pontos, but is more evidence, if it were needed, of his erstwhile friends' undying concern for their influence at court.

To end on a more cheerful note. Messalla Corvinus, brother-in-law of the first Titus Statilius Taurus and father-in-law of the second, was, as has been noted, a man of letters. One of his works is said to have been a translation of Hypereides' speech in defence of the hetaira Phryne. Phryne was a girl from Thespiiai, who retired there after her labours, and is even said to have offered, without success, to pay for the reconstruction of Thebes. Could Messalla have found the Greek original of the speech at Thespiiai?

As for Ovid and his Boiotian sources, it must be remembered that he, like many others of his time and class, finished his formal education at Athens, from which he could easily have visited Thespiiai with his friends. His literary sources may have come to him through them from Thespiiai, in whose territory was the sanctuary of the Muses, the original Mouseion, a reasonable site to house a repository of literature by and about Boiotians. There ought at least to have been a copy of Korinna's poetry and any poems attributed, rightly or wrongly, to Hesiod<sup>10</sup>.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> G. Arrigoni, *Scripta Philologica* 2 (1982) 7-68. The Kabirion: A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2 (London 1986) 90. Ovid and Atalanta: F. Bömer, *Ovid: Metamorphosen X-XI* (Heidelberg 1980) 188-189.

<sup>2</sup> Phanokles: M. Marcovich, *AJPhil* 100 (1979) 360-366.

<sup>3</sup> Alkon: Knack, *RE Suppl.* 1 (1903) sv "Alkon" (8) 63; M. T. Morelli, *EAA* 1

(Rome 1958) sv "Alkon" 261. Thespian Hyla/Hyle: *AAA* 3 (1970) 102-105 (see *Bull. épigr.* 71.340 for the text).

<sup>4</sup> D. L. Page, *Corinna* (London 1963) 69-70.

<sup>5</sup> Ovid and the family of Messalla Corvinus: R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford 1986) 492 (index sv Ovid); *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978) 114-134. Valeria: R. Syme (1986 above) 240. The monetalis: R. Syme (1986 above) 376-377. Cicero's house: Velleius Paterculus 2.14.3; R. Syme (1986 above) 375-377.

<sup>6</sup> Negotiatores: P. Roesch, *Études Béotiennes* (Paris 1982) 171-177. Monument of the Statilii: *CIL* 6.6215, 6216, 6221, 6225, 6246, 6274-6276, 6281, 6299, 6435 (Eros); 6221 (Helikon); 6301 (Spinther); 6215, 6216, 6220 (Musaeus); 6436 (Eros Boeotianus). Sisenna at Thespiiai: *IG* 7.1854. Titus at Megara: *IG* 7.86.

<sup>7</sup> Statue of Taurus: *BCH* 26 (1902) 291.1. Polykratides and his family: C. P. Jones, *H.St.Class.Phil.* 74 (1970) 223-255. The god Taurus: P. Roesch (above, note 6) 181 note 180. Apotheosis: L. Moretti, *Athenaeum* 59 (1981) 76-77. Erotideia inscription: *SEG* 22.385, and see *Bull. épigr.* 59.184.

<sup>8</sup> R. Syme (1986, above, note 5) 233-234; (1978, above, note 5) 128-129.

<sup>9</sup> Dedication of November 12, 14 AD: *CIL* 3 *Suppl.* 7301, and see P. Roesch (above, note 6) 173.26. The victors' list: *SEG* 31.514, and see A. Schachter (above, note 1) 148 note 11, and 173-175. M. Kajawa, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 139-149, would assign all references to Titus Statilius Taurus to the first of that name (cos. 37 B.C.), including the recipient of the enkomion in *SEG* 31.514. But in that case, how is one to account for Messallinus and Livia/Julia?

<sup>10</sup> Phryne's trial and Messalla: Quintilian 1.5.61 and 10.5.2. The Mouseion: A. Schachter (above, note 1) 156-163.

Ettore Cingano,  
Università di Urbino

Nei frammenti papiracei del Catalogo esiodeo, pubblicati ai primi del secolo, che riportano la lista dei pretendenti di Elena (frr. 196-204 M.-W.), i versi dedicati ad Aiace Telamonio costituiscono un caso a parte (fr. 204.44-51). Se sono infatti indiscutibili le affinità e le coincidenze che collegano la lista esiodea dei pretendenti al Catalogo delle navi omerico anche nella scelta degli eroi menzionati, i versi esiodei concernenti Aiace presentano invece notevoli divergenze di non facile spiegazione rispetto alla già problematica menzione di questo eroe nell'Iliade (2.557 sg.). Si può anzi affermare che, seppure per ragioni diverse, il passo esiodeo suscita ancora più perplessità di quello omerico. Conviene riportare in primo luogo i due passi corrispondenti:

Hes. fr. 204.44-51

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀμύμητος πολεμιστῆς  
μνάτο· δίδου δ' ἄρα ἔδνα ἐ[ο]ικότα, θαυματὰ ἔργα·  
οἳ γὰρ ἔχον Τροίζῃνα καὶ ἀγ[χ]ίαιον Ἐπίδουρον  
νῆσόν τ' Αἴγινα Μάσητά τε κοῦρο[ι] Ἀχαιῶν  
καὶ Μέγαρα σκιδόεντα καὶ ὄφρουόεντα Κόρινθον,  
Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε παρέξ ἄλλα ναιεταῶσας,  
τῶν ἔφατ' εἰλίποδάς τε βόας κ[α]ὶ ἰ[φ]ία μῆλα  
συνελάσας δάσειν· ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχεϊ μακρῶϊ.

Il. 2.557-570

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,  
στήσε δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.  
Οἳ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν,  
Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε, βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἐχούσας,  
Τροίζῃν Ἠϊόνας τε καὶ ἀμπελόεντ' Ἐπίδουρον,  
οἳ τ' ἔχον Αἴγινα Μάσητά τε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,  
τῶν αὐτ' ἠγεμόνευε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης  
καὶ Σθένελος...  
τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' Εὐρύαλος τρίτατος κίεν...  
...Οἳ δὲ Μυκήνας εἶχον, εὐκτίμενον πολλέθρον,  
ἀφνειὸν τε Κόρινθον...

Il passo esiodeo è stato oggetto di un recente studio di Margalit Finkelberg, che dopo aver lamentato la scarsa attenzione finora dedicata a questi versi ne ha proposto una nuova interpretazione (1). La F. ricorda inizialmente i punti di convergenza tra la versione esiodea e quella omerica (p. 33 sg.): le identiche 'formule', in identica sede, concernenti sia Aiace (Hes. fr. 204.44/Il. 2.557) sia il binomio Ermione-Asine, accompagnato da espressioni metricamente equivalenti (vv. 49/560), l'identità dei vv. 47/562 con la sola eccezione del primo piede, la comune presenza del nesso *Τροίζηνά... Ἐπίδαυρον* con due epiteti isometrici (vv. 46/561). In contrasto con questi elementi di convergenza M.F. individua nelle due versioni quattro punti di divergenza "especially instructive" (p. 34 sg.): a) l'epiteto *ἀγγάλων* attribuito da Esiodo a Epidauro (v. 46) ricorre sia in Omero sia (nella medesima sede metrica) in h. Del. Ap. 32 e risulta quindi più tradizionale e appropriato del corrispondente omerico *ἀμπελόεντ'* (v. 561), che è forma isolata nel repertorio epico b) analogamente, l'espressione esiodea *παρ᾽ ἄλλα ναϊεταώσας* (v. 49) riferita a Ermione e Asine richiama un nesso epico frequente, ed è inoltre immune dall'errore geografico contenuto nell'equivalente espressione omerica *βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἔχούσας* (v. 560), dato che Ermione e Asine non sono situate sul medesimo golfo c) l'epiteto *ὄφρυόεντα* con cui Esiodo ricorda (v. 48) la natura del terreno di Corinto sembra essere più antico dell'equivalente omerico *ἀφνειόν* (v. 570), che allude all'opulenza della città e non può quindi essere anteriore al sec. VIII a.C. d) h. Del. Ap. 31 e Certamen 292 confermano che il nesso *νῆσόν τ' Ἀΐγιναν* usato da Esiodo (v. 47) è un'autentica formula epica della quale il corrispondente iliadico *οἷ τ' ἔχον Ἀΐγιναν* (v. 562) è solo un'incolore e recenziere modifica. Lungi dall'essere occasionali modifiche del preesistente testo omerico, queste divergenze dimostrano secondo M.F. che il fr. 204.44-51 rappresenta una "genuine traditional version" indipendente da quella di Il. 2.557-570 e con essa incompatibile. La descrizione esiodea dei territori di Aiace rifletterebbe una diversa tradizione epica pienamente attendibile e preferibile a quella omerica; Esiodo rivaluterebbe qui l'importanza di Aiace rispetto alla sua "underrepresentation" implicita nel Catalogo iliadico, ridimensionando al tempo stesso il territorio di Argo controllato da Diomede (Il. 2.559-568), la cui estensione è sproporzionata rispetto al territorio del comandante supremo Agamennone (Il. 2.569-580)(2).

Dal riassunto precedente appare chiaro l'intento di M.F. di svalutare le espressioni omeriche divergenti da quelle esiodee, al fine di conferire il maggior grado di autorità e di antichità possibile alla versione esiodea e accreditarne quindi l'originalità e l'indipendenza da quella omerica. Non mi sembra tuttavia che le poche divergenze tra i due passi possano essere interpretate nel senso proposto dalla F.: quanto al punto b), vorrei osservare che Omero non commette in realtà nessun erro-

re geografico, poiché si limita ad affermare con un'unica espressione non che Ermione e Asine sono situate nel medesimo golfo, bensì che entrambe si trovano su di un golfo (3). Per quanto concerne il punto d), il nesso omerico *οἷ τ' ἔχον Ἀΐγιναν* (Il. 2.562) è senz'altro più banale, ma è altrettanto formulare dell'esiodico *νῆσόν τ'* (v. 47), come dimostra la sua frequente ricorrenza proprio nel Catalogo delle navi (4), e non può dunque essere considerato una tarda modifica del corrispondente nesso esiodeo. E' inoltre da notare che l'epiteto *ἀγγάλων* del fr. 204.46 ricorre due volte sempre nel Catalogo iliadico (Il. 2.640, 690), e che l'opulenza di Corinto evocata in Il. 2.570 è ricordata in un altro canto sempre con l'epiteto *ἀφνειός* (Il. 13.664, attribuito a un cittadino di Corinto), mentre l'esiodico *ὄφρυόεντα* (fr. 204.48) è attribuito di Corinto in un oracolo delfico (Herodt. 5.92.3) di epoca probabilmente più tarda. Le poche divergenze lessicali dei versi esiodei non permettono in definitiva di stabilire una priorità cronologica o una maggiore autenticità della versione esiodea: esse offrono piuttosto un solo dato incontestabile e certo non sorprendente, ovvero che Esiodo si muove nel solco di una tradizione epica non esclusivamente omerica (5).

A un'analisi più approfondita emerge invece un'articolata griglia di convergenze e di significativi parallelismi. In primo luogo si deve osservare che il v. 46 del fr. 204 è formato dalla combinazione dell'incipit di Il. 2.562 con il v. 561, ripreso quasi per intero (6): quello che nel Catalogo delle navi è un canonico verso di presentazione dei vari contingenti achei non trova invece altro riscontro in Esiodo, così come l'elenco di città del fr. 204.46-49 è tanto tipico dell'intero Catalogo omerico (Il. 2.494-755) quanto esso è estraneo al catalogo dei pretendenti esiodeo, dove la presentazione degli altri eroi è organizzata secondo uno schema narrativo affatto diverso (7). E' inoltre importante notare che la correlazione dei pronomi dimostrativi *οἷ...τῶν* (vv. 46/50) su cui si impernia il passo esiodeo riprende l'identica correlazione *οἷ...τῶν* di Il. 2.562/563: la dipendenza di Esiodo dai versi omerici è confermata dal fatto che questo tipo di epanalessi è la norma sintattica costante nel Catalogo delle navi, mentre rimane un caso unico sia nel catalogo dei pretendenti sia nelle restanti opere esiodee (8). La struttura sintattica del passo esiodeo ricalca dunque fedelmente quella del passo omerico, ed è questo un fatto indicativo se si considera che nel fr. 204.50 il dimostrativo *τῶν* introduce, come si vedrà, un'idea alquanto diversa da quella espressa nei corrispondenti versi omerici, in cui *τῶν* appartiene a una struttura formulare contenente il nome dei comandanti achei (9). Sul piano del lessico, il calco omerico affiora anche negli ultimi due versi esiodei (v. 50 sg.): al v. 50 nell'espressione *βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα*, una formula omerica frequente nella stessa sede del verso; particolarmente istruttivo è il confronto con Od. 18.275-279, che ricorda la consuetudine dei pretendenti di portare *βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα*

in dono alla famiglia della giovane richiesta in sposa. Infine, il secondo emistichio del v. 51, ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχει μακρῶι, richiama la quasi identica espressione ἐγγείηι δ' ἐκέκαστο riferita nel Catalogo delle navi ad Aiace Oileo (Il. 2.530) pochi versi prima della menzione del suo omonimo Telamónio (v. 557). Nel verso esiodeo la forma verbale ἐκέκαστο è combinata con la formula omerica ἔγχει μακρῶι, che ricorre nella stessa sede metrica nell'Iliade ed è riferita due volte (su 5 ricorrenze) proprio ad Aiace Telamónio (Il. 13.177; 15.745); non sarà dunque azzardato concludere che il conio del v. 51 è stato suggerito all'autore di questi versi dall'associazione omerica del nome di Aiace (Telamónio ed Oileo) con i vocaboli in questione (10).

Resta ora da accertare se, nonostante la struttura sintattica mutuata da Omero e la prevalenza del lessico omerico su quello di altra tradizione epica, la versione offerta da Esiodo nel fr. 204.44-51 riguardo ai territori di Aiace sia effettivamente originale e indipendente da Omero. In realtà, come aveva rilevato W. Leaf agli inizi del secolo, una corretta lettura del testo evidenzia che - al pari di Omero - Esiodo non attribuisce ad Aiace alcun territorio se non quello di Salamina (11). Le città di Trezene, Epidaurò, Egina, Masete, Megara, Corinto, Ermione e Asine non sono infatti indicate come appartenenti ad Aiace, ma come territori che egli - nello spirito della migliore tradizione epica - si propone di assalire per incrementare la quantità di doni da offrire alla famiglia di Elena. Manca nel testo esiodeo qualsiasi espressione simile a quelle del Catalogo omerico (ved. supra, n. 9), che indichi il dominio di Aiace sulle città menzionate, mentre - come notava Leaf (art. cit.) - il verbo (συν)ἐλαύνειν e l'accento al suo valore guerriero al v. 51 costituiscono un esplicito riferimento all'azione ostile che Aiace è pronto a intraprendere contro i vicini (12). Per concludere, mi sembra che nei vv. 44-51 si debba semplicemente individuare il tentativo (fallito) di un mediocre rapsodo - certo non Esiodo - di età tardoarcaica (VI sec.) di innovare o di rinvigorire la figura di Aiace rispetto ai due succinti versi omerici (13). Ma il frammento 204 dimostra proprio che quel rapsodo non conosceva su Aiace nessuna versione alternativa a quella interpolata e insoddisfacente del Catalogo omerico, del quale offre un inattendibile centone (14). Come spero di aver dimostrato nella precedente disamina, l'ignoto rapsodo si è limitato - in un'epoca di trasmissione e conoscenza orale del repertorio epico (15) - a ricomporre una breve sequenza nella quale ha utilizzato i versi omerici contigui alla menzione di Aiace che elencano le città più vicine a Salamina (Il. 2.559 sgg.), operando le censure e le suture indispensabili per conservare un margine di credibilità alla 'nuova' versione. Si spiegano con questo procedimento compositivo fatti diversi quali l'inevitabile omissione di Argo, troppo connotata come capitale del regno di Diomede, e della vicina Tirinto (Il. 2.559)(16), l'immutata struttura sintattica e l'anomalia del verbo

ἐκέκαστο, privo del complemento oggetto. Il Peloponneso orientale viene dunque trasformato senza ulteriori precisazioni in un'anonima terra di conquista per Aiace, non senza qualche incongruenza, dato che Asine, situata all'interno del golfo Argolico, è assai vicina ad Argo ma distante da Salamina, come pure distante è Ermione; è probabile che le due città, poste nello stesso verso, siano state conservate nel testo esiodeo per un mero automatismo mnemonico (17). Geograficamente plausibili sono l'inserimento di Corinto, 'prelevata' dal dominio di Agamennone, e quello inedito di Megara (v. 48), che tradisce tuttavia nell'epiteto οκιόεντα la scarsa abilità del rapsodo: come già aveva notato Porfirio, abbiamo infatti qui la trasposizione meccanica della formula odissiaca μέγαρα οκιόεντα, "(nella) sala ombrosa" (cfr. e.g. Od. 1.365), qui risemantizzata nell'inedita e meno plausibile espressione "Megara ombrosa" (18).

Vorrei infine ricordare che i numerosi problemi posti dal Catalogo omerico per quanto concerne Salamina e Argo non sarebbero affatto risolti nell'eventualità che il fr. 204 M.-W. tramandi un'autentica versione alternativa, ma prenderebbero soltanto una nuova forma (19). Per limitarmi ad Argo, il dominio di Diomede, Stenelo ed Eurialo si eserciterebbe secondo la versione esiodea sulla sola Tirinto, se tutte le altre città citate nel fr. 204.46-49 fossero sotto il diretto controllo di Aiace; i tre capi argivi si troverebbero dunque a regnare su di un territorio praticamente inconsistente, pressati a nord da Agamennone, a est da Aiace e a ovest dagli Arcadi (cfr. Il. 2.603 sgg.)(20). E' questa un'ipotesi chiaramente inaccettabile sia se riferita all'età remota di Argo, se solo si considera la sua importanza nel Ciclo tebano e in altre saghe epiche, sia se riferita alla storia arcaica, se si pensa al ruolo egemonico di Argo nel sec. VII al tempo del re Fidone (21).

## NOTE

- \* Per una maggiore chiarezza ho evitato di rinchiudere ogni volta tra virgolette i nomi 'Esiodo' e 'Omero' e gli aggettivi corrispondenti.
- 1 M. Finkelberg, "Ajax's entry in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women", CQ 38 (1988) 31-41. Tra i pochi studiosi che hanno indagato questi versi stupisce di vedere ignorato dalla F. J. Schwartz, Pseudo-Hesiodica (Leiden 1960) 414-423, 487 sgg.
- 2 Le tesi di M.F. qui riassunte si trovano alle pp. 33, 35 sgg. dell'art.cit.
- 3 Così interpreta l'espressione anche G.S. Kirk, The Iliad: a Commentary I (Cambridge 1985) 209.



- 4 Il. 2.603, 730, 735 e 683, 695, 729, 734 (οἱ τ' εἶχον). Sulla variante  $\nu\eta\sigma\acute{o}\nu \tau'$ , presente anche nel Certamen 292 Allen, cfr. Strab. 8.6.16.
- 5 Significative le convergenze del fr. 204.46 sg. (ved. supra, punti a e d) con h.Del.Ap. 31 sg., anch'essi parte di un catalogo di città. Un'altra formula non omerica nel fr. 204.45 è  $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , sulla cui antichità divergono C.O. Pavese, Studi sulla tradizione epica rapsodica (Roma 1974) 70 sg. e R. Janko, Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns (Cambridge 1982) 137. Buona parte del formulario epico del passo esiodico è analizzata da W.D. Meier, Die epische Formel im pseudohesiodischen Frauenkatalog (Zürich 1976) 95 sg., 175 sgg., 178 sg., 184 sgg.
- 6 L'omissione della città di Eione (Il. 2.561) dal v. 46 del passo esiodico si spiega appunto con la mancanza di spazio nel nuovo esametro.
- 7 Anche Schwartz, op. cit., 414 attribuisce la diversa struttura della notizia su Aiace in Esiodo (alla quale egli affianca la contigua notizia su Elpenore, fr. 204.52 sgg.) rispetto a quelle sugli altri pretendenti al fatto che essa si ispira "visiblement" al Catalogo delle navi omerico. Sullo schema della lista dei pretendenti ved. M.L. West, The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women (Oxford 1985) 114 sgg.
- 8 Un solo altro esempio, diverso nella forma (οἱ μὲν/τοῖσιν δέ) e in un contesto non catalogico, è in Sc. 310/312. Esempi di epanalessi οἱ/τῶν nel Catalogo omerico: vv. 507/509, 546/552, 569/576, 591/601; su questi nesi cfr. M. Cantilena, Ricerche sulla dizione epica (Roma 1982) 206 sg.
- 9 La formula più frequente sembra essere composta da τῶν + ἡγεμόνευε (ο ἦρχε) + nome del comandante: ved. e.g. Il. 2.563, 540, 552, 576. Il valore di appartenenza espresso dal genitivo τῶν in Hes. fr. 204.50 trova un preciso corrispondente in Il. 2.509: τῶν...βόας/τῶν...νέες.
- 10 L'espressione esiodea così formata comporta un'anomalia grammaticale, perché nella dizione epica la forma ἐκέκαστο e le altre forme del verbo sono sempre accompagnate dal complemento oggetto, qui sottinteso: cfr. in partic. Il. 2.530; 14.424 sg.; 16.808; Od. 2.158; Hes. Sc. 4.
- 11 W. Leaf, CR 24 (1910) 179 sg., in risposta all'interpretazione di T.W. Allen in CQ 3 (1909) 83 sgg., in parte modificata in CR 24 (1910) 241. M.F. definisce (art. cit., 32 n. 6) "probabile" l'obiezione di Leaf, per poi trascurarla nella sua argomentazione e riprendere in buona parte le tesi di Allen.
- 12 (Συν)ἐλάυνειν nel senso di "rapire, rubare" bestiame: Il. 1.154; 11.677. Sul tipico motivo epico della razzia di bestiame ved. P. Walcot, History of Religions 18 (1979) 326 sgg.

- 13 Altri indizi di scadente tecnica compositiva nella lista dei pretendenti: trocheo nel primo piede nei fr. 204.54; 199.3 (unici casi in Esiodo, cfr. M.L. West, Hesiod. Theogony (Oxford 1966) 92 e R. Merkelbach, Die Hesiodfragmente auf Papyrus (Leipzig 1957) 25 ad v. 14); goffe riprese omeriche in fr. 198, v. 2, su cui ved. M. Parry, The Making of Homeric Verse (Oxford 1971 = 1928) 237 sg., e v. 9 (cfr. West, Hesiodic Catalogue cit., 115 e 129 sg. per altri esempi).
- 14 E' questa anche l'ipotesi di U. von Wilamowitz in Berliner Klassiker-texte V 1 (1907) 37sg. e di Schwartz, op. cit., 422 sg. Non intendo ovviamente negare qui l'esistenza di altre tradizioni epiche su Aiace.
- 15 Osserva a ragione Janko, op. cit., 248 n. 39 che nel fr. 204.46, 48 "The variations...suggest oral knowledge and recomposition"; utili osservazioni su questo aspetto anche in G.P. Edwards, The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context (Oxford 1971) 84.
- 16 Lo stato lacunoso dei papiri non rivela se gli Argivi Diomede, Stenelo ed Eurialo fossero inclusi nella lista dei pretendenti, come è probabile: cfr. West, Hesiodic Catalogue cit., 117. Da Argo il fr. 197.6 menziona invece a sorpresa, in un contesto peraltro oscuro (cfr. v. 7 sgg.), i due figli di Anfiarao, dei quali il solo Anfilocho è ricordato da un'altra fonte tra i pretendenti di Elena (Ps. Apolod. Bibl. 3.10.8); l'inclusione di Alcmeone sarebbe dunque un tratto peculiare della versione esiodea.
- 17 Una diversa ipotesi sulla scelta delle città in Meier, op. cit., 185.
- 18 Porphy. Quaest. hom. Od., p. 22.9 Schrader; sull'espressione ved. G.S. Korres, Athena 72 (1971) 216; Meier, op. cit., 178 sg.
- 19 In assenza di dati non mi sembra possibile valutare l'omissione esiodea della vicina Atene, interpretata da alcuni (Leaf, Wilamowitz) come implicito indizio della già avvenuta sottomissione di Salamina ad Atene, da M.F. invece come ridimensionamento di Atene (art. cit., 36).
- 20 Il fatto che il regno di Argo fosse diviso tra tre dinastie può forse in parte spiegare la notevole estensione del suo territorio nel Catalogo omerico; ved. il mio articolo in ZPE 79 (1989) 34 sg.
- 21 Per le diverse ipotesi sul valore reale del territorio di Argo nell'Iliade ved. T.W. Allen, The Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Oxford 1921) 59 sgg.; D.L. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad (Berkeley 1959) 130 sgg.; J.M. Fossey, "La liste des rois argiens", in Mélanges d'études anciennes offerts à M. Lebel (St. Jean-Chrysostôme, Québec 1980) 57 sgg.; Kirk, op. cit., 180 sg., 209 sg. Sull'egemonia di Argo al tempo di Fidone ved. L.H. Jeffery, Archaic Greece (London 1976) 134 sgg.

## IOLAO IN PINDARO: UN ERACLE MINORE?

Paola Angeli Bernardini,  
Università di Urbino

Nell'*Istmica* 5 ai vv.32-33 Pindaro menziona dopo gli Eacidi, eroi guerrieri meritevoli di lode e di canto da parte dei poeti, e insieme ad altri eroi titolari di un culto nelle varie città, anche Iolao: ἐν δὲ Θήβαις Ἰπποσάας Ἴόλαος / γέρας ἔχει. Nel breve enunciato della frase sono sintetizzati tre dei motivi che caratterizzano questo eroe nella poesia pindarica: la patria, la specialità agonistica, il culto. Altri tratti ne completano, come vedremo, la struttura mitica, ma questi sono i motivi che maggiormente concorrono ad attribuirgli un'identità nell'universo eroico pindarico. Come è noto, il tema dell'origine riveste in quest'ultimo un ruolo primario. Gli Eacidi provengono da Egina; Bellerofonte è corinzio; Oreste è spartano; Eracle e Iolao tebani. E' il principio della pertinenza che regola la scelta del mito da raccontare nell'epinicio. Una pertinenza che non è, naturalmente, solo di natura geografica (un eroe egineta per un pubblico di Egineti), ma che risponde a molteplici esigenze e che nella complessa e coerente costruzione dell'ode trionfale è in genere osservata e rispettata.

Tra gli eroi più fortemente caratterizzati sotto il profilo della provenienza vi è Eracle. La sua origine tebana, la sua stessa nascita nel palazzo di Anfitrione<sup>1</sup>, immigrato nella città e ospite dei Cadmei, sono più volte rievocate da Pindaro che accetta questa versione locale arricchendola, in ben tre odi, di notizie e di particolari (*P.*9,84-88; *N.*1,33 sgg.; *I.*7,5-7)<sup>2</sup>. Proprio la nascita rappresenta il primo di una serie di rapporti tra Eracle e Iolao: un legame che passa attraverso Ificle, fratello gemello del primo e padre del secondo, ma che finisce per ignorare questo anello di congiunzione e si sviluppa autonomamente, perché Ificle non ha alcuno spessore mitico in Pindaro.

Lo stesso passo della *P.*9,84-88 in cui il poeta si sofferma sul duplice parto di Alcmene e sulla città di Tebe, comune nutrice dei due gemelli, è volto a celebrare la gloria di Eracle e poi secondariamente quella di Ificle, ma in quanto padre di Iolao, protagonista della narrazione mitica che immediatamente precede e che occupa una buona parte della sezione tebana dell'ode (vv.79-83)<sup>3</sup>. Se l'accento cade, dunque, sul miracoloso concepimento di Eracle (*I.*7,5-7), o sul parto di Alcmene (*I.*1,12-13) in quanto eventi tebani degni di fama, a questi si collega subito dopo anche la presenza di Iolao (*I.*7,9; *I.*1,16 sgg.).

E' difficile datare l'introduzione di quest'ultimo a Tebe, nel senso che è difficile stabilire l'epoca in cui l'eroe assunse una sua precisa configurazione nel *pantheon* eroico cittadino, ma l'opinione di A.Schachter che egli fosse il predecessore locale di Eracle ha forti probabilità di essere vera<sup>4</sup>. Sicuramente tra il VI e il V sec. a.C. Iolao doveva essere uno dei protagonisti della mitologia beotica se Corinna, che attinge da questa i temi da trattare nei suoi carmi<sup>5</sup>, ne aveva fatto la figura centrale di un poema (fr.661 P.), di cui si conosce il titolo, *Iolao*, ma non il contenuto. A giudicare dal fr.252 M.-W. di Esiodo, in cui è menzionata la figlia di Iolao, Leipefile, come

nonna di Cherone, l'eponimo di Cheronea, anche la genealogia che faceva capo all'eroe doveva far parte della mitologia locale.

Strettamente connesso con la patria, strettamente vincolato alla famiglia, Iolao deriva dal padre del padre (cfr. *P.9,18a* διφρηλάτας detto di Anfitrione) quell'abilità nel guidare il carro che gli permetterà di essere il fedele auriga di Eracle e il suo compagno in varie avventure. E' vero che in *N.3,36-39* sono rievocati due episodi, la presa di Troia e l'inseguimento delle Amazzoni, nei quali Telamone fu commilitone di Eracle e di Iolao e che le due imprese sembrano attribuite a costui anziché all'Alcide, ma è anche vero che l'uditorio sapeva che in quelle e in altre spedizioni il ruolo di Iolao era stato quello di auriga <sup>6</sup>. Probabilmente Pindaro omette di nominare Eracle sia per non offuscare la figura di Telamone, sia perché nei versi precedenti gli ha già reso ampiamente onore (vv.22-26) <sup>7</sup>. In ogni caso non c'era bisogno di precisare che durante le due spedizioni Iolao era stato ἡνίοχος di Eracle perché nella tradizione questa era la sua prerogativa (cfr. Hes. *Scut.77, 95, 323*).

La maestria nel guidare il carro avvicina Iolao alle grandi qualità agonistiche di Eracle, ma nello stesso tempo distingue e personalizza la sua attività in questo settore. Un'attività che, come abbiamo visto, in battaglia è secondaria e complementare rispetto a quella di Eracle, ma che nell'ambito agonistico/sportivo gli conferisce una funzione autonoma e un ruolo da protagonista. Pindaro insiste su questa prerogativa che viene evocata dagli appellativi che si accompagnano al nome dell'eroe (ἰππόμητις *I.7,9*; ἰπποσόας *I.5,32*; διφρηλάτας κράτιστος *I.1,17*) e nell'*Istmica* 1 delimita le sue prestazioni inserendole nella cornice spaziale degli agoni, nei quali Iolao ha riportato premi e corone, ornando la propria casa di tripodi, lebeti e calici d'oro (vv.18-22).

Rispetto ad Eracle, Iolao ha un rapporto con l'agonistica più circoscritto e in un certo senso più laico. Mentre al primo Pindaro assegna la rifondazione e organizzazione dei giochi Olimpici mediante una serie di atti rituali (*O.10,43-77*) e di norme statutarie relative allo svolgimento delle gare (*O.3,9-38*; *O.6,67-69*), al secondo attribuisce specifiche qualità di auriga e di atleta (*I.1,17-30*: corsa semplice, corsa in armi, giavellotto, disco). Non che Eracle non sia egli stesso ἀγωνιστής, dal momento che è inventore della lotta e del pancrazio; rappresenta l'antagonista più illustre; unisce alla forza bruta il vantaggio della *metis* e, soprattutto, impersona la figura fisica dello 'Schwerathlet' ideale. Ma egli lo è sempre in maniera paradigmatica, cioè in quanto modello da imitare e seguire da parte degli atleti. Sotto questo profilo non viene meno la carica di esemplarità di cui Pindaro investe l'eroe. Del resto anche nella tradizione posteriore, sia letteraria che iconografica, Eracle verrà rappresentato con le caratteristiche di un certo tipo di atleta e nell'ambito della vita religiosa e sociale diventerà il protettore degli atleti e il guardiano delle palestre e dei ginnasi <sup>8</sup>.

Nello statuto eroico di Iolao il rapporto con l'agonistica, come per altre eroi, si fa più evidente dopo la morte <sup>9</sup>, quando egli diventa a Tebe destinatario di una festa agonistica che, al tempo di Pindaro, si celebrava presso la tomba comune di Anfitrione e di Iolao <sup>10</sup>, nel complesso dell'*Herakleion* a sud della Cadmea. Ancora una volta Pindaro è un testimone prezioso per ricostruire la storia e la mappa degli agoni minori in Grecia, ma ancora una volta egli si riferisce a questi giochi senza denominarli, ma servendosi di riferimenti topografici, perifrasi, cenni allusivi. Di qui le discussioni tra i commentatori antichi e tra quelli moderni sulla

denominazione di questi agoni tebani in epoca arcaica e in epoca più tarda: *Herakleia* e/o *Iolaeia* <sup>11</sup>.

Quel che conta per noi è che Pindaro attesti inequivocabilmente che a Tebe la tomba di Iolao era luogo di culto e che lì si svolgevano gare atletiche. Un rito con ricorrenza annuale, descritto nelle sue fasi salienti in *I.4,61-68*, del quale il titolare principale era Eracle, ma in unione ai figli avuti da Megara e a Iolao.

La sepoltura nella stessa tomba di Anfitrione prova che nella versione tebana l'eroe era indissolubilmente legato ad Eracle e agli Eraclidi e che la sua impresa più meritoria, l'uccisione di Euristeo per difendere i discendenti di Eracle, si incentrava su questo rapporto di assoluta fedeltà al γένος. Sia che Pindaro in *P.9,79-85* si riferisca alla tradizione secondo la quale Iolao era resuscitato, dietro sua preghiera, per salvare gli Eraclidi, rifugiatisi ad Atene, sia che si rifaccia alla versione più credibile che, essendo ormai vecchio, fosse ringiovanito <sup>12</sup>, egli ricorda l'episodio probabilmente più popolare tra quelli che i Tebani ascrivevano all'eroe (basti pensare agli *Eraclidi* di Euripide, tragedia che si rifà a questa saga tebana); quello che più colpiva l'immaginario collettivo in quanto manifestazione per eccellenza del rispetto verso la famiglia. Un atteggiamento che emerge anche nei vv.47-48 del fr.169 Sn.-Maehl. in cui è rievocato l'atto di pietas di Iolao verso Anfitrione (Ἀμφιτρύωνί τε σᾶμα χέων).

Che queste doti di πίστις e di αἰδώς diventino nel corso dei secoli il tratto caratterizzante la personalità eroica di Iolao <sup>13</sup> è dimostrato da altre testimonianze: non solo i Tebani giuravano sul suo nome <sup>14</sup>, ma presso la sua tomba gli *eromenoi* e gli *erastai* facevano le loro καταπιστώσεις <sup>15</sup>. Nella trattatistica antica sui vari tipi di amore, inoltre, il suo legame con Eracle era considerato l'esempio di una generosa dedizione <sup>16</sup>.

Nei carmi di Pindaro queste qualità morali dell'eroe sono come presupposte e date per scontato. In *P.9,79-83* non c'è bisogno di ricordare il movente dell'uccisione di Euristeo. In *P.11,59-64* è il particolare contesto in cui sono rievocati Iolao e i Dioscuri che conferisce loro la fisionomia di figure esemplari per il giovane vincitore Trasideo. Dopo la narrazione del mito degli Atridi e dopo la serie di dichiarazioni che il poeta fa nella parte conclusiva dell'ode perché gli servano di insegnamento (vv.50a-58), basta il ricordo del buon nome di Iolao e della sua gloria, insieme a quella di Castore e Polluce, per dare conferma e validità ai precetti di cui Pindaro si fa portavoce. I tre eroi rappresentano l'esatto opposto di Clitennestra, Agamennone, Egisto, il cui comportamento è stigmatizzato nell'*excursus* mitico, e impersonano coloro che, con la loro condotta di vita, rifiutano la dismisura e la *hybris* <sup>17</sup>.

Iolao per Pindaro è qui ὑμνητός (v.61) cioè un eroe degno di essere onorato da parte dei poeti, proprio come in *P.9,87-88* è definito "muto" colui che non ha sempre in bocca l'elogio di Eracle e non ricorda la fonte di Dirce. A un inno in onore di Iolao è congiunta l'ode per il vincitore Erodoto in *I.1,16* e in *I.5,28-29* si legge che l'eroe, insieme ad altri, offrì "lavoro ai poeti".

Dunque un personaggio meritevole di canto che, tuttavia, nell'epinicio pindarico non è mai protagonista di un vero e proprio racconto mitico. Un personaggio che, anche nei versi di un concittadino sensibile alla forza generatrice della tradizione tebana, è messo in ombra dalla figura di Eracle.

In fondo, nella poesia di Pindaro si ripropone la stessa gerarchia che tutti conoscevano e che tutti potevano ascoltare quando, per celebrare un atleta vittorioso

a Olimpia, veniva intonato l'inno archilocheo in onore di Eracle (fr.207 Tard. = 324 W.) in cui l'eroe veniva salutato per tre volte con il ritornello τήνελλα ὦ καλλίνικε e invocato come ἄναξ e in cui Iolao veniva associato a lui come compagno di guerra: αὐτός τε καὶ Ἴόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύο.

<sup>1</sup> Sull'ubicazione del palazzo di Anfitrione a Tebe si veda A.Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia 1. Acheloos to Hera*, *Bull.Inst.Class.Stud.Suppl.*38.1, London 1981, p.31.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. in proposito G.A.Privitera, 'Eracle nella prima Nemea', *Giorn.it.filol.* n.s.3 (24), 1972, pp.28-51.

<sup>3</sup> Per un'analisi più dettagliata del brano in questione si rinvia a L.L.Nash, 'The Theban Myth at Pythian 9,79-103', *Quad.Urb.n.s.*11 (40), 1982, pp.77-90.

<sup>4</sup> A.Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia 2. Herakles to Poseidon*, *Bull.Inst.Class.Stud. Suppl.*38.2, London 1986, pp.64-65.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. ad es.fr.654, III, 37 sgg. e 673 P. (Orione); fr.658 e 671 P. (Beoto); fr.659 P. (I sette contro Tebe); fr.690 P. (Oreste). E' singolare che nei frammenti pervenuti la poetessa non menzioni mai Eracle.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. *schol.ad loc.*, p.52 Dr.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr.J.B.Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, London-New York 1890 = Amsterdam 1965, p.53.

<sup>8</sup> Per una più dettagliata analisi dei rapporti tra Eracle e l'agonistica sportiva si rinvia a P.Angeli Bernardini, 'Mythe et âgon:Héraclès fondateur des Jeux Olympiques', in *XIII International Congress for the history of Physical Education and Sports, Olympia 1989* (in corso di stampa).

<sup>9</sup> Cfr.A.Brelich, *Gli eroi greci. Un problema storico-religioso*, Roma 1958, pp.94-106.

<sup>10</sup> Anche se in N.4,19-22 Pindaro parla della tomba di Anfitrione e in O.9,98-99 di quella di Iolao, da P.9,80-83 si ricava che la tomba era una sola per ambedue gli eroi; più improbabile il riferimento a "una sola tomba" nel fr.169,47-49 Sn.-Maehl.

<sup>11</sup> Generalmente si ritiene che i due nomi designino un medesimo agone in fasi successive (L.L.Nash, *art.cit.* a n.3, p.94; G.A.Privitera, *Pindaro. Le Istmiche*, Milano 1982, p.185; P.Angeli Bernardini, *Mito e attualità nelle odi di Pindaro. La Nemea 4, l'Olimpica 9 e l'Olimpica 7*, Roma 1983, p.34 n.45. A.Schachter (*op.cit.* a n.1, pp.30-31; *op.cit.* a n.4, pp.17-18; 25-27 e 65) crede che il nome *Iolaeta* si sia aggiunto, per indicare giochi inesistenti, a quello originario di *Herakleta* per confusione, dopo che un nuovo complesso atletico in onore di Iolao fu costruito nel IV sec. a.C. a nord-est della Cadmea.

<sup>12</sup> *Schol.Pyth.*9,137, p.133 Dr. e cfr. Eur.*Heracl.*843 sgg.

<sup>13</sup> Si pensi al verso euripideo: ἐγὼ γὰρ αἰδοῦ καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς σέβων in *Heracl.*6.

<sup>14</sup> *Schol.Aristoph.Acharn.*867.

<sup>15</sup> Arist.fr.97 Rose (Plut.*Pelop.*18) e in proposito cfr. A.Brelich, *op.cit.* a n.9, p.361 n.126.

<sup>16</sup> Plut.*Amator.*17 e *De frat.am.*21.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. P.Angeli Bernardini, 'Il proemio della Pitica XI di Pindaro e i culti tebani', in *Boiotika. Vorträge vom 5.Internationalen Bōotten-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Dr.S.Lauffer*, München 1989, pp.46-47.

PINDAR PYTHIAN XII

Paolo Vivante,  
McGill University

Athena fashioning flute-music out of the dirge of the Gorgons is only mentioned in this ode and in Nonnos 24.36. Nonnos might have derived the idea from Pindar. Did then Pindar invent the myth or did he find it somewhere in the pre-existing Perseus saga? The question, as far as I know, has hardly troubled commentators and critics. We might at least consider the reasons why Pindar touched upon, or invented, such a singular myth.

Whether we owe the myth to Pindar or not, the idea itself was such as to appeal strongly to his imagination. Why then was the idea so Pindaric? It is because there is here a sensuously poetic element. The sense of perceptions materializing into sound runs through Pindar's poetry. He dwells upon it time and again, both in reference to his own compositions and to the speech of his characters. Thus his songs are glorious darts shooting out of his pliant mind (Ol. 2.90); his ode is a pouring of nectar that is the mind's sweet fruit (Ol. 7.24); Jason distills voice into gentle speech laying the foundation of wise words (Pyth. 4.137); the members of a chorus are architects of song who crave for the poet's Muse to give it a shape (N. 3.4); with a wider and sharper significance we are told that "a word lasts longer than deeds -- a word which, through the touch of the Graces, the tongue culls out of the mind's depth" (N. 4.7).

In such passages the act of expression is not taken for granted. We do not merely have "to say", "to sing", "to compose". We are presented, rather, with a concrete process that sets us wondering. Over and above any mythology, we have the phenomenon of expression: how speech or sound acquires a self-existent form. Pindar delights in it. Hence we constantly find him weaving, erecting, setting up, shaping his odes as if they were things crafted into life; and the ode itself is often pictured as a most precious object, hardly a script to be read or recited or performed. He thus likens it, for instance, to the gold-pillared porch of a splendid hall that shines from afar (Ol. 6.1) or calls it a draught of honey and milk and dew (N. 3.78). We are tuned to look at the poem as an image. It miraculously seems to acquire a solid and visual identity, and yet the poet does no more than give free rein to his sensuous language.

Even so, in Pythian XII, Athena is an artist. Like Pindar, she discovers expression. She transforms into music the distraught wail of the

Gorgons. The victorious flute-player Midas is little more than a pretext to evoke the moment when Athena discovered the art of the flute

weaving the strains of the death-dirge  
which the fierce Gorgons cried out.  
She heard it as it poured out in sorrowful toil  
from the dread serpent-locks on their heads,  
at the time in which Perseus . . .

And a few lines later:

After she saved from their grip the man whom she loved,  
the virgin goddess fashioned the many-toned melody of flutes,  
to render in pipes the loud-sounding cry  
as it pressed from the fierce jaws of Euryale.  
A goddess found it; and, having found it, she gave it to mortals  
in keeping,  
and named it "the-tune-many-headed" --  
a glorious wooer of man-driving contests  
whose sound ever flows  
through the thin bronze of the mouth-piece  
and through those reeds that abide  
by the fair-dancing town of the Graces  
on the grounds of Kephisus' nymph,  
truly to witness the dance.

The ode is one of the shortest. Let us not say that the obscurity of Midas dispenses the poet from expanding on his background. No, it is the congenial theme of Midas' art that drives the poet into *medias res*. Not only is any information about Midas cast aside, but the great Perseus myth is condensed into bare essentials, and nothing else stands out but the crucial moment which is relevant to the musical transformation. All we see is Perseus who has just beheaded Medusa, her two sisters crying over her death, Athena silently present working her divine spell. We may ask: how is the musical instrument provided? How does Perseus escape? What is the place, the spot? All episodic detail recedes. What matters is the phenomenon itself.

There is, however, a fundamental difference between Pythian XII and those passages in which Pindar deals directly with the art of expression in itself and by itself. We are here in the realm of myth. Everything happens through a divine fiat. What is elsewhere pure imagery of thought becomes here factual detail into which we read some symbolic or pointed significance. The hissing shrill notes of the serpent-locks may thus render the range of sharp strains, the serpent-heads themselves might serve as an *aition* for the "tune of many heads", the sound pressed out of Euryale's jaws might convey the sound blown out of the flute.

We may thus appreciate the difference between the poetic and the mythical imagination. The whetstone on the poet's tongue is a purely poetic image conveying the keen inception of song that must find its way; the notes of the serpent-locks, on the other hand, are a raw material that the poet must accept as it is and turn into account. What in poetry is a pure metaphor is in myth a fact that must be taken literally and hence symbolized.

Compare with the theme of Pythian XII a somewhat similar idea from Pindar's *Partheneia* (Bowra, fr. 94.9):

with the sound of lotus-made flutes I shall imitate in my song  
the music of Sirens  
that sets to rest the swift blasts of the West-wind.

What the Sirens here convey is nothing but the enchanting spell of a certain sound and the mythical element is entirely absorbed into poetic expression, whereas in our ode the poet must come to grips with an almost intractable material.

In a myth, successive accretions blur the original transparency. It thus often happens that a mythical representation is crude, gruesome, cruel even where it has an aesthetic significance (Marsyas, Hermes' lyre, Orpheus' head). Poetry, on the other hand, resolves even horror into a tragic sense of life. Pindar lies at the watershed of these two modes. While he infuses his poetic imagery with a mythical solidity, he tends as much as possible to lighten his myths of their material burden. But the gap can never be bridged. Thus at the beginning of Pythian I, the universal harmony effected by Apollo's lyre is found side by side with the body of Typhoeus horribly crushed and lacerated by the massy bulk of Aetna.

Such is Pythian XII. After the lovely invocation to Acragas (Midas' home-town), we sink into primitive myth, and the tone changes according to what prevails -- whether the bloody deed of Perseus or Athena's redeeming spell. The cry of the Gorgons rises or subsides to the strain of music that rises from it. At the end Orchomenos comes into the picture with its festive flute music and the praise of those reeds that make the music possible; but then, again, we are finally told:

If any happiness comes among mortals,  
never it comes without pain;  
to-day or to-morrow a god will bring it to end . . .

It is as if we were told that no beauty is a gratuitous gift, that any boon finds its place side by side with scenes of horror. The general effect is as sharp and clear as it is suggestive of a surrounding darkness. A sense of stark realities makes up for any lack of tenderness.



POSIDONE E L'ELICONA: ALCUNE OSSERVAZIONI SULL'ANTICHITÀ E  
LA CONTINUITÀ DI UNA TRADIZIONE MITICA BEOTICA

Alina Veneri,  
Università di Urbino

E' nota l'importanza dei monti nella tradizione mitica beotica (1). L'Elicona in particolare è stato riconosciuto come uno dei più ricchi della regione dal punto di vista folklorico (2). Ciò che è stato, ed è tuttora, oggetto di dibattito è invece il rapporto tra questo monte e Posidone. L'epiteto di *Helikonios* che il dio porta già nell'epica omerica (*Il.* 20, 404) è infatti spiegato dagli antichi scoliasti in due modi diversi, cioè come derivato da Elice, città dell'Acaia, ovvero dall'Elicona, monte della Beozia (3).

Alcune indagini recenti hanno cercato di avvalorare la prima ipotesi, negando a Posidone un rapporto privilegiato con la Beozia e in particolare con l'Elicona.

Tra questi lo studio di Wallace (4) rileva come il culto di Posidone nella Valle delle Muse sia poco attestato, mentre Peek avanza l'ipotesi di un rapporto privilegiato di Zeus con l'Elicona, che Esiodo avrebbe formulato per primo, celebrando le danze delle Muse attorno al suo altare sul monte (*Theog.* 1-4) (5). Anche Schachter d'altra parte esprime dubbi sull'effettiva arcaicità del rapporto Posidone-Elicona (6). E' possibile però, a mio avviso, stabilire l'antichità del culto di Posidone sul monte beotico tenendo presente un numero più ampio di testimonianze che insieme concorrano a evidenziarne la realtà e la validità.

Innanzitutto è probabile che l'epiclesi epica *Helikonios* derivi da Elicona e non da Elice perché nella produzione omerica minore l'epiteto viene sciolto in una formula più ampia in cui Posidone è definito 'signore dell'Elicona' (εὐρυχόρου μεδέων ἠδὲ ξανθοῦ Ἑλικῶνος, *Epigr. hom.* 6, 2, ovvero: ὅς τ' Ἑλικῶνα καὶ εὐρείας ἔχει Αἴγας *Hymn. hom.* 22, 3) (7).

Inoltre se la scarsità dei dati riguardanti il culto di Posidone sull'Elicona, osservata da Wallace, può essere il risultato di quella continua erosione che il dio dovette subire, come già notava Plutarco (*Quaest. conv.* 9, 6, 741a) a vantaggio di altre divinità (8), la presenza di Posidone può però essere pazientemente recuperata tra le righe di varie testimonianze, a cominciare dalle più antiche, fino a quelle di età imperiale.

Del resto la stessa affermazione di Peek - secondo cui i più antichi culti del *daimon* del monte e dello stesso Posidone sarebbero stati soppiantati da quello di Zeus -

benché sia basata solo su Hes. *Theog.* 4 e sullo scolio ad *Ioc.*: ἐν Ἐλικῶνι δὲ ἦν ὁ βωμός, ὡς εἰρηται, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλικωνίου (9), ammette implicitamente la più alta antichità del culto di Posidone sull'Elicona rispetto a quello di Zeus.

Un'altra testimonianza dell'antichità del culto di Posidone Eliconio si può considerare il Panionio sul promontorio di Micale, dedicato appunto alla stessa divinità (Herodt. 1, 148) (10). E' ora infatti generalmente riconosciuta non solo la più antica attestazione della presenza di Posidone rispetto a quella di Apollo nel santuario ionico, ma anche l'origine dell'epiclesi dall'Elicona piuttosto che da Elice (11). La notorietà dell'associazione Posidone-Elicona aveva dunque oltrepassato già in epoca molto antica i confini ristretti della Beozia probabilmente grazie alla presenza di coloni beotici e tebani in Asia Minore (12). Quindi l'interpretazione data da Aristarco (*Et. M.* 547, 16) dell'epiteto omerico di Posidone *Helikonios* come derivato dall'Elicona non può essere considerata solo un tentativo basato essenzialmente su elementi morfologici, ma più verosimilmente una *interpretatio difficilior*, che respinge la tesi vulgata in età classica ed ellenistica della derivazione da Elice (13), e si collega invece alla constatazione dello stesso Aristarco che "ἡ Βοιωτία ὅλη ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος".

Ciò significa che ancora in età alessandrina (II sec. a.C.) erano vivi nella regione tradizioni e culti posidonî, come è facile verificare attraverso le testimonianze dall'età arcaica in poi.

Il rapporto costante tra Posidone e la Beozia (14) è infatti ben documentato a partire da Corinna (*PMG* 658), con la tradizione genealogica che fa di Beoto un figlio del dio (15).

Di tali tradizioni possiamo recuperare alcune riguardanti l'origine del culto delle Muse (16) sull'Elicona - testimoniato per la prima volta nella *Teogonia* di Esiodo (v. 1 sgg.) - attraverso frammenti di scrittori di Βοιωτικά di età ellenistica. In questo periodo infatti tale culto viene rifondato con l'istituzione di agoni poetici, musicali, ecc. penteterici (17), celebri in tutto il mondo greco.

Tra le testimonianze di questi agoni ci sono i frammenti di Nicocrate (c. 200 a.C.) che, come è stato dimostrato da F. Jacoby (18), nel suo Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἐλικῶνι ἄγῶνος avrebbe tracciato la storia del culto musaico sull'Elicona partendo proprio da Posidone (*FGHHist* 376 F 3). Pausania (9, 29, 1) inoltre riporta la tradizione secondo cui l'istituzione del culto delle Muse sull'Elicona risalirebbe a due eroi ritenuti figli di Posidone, gli Aloadi Oto ed Efialte (19). Ancora Pausania (*ibid.*) cita un frammento (= *FGHHist* III B 331 F 1) di Egesino - a noi noto pratica-

mente solo da alcune citazioni di Pausania stesso (20) - che pone come fondatore del culto delle Muse sull'Elicona, accanto agli Aloadi, Oiklos, figlio anch'egli di Posidone e di Asdra. Egesino lo considera inoltre κτίστης dell'omonima patria di Esiodo, insieme con i gemelli Oto ed Efialte.

Questi dati testimoniano non solo la grande fama del culto delle Muse in età ellenistica e imperiale (21), ma soprattutto la vitalità e la continuità del legame tra Elicona e Posidone. Inoltre, esaminando la cronologia stabilita dalle relazioni genealogiche, si ottiene un risultato costante: Posidone, il cui possesso dell'Elicona precede quello delle Muse, col patrocinare sul monte l'insediamento e il culto di queste ultime continua a mantenere ivi la sua influenza. In altre parole non c'è conflitto o sovrapposizione tra i loro culti e le reciproche sfere d'interesse.

#### Note

(1) Non a caso nella *Teogonia* di Esiodo i monti sono inseriti nella genealogia degli dèi come figli primordiali di Gaia, nati prima della sua unione con Urano, e quindi collocati sullo stesso piano del Cielo e del Mare (vv. 129-130). Un posto importante, sempre nella *Teogonia* (ma anche nel mito beotico, cfr. Paus. 9, 20, 3: Atlante a Tanagra), occupa poi Atlante, benché per Esiodo egli sia figlio del Titano Giapeto (v. 507 s.) e quindi, essendo solo nipote di Gaia, non dovrebbe essere considerato uno dei monti ricordati ai vv. 129-130. Il processo che fa di Atlante un monte passa tuttavia ancora attraverso la narrazione esiodea (oltre che omerica, cfr. *Od.* 1, 52-54); sempre nella *Teogonia*, infatti, il figlio di Giapeto è costretto da Zeus a sostenere con la testa e le braccia la volta del cielo: egli è collocato presso le Esperidi ai limiti della terra (vv. 517-520), nel punto in cui si trova il confine tra Notte e Giorno (vv. 746-757). Queste indicazioni topografiche, che concordano nel porre la sede di Atlante all'estremo Occidente, costituiscono la premessa indispensabile per la successiva identificazione di Atlante con il monte libico più vicino alle colonne di Eracle, attestata a partire da Erodoto (4, 184). D'altra parte anche il mito di Niobe è collegato alla saga beotica, benché la trasformazione in pietra dell'eroina sia localizzata in Lidia: Niobe è infatti sposa di Anfione (Hes. fr. 183 M.-W.). Sui miti beotici di Atlante e Niobe cfr. anche B. Sergent, *L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque*, Paris 1984 = trad. it. Roma-Bari 1986, pp. 65-70 con bibl. Per le connessioni di Niobe con la tradizione mitica di Orcomeno cfr. A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2. *Herakles to Poseidon*, London 1986, p. 183.

- (2) Cfr. P. Vivante, 'Korinna's Singing Mountains', *Proceed. of the Second International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities. Mc Gill University, Montréal, 2-4.11.1973, Teiresias suppl. 2, 1979, p. 84.*
- (3) Cfr. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Scholia Vetera), rec. H. Erbse, vol. V (Y-Ω), Berolinii 1977, pp. 65-66.
- (4) P.W. Wallace, 'Hesiod and the Valley of the Muses', *Greek Rom, Byz. Stud.* 15, 1974, pp. 22-24.
- (5) W. Peek, 'Hesiod und der Helikon', *Philologus* 121, 1977, p. 175.
- (6) Cfr. *Cults 2, cit. a n. 1, p. 214.*
- (7) Accolgo la lezione tramandata dai codici, secondo il testo edito da F. Cassola, *Inni omerici*, Milano 1975 (1981), p. 386. Per la discussione sulla variante 'Ελίκην introdotta da Martin in luogo del tràdito 'Ελικῶνα cfr. Cassola, *ibid.*, pp. 578-579 (commento all'edizione critica dell'*Inno XXII a Posidone*). Mi sembra decisivo per la scelta a favore della lezione dei codici il fatto che (come sottolinea Cassola), anche se si elimina 'Ελικῶνα dall'*Inno omerico*, rimane pur sempre 'Ελικῶνος dell'*Epigramma*. Ciò significa che non si può negare l'esistenza di una prima testimonianza del culto di Posidone sull'Elicona proveniente dall'epos omerico.
- (8) Cfr. anche Cassola, *op. cit. a n. 7, p. 90.*
- (9) Cfr. A.B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, II 2, New York 1965, p. 898, n. 5.
- (10) I culti localizzati su monti sono una delle più antiche manifestazioni religiose rilevabili in Grecia attraverso l'indagine archeologica; essi sono documentati a partire dall'inizio del II millennio a.C. (cfr. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Berlin 1977 = trad. it. Milano 1984, vol. I, p. 40 ss.). Caratteristica di queste cerimonie era la presenza costante di un fuoco su cui si bruciavano figurine d'argilla e animali (Burkert, *ibid.*, p. 41). Forse non è un caso che una divinità di grande importanza in età micenea e arcaica come Posidone venga collegata con culti montani (Elicona, Micale) e a Delfi dia oracoli attraverso Pyrkon (Paus. 10, 5, 6); secondo Cassola (*Inni, cit. a n. 7, p. 90 e n. 1*) questi sarebbe l'eponimo dei πυκῶοι che vaticinavano osservando il fuoco. Il fatto che Posidone sia divinità oracolare è stato di recente validamente documentato (Cassola, *Inni, cit. a n. 7, p. 90*; Burkert, *Griechische Religion, cit. vol. II, p. 205*).
- (11) Cfr. da ultimi C. Bearzot, 'La guerra leleantea e il κοινόν degli Ioni d'Asia', in *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico* a cura di M. Sordi, Milano 1983, p. 70-71 e n. 42; Sergent, *op. cit. a n. 1, p. 147 e n. 45*; G. Ragone, 'La guerra meliaca e la struttura originaria della lega ionica in Vitruvio 4, 1, 3-6', *Riv. Filol. Istruz. Class.* 114,

1986, pp. 184-185; 189-190.

- (12) Sulla presenza di genti e miti beotici nella Ionia cfr. Cassola, *La Ionia nel mondo miceneo*, Napoli 1957, p. 95-101; M. Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie*, Athènes 1958, pp. 67-72; 266-267, 404; G.L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians*, London 1966, pp. 27-28; A. Veneri, 'Oinopion e Anacreonte', *Quad. Urb.* 26, 1977, pp. 94-98.
- (13) Cfr. Ragone, *art. cit. a n. 11, p. 189.*
- (14) Cfr. L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States IV*, Oxford 1907, pp. 29-35; 78-79. Una testimonianza archeologica databile con sicurezza di questo rapporto costante è costituita dalla presenza nella coniazione delle città beotiche dell'immagine di Posidone, che, a partire dal IV sec. a.C. (Aliarto) e per tutto il III e parte del II sec. a.C. (lega beotica) è rappresentato sulle monete a figura intera o con attributi a lui pertinenti (tridente e delfino). E' interessante notare che il primo apparire di questa raffigurazione appartiene all'epoca in cui le città beotiche si affrancano dalla dipendenza di Tebe e manifestano con questi simboli la loro identità e autonomia (387-374 c.C.). Cfr. B.V. Head, *History of the Coinage of Boeotia*, London 1881, pp. 43-44; 46; 83; 86-87; 90. Al contrario Schachter (*Cults 2, cit. a n. 1, p. 213*) tende a sottovalutare l'effettiva entità della presenza di Posidone in Beozia.
- (15) Sul significato delle genealogie nella cultura greca come 'il modo principale di simbolizzazione sociale' cfr. J. Svenbro, *La parola e il marmo. Alle origini della poetica greca*, trad. it., Torino 1984, p. 72.
- La prima attestazione di questa parentela tuttavia si può far risalire ad Esiodo (così anche M.L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. Its Nature, Structure, and Origins*, Oxford 1985, p. 102): nel fr. 219 M.-W. infatti è ricordato Onchesto, figlio di Beoto, come eponimo e fondatore dell'omonimo santuario di Posidone; ma Pausania (9, 26, 5) nomina come padre dell'eroe lo stesso dio titolare del bosco sacro. Da ciò si può dedurre che Posidone e Beoto (cioè padre e figlio) sono figure sovrapponibili o sdoppiate che talvolta si identificano; il culto di Posidone inoltre è così legato all'area geografica di Onchesto (presso Tespie, cfr. Alc. fr. 425 L.-P. e Strab. 9, 2, 33) che, sempre Pausania (*ibid.*), menziona l'immagine del dio conservata nel tempio della città con l'epiclesi di 'Onchestio', consentendo così un'ulteriore identificazione tra Posidone e l'eroe locale suo figlio/nipote.
- Inoltre anche se in altre tradizioni genealogiche (cfr. W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, I, Leipzig 1884-86, s.v. 'Boiotos') il nome della madre di Beoto è variabile (Melanippe, Arne, Antiope), costante rimane la paternità di Posidone;

Saul Levin,  
State University of New York  
at Binghamton

solo in una di queste versioni (Paus. 9, 1, 1) il padre di Beoto è Itono (eponimo della città tessala) il cui nome è però presente anche in ambiente beotico (cfr. *schol.* Ap. Rh. 1, 551 a; Paus. 9, 34, 1). In questa versione comunque è notevole il fatto che madre di Beoto sia Melanippe, la tipica *pendant* femminile di Posidone (cfr. G.A. Privitera, 'I rapporti di Dioniso con Posidone in età micenea', *Stud. Urb.* 39, 1965, p. 188 ss.).

(16) Le Muse erano in origine Ninfe dei monti e sono quasi sempre collegate ad essi (cfr. E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley - Los Angeles 1951 = trad. it. Firenze 1959 (1973), p. 112, n. 1). Oltre all'Elicona, celebri per l'associazione musaica sono, ad es., l'Olimpo (*Il.* 2, 484; 491, ecc.), il Parnaso (Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 17. 402 c) e, nella stessa Beozia, il Libethrion (Paus. 9, 34, 4).

(17) Per il culto e gli agoni delle Muse a Tespie cfr. da ultimo l'ampia e ben documentata voce 'Muses (Thespiiai)' di Schachter, *Cults 2*, cit. a n. 1, pp. 147-149 con bibliografia.

(18) *FGrHist* III B Kommentar, Leiden 1969, p. 155 s.

(19) La genealogia degli Aloadi ci è nota già da Omero, che ne parla diffusamente in *Od.* 11, 305-320, nel cosiddetto *Catalogo delle Eroine*, segnato da una forte influenza beotica (cfr. M. Pade, 'Homer's Catalogue of Women', *Class. Med.* 34, 1983, pp. 9-11). Questa tradizione è accolta anche da Esiodo (fr. 19 M.-W.); la loro tomba era localizzata ad Antedone (Paus. 9, 22, 6). Sui miti e culti beotici intorno agli Aloadi cfr. A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1. *Acheloos to Hera*, London 1981, pp. 17-18.

(20) Per la sua datazione cfr. F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* III B (Supplement) Leiden 1954, p. 608 s. Non mi sembra però giustificato lo scetticismo dello studioso secondo cui (l'opera di Egesino) "by its invention it welds together all existing traditions into one uniform compilation, and its author probably was proud of having so much greater and better knowledge of the Μοῦσαι Ἑλικωνιάδες than Hesiod, *Th.* 53 ff. had." (*ibid.* p. 609). Non abbiamo infatti elementi sufficienti per negare valore e antichità ai miti da lui riferiti.

(21) Ci è noto anche un *Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι Μουσείου* di un Anfione di Tespie, collocabile tra il I sec. a.C. e il II d.C. (Athen. 14, 629 a = *FGrHist* III B 387).

On the whole we take the sounds of Attic as our base for inferences about the sounds of Boeotian, especially from the time when the Boeotians – somewhat belatedly – followed the lead of Athens and adopted the Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters. From the differences in spelling between Attic (which is copiously documented) and Boeotian (which is much less so), we infer how Boeotian must have differed from Attic in pronunciation. But it is also possible, in some cases, to reason in the opposite direction, from the spelling of Boeotian to the pronunciation of Attic. Thus I argue that in Aristophanes' comedy *Acharnians* (presented in 425 B.C.) the Boeotian words – especially ὑμῆς (863) and φουήτε (864) – testify to the lack of an Attic grapheme suitable for distinguishing the Boeotian vowel-sound [u] (whether long or short) from the Attic [ū],<sup>1</sup> and therefore the spelling of this literary text contradicts the opinion of some eminent scholars that the Attic diphthong OY had already been leveled to a plain monophthong [u].<sup>2</sup>

The comic poet applied his familiar graphemes to render a dialect that he was not in the habit of writing, although he must often have heard that dialect spoken in the Agora whenever Athens was at peace with the Boeotian cities.<sup>3</sup> What the Boeotians did in the next two centuries was similar to this extent: they gradually reformed their spelling so as to make each grapheme stand for the same sound as it had in the Attic of their time, regardless of its former function in the local alphabet of Boeotia, and they applied those Attic graphemes to the sounds of every Boeotian word. Thus they managed to bring out, as much as possible, the differences between their dialect and the Attic standard, which was being used more and more as a pan-Hellenic κοινή. The replacement of Υ by OY – e.g. ΑΣΟΥΑΙΑΝ instead of ΑΣΥΑΙΑΝ<sup>4</sup> – conveyed the true Boeotian quality [u], not [ū] as in Attic.

There is abundant evidence that Attic lacked a rounded back vowel-sound [u] (except in the diphthongs AY, EY, OY, HY), until this anomalous gap in the phonology of the dialect was filled from the erstwhile diphthong

[ou] and long monophthong [o:].<sup>5</sup> Our modern understanding of diachronic changes in pronunciation should lead us to posit that this one gradually made its way through the Athenian people. Toward the end of the fifth century, the Attic inscriptions show a minor trend to write OY instead of O, and occasionally the converse;<sup>6</sup> but for the most part they maintained the age-old distinction well into the early decades of the fourth century. After that, the OY spelling spread faster; and by 350 hardly anyone was still writing O for the long vowel-sound. It is fair to infer that the conservative pronunciation, which had distinguished [o:] from [ou], was virtually gone by then. To prove, however, that OY stood no longer either for [ou] or for [o:] but for [u:], we must adduce the Boeotian usage of OY as in ΑΣΟΥΑΙΑΝ, corroborated subsequently by many Greek renderings of Hebrew (e.g. the woman's name ΡΟΥΘ for רות (ruṯ)) and Latin renderings of Greek (Plautus' character *Nicobulus* for Νικόβουλος; *Bac.* 243, etc.).

The extent of the [ū] pronunciation outside of Attic is unclear, for lack of definite evidence in many localities; but in Boeotia we can be sure that the sound represented by Υ in the epichoric alphabet was [u]. If any Boeotian pronounced [ū], it would be a symptom of exceptional Attic influence or a precursor of the eventual spread of the Attic κοινή. The typical Boeotian visitor to Athens, whom Aristophanes depicted, must have pronounced [u] in words such as ὑμῆς or φύσητε, where an Attic ear expected [ū]. But the Attic digraph OY was not yet available to Aristophanes to show the [u] sound.

On Attic ostraca and vases from the late sixth century and thereafter, Υ occurs rarely instead of O for the long monophthong; e.g. in the genitive singular ending ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΥΜΥ (normally ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΥΜΟ).<sup>7</sup> In some instances the original Υ has been corrected to O. It probably manifests a pronunciation [u:], already beginning to develop in Attic from [o:] and perhaps from [ou] too, but substandard at first and not widespread among the Athenians until the fourth century. We are not to suppose that at any one time, in a population of many thousands, all had the same phonology. Quite the contrary, both conservative and innovative pronunciations were represented; and the varied spelling of many words shows how individuals, some more schooled than others, used the alphabet freely to indicate the sounds.<sup>8</sup> Nothing else than Υ, or nothing better, was on hand in the fifth century to stand for [u], either in the innovative, substandard pronunciation of certain Athenians or in the speech of a Boeotian character created by Aristophanes.

The other Boeotian words with υ in his play — τύλαν (860), τὺ (861), τετραπτερυλλίδων (871), θρυαλλίδας (874), κολύμβως (879), ἀφύας (902), πολύ (903, 906) — do less than ὑμῆς and φύσητε to prove that in 425 (or thereabouts) ου would not have served to evoke the Boeotian sound [u]. For in those seven words the vowel is short, either certainly or in all probability, whereas the Attic diphthong OY became — in the fourth century — regularly a *long* monophthong [u:]. So it might be argued that even if it was already so in Aristophanes' time, he could hardly write ΤΟΥ 'you' (singular), ΠΟΛΟΥ 'much', etc., because such a spelling would have suggested the false quantity [tu:, polu:]. But in any case ὑμῆς and φύσητε have an unambiguously long vowel in the first syllable; accordingly, had he pronounced τοῦτο, σπουδή, πλοῦτος and other common Attic words with [u:], he would then have had good reason to write these two Boeotian words also with the digraph OY.<sup>9</sup>

The later grammarian, Apollonius Dyscolus, indeed gives the Boeotian form as ὄυμῆς (*De pron.* 119B = 93.26-29 Schneider & Uhlig); that, however, was in the second century of the Christian era, when the [u:] pronunciation of this digraph was long since settled.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The International Phonetic Alphabet calls for [y] to stand for the rounded front-vowel (like the French *u* and the German *u*); but the [y] often confuses readers, whereas the [ū] is unambiguous.

<sup>2</sup>Probably Aristophanes and other men of letters in the latter part of the fifth century were already writing in the Ionic alphabet, before it was adopted for official purposes in 403/2 B.C. But anyhow it did not differ from the local Attic alphabet in regard to Υ and OY.

<sup>3</sup>Indeed the interest and amusement of this part of the play depend on the contrast — felt by the audience as well as the poet — between the war, which had in fact shut out the Boeotians (and most other foreigners), and the private peace newly obtained by the Athenian comic hero Dicaeopolis for himself and his family.

<sup>4</sup>ΑΣΟΥΑΙΑΝ occurs many times in proxeny decrees — e.g. *IG* 7.504.4-509.4, 1720.8-1729.11, 2223.6-2224.6, 2385.8-2387.8, 2407.9, 3166.7-3167.11; rarely ΑΣΥΑΙΑΝ in Boeotian: 7.1665.4, 2409.6, 2858.8, *SEG* 24 (1984), 355.8.

<sup>5</sup>The diphthong OY is found mainly in the negative word and in the masculine and neuter forms of the demonstrative (including, of course, all three genders of the genitive plural ΤΟΥΤΩΝ). The long O is the result of many processes of contraction or compensatory lengthening that assimilated some other sound before or after an originally short [o]; e.g. ΟΙΚΟΝΤΙ (< [oikéonti]), ΤΟΣ (< [tons]).

<sup>6</sup>See Leslie Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 238-259, 349-352.

<sup>7</sup>Threatte, pp. 260-261.

<sup>8</sup>See Sven-Tage Teodorsson, *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect 400-340 B.C.* (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* XXXII, 1974), and my article, "Orthography and Standard Pronunciation," *The Fifteenth LACUS Forum 1988*, especially pp. 502-503.

<sup>9</sup>Aristophanes' meter does not prove the quantity of the *υ* in any word in the Boeotian scene, but there is plenty of evidence elsewhere, both for Attic and other literary dialects, that it is *ῡμ-*, *φ̄υσ-*, but *σ̄ῡ* or *τ̄ῡ*, etc.

<sup>10</sup>Eventually the Boeotians came to use *ΟΥ* even for the short [u], as in the Berlin papyrus of Corinna (col. 3.44): *τ̄ο̄ῡ* 'you', where both the breve and the grave accent are written.



## THE BOIOTIAN PIG

Duane W. Roller,  
The Ohio State University

During the reign of Hieron I of Syracuse, one Hagesias, a fellow-citizen, was a victor at Olympia. Olympiads during Hieron's reign were 76, 77 and 78 (476, 472, and 468 B. C.); there is no certain way to tell at which Hagesias was victorious. Modern commentators have divided between all three dates.<sup>1</sup> The exact date is not of particular importance to the discussion that follows. In his victory ode for Hagesias, Pindaros sent a message to Syracuse via his chorus trainer, Aineias (*Ol.* 6.87-91):

ὄτρυνον νῦν ἑταίρους  
Αἰνέα, πρῶτον μὲν "Ἦσαν Παρθενίαν κελαδῆσαι,  
γνώναί τ' ἔπειτ', ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος ἀλαθέσιν  
λόγοις εἰ φεύγομεν, Βοιωτίαν ὕν.

This peculiar reference to the Βοιωτία ὕς<sup>2</sup> has ever since caused grief for Boiotian scholars.<sup>3</sup>

There are several other references to the Boiotian swine. Pindaros himself remarked that the Boiotians themselves were once called the Swine (*fg.* 72): "ἦν ὅτε σύας τὸ Βοιωτίον ἔθνος ἔνεπον." In 442 B. C., Kratinos in his *Thracian Women*<sup>4</sup> reaffirmed the ethnic connotation (*fg.* 73a Edmonds): "οὔτοι δ' εἰσὶν Συβοιωτοὶ, κρουπεζοφόρον γένος ἀνδρῶν." In addition to Pindaros, Menandros and one other source also referred to the Boiotian swine, according to Ploutarchos.<sup>5</sup> Ploutarchos' passage is worth examining in its entirety:

τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ἡμᾶς οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἡλιθίους, μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀδηφαγίας προσηγόρευον. "οὔτοι δ' αὖ σύς. . ." καὶ ὁ Μένανδρος "οἱ γνάθους ἔχουσι," καὶ ὁ Πίνδαρος "γνώναί τ' ἔπειτα. . ."

This seems to offer a second explanation for the slander: Boiotian eating habits. Three sources are cited, but the corruptness of the passage means that one citation has lost its source, the reference from Menandros is enigmatic, and the one from Pindaros is recognizable only because the

original is extant. There are other references to Boiotian swine in Greek literature, especially in an obscure work of Galenos of Pergamon<sup>6</sup> and in the *Scholìa* to Pindaros,<sup>7</sup> but these add nothing and merely repeat the citations already noted.

Thus it seems that well before the time of Pindaros there was a proverb regarding Boiotian swine, perhaps ethnic in origin. The comment received its greatest use in Attic comedy, both Old and New, neither of which was ever at a loss for Boiotian slanders.

By Roman times there was interest in explanation. Strabon developed the ethnic interpretation, perhaps as a version of the Hyantes:<sup>8</sup> there is a rough similarity between Hyantes, σῦς and ὕς. Ploutarchos saw it as a comment on the table manners of the Boiotians, something of frequent amusement to the Athenians. He probably felt that the swine reference meant that the Boiotians were thought to eat excessively, just like pigs. Whether the statement is just a general comment on Boiotian personal habits or has some specific reference to pigs cannot be determined. Kratinos' Συβοιωτοί may be also a pun on βοῦς, and thus an attempt to emphasize the rustic character of the Boiotians.<sup>10</sup> The Athenians may have been saying that the Boiotians were a nation of swine-herders: perhaps this is the origin of Pindaros' comment that σῦς was once an ethnic name. Συβοιωτοί is remindingful of συβοόσκες and συβοοσκός, both words for swineherd.<sup>11</sup>

Pigs were not inevitably a matter for negative comment in the Greek world, and the prejudice against pigs so familiar from biblical and other literature is almost non-existent in Greece:<sup>12</sup> Homer could use the wild boar as an example of ability in battle<sup>13</sup> and Ploutarchos himself could speak favorably of the sow of Krommyon.<sup>14</sup> Yet many Greek proverbs regarding swine are unfavorable.<sup>15</sup> Association of pigs with the female genitals would also have created some prejudice.<sup>16</sup> The constant slander of Boiotia in Attic comedy would have strengthened any reference to Boiotian swine.

If there is an archetypal Boiotian pig lurking behind the original slander, there is no way to tell whether it was a wild or domesticated pig. Domestication of the pig was early, probably a product of the Neolithic agricultural revolution, but as is common in much of the world, in Greece

both wild and domesticated species existed simultaneously.<sup>17</sup> Homeric and mythological references abound to both. The word ὕς was used indifferently for both.<sup>18</sup>

In summation, a proverbial statement existed in pre-classical times that associated Boiotians with pigs, perhaps a comment on their rural character. By Pindaros' time it could be described as an "old reproach." It was probably Athenian in origin, and may have come from certain punning resemblances to both words for swineherd and a particular Boiotian ethnic name. Soon it was incorporated into the extensive anti-Boiotian repertory of Attic comedy, strengthened by a probably unconnected scatological use of the word χοῖρος. The pig's reputation as a voracious eater also gave a new dimension to the slander. By Roman times no one was certain what the meaning was (although it was clear that the slander was Athenian), but it was firmly entrenched in popular culture as one of many Athenian diatribes against the Boiotians. Roman and later authors uncritically made use of these Boiotian slanders:<sup>19</sup> "Boeotian" is still defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "dull, stupid," and in Webster's *Third New International Dictionary* (1971) as "marked by stupidity." It was only at the end of the nineteenth century that the reputation of Boiotia and Boiotians began to be redeemed: in 1895 Rhys Roberts urged "modifications of so harsh an estimate."<sup>20</sup> The resurgence of Boiotian studies in the late twentieth century, represented in part by the journal in which the present essay appears, has resulted in a realization that the people who produced Hesiodos, Korinna, Pindaros, and Ploutarchos hardly deserve to be called swine.<sup>21</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>W. Rhys Roberts, *The Ancient Boeotians* (Cambridge 1895) 1 (468 B. C.); C. Gaspar, *Essai de chronologie pindarique* (Brussels 1900) 139 (468 B. C.); John Sandys, *The Odes of Pindar* (London 1915) 52 (476 or 472 B. C.); Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* (London 1932) 40 (472 or 468 B. C.); M. L. Gasparov in *VDI* 124 (1973) 2.232 (472 or 468 B. C.).

<sup>2</sup>Roberts (supra note 1) 1-5; G. Norwood, "Pindarica," *CQ* 9 (1915) 2-3; Sandys (supra note 1) 65; Farnell (supra note 1) 48; D. S. Carne-Ross, "Weaving With Points of Gold: Pindar's Sixth Olympian," *Arion* 3 (1976) 27-28.

<sup>3</sup>Pindar's word, ὄς, was in common use for pig from the time of Homer onwards. The variant σὺς is also common: Homer preferred the latter (*LSJ*). There were other words, not used by Homer, for pig in Greek, especially χοῖρος, with a connotation of youth, and δέλφαξ, seemingly a full-grown χοῖρος. All were used in both poetry and prose. There seems to be no distinction in the words between domesticated and wild pigs. All the references to Boiotian pigs are either ὄς or σὺς. See also Orth, "Schwein," *RE* 2. reihe 3 (1921) 815.

<sup>4</sup>The play seems easily dated because of a reference to Perikles and ostracism (fg. 71). See John Maxwell Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* 1 (Leiden 1957), p. 45.

<sup>5</sup>*On the Eating of Flesh* I 6 (995e). The work is one of a pair advocating vegetarianism. They are probably youthful compositions (Plutarch's *Moralia* 12 [ed. Harold Cherniss and William C. Helmbold, Cambridge, Mass. 1957] 537-539). Both are textually incomplete and corrupt: the problems with the passage cited are typical.

<sup>6</sup>Προτρεπτικός λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας 7 (ed. Kühn 1.15). Galenos is worthy of a special note. Well known for his medical works, he was physician to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Yet he was also a copious writer whose scholarship touched many phases of human endeavor in addition to medicine, including education, philology, and philosophy. The vastness of his output is indicated by the fact that the complete edition of his works runs 22 thick volumes. Yet his works have been almost totally ignored except by historians of medicine interested in his medical writings: no complete edition has appeared since 1833 (C. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia* [Leipzig 1821-1833]). The present author can only repeat the plea of Charles Singer (*Annals of Medical History* 1 [1917] 433) and George Sarton (*Galen of Pergamon* [Lawrence, Kans. 1954] 101) for more attention to Galenos' writings. Sarton's study is the best English summary of Galenos' life and work.

The essay in question, generally known by its Latin title *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas* (Kühn 1.1-39), is an exhortation for students to spend less time following sports and more time studying the arts. It seems that Antonine Rome was little different from the world of today. The entire passage on Boiotian swine runs as follows:

Μάθοις δ' ἂν ἐναργέστατα τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀληθὲς ὄν, εἰ τὸν Ὑπέρολον ἢ τὸν Κλέωνα λογίσαιο τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κερδήσαντας, ὅσον ἂν τις εἰς περιφάνειαν κακῶν ἐπικτήσαιτο.

<sup>7</sup>Ἦν ὅτε σύας βοιώτιον ἔθνος ἔνεπον.

ὁ Πίνδαρος φησί. καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτός·

Εἰ ἐκφεύγομεν βοιωτίαν σὺν.

ἀξιῶν, ὅλου σχεδὸν ἔθνους τὸν ἐπ' ἀμαθίᾳ νόγον ἀπολύεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μουσικὴν.

<sup>7</sup>Aristarchos of Samothrake was the first extant commentator to note the passage (*Scholias vetera in Pindari carmina*, ed. A. B. Drachmann [vol. 1, Leipzig 1903], *Olympian* 6.152, 153a). On the scholia themselves, see Mary R. Lefkowitz, "The Pindar Scholia," *AJP* 107 (1986) 269-282.

<sup>8</sup>Examples are too numerous to cite: a fine instance is the diatribe recorded by Herakleides (1.25: Edmonds, Anonymous [Xenon?] 112b), which includes the famous quotation from Pherekrates (fg. 160 Edmonds): "ἦνπερ φρονῆς εὖ, φεῦγε τὴν βοιωτίαν."

<sup>9</sup>Strabon 7.7.1. See Horace Leonard Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* 3 (London 1924) 287. The Hyantes were one of the early inhabitants of Boiotia, who were eventually expelled by the Phoinikes under Kadmos (Pausanias 9.5.1). Their district was probably in the vicinity of Onchestos, although their name may survive in the toponym Hyampolis in Phokis. On the Hyantes, see Robert J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton 1979) 56-61. Hyampolis is probably modern Bogdanou: on the site and its history, see John M. Fossey, *The Ancient Topography of Eastern Phokis* (Amsterdam 1986) 72-76.

<sup>10</sup>This is implied in the scholia to Pindaros; see also Roberts (supra note 1) 4.

<sup>11</sup>On these words, see the entries in *LSJ*.

<sup>12</sup>Frederick E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (New York 1963) 261-263.

<sup>13</sup>*Iliad* 4.253.

<sup>14</sup>*Beasts Are Rational* 4 (987f), 9 (991e). This dialogue, in which one of the participants is a pig named Gryllos, which happens also to be the name of the father and son of Xenophon, is in part a parody of the slander written

by a native Boiotian. γρῦλλος is another Greek word for pig, although a late one, and perhaps only because of this dialogue: see *LSJ*.

<sup>15</sup>See the lists by Orth in *RE* (supra note 2) 815 and Will Richter, "Schwein," *Kleine Pauly* 5 (1979) 46-47.

<sup>16</sup>Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 773, although the word used is χοῖρος. See also the *Souda* on this word.

<sup>17</sup>Zeuner (supra note 12) 256-260.

<sup>18</sup>*Iliad* 10.264 (wild); *Odyssey* 10.243 (domesticated).

<sup>19</sup>Roberts (supra note 1) 8-9.

<sup>20</sup>Roberts (supra note 1) 1.

<sup>21</sup>Robert J. Buck, "Boiotian Swine as Political Theorists," *EchCl* 25 (1981) 47.

## IMPRESSIONS OF BOEOTIA: A REVIEW ARTICLE

Simon Cornelis Bakhuizen,  
McGill University

Henri van EFFENTERRE, Les Béotiens, Aux frontières de l'Athènes antique, Paris 1989, Editions Errance (Collection des Néréides), pp. 217, 158 illustrations, plans and maps, eight of which in colour.

There are four people to be seen in the photograph, two traditionally clad Greek women, one of them stooping, almost folding double, and two 'Westerners', one a young woman observing the grass walking upright but with a slight, timid bending of the knees, and a fourth person, on his knees, completely absorbed in examining something in the grass; this photograph dates back to 1937 and the caption reads: l'auteur, un 'survey' avant la lettre. The site is the ancient fortress of Dhritsa near Tanagra (29). On page 52 is a small photograph of a hand; a scholarly description is duly given: longueur 0,055 m., au musée de Thèbes; main d'une idole mycénienne (type crétois de la 'déesse aux bras levés'), découverte dans un atelier de la Cadmée). Or: a minuscule photograph of some nine fishes in a net (88): tesson mycénienne de Thèbes. And the hard front cover of the book features a splendid colour photograph of the Archaic stele of two brothers from Tanagra, Dermys and Kitylos with their lean bodies, long hair and weathered expressionless faces.

Such categories of materials and sources were used by Van Effenterre in writing a beautiful, straightforward book, which is published 52 years after the Dhritsa picture and which aims at bringing the countrymen of Dermys and Kitylos to life. It

is a pleasure to pause a while over this comprehensive synthesis and to review a book that does not claim to be a narrative of Boeotian history through the centuries but that is rather an impressionistic report on life in ancient Boeotia as it can be approached particularly through archaeological objects and investigations. The book is divided into the following parts: un pays comme les autres ... (11-18); une archéologie longtemps malheureuse (19-29); qui étaient les Béotiens? (31-52); La Béotie 'mycénienne' (53-63); les ingénieurs de la Grèce (64-76); paysannerie (77-90); impossible unité? (91-100); sous le bouclier échancré (101-124); la piété béotienne (133-161); un art inattendu (162-184); prolongations (185-203).

Fenced off from their neighbours and the seas by the surrounding hills and mountains the Boeotians lived in a kind of trough. Of necessity, they were peasants, usually small-holders, not only Hesiod but the generations after him as well. Boeotia was 'la campagne'. Practical people they were, another cast of Greeks than the ones one met in seashore cities, pious with an occasional good laugh.

It was characteristic of Boeotian history before the Roman conquest that the country consisted actually of a number of cantons ('pays'). The A. pays special attention to the Thespians in this respect. These cantons were always at odds with one another, and inter-city strife and warfare were standard features of the Boeotian scene. In this context the book offers superb reproductions of Boeotian hoplites with their typical conical helmet (108: Mnason; 110: Rhynchon; 111: Saugenes; 115: a hoplite on a red-figured vase). The Boeotian land was suitable for keeping horses; and the cavalry units were among the best (104-107). The A. makes a couple of interesting re-

marks here. The first is that Boeotian horsemen did not represent a narrowly defined aristocracy but a wider section of the population (106; 85: a farmer on his horse). the second observation concerns the terracotta figurine of a four-horse chariot with a heniochos, charioteer, and a parabates, the warrior who is being ridden to the battlefield in full armour (105). These names were used in a metaphorical sense for pairs of soldier-lovers in the Sacred Band of the fourth century. The use of chariots for transporting warriors to the place of fighting was Homeric, not contemporary, and the terracotta statuette will possibly have portrayed the parading of the chariot at a festival and a procession.

In the section on religion the A. mentions that sacred sites were sometimes without a temple in earlier centuries (136-138: Vale of the Muses; 141: Mt Ptoion; 155-157: the Kabirion). The A. gives a full translation of the vivid description by Pausanias of a visit to the oracle cave of Trophonios at Lebadeia (144-145).

In a section on civilization the A. points to the major achievements of the Boeotians of the Mycenaean era, when Thebes and Boeotia were as prominent as any other fully developed Mycenaean region. There is discussion of the recent excavations of the Mycenaean palace of Thebes, and of the fortress of Gla. The A. also refers to Tanagra and Orchomenos as important Mycenaean sites. Urban life is not really dwelt upon in this book. Granted that the Boeotian world was one of farming I feel that yet people lived usually in towns and cities. Urban archaeology in Boeotia has perhaps to make some headway in future (for the recent urban survey of Tanagra see D.W. Roller, Tanagra Survey Project 1985, The Site of Grimadha, ABSA 82, 1987, 213-232). It is remarkable how little can be said of the archaeology of the Roman period. Was the country

thinly populated and poor at the time? Or did lack of interest and lack of concomitant literary texts make archaeologists avoid Roman materials as of little intrinsic value? The book gives rise to various questions of this kind, intentionally.

To sum up. Carefully chosen photographs, some of them magnificent enlargements others a small detail of a larger object, contribute effectively to the argument the A. wants to pursue. The specific qualities of the self-oriented country, exposed to invasions, eternal battle field, with great difficulty groping for unification, all of this comes out clearly. The A. succeeds in piecing together a consistent picture, I believe: for much of the time Boeotia, though certainly not cut off from the Greek world at large, was essentially a place of its own. Van Effenterre has given an appreciative description with an eye for detail, with a good sense of proportion, and with a dose of humour not unworthy of Boeotian wit. Eschewing constitutional and political history the book can be read as an interim report on ongoing Boeotian research (there is a concise bibliography on pages 204-205). As a matter of fact it is a successor to two earlier works that looked at the country with an unprejudiced eye, that of W.R. Roberts, The Ancient Boeotians, Their Character and Culture, and their Reputation, Cambridge 1895, and that of P. Guillon, La Béotie antique, Paris 1948. In regional studies of the past twenty years Boeotia has profited from major studies produced by scholars like Lauffer, Salmon, Roesch, Fossey, Buckler, Buck and Schachter. The Teiresias repertory of recent publications concerning Boeotia provides a useful apparatus for which we are grateful indeed. In writing this elegant interim portrait in which he sets the people of the country off against the more sophisticated and politically powerful Athenians Professor Van Effenterre has rendered Boeotian studies a valuable service.