

## CHAPTER 8

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# The Epigraphic Habit(s) in Fourth-Century Boiotia

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The collocation “epigraphic habit” is more often than not associated with the two most important polities of classical antiquity: Athens and the Roman Empire. The term was first introduced by MacMullen in 1982 in a now-celebrated article, “The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire.”<sup>1</sup> Charles Hedrick, Jr., became the first scholar to apply the concept to a purely Greek milieu in his classic *Hesperia* article “Democracy and the Athenian Epigraphical Habit.”<sup>2</sup> In his treatment Hedrick questioned some of the axioms credited by earlier historians, primarily that the relationship between Athens’ democratic constitution and its habit of erecting inscriptions was a straightforward case of cause and effect. Hedrick did not deny that a link between the two existed, but he attempted to show that democratic ideology could be discerned less in the sheer number of Athenian inscribed documents and more in the so-called formulas of disclosure. Hedrick’s article initiated a scholarly debate that has not ceased to this day: in 2009 James Sickinger published a direct response to Hedrick’s article in which he undermined even further the link between the erection of inscriptions and democracy, although he stopped short of dismissing it altogether.<sup>3</sup> In the same 2009 volume that contained Sickinger’s essay, Robin Osborne took up for the first time, as far as I know, an investigation of the epigraphic habit in a Greek city-state other than Athens.<sup>4</sup> Taking Thasos as his case study, he forcefully argued that the epigraphic output of the island polity was very much influenced by its geographical position and its external economic activity. Osborne thus demonstrated that different factors might

have been at play in different poleis in regard to their propensity to set up monumental inscriptions.

In this chapter I too plan to avoid Athenocentrism and perform a similar exercise by looking at three political entities located in, or closely associated with, Boiotia: Thespiiai, Oropos, and Thebes. My choices have largely been determined by considerations of evidence and convenience. Oropos is well served by Petrakos' magisterial corpus of Oropian inscriptions (hereafter referred to as *I.Oropos*),<sup>5</sup> and Thespiiai by the electronic corpus of inscriptions first launched in Lyon in 2007 (hereafter *I.Thespiiai*).<sup>6</sup> As for Thebes, it is a city that in the past decade or so has produced extraordinary epigraphic evidence that calls for some reflection. A by-product of this choice is that the geographical focus of my investigation ends up being southern Boiotia. As a result, we lose from the picture northern Boiotia, where Lokrian and Phokian connections could potentially give a considerably different impression of the topic investigated in this chapter. However, the fact that the region under consideration, bar Tanagra, is a homogeneous zone stretching from the Euboian Gulf in the east to Mt. Helikon in the west should preempt some of the shortcomings of geographically dislocated historical analysis.

In his aforementioned article on the epigraphy of Thasos, Robin Osborne made an apt methodological observation: although MacMullen's epigraphic habit had encompassed both public and private writing, in the course of time the scope of the debate regarding Greece had narrowed and had ended up referring almost exclusively to the frequency with which public inscriptions were erected. I would go even further and add that scholars have used the umbrella term "epigraphic habit" to pose a series of interrelated but by no means identical questions. For instance, what types of inscriptions were erected at any given time and in what numbers? How many people looked at them, and how many were able to read and comprehend them? In turn, what does epigraphy teach us about ancient literacy or literacies (a notorious problem)? Is there a correlation between public and private inscriptions? And last but not least, is there a correlation between constitutional forms and public writing? The reader should keep these questions in mind because they implicitly or explicitly inform my discussion, but he or she should also remember that the extant evidence cannot always be made to bear on these specific queries.

I start with Thespiiai, which in 371 was sacked and depopulated by Thebes.<sup>7</sup> It is not quite clear exactly when Thespiiai was rebuilt and resettled, but the epigraphic output of the third century shows a thriving polis. Yet much of the epigraphic dearth of the fourth century should surely be ascribed to

the dramatic Theban intervention of 371.<sup>8</sup> In what follows, I have made use of the electronic corpus of Thespian inscriptions, although it has to be said that most of the dates given there and adopted here are provisional, and that they very often cover a wide span, such as mid-fourth to mid-third century.

Of a total of thirty-seven Thespian decrees, only one or possibly two can be dated at the earliest to the late fourth century. Here absence of evidence may be attributable to the discontinuation of the Thespian state apparatus after 371. Yet two inventories, the fragmentary *I.Thespiai* 39 and the complete *I.Thespiai* 38, make it clear that early fourth-century Thespiai had acquired a taste for creating lists of a type usually associated with Athens. Both inscriptions date to the first quarter of the fourth century, and both have featured heavily in discussions of Boiotian epichoric scripts.<sup>9</sup> The complete example gives a record of the “sacred property of the Thespians” (ἱερὰ χρέματα Θεσπιέων) in the archonship of Diopeithes. This property included metal vessels, pieces of furniture, and sundry objects and has been identified as the equipment of a formal dining hall. The first editors associated the list with the King’s Peace and the dissolution of Thespiai, primarily because the inventoried objects appear to have been stored in three different locations: Chorsiai, Siphai, and Kreusis.<sup>10</sup> Note, however, that the name of the archon Diopeithes has been inscribed over a previously erased name, Onchesstichos. This might be taken to suggest a process of handing over authority, in which case the motivation for the inscribing could have been purely administrative rather than political.

Going through the fascicles of *Les Inscriptions de Thespies*, one is struck by the variety and number of Thespian inscriptions that cannot be used for the purposes of this discussion. None of the famous Thespian leases (*I.Thespiai* 44–57) predate the third century, and the same is true of the equally numerous military catalogs and lists of victors. Thankfully, we can do slightly better with dedications. I have been able to count 29 dedicatory inscriptions dating to the fourth century, although for half of them the editors do not exclude a date in the early third century. Here again, their number may be attributable to numerous factors, including cultic popularity.<sup>11</sup> Fascicle VII contains about 115 or so honorific inscriptions, of which only *I.Thespiai* 341 is firmly placed in the fourth century, whereas four others (*I.Thespiai* 342, 343, 344, 348) may be late fourth- to early third-century texts. I will add three fourth-century sculpture signatures,<sup>12</sup> the graffito *I.Thespiai* 463 (a dedication to an unidentifiable divinity), and finally a fourth-century tile with the collective ethnic Θεσπιέων (*I.Thespiai* 467). Of course, new discoveries could always alter the picture: the

ongoing Thespiiai survey project recently brought to light a dedication or an honorific herm set up by local tax farmers called *pentekostologoi*. The editors of the text reasonably detected Athenian institutional influence.<sup>13</sup>

So far, one is left rather unimpressed by the epigraphic production of fourth-century Thespiiai. It is only when we move to the gloomy sphere of the epigraphy of death that we see, at last, some epigraphic vigor. There are 103 epitaphs in the epichoric script that have been provisionally dated to the late fifth or early fourth centuries, and another 217 fourth-century funerary inscriptions in Ionic script. The vast majority of these epitaphs are of the simplest possible form: single names in the nominative, no patronyms or patronymic adjectives, and no further designations. This austerity of Boiotian sepulchral inscriptions has long been observed<sup>14</sup> and constitutes a kind of local peculiarity. It has often been seen as a manifestation of conservatism, without further explication. I am not quite sure what is meant by that, although one could claim that these epitaphs seem to emphasize the individual conceived as devoid of any familial or societal affiliations. I also wonder whether it is because of this minimalistic fashion rather than any latent xenophobia that Thespiiai has produced only two fourth-century epitaphs stating the foreign ethnic origin of the deceased (*I.Thespiiai* 999, 1000). There is one single metrical epitaph that appears to date to the mid-fourth century (*I.Thespiiai* 1244); otherwise, funerary epigrams are Hellenistic or Roman Imperial.

One fourth-century funerary inscription merits further consideration: *I.Thespiiai* 486 is a fragmentary gray pedimental stele recording men who died in a war: [ἐν τοῖ] πολέμοι ἀπέθανον (Figure 8.1). But which war? The Corinthian War of the 390s has often been suggested.<sup>15</sup> At first glance, this stele attests to a type of document we tend to associate with Athens, namely, casualty lists. Add to this that whereas the names of the left column are in the epichoric script, those of the right column are inscribed in the “alphabet attique,” to use the French terminology of the corpus, and that the Thespiians fought along with the Athenians in the Corinthian War, and a neat picture emerges: Athenian epigraphic practices were being adopted by willing allies, the heroic Thespiians in this case.

However, the actual story proves to be more complicated. Moving back to the fifth century, we find Thespiiai producing one of the best examples of casualty lists outside Attica, namely, *IG VII* 1888 (= *I.Thespiiai* 485). Nine stelai, eight of them complete, discovered in the late nineteenth century, are widely thought to have been part of a *polyandrion* commemorating the dead hoplites of the battle of Delion in 424. Thus the fourth-century Thespiian



Figure 8.1. *I. Thespiiai* 486. Museum of Thebes, courtesy of the Ephorate of Boiotia.  
Photograph by Y. Kalliontzis.

casualty list turns out to have a local predecessor. In a sense, this does not contradict the theory of "Athenian influence," for, as one would have expected, the Thespian monument for Delion appears to imitate Athenian prototypes with its stoichedon script and general form. It is a good reminder, however, of the limitations of the chronological analysis undertaken here—it would be foolish indeed to believe that all our questions can be answered by fourth-century evidence only—and of deficiencies of simplistic models that see influences, epigraphic influences in our case, only where there is political and constitutional congruity. Thespiiai in 424 B.C. was neither pro-Athenian—far from it: the men recorded in *IG VII 1888* actually fell fighting against Athenians—nor democratic.<sup>16</sup>

Irrespective of casualty lists, Thespian epitaphs appear to be anything but spectacular. Even those slightly acquainted with epigraphy know well that epitaphs constitute the single largest category of ancient inscriptions. Writing was used as a last desperate resource for the preservation of one's memory in the face of the grim inevitability of death.

Yet this almost banal truth is put to the test when we move to Oropos. Remarkably, out of 213 Oropian funerary inscriptions recorded in Petrakos' corpus, only 6 can be dated to the fourth century B.C.<sup>17</sup> This tiny number violates much of what we know about Greek epigraphic practices and calls for an explanation. One possibility is, of course, that our epigraphic picture is distorted by the archaeologists' preoccupation with the famous shrine of Amphiaraos. This is probably true, although even archaeological bias cannot explain away the almost entire absence of pre-Hellenistic funerary inscriptions. I suspect that a more sinister factor is at play here.

Inconveniently wedged between Attica and Boiotia proper, Oropos was throughout the fourth century fiercely contested by Thebes and Athens, which held sway in the region at different periods. Thebes' presence has left few traces on the ground; Athens is more prominent in the archaeological record, but we do not know what happened to the local population when the Athenians took over. Were they expelled or allowed to live as mere farmers of their erstwhile properties? It is hard to say, although the case of Samos, whose entire population was expelled by the Athenians in the 360s,<sup>18</sup> does not inspire confidence in Athenian magnanimity.

A common way of establishing property rights in antiquity was by means of funerary monuments.<sup>19</sup> It is therefore a logical assumption that such monuments would have been overturned, if not outright destroyed, in the course of continuous regime changes. It is in this context, I contend, that we should



Figure 8.2. *I. Oropos* 359. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

be viewing Oropian land consecrations. I have argued elsewhere that not only Amphiaraios but also Athena Polias was endowed with Oropian land.<sup>20</sup> But sacred lands and tombs make for an explosive mix: death brings about miasma, pollution. In 426/425 B.C., on the occasion of the purification of Delos, the Athenians notoriously removed all the graves from the island and went on to celebrate in splendid fashion the penteteric festival of the Delia.<sup>21</sup> Did the Athenian administrators of Oropos in the 330s take similar drastic action before celebrating the equally splendid penteteric festival of the Amphiareia? The dearth of Oropian funerary monuments may well substantiate this hypothesis.

After the Lamian War the roles of villain and victim were reversed. That *damnatio memoriae* was current in fourth-century Oropos has long been known. Again the evidence is epigraphic and allows me to introduce another aspect of my topic. Several Oropian inscriptions show traces of erasure and sometimes reinscription.<sup>22</sup> The victims in almost all cases are Athenian demotics. A striking example is the dedication of the wealthy Athenian Meidias, of Demosthenic *Against Meidias* fame, who had his demotic Ἀναγυράσιος obliterated.<sup>23</sup> Such demotics are sometimes replaced by the ethnic Ἀθηναῖος (Figure 8.2),<sup>24</sup> a practice that automatically turns the individuals in question into foreigners.<sup>25</sup> In this case we can say that the continuation of the Oropian epigraphic habit was secured via minimal corrections.

However, Oropos' epigraphic material is characterized not only by the region's variegated fortunes but also by the prominent sanctuary of Amphiaraios. The latter could even allow us to speak of a conspicuous religious epigraphic habit. I start with the umbrella term *leges sacrae* (sacred laws), which in Oropia is represented by at least four examples. By its reference to an entrance fee assessed in Boiotian drachmas, the earliest of these texts almost certainly dates to the period of the Boiotian occupation of Oropia from 402 to 387.<sup>26</sup> Two fragmentary examples add little to this list,<sup>27</sup> but most Greek historians are familiar with Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* no. 27 (*I.Oropos* 277; Figure 8.3). This sacred regulation is widely thought to date to the decade of independence that Oropos briefly enjoyed after the King's Peace and the dissolution of the Boiotian koinon.<sup>28</sup> Yet in this local text we encounter a phrase that takes us back to the realm of Athenian praxis: according to the drafter of the sacred law, upon paying his or her fee, every pilgrim performing incubation was to have his or her name and ethnic written on a wooden tablet (πέτευρος) σκοπεῖν τοῖ βολομένοι, "for anyone who wishes to examine/inspect."<sup>29</sup> This formulaic phrase, we have known well since Wilhelm,<sup>30</sup> is emblematic of Athenian notions of wide accessibility to public information. Here

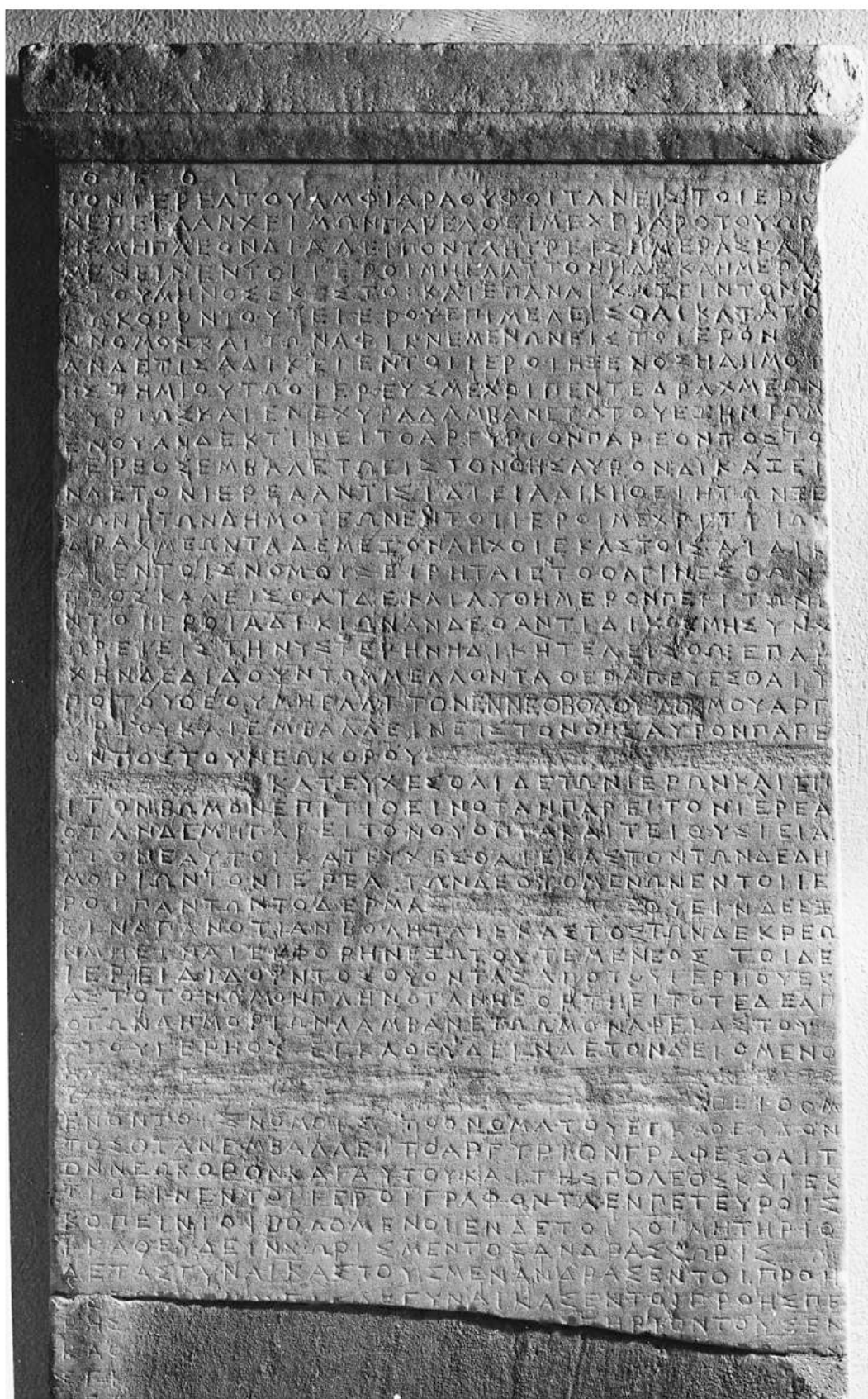


Figure 8.3. *I. Oropos* 277. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

we have the only Classical attestation of the phrase outside Athens, significantly in a text not issued by Athenian authorities. This, I contend, is a good example of administrative mimicry as a means by which the epigraphic habit was disseminated. Be that as it may, other peculiarities of *I.Oropos* 277, such as the use of empty spaces (*vacats*) and triple dots as punctuation marks, also allude to Athenian influences.<sup>31</sup>

Still in the religious domain, one should heed the large list of victors at the Great Amphiareia, *I.Oropos* 520 (Figure 8.4), which current orthodoxy places in a period of Athenian occupation of Oropos, most probably in the Lykourgan epoch.<sup>32</sup> Here again, Athenian inspiration should be conjectured, although a more imaginative approach would be to think of the influence that the Oropian list itself exercised on the future epigraphic output of Boiotia. Festival victory lists are a staple of Boiotian epigraphy in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, and I dare suggest that the inception of the tradition should be sought in Oropos.<sup>33</sup>

A much larger epigraphic dossier is offered by Oropian dedications, including ephebic documents.<sup>34</sup> We also find boundary stones, some in the local dialect, including an example that seems suspiciously Boiotian (Figure 8.5);<sup>35</sup> some others, however, demonstrate strong Athenian influences (here the preservation of the aspirate in the word *horos*).<sup>36</sup> Such influences were accentuated once the Athenians returned in 371, as evinced in the *syngraphai*, the contract, for the repair of the spring of Amphiaraos and his baths (*I.Oropos* 290). The proposer of this document is an Athenian; the process—a letting (μίσθωσις)—is supervised by the Athenian council. The inscribing of the contract on a stone stele and its erection in the shrine of Amphiaraos all resonate with typical Athenian processes. The numbers of this type of inscription increased after Athens returned to Oropos in 335, with three further technical contracts.<sup>37</sup> Inventory lists, another Athenian specialty, are also well represented in this period.<sup>38</sup>

What about decrees? After all, as public texts par excellence, decrees constitute a class of material long favored by students of the epigraphic habit. Oropos has produced the largest number of federal decrees of all Boiotian cities, twenty-three, all of them Hellenistic.<sup>39</sup> There is little to marvel at here, since the Amphiareion was, along with the Itonion, a major shrine of the Boiotian koinon and a prominent site for the display of their documents. Oropos has also produced more proxeny decrees than any other Boiotian city, a staggering 196 proxenies;<sup>40</sup> interestingly, the prominence of the Amphiareion resulted in the shrine attracting city decrees out of their natural habitat, that is,

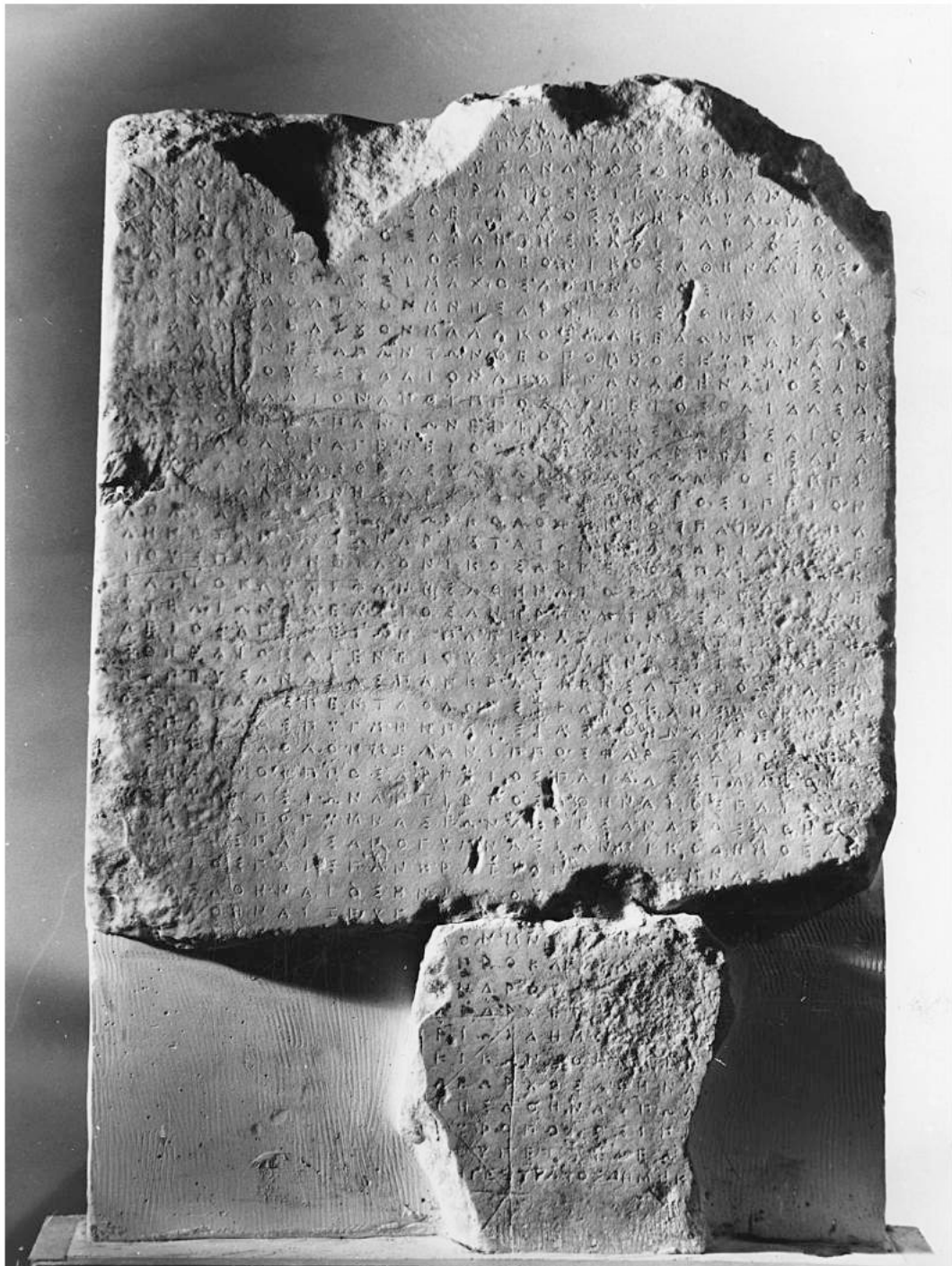


Figure 8.4. *I.Oropos* 520. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.



Figure 8.5. *I.Oropos* 281. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

the city of Oropos itself. But what is the picture we get when we focus on the fourth century?

In contrast to the epigraphic dearth of Thespian civic administration, fourth-century Oropian decrees constitute a sizable sample, even though they are dwarfed by the vast number of city and koinon decrees of the third, second, and first centuries. Thanks to Denis Knoepfler's scrupulous work, it is now widely recognized that Oropos enjoyed a spell of independence from the battle of Chaironeia down to 335;<sup>41</sup> three honorific decrees (*I.Oropos* 1–3), of which two are proxenies for members of the Macedonian elite,<sup>42</sup> may be taken to prove that the Oropians were willing to adopt the epigraphic trends of Athens and to duly adapt them to their own needs. Yet there is also something intentionally anti-Athenian here: note the mixed Oropian dialectal forms, infinitive εἶν and genitive οἰκίης, but also the use of the aorist ἔλεξε instead of

Attic εἶπε, or ἐκκλησίη instead of the Attic δῆμος.<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, once Oropos was liberated anew from the Athenian yoke, it produced four further honorific decrees (*I.Oropos* 4–7), which stood much closer to Athenian templates. Should we assume then that Lykourgan Athens' systematic attempt to annex Oropos had started paying dividends?<sup>44</sup> Perhaps we should.

The preceding analysis leaves no doubt that the crucial determining factor behind Oropos' flourishing as a producer of public (and private) inscriptions was Athens' involvement in Oropian affairs in the fourth century. In Oropos the epigraphic habit was imported from outside—one might even claim that it was violently imposed—but it was readily adopted and had a long-lasting legacy. In anthropological terms, I think that we should speak of an original stage of forced diffusion followed by a milder process of direct diffusion, both into and out of Oropia, toward the end of the fourth century.

I finally move to Thebes, the area that inspired the topic of this chapter in the first place. Some of the difficulties in analyzing the epigraphic output of this city were duly sketched by Guy Vottéro more than a decade ago. Of the 958 Theban inscriptions that Vottéro was able to adduce in 2001, only 48, or 5 percent, fell within his category of “textes civiques.”<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, his chronological system does not correspond to the chronological scope of this volume, although his database can be used with the necessary precautions to serve the aims of this chapter. Using Vottéro's material, I have been able to count 168 inscriptions that could belong to the fourth century B.C., that is, 17.5 percent of the total. For most of them, however, the date given is either fifth/fourth or fourth/third centuries B.C. In actuality, this means that the real number of fourth-century Theban inscriptions is considerably lower than 168, or at least this was the case in 2001. Therefore, a proportion around 10 percent is probably closer to reality. The tally is not particularly impressive, and given the statistical uncertainties highlighted here, it is not particularly helpful either. It may be more productive to leave aside shaky statistics and attempt a qualitative analysis.

In 2008 Vassilis Aravantinos, then director of the Museum of Thebes, invited me to join him in publishing an inscription he had discovered at a rescue excavation in 2006. The inscription turned out to be the earliest extant treaty of Thebes, a treaty with the Euboian city of Histiaia.<sup>46</sup> One of the most striking features of the new document is its script: with its “red” chi (Ψ), tailed rho (Ρ), and L-shaped lambda, the treaty was unmistakably written in the epichoric script of Boiotia. This seemed to have chronological implications incongruent with another striking feature of the inscription, for surely

the term *hagemonia* (ἡγεμονία) in line 2 led one to think of the celebrated post-Leuktra Theban hegemony. Eventually, however, Aravantinos and I, although we took a flexible and open-minded position, expressed our preference for the year 377/376 B.C., when, according to Xenophon, the Thebans captured Histiaia's citadel and made the city revolt against Sparta. In electronic exchanges, several Boiotian experts have expressed their sympathy for that date,<sup>47</sup> and consequently we feel increasingly confident that the new treaty offers one of the best anchors for early fourth-century Boiotian epigraphy.

In any case, the new stele is a good reminder that there is much that awaits discovery in the field of Theban epigraphy. The salient point is not that Thebes was willing to enter bilateral agreements with other poleis—that we could have guessed from our literary sources. Rather, the point is that Thebes was prepared to record them on stone and publicize them. Unfortunately, in its current state of preservation, the stele does not contain a publication clause, and the stone has no good archaeological context. Thus Aravantinos and I were forced to indulge in some speculation. Primarily by analogy to non-Theban cases, and owing to topographical considerations, we hypothesized that the stele might have stood in the shrine of Herakles, the religious core of Theban military power. We also noticed a strange feature of the stele: it has *anathyrosis* on both lateral sides. This feature self-evidently suggests that ours was not a freestanding stele. In our analysis we briefly pointed out that a wall made of contiguous inscribed stelai was known from another Boiotian city-state, Lebadeia. The stelai in question contained the contract for the construction of the temple of Zeus Basileus. The “epigraphic wall” from Lebadeia could therefore suggest a local trend. However, the temple and the stelai probably date to the third century B.C.; that is, they are much later than the Theban treaty. The Lebadeian example cannot be a predecessor.<sup>48</sup>

It is conceivable that inspiration had come from *polyandria*; I have already mentioned the Thespian monument for the dead of Delion, itself influenced by Attic prototypes. One is reminded of Nathan Arrington's reconstruction of a notorious monument, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1163, which, in the aftermath of increasing scholarly rehabilitation of Mattingly's chronologies, Arrington has now associated anew with the battle of Delion.<sup>49</sup> Yet although I tend to agree that the blueprint for the Theban treaty was Attic, I suspect that we should be looking somewhere else in Athens. I am thinking primarily of that emblematic monument of late fifth and early fourth-century Athens, the sacrificial calendar. In his thorough treatment of the monument, Stephen Lambert, while following Sterling Dow's 1961 reconstruction in its essentials,<sup>50</sup> argued in strong terms

that the monument should be described as “a stele-series” rather than as a wall.<sup>51</sup> The law codification and therefore the erection of the inscribed monument were major political events in late fifth-century Athens and were fiercely debated, as we know from Lysias’ thirtieth oration, *Against Nicomachus*. And the Thebans? We have to remember that in the late 380s members of the so-called Theban democratic party had sought refuge in Athens. They would have had plenty of opportunities to gaze at the inscribed law code, and they would surely have been informed of the surrounding controversy that went on throughout the constitutional upheavals of Athens in the last decade of the fifth century B.C. According to Plutarch, while Pelopidas and his followers were preparing for their return to Thebes, they drew inspiration from the triumphant return of the Athenian democrats under Thrasybulos in 403.<sup>52</sup> It is not inconceivable that such inspiration expanded to encompass the Athenian democrats’ actions after their defeat of the Thirty, including the alphabetic reform of Archinos.<sup>53</sup> This observation allows me to move to my next topic.

Patterns of morphological mimicry may be one way in which the new Theban treaty with Histiaia matters. The other issue at stake is the introduction of the Ionic alphabet in Boiotia. In 1966 Taillardat and Roesch expressed what became the orthodox view for a whole generation, namely, that the Boiotians adopted the Ionic alphabet in the 390s, around the time of the Corinthian War. In 1992 Denis Knoepfler put forward another theory and suggested that the liberation of Thebes and the expulsion of the Spartan troops from the Kadmeia in 379 offered a better historical context for the adoption of the Ionic script.<sup>54</sup> Not much later, Vottéro modified this picture; he argued that the reform began in Thebes around 379–376, and after a period of experimentation throughout Boiotia, the Ionic script was finally adopted by the Orchomenians in 370. Vottéro’s theory sounds cogent, but the new treaty, if rightly dated, offers a subtler picture; it shows that at least in Thebes—and here we should be careful not to assume automatic and simultaneous application of the Theban model to the entire Boiotian region—the epichoric alphabet was still being used in official documents as late as 377/376, which becomes a fairly secure *terminus post quem* for the introduction of the Ionic script.

What triggered the alphabetic reform, and how was it implemented throughout Boiotia? In another milieu the debate is familiar. As already mentioned, in 403/402 B.C., after the overthrow of the Thirty, the Athenian politician Archinos passed a decree that legislated the official adoption of the Ionic alphabet by the state. That was the archontic year of Euclides, whose name has entered epigraphic jargon: we all speak of pre-Euclidean and post-Euclidean

Attic inscriptions. Recent work has demonstrated that Archinos' alphabetic reform was not as dramatic as previously assumed, and that the Ionic alphabet had been in use in Attica with increasing frequency from the 440s onward, especially in private and in nonstate documents.<sup>55</sup> Thus the Athenians of the late fifth century simply made official a preexisting trend, and one that was of practical importance, for the Ionic script differentiated between short and long vowels and even had specific letters to indicate double consonants. Its use facilitated writing and reading—in other words, it facilitated literacy. Without intending to make sweeping generalizations, I believe that the epigraphic explosion in fourth-century Athens was aided to some extent by the adoption of the new script.

It would be easy to argue that the Ionic alphabet had a similar appeal in the case of Boiotia, and it almost certainly did. Nevertheless, there is also a substantial difference between Athens and Boiotia. Athens was culturally Ionian, and it was the center of a power structure that was predominantly, albeit not exclusively, Ionian. This obviously does not apply to Thebes and Boiotia. Nino Luraghi has strongly argued that scripts should not be dissociated from dialects—a rather obvious point—and that epichoric scripts functioned as markers of ethnic identity and as political demarcators.<sup>56</sup> In this light, the Thebans' and the Boiotians' decision to shift from their local alphabet to the Ionic script at some point in the 370s becomes perplexing. One could have recourse yet again to the mantra of Athenian influence. If the pro-Athenian Theban liberators returned to their hometown as new converts to democracy, as is usually assumed, it is not unthinkable that they would have carried with them aspects of the alphabetic reform discourse. This ingenious theory was first proposed by Vottéro and later adopted by Luraghi.<sup>57</sup>

Here is the place to bring up another Theban document that has featured heavily in the debate on the Thebans' adoption of the Ionic alphabet, namely, *IG VII 2427* (Figure 8.6). This fragmentary list of names and patronyms or patronymic adjectives is written primarily in the epichoric alphabet but also shows extensive contamination from the Ionic alphabet.<sup>58</sup> A very extraordinary feature of the text is the first, albeit sporadic, use of patronyms in lieu of the typically Boiotian patronymic adjectives. Vottéro brilliantly ascribed this to the establishment of a democratic system in Thebes after 379, and he consequently proposed to place *IG VII 2427* chronologically in the 370s. By itself, the use of patronyms is indeed important. However, I suspect that the phenomenon is attendant on something bigger, and what is more, something that has a bearing on the topic of this chapter, for surely the important



Figure 8.6. Thebes: *IG* VII 2427. Museum of Thebes, courtesy of the Ephorate of Boiotia.  
Photograph by Y. Kalliontzis.

element here is the decision to set up lists of citizens. We do not know of any such Theban texts in the preceding period. We do not even know the identity of the Thebans recorded in *IG* VII 2427. Are they hoplites or members of a religious association, as hesitantly suggested by Vottéro? It is hard to say, but other possibilities cannot be excluded. In Athens such lists record councilors, cleruchs, ephebes, etc.<sup>59</sup> Be that as it may, setting up lists was very much an Athenian epigraphic habit.<sup>60</sup> Thus what at first glance was meant to be merely the investigation of an early use of the Ionic alphabet in a specific Theban inscription turns out to tell us something new about the epigraphic habit in early fourth-century Thebes.

Returning to the question of the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, I may put forward a more complex political agenda. It is clear that upon their liberation from Sparta the Thebans, first timidly and later aggressively, were trying to reestablish a Boiotian koinon with themselves as the undisputed leaders. Are we then entitled to assume that abandoning the Boiotian script was part of this Theban policy? At first glance, this attractive interpretation runs into a serious obstacle: one would have expected the exact opposite, namely, the active promotion of the Boiotian script as a way of enhancing Boiotian identity. After all, with the exception of Oropos, every single member of the koinon, willing or compelled, was using the Boiotian script down to that time. But one wonders whether this was precisely the problem, and whether Thebes wished to break with old norms by promoting innovation in the form of an alphabetic reform.

There is another more compelling interpretation, though, and this gives me the opportunity to introduce another inscription, a statue base, published in 2006. This Theban dedication to Zeus Saotes is preceded by an epigram and is signed by none other than the famous sculptor Lysippus. It is worth noting that the inscriptions, which were cut in the Ionic script, were in all likelihood carved by the same man who inscribed the treaty with Histiaia in the epichoric alphabet.<sup>61</sup> Denis Knoepfler has tentatively identified the dedicant Hippias as the homonymous Theban boiotarch of the early 360s. More challengingly, in *BE* (2009) he identified the honoree as Pelopidas himself. Whether or not this is the case, the honoree was almost certainly a Theban general who had, according to the epigram, increased the glory of fearless Thebes when it chose him as its war leader and thus prevailed over the rest of Hellas (Ἑλλά[δος ἅλλης]). The reference to Hellas is striking and can be matched by other epigraphic and especially literary sources that make it clear that after Leuktra Thebes was increasingly promoting itself as a Panhellenic power.<sup>62</sup> Against this background, the introduction of the Ionic script in Boio-

tia can be seen as yet another Theban ploy for the advancement and solidification of its newly invented Panhellenic identity. The form of the message now mattered as much as the message itself. And the form had to be in the internationally intelligible Ionic alphabet.

Of course, for all their variability, these theories presuppose that the reform was a central and probably legally binding decision that was imposed by Thebes on the periphery of the koinon. In principle, one should not discount the possibility that the alphabetic reform was simply a slow process of acculturation that encompassed all the poleis of Boiotia at approximately the same time.<sup>63</sup> I have already mentioned the casualty list *I.Thespiai* 486, which might belong to the 370s and which could be taken to imply alphabetic developments in Thespiai that run parallel to, but independent from, those in Thebes. On the other hand, Mackil has lucidly demonstrated that after the liberation of Thebes in 379 federal institutions were primarily promoted by Thebes through coercion.<sup>64</sup> In this light, it seems historically more plausible to assume that the adoption of the Ionic alphabet by the members of the Boiotian koinon was actually imposed by Thebes in its effort to establish and advance new institutions promoting federal cohesion. Even in the unlikely event that Thebes was not the instigator of the reform, it was certainly an enthusiastic espouser. In 2014 I had the opportunity to publish two late Archaic epigrams, one funerary, the other dedicatory. In both cases the original texts, carved in the epichoric script, were later reinscribed in Ionic letters (*metagrammatismos*).<sup>65</sup> This retrospective application of the alphabetic reform would appear to suggest that, at least in Thebes, the issue of the script mattered.

With this, we have reached the post-Leuktra period, during which Thebes temporarily developed hegemonic structures.<sup>66</sup> The 360s, we now understand, saw an epigraphic mini revolution in Thebes with the production of a series of decrees passed in the name of the Boiotian koinon.<sup>67</sup> In 2003, in their authoritative collection *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Rhodes and Osborne could mention three decrees falling within this category, with proxenies awarded to a Macedonian (*SEG* XXXIV 355), a Byzantian (*IG* VII 2408; Figure 8.7), and a Carthaginian (*IG* VII 2407 = Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* no. 43). Other scholars were willing to include a further example, which had been restored to honor a Rhodian.<sup>68</sup> The publication of two new proxeny decrees in 2008 and 2010 has increased this assemblage. The first decree, stored in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, records a proxeny for a Lakonian individual called Timeas, whose father, Cheirikrates, had been a naval commander of Sparta in the early fourth century.<sup>69</sup> The second decree records

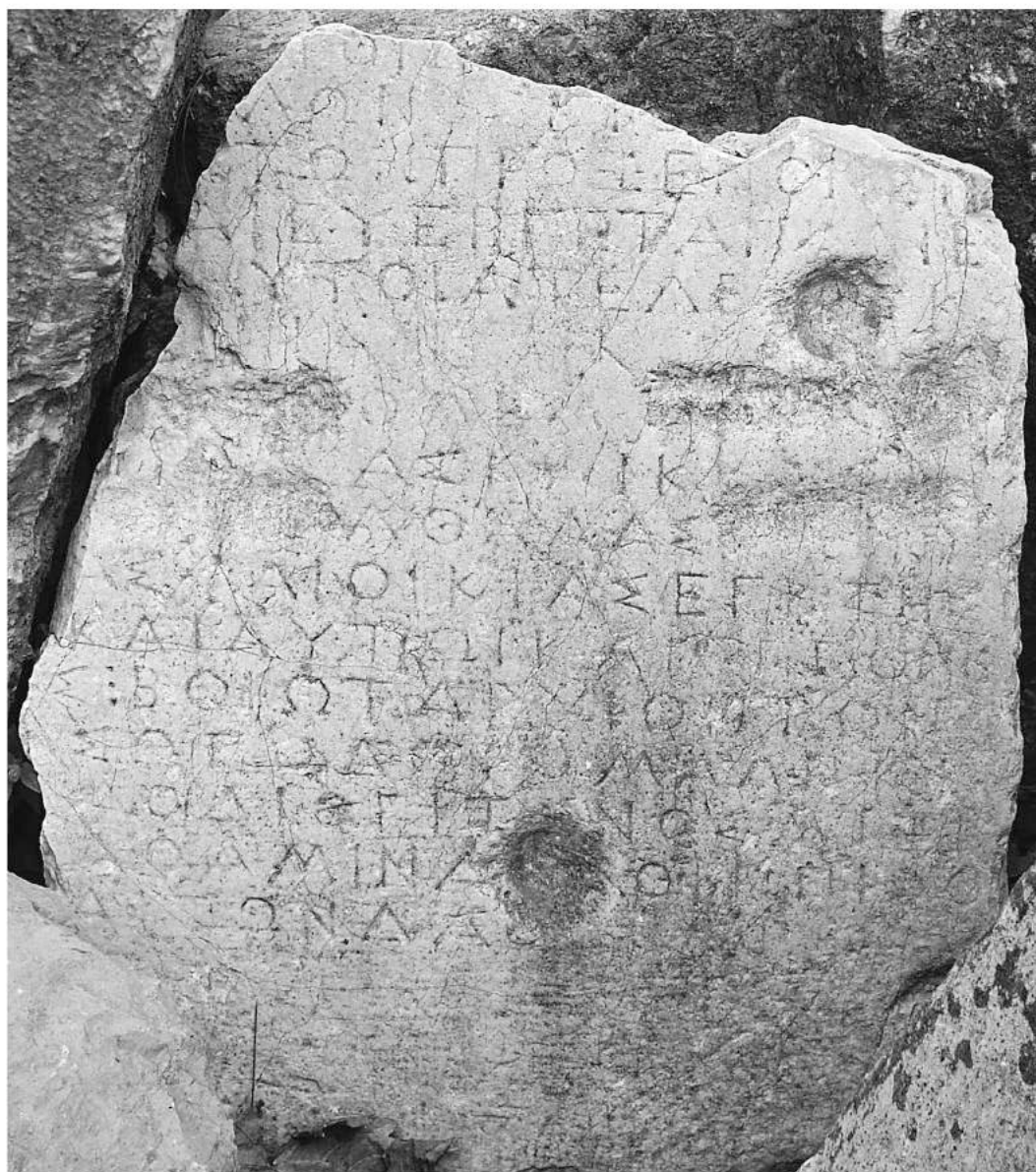


Figure 8.7. Thebes: *IG VII 2408*. Museum of Thebes, courtesy of the Ephorate of Boiotia.  
 Photograph by Y. Kalliontzis.

a double proxeny for two individuals, either from Olynthos or from Corinth.<sup>70</sup> According to a popular interpretation, not endorsed by Rhodes and Osborne, this series of the 360s was connected with Thebes' ambitions to build a fleet and establish itself as a naval power. The two recent examples, especially the Boston decree with the emphatic naval iconography of the accompanying relief and the naval connections of the honoree, add more credibility to this theory.

In terms of diction, the decrees show remarkable uniformity. Here again, it would be easy to make a claim for Athenian influence. In the new *koinon*

the power no longer lay with the oligarchical councils, the *boulai*, but with the assembly: ἔδοξεν τοῖ δάμοι. Yet the uniformity includes traits that are patently not Athenian. Almost all these decrees record the grant of ἔππασις and ἐνωνά, the right to purchase and own land and a house. The Attic term ἔγκτησις is found only once. Nor are these decrees especially democratic. Prosopographical analysis has shown that the boiotarchs recorded in these decrees all came from Thebes. Last but not least, I point out the conspicuous absence of any formulas of disclosure. Such formulas, often considered to denote democratic principles, are by and large absent from Theban and Boiotian legislative acts. My guess is that the decrees of the 360s, and probably the treaty of the 370s, do show Attic influences, but of a different type: far from being motivated by democratic considerations, they probably performed a propagandistic function. Not very differently from imperialistic Athens, hegemonic Thebes advertised its willingness to honor foreigners who helped considerably with the expansion of its power.

There are certain aspects of the topic that I have touched on only in passing, and others that I simply passed over in silence. The numerous graffiti from the Theban Kabeirion, for instance, tell a totally different story.<sup>71</sup> The recently discovered Archaic dipinti and graffiti from the Theban Herakleion suggest that the Kabeirion material was not unique, and that a certain degree of limited literacy, at least one manifest in modest private dedications, materialized in the realm of private epigraphy.<sup>72</sup> In the case of fourth-century Thebes, I have argued for strong Athenian influences that were cultural in character rather than constitutional, although I stress that these two aspects are by no means mutually exclusive. I repeat that the temptation to automatically ascribe everything to the democratic transformation of the Theban constitution should be resisted.<sup>73</sup> Epigraphic finds reported in 2014 include four bronze tablets, part of an archive, dating to around 500.<sup>74</sup> Those and a fifth-century bronze honorific decree, all from Thebes, should suffice to show that the notoriously oligarchic Thebes of the sixth and fifth centuries was at ease with producing documents.<sup>75</sup> Democratic, or at least pseudodemocratic, Thebes after Leuktra did not invent epigraphic literacy ex nihilo.<sup>76</sup>

Study of epigraphic material from Thespiiai and Oropos also shows a variety of epigraphic practices with several subpatterns. These cities too were probably influenced by Athens, but via different trajectories. For Oropos, Athenian epigraphic contamination was often the aftermath of bitter political developments on the ground. Paradoxically, these bad seeds led to Oropos' epigraphic blossoming in the Hellenistic period. The case of Thespiiai is less

straightforward. Attic influences in the case of the casualty lists do not necessarily reflect direct Attic political influence, constitutional or otherwise. It is not impossible that much of Thespias's epigraphic culture came about in direct opposition to Thebes or as the repercussion of open hostility from Thebes.

The epigraphic variety shown in the practices of these three contemporary polities of south Boiotia compels us to accept that it may be better to speak of epigraphic *habits*, not an epigraphic habit. In that respect, one even wonders how useful the whole "fourth-century" concept is when it is used unqualifiedly. Some of the epigraphic habits analyzed in this chapter originated in the fifth century and, transformed, survived well into the Hellenistic period. This is not to deny, however, that the fourth century saw many novelties. The liberation of Thebes in 379, in particular, ushered in major changes that affected the epigraphic outlook of Boiotia. On the other end, Thebes' epigraphic proliferation was abruptly arrested in 335 as a result of the destruction of the city by Alexander. Some of the most interesting epigraphic developments had already taken place within this very period, Boiotia's "short fourth century."<sup>77</sup> However, I do not wish to push this concept too far or too uncritically. The 330s marked a watershed in the history of Boiotia, but different Boiotian regions were affected in different ways, and the same applies to their respective epigraphic productions, as we have seen. After all, it did not take long for Thebes to become epigraphically active again after its refoundation by Cassander in 316/315.<sup>78</sup> Yet one gets the impression that the epigraphic habits of Thebes, Thespias, and Oropos in the last quarter of the fourth century prefigure the respective habits of Boiotia's long third century.<sup>79</sup> But this is a topic for another discussion.

#### Appendix: A Chronological Reappraisal of the Theban Monument for Leuktra (*IG* VII 2462 = Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* 30)

There are few Theban inscriptions better known or more debated than *IG* VII 2462 (Figure 8.8). The inscription has been associated with the battle of Leuktra ever since its 1877 editio princeps by Koumanoudes: "It is obvious that the epigram refers to the famous battle of Leuktra (371 B.C.)," firmly stated the great Greek epigraphist.<sup>80</sup>

The academic community responded enthusiastically to the new find, and the years following Koumanoudes' edition saw a spate of pertinent publications. The specific question of the script and its date was raised already in 1878.

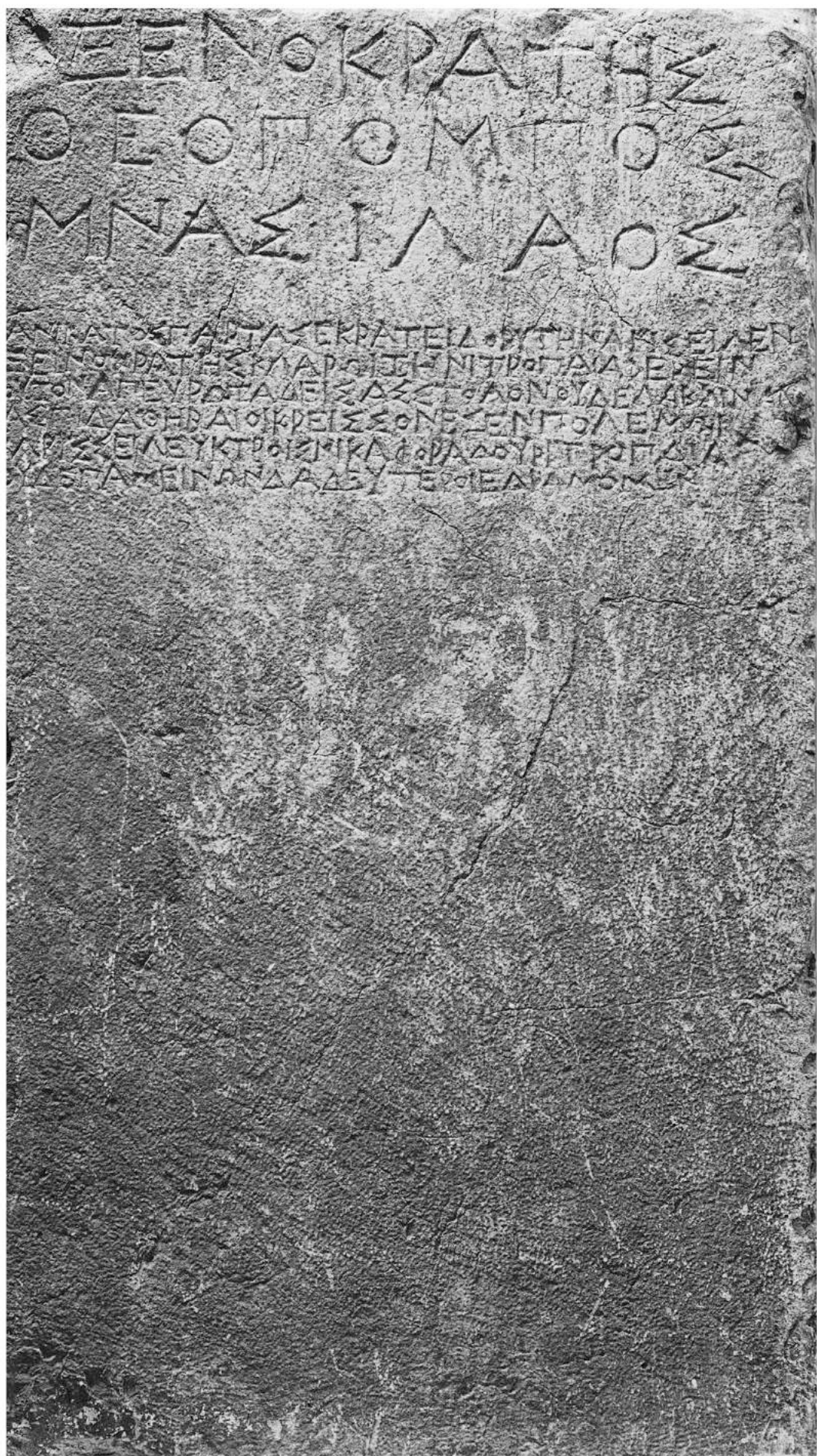


Figure 8.8. Thebes: *IG* VII 2462. Museum of Thebes, courtesy of the Ephorate of Boiotia.

The important *BCH* article of Egger was preceded by a brief anonymous note that included a majuscule transcription of the inscription in “caractères épigraphiques.” The composer of the note affirmed that the lettering indicated “une bonne époque” and concluded that it was very possible that the dedication had been inscribed only a few years after the battle of Leuktra.<sup>81</sup>

Yet writing in the same year as Egger, Kaibel adumbrated sundry reasons—inelegant narrative, obscure diction, inconsistent dialectal forms—for which he thought that the inscription postdated the fourth century B.C.<sup>82</sup> However, Kaibel’s protestations were overlooked or simply dismissed. Thus Dittenberger, the editor of *Inscriptiones Graecae* VII, upon making use of a squeeze sent to him by Lolling, compared the lettering of *IG* VII 2462 with that of *IG* VII 2418, the contributions for the Third Sacred War (c. 354–352 B.C.), found the epigram to be slightly older, and rejected Kaibel’s dating.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, Hansen dismissed Kaibel’s chronological verdict as ill judged.<sup>84</sup>

In any case, Kaibel found no followers, and ever since 1878 scholars have reiterated their belief that *IG* VII 2462 is one of the best-dated Boiotian inscriptions. Thus Tod could unhesitatingly state, “The monument appears, to judge by the script, to have been erected immediately, or at least shortly, after the victory.”<sup>85</sup> For Fraser and Rönne, “The criterion for establishing the absolute date of the introduction of the Ionic script in Boiotia is provided by . . . (b) the epigram commemorating the battle of Leuktra, 371 B.C. (*IG*, VII, 2462).”<sup>86</sup> Their statement was duly picked up by Pritchett: “P. M. Fraser and T. Rönne . . . had earlier cautioned that the only two securely dated Boiotian inscriptions of the period were *IG* VII.1888, the casualty-list for Delion, and *IG* VII.2462, the epigram commemorating the battle of Leuktra.”<sup>87</sup> In his discussion of the impact of Leuktra on contemporary literature, Shrimpton declared, “The reaction of certain Thebans to the glory won by Epaminondas at the battle of Leuktra was captured in stone shortly after the event. The inscription survives.”<sup>88</sup> Likewise, in his thorough treatment of the monument’s form Tuplin unequivocally stated, “We should therefore proceed on the assumption that the text, whose lettering is consistent with a date within the Theban hegemony, is an epitaph.”<sup>89</sup> Similar was Vottéro’s belief in *IG* VII 2462 as a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the Ionic alphabet.<sup>90</sup> Keeping in line with this tradition, in the most recent authoritative republication of the text, Rhodes and Osborne placed *IG* VII 2462 in the year 371 B.C.<sup>91</sup> In sum, whereas scholars have long debated the type—funerary or dedicatory—of the monument and the exact meaning of the epigram, especially when read against the literary tradition, with the exception of the early divergence of

Kaibel, there has been an almost total consensus on the date of the inscription. Unfortunately, understandable though it is, such faith is ill based and has to be abandoned.

The state of preservation of *IG* VII 2462 is excellent, and its lettering is easy to study. By itself the lettering is rather careless, as can be seen in the different sizes of omicron in lines 1, 2, and 3. Epsilon has an extremely short central horizontal. The central bar of alpha is even slightly curved. But arguably the most salient feature of the lettering of *IG* VII 2462 is the distinctive serifs in which strokes end. This is very clear in the case of epsilon, sigma, and even iota. In fact, there is hardly any terminal letter stroke without a serif. Such serifs cannot be paralleled in early or mid-fourth-century B.C. inscriptions. Now that we have some well-dated documents of the period of the Theban hegemony,<sup>92</sup> we can see that, contrary to what has been repeatedly affirmed, the lettering of *IG* VII 2462 can under no circumstances be that early.

It is rather odd that Dittenberger assessed the lettering of *IG* VII 2462 as earlier than that of *IG* VII 2418. The letters of *IG* VII 2418 are neat and show no traces of apices, as one would naturally expect from a mid-fourth-century B.C. inscription. We should instead compare the lettering of the Leuktra monument to that of *IG* VII 3206, an Orchomenian dedication traditionally dated to 329 B.C. In a concise paleographical analysis, Fossey described with great precision the pronounced serifs of *IG* VII 3206 and aptly pointed out its significance as “a clear example of how an important document at the beginning of the last third of the 4th century would have been written; . . . an example of the stage of development of the alphabet at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period.”<sup>93</sup> Juxtaposition of photographs of *IG* VII 2462 and 3206 will suffice to show that the two inscriptions roughly belong to the same epigraphic tradition. Arguably more appropriate and fruitful is a comparison of *IG* VII 2462 with the inscription recording the monetary contributions for the refoundation of Thebes, a document that definitely postdates 315 B.C. and most probably belongs in the closing years of the fourth century. Such a comparison shows that *IG* VII 2462 is contemporary with, if not slightly later than, the contributions record.<sup>94</sup> Its letter forms are right at home in the period of the Diadochi.

There is only one plausible interpretation for this discrepancy between the historical context of the epigram under examination and its late-looking lettering: the monument for Leuktra that has come down to us was inscribed after the refoundation of Thebes by Cassander in 315 B.C.<sup>95</sup> It might have replaced an earlier monument that had been damaged by the troops of Alexander.

The famous inscribed dedication celebrating Athens' double victory over the Boiotians and the Chalkidians, first erected in 506 and presumably replaced around 457 B.C., several years after the first monument had been destroyed by the Persians, offers a good parallel.<sup>96</sup> Even more relevant, albeit less known, is the case of the monument in honor of the famous Theban musician Pronomos, which along with its accompanying epigram was rescued and restored after it had been damaged by the troops of Alexander the Great in 335.<sup>97</sup> I will leave it to others to gauge the possible implications of my chronological proposal for the form and type of the monument. Here I wish only to note that my theory might help explain a long-observed anomaly: of the three men recorded on the top of the front side, Ξενοκράτης, Θεόπομπος, and Μνασίλαος, only the first features in the epigram.<sup>98</sup> But first and foremost, I will repeat my conviction that *IG* VII 2462 was inscribed toward the end of the fourth century B.C. or even early in the third century B.C. It therefore has no bearing on the discussion about the introduction of the Ionic script to Thebes and Boiotia.

98. Cf. Larson 2007: 12.

99. Cf. Hall 1997: 32; Larson 2007: 11. For Delphi being particularly good at identity display: Scott 2010: 219–40. Boiotians not at Olympia in the same way: Roesch 1982: 463–89; Larson 2007: 146.

#### CHAPTER 8. THE EPIGRAPHIC HABIT(S) IN FOURTH-CENTURY BOIOTIA

I am grateful to Samuel Gartland for inviting me to participate in this collection. I am equally grateful to Robin Osborne for sharing with me his article “Thespiiai: The Epigraphic City down to 171” before publication. For help with questions concerning Pindar, I would like to thank Leslie Kurke. I am also grateful to Randy Souza for critically reading a draft of this chapter. Basileios Petrakos, secretary of the Archaeological Society at Athens, generously granted me permission to publish photographs of inscriptions from his Oropian corpus. Likewise, the Ephorate of Boiotia allowed me to publish photographs of inscriptions kept in the Museum of Thebes; Ephor Alexandra Charami and the archaeologist Yannis Fappas were both instrumental. Finally, I am indebted to Yannis Kalliontzis, Georgia Malouchou, and Angelos P. Matthaiou for their advice on the script of *IG VII* 2462 (see the appendix).

1. MacMullen 1982.

2. Hedrick 1999; the reader may note the lengthier adjectival form.

3. Sickinger 2009.

4. Osborne 2009. See, however, the examination of the epigraphic production of an entire multipolis region in Chaniotis 2004.

5. Petrakos 1997.

6. Roesch 2007.

7. For the sources, see Roesch 1965: 45; and Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 457.

8. For a diligent analysis of the epigraphic production of Thespiiai, see Osborne forthcoming. The first, Thespian, part of my chapter should ideally be read together with Osborne’s analysis, which has a longer chronological scope. As concerns the fourth century, Osborne believes that “what Thespiiai inscribes seems to be what her neighbours are also inscribing,” whereas I am of the opinion that what Thespiiai inscribed seems to have been what her neighboring rival, that is, Thebes, allowed it to inscribe, especially between 371 and 335.

9. For instance, Vottéro 1996: 166–70 and Iversen 2010.

10. Platon and Feyel 1938, in particular the discussion of Feyel at 164–66.

11. There are, for instance, five fourth-century dedications to Hermes (*I.Thespiiai* 280, 281, 282, 283 bis, and 284), one of the least popular members of the Olympic pantheon elsewhere. For his cult in Boiotia, see Schachter 1981–1994: 2:40–54.

12. *I.Thespiiai* 455, 456, 457, for all of which Guy Vottéro proposes a date in the third century B.C.

13. Schachter and Marchand 2013, esp. 278–80, no. 1.

14. Fraser and Rönne 1957: 92–94.

15. Adolf Wilhelm in *SEG II* 186 was the first scholar to propose a date in the Corinthian War. Taillardat and Roesch (1966: 79–83) suggested 395 as the year of the battle in which the dead of the left column fell, and 394 as the year for the casualties of the right column. Their interpretation has become almost canonical, although Pritchett (1985: 141–43) contested it and hesitantly suggested 378/377 B.C. Without reference to Pritchett’s treatment, Vottéro (1996: 164–66) has not excluded a date between 378 and 374 B.C.

16. A very insightful comparative analysis of the Thespian funerary monument for Delion is offered by Low 2003; note, in particular, her remark “Those commemorated in this monument died fighting against Athens, for an oligarchic against a democratic system” (108).

17. *I.Oropos* 539, 621, 665, 666, 673, 727.

18. Samos: Shipley 1987: 140–43. The similarities between Oropos and Samos were detected and exquisitely investigated by Knoepfler 2010 [2012].

19. This and related issues are discussed in detail in Faraguna 2012.

20. Papazarkadas 2009. Knoepfler 2010 [2012]: 449–50, while approving many aspects of my analysis, has endorsed Louis Robert’s well-known thesis that the *Nea* is Oropos rather than a part of its territory. Although the exact identification is not of importance for the purposes of this chapter, if Robert and Knoepfler are right, this would strengthen even more the point I am making here.

21. Thuc. 3.104: Τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ χρησμόν δὴ τινα. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου· τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῶδε τρόπῳ. θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας ἀνείλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μήτε ἐναποθνήσκειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι. . . . καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δήλια (In the same winter the Athenians also purified Delos, in accordance with some oracle. There had been some purification by Pisistratus the tyrant, not of the whole island but of as much as could be seen from the sanctuary, but on this occasion the whole island was purified. This is how it was done. The Athenians removed all the tombs of those who had died on Delos and proclaimed for the future that no one was either to die or to give birth on the island, but that they were to be conveyed across to Rhenea. . . . The Athenians then celebrated the quadrennial festival of the Delia for the first time after the purification). Translation from Rhodes 1994: 155–57. See Parker 1983: 163, 277.

22. These are *I.Oropos* 341, 348, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359.

23. *I.Oropos* 355: Μειδίας Κηφισοδώρου Ἀ[[- -]] | Ἀμφιαρά[[ωι]].

24. E.g., the inscribed sundial *I.Oropos* 359, ll. 4–6: Θεόφιλος | [[- -]] | Ἀθηναῖος.

25. See Petrakos 1967: 13 and 1968: 30–31, noting that whenever Oropos gained its independence, the Oropians would not allow Athenian dedicants to “sign” their dedications other than as “Athenians.”

26. *I.Oropos* 276, ll. 4–5: ἐμβάλ<λ>οντα εἰς τὸ[ν | θησαυρὸν μὴ ἔλαττον δρα]χμῆς βοιωτίης (dropping into the offertory box no less than a Boeotian drachma); see Petropoulou 1981.

27. They are *I.Oropos* 278 and 279; for the former (= *SEG* LIII 466), see also the detailed treatment of Lupu 2003.

28. Petrakos, in *I.Oropos* 277, suggests a possible date between 387 and 377 B.C.

29. *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 39–43: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδον|τος, ὅταν ἐμβάλλει τὸ ἀργύριον, γράφεσθαι τ|ὸν νεωκόρον καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεος καὶ ἐκ|τιθεῖν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ γράφοντα ἐν πετεῦροι σ|κοπεῖν <τ>οῖ βολομένοι.

30. Wilhelm 1909: 285. See the comprehensive treatment of Hedrick 2000, who aptly notes in relation to *I.Oropos* 277: “The influence of Athenian texts can be seen in the language and organization of many documents from the shrine [sc. of Amphiaraus]. Consequently, it is not surprising that this formula is attested here. . . . The use of the formula conforms to the pattern we have discerned in the Athenian texts.”

31. Thus Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 135.

32. See Knoepfler 1993.

33. *I.Oropos* 520 seems to be the earliest extant catalog of its sort in the comprehensive monograph of Manieri 2009. Manieri discusses *I.Oropos* 520 and other aspects of the Great Amphiareia at 35–36 and 219–28.

34. See now Humphreys 2004–2009 [2010].

35. For instance, *I.Oropos* 281: Ἰστίνης (“Ionic-Eretrian,” according to Petrakos ad loc.); *I.Oropos* 283: Ἡρῆς | τελέης. *I.Oropos* 281, a cippus with a smooth band for the inscription placed slightly below the top edge, is reminiscent of Tanagran funerary monuments; see Fossey 1991b: 198–201.

36. *I.Oropos* 286–87: ὁρός | ἡδὲ.

37. *I.Oropos* 291–92.

38. *I.Oropos* 309–20.

39. See Habicht 2002, with insightful remarks on Petrakos’ corpus of Oropian documents.

40. I follow Habicht 2002 in omitting fragmentary texts. Obviously, their inclusion would make for an even more impressive picture by further increasing the actual number of Oropian proxy decrees.

41. Full demonstration in Knoepfler 2001a: 367–89.

42. For these two, see the useful edition by Rhodes and Osborne 2003: no. 75, who adopt Knoepfler’s chronological reconstruction.

43. See the thorough analysis of Morpurgo Davies 1993, especially 276.

44. For Lykourgos’ policy in Oropos, see Humphreys 2004: 82–84, 95–96, 112–14.

45. Vottéro 2001: 39–40 (but Vottéro’s 6 percent must be a typo).

46. Full analysis of the new text can be found in Aravantinos and Papazarkadas 2012. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 14 is chronologically earlier; however, it is a treaty made between Athens and the Boiotian koinon, not Thebes alone.

47. See now Mackil 2013: 69n63; Knoepfler, in *BE* (2013) no. 170.

48. For the Lebedeian “epigraphic wall,” see Turner 1994 and Pitt 2014.

49. Arrington 2012, especially figure 3 at p. 73.

50. Dow 1961.

51. Lambert 2002, especially 356n17.

52. Plut. *Vita Pel.* 7.1–2, with Georgiadou 1997, ad loc., who aptly observes that Pelopidas and Thrasyboulos are associated in Plutarch, *Non posse* 1098A. That the Theban exiles would have spent considerable time in Athens’ agora—and would have marveled at the institutions and monuments of the Athenian democratic system—is implied by Pelopidas’ exhortation to his fellow men not to rely exclusively on Athenian decrees and not to fawn over the Attic orators in the aforementioned extract of Plutarch.

53. Thorough analysis of the decree and of the political career of Archinos can be found in D’Angour 1999. Archinos, an upper-class Athenian with moderate democratic leanings, would have been an obvious source of inspiration for Pelopidas and the young aristocratic Thebans who had sought refuge in Athens.

54. Knoepfler 1992: 423–24, no. 24; cf. Knoepfler in *BE* (2009) no. 244.

55. See now Matthaiou 2009.

56. Luraghi 2010. For the Boiotian dialect, rather than script, as an indicium of Boiotian ethnicity already in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., see Larson 2007.

57. Vottéro 1996: 177–78; followed by Luraghi 2010: 83 with n. 32, who observes that “the last decades of the fifth century had seen a decline in the importance of alphabet as a symbol of ethnic identity.”

58. The minute analysis of Vottéro 1996: 161–64 is indispensable.
59. For useful observations on the various categories of Athenian lists, see Dow 1983: 95–98.
60. For the importance of lists in the context of the civic ideology of fourth-century Athens, see Liddel 2007: 182–98.
61. *Editio princeps* of the Theban dedication: Ducrey and Calame 2006 (= *SEG* LVI 551); observations on the lettering: Aravantinos and Papazarkadas 2012: 243.
62. See the similar observations made by Michael Scott in chapter 7 of this book with regard to Thebes' post-Leuktra presence at Delphi, especially the construction of the Theban treasury ("the Delphic monumental landscape now reflected the realities of a Greek world in which Thebes was the new power to be reckoned with") and the Thessalians' dedication of a statue of Pelopidas (once again, made by Lysippos), which "continued to reinforce the message of Theban power and authority within Greece at this time."
63. For instance, Paul Iversen 2010: 262–63 leans toward the idea that the trend started in Boiotian regions, such as Thespiiai, that were traditionally culturally oriented toward Athens and spread from there throughout Boiotia. Iversen has formulated his theory commendably carefully, although I am less inclined to accept his categorical rejection of the idea of a formal decree qualifying the introduction of the Ionic alphabet: just as in the case of Athens, a political decision to shift to a new alphabet might have been partly influenced by very real unofficial developments. Similar to Iversen's is the view taken by Albert Schachter in chapter 3 of this volume in his analysis of the Theban magistrates' coins, which appear to bring out a complicated picture of coexisting epichoric and Ionic inscriptions. I will point out only that even after the adoption of the Ionic script by Athens, the Athenians intentionally preserved the Attic version ΑΘΕ on their celebrated coinage.
64. See now Mackil 2013: 337–39.
65. *Editio princeps* by Papazarkadas 2014b.
66. See now Mackil 2013: 71–85.
67. See the up-to-date discussion by Fossey 2014: 3–22.
68. See *SEG* XVIII 465, reporting the restoration of Knoepfler 1978: 387–92, and the criticism of Roesch 1978: 20–21.
69. *Editio princeps*: Mackil 2008.
70. Vlachogianni (2004–2009) expresses her preference for the restoration of the ethnic [- - 'Ολυ]νθίως, adducing as a possible historical context Theban endeavors to obtain Macedonian timber for their fleet. Note that the stele is crowned by an *anthemion*, a morphological feature that has some good Attic parallels. Fossey 2014: 20–22 has ingeniously suggested restoring the ethnic [- - 'Αμαρυ]νθίως. Although Fossey acknowledges the difficulty in his theory (Amarynthos is never attested as an independent Euboean polis), he also points out that Amarynthos' naval significance would still fit the pattern highlighted above.
71. For this material, see Wolters 1940.
72. The inscribed sherds from the Herakleion are published in Aravantinos 2014.
73. Especially in the context of Peter Rhodes' chapter in this volume, which argues that the Boiotian constitution was not democratic at all, even after 379/378 B.C.
74. For a first concise report, see Matthaiou 2014.
75. Such inferences should not come as a surprise. Millender 2001, for instance, has shown that the alleged Spartan distaste for the written word was to a large extent an ancient construct and that the Spartans did make considerable use of public documents. Besides, Pindar's

city of birth could not possibly have been such a cultural backwater. In order to assess questions of Theban literacy, it would be interesting to know the city's role in the collection, preservation, and transmission of Pindar's works. Understandably, the relevant discussion has been very Athenocentric (see, e.g., Irigoin 1952: 11–28, an erudite work), although Hubbard 2004: 82–83 has briefly drawn attention to Thebes.

76. Note, however, that the famous epigram for Leuktra, *IG* VII 2462, is irrelevant to my discussion since it most probably dates after the refoundation of Thebes by Cassander; see the appendix to this chapter.

77. I have unashamedly borrowed the idea of a short century from Eric Hobsbawm's famous *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991* (1994). My short fourth century overlaps to a large extent with the period of the Theban hegemony.

78. As we have just been reminded by the discovery of a new fragment of *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 377: Buraselis 2014. See also the appendix to this chapter.

79. Once more the concept is adopted from Eric Hobsbawm's "long nineteenth century," i.e., 1789–1914. In the case of Boiotia, the long third century might well be the period between 335 and 172/171, i.e., the dissolution of the Boiotian koinon by the Romans.

80. The text was first published in the Greek daily *Παλιγγενεσία* on May 17, 1877. That first edition was reprinted in the scholarly review *Athenaion*: Koumanoudes 1877: 151–52.

81. Egger 1878. It is possible that the anonymous scholar commenting on the script was either Paul Foucart or Klon Stephanos, who in the same volume, *BCH* 2 (1878): 27–28, gave a description of the monument based on autopsy in the Museum of Thebes and concluded that "il servait à couvrir un tombeau d'époque récente."

82. Kaibel 1878: xvi–xvii, no. 768a: "sed et hoc et inscita narrandi ratio, dictionis inconcinnitas et obscuritas, dialecti inconstantia (v. 5. δοῦρί) eo magis ducit ut epigramma non IV saeculo sed tempore aliquanto recentiore scriptum putemus."

83. Dittenberger ad *IG* VII 2462: "Litteratura titulum eo qui est de pecuniis ad bellum sacrum Phocense collatis (n. 2418) paullo antiquiorem indicat, ita ut nulla causa sit, cur monumentum posteriore demum aetate, quae est Kaibelii opinio, non proximo post proelium Leuctricum tempore erectum statuamus."

84. P. A. Hansen 1989: 107–8, no. 632: "Kaibel pp. xvi sq. n. 768a (qui de aetate epigrammatis concepti incisique male iudicat)."

85. Tod 1948: 92–94, no. 130.

86. Fraser and Rönne 1957: 36n9.

87. Pritchett 1985: 142n146.

88. Shrimpton 1971: 313.

89. Tuplin 1987: 95.

90. Vottéro 1996: 157: "le changement d'alphabet a eu lieu entre la bataille de Déliion en 424 et celle de Leuctres en 371, puisque les textes relatifs à ces deux faits, l'épigramme des Thespiens *IG* VII 1888 pour l'un, l'épigramme des combattants de Leuctres *IG* VII 2462 pour l'autre, utilisent des alphabets différents."

91. Rhodes and Osborne 2003: no. 30.

92. See the discussion earlier in this chapter.

93. Fossey 1991a: 86–87 ("Appendix 3: Orkhomenian Soldiers with Alexandros of Macedonia (*IG* vii 3206)") with plates 22–23.

94. *IG* VII 2419 with the new fragment published by Kostas Buraselis (2014, esp. p. 160 fig. 1).

95. See Holleaux 1895. All subsequent discussions rely heavily on Holleaux's article.

96. See Meiggs and Lewis 1988: 28–29, no. 15.

97. See Page 1981: 330, and Wilson 2007: 141–42, 145.

98. In other words, there might originally have been other epigrams mentioning Theopompos and Mnasilaos, which would not have been reinscribed in the post-315 B.C. resurrected monument. Georgia Malouchou has suggested to me that this omission could mean that the reinscribing was a private rather than a public enterprise.

#### CHAPTER 9. A NEW BOIOTIA?

1. Demand 1990; Mackil 2004.

2. Athens: Paus. 9.7.1; Justin 11.4.8; Akraiphiai: Paus. 9.23.5. The Corinthian Gulf may have provided further opportunities for escape (cf. Din. 1.18). The description of Theban cavalry “flooding out over the plain” (Arrian *Anab.* 1.8.7) might indicate that those with access to horses had better opportunities to escape. A Theban serving with Athenians at Panakton in the period of exile has been identified: Munn 1996: 53–55.

3. Plut. *Alex.* 11.12 and Aelian *VH* 13.7 echo the numbers given by Diodoros, all of which probably draw on Kleitarchos: Gullath 1982: 65n1. Arrian (*Anab.* 1.8.8) and Diodoros (17.13.1–5) provide vivid descriptions of the scene.

4. Arrian *Anab.* 1.9.9; 2.15.3.

5. The population of the region is discussed in the introduction. See also Vottéro 1998: 83.

6. Cf. McKechnie (1989: 56–57), who considers that the Thebans are likely to have still been present and to have needed only Cassander’s summons to reform the polis.

7. Justin 11.4.7 reports that local motivations to enslave old enemies inflated prices.

8. Aeschin. 3.157; Din. 1.24; Gullath 1982: 69n2 on Macedonians taking Theban captives. For Phila, see Plut. *Mor.* 849D; Idomeneus, *FGrH* 338 F 14 (=Athenaeus 13.590d). The high price was unusual; if all Theban captives were as expensive, the 440 talents reported for the entire sale would have represented only 1,320 slaves sold.

9. Pliny *NH* 34.8 reports on a chandelier taken by Alexander to Kyme, hinting at a wider distribution of Theban loot. Given Alexander’s reported care over the house of Pindar (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10; Plut. *Alex.* 11.6; Aelian 13.7; Pliny *NH* 7.109), it is tempting to suggest this dedication could have been a link to another Boiotian poet, Hesiod, whose father was from Kyme.

10. M. H. Hansen (2008: 269–70) suggests 5,000 to 7,000 for the population of Plataia while highlighting the problems associated with the calculation. A more recent estimate suggests a population of around 3,000 in 430 B.C.: Konecny, Aravantinos, and Marchese 2013: 34n153. There are several major difficulties in calculating the numbers of Plataians in exile and where they were, one of which is the use of Plataian citizenship grants by Athens (e.g., Ar. *Frogs* 693–94). Another issue is the relocation of Plataians to Skione (Thuc. 5.32.1; Isoc. 4.109). They are usually presumed to have returned to Athens after the Spartans took control of the settlement at the end of the Peloponnesian War (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.9; Plut. *Lys.* 14.3), but this process is not clear in our sources.

11. Lysias 23.2–3. Lysias claims that the Plataians would gather each month at the cheese market in Athens (23.6). See also Kalliontzis (2014) on an inscription commemorating Plataian war dead, perhaps in a fourth-century encounter in northern Greece, which may relate to the period in Athenian exile. On some of the problems associated with the sources for the grant of Athenian citizenship, see Canevaro 2010.

12. Her. Krit. *BNJ* 369A F.1.7: ἀρνούμενοι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσι Βοιωτοί. “Boiotian Tanagrans” are sent grain from Kyrene in the well-known early Hellenistic decree (*SEG*

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