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ἡγεμονία: A New Treaty from Classical Thebes

In Fall 2006 an inscribed stone came to light at a rescue excavation in the southeast sector of Thebes, just outside the southern line of the fortification wall of Kadmeia. The stone was discovered in a building plot owned by K. Matalas, a plot defined on the SW by Eteokleous Street, on the S-SE by an anonymous alleyway, and on the E by a pedestrian lane. The plot was briefly investigated by the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and primarily by the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. The architectural remnants, consisting mainly of poorly preserved walls and floors, date to the Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine period. The inscription under examination was found built into Byzantine Walls 6 and 15, which enclosed a small space.¹ Analysis of the text readily proves that the new inscription is of great historical significance. We provide below the editio princeps followed by a historical commentary.

Description: Fragment of a stele or slab made of whitish 'Thespian marble' (i.e., high-quality local limestone) broken at the top (Fig. 1). At the bottom of the front side, traces of chiseling are visible. A panel roughly 0.05 m high at the bottom of the surface is separated from the rest of the slab by a horizontal line. Traces of anathyrosis can be seen on the lateral sides. The inscription is now stored in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 45507 (inv. no. 1128 in the newly composed checklist of inscriptions). Dimensions: Height (preserved): 0.246 m; width: 0.38 m; thickness: 0.11 m; letter height: 0.012 m (omikron, theta: 0.008 m).

We would like to thank D. KOUTSODIMOS (9th E.P.C.A.) for spotting the inscribed stone and transferring it to the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, YANNIS KALLIONTZIS (Paris and Neu-châtel) for his help in reading, interpreting, and photographing the new text, and RANDALL SOUZA (Berkeley) for proofreading several versions of this article in the most meticulous way. We are especially grateful to DENIS KNOEPFLER (Collège de France), EMILY MACKIL (Berkeley), and ANGELOS P. MATTHAIIOU (Greek Epigraphic Society) for their valuable and detailed comments that saved us from many errors and considerably improved this paper. We are similarly indebted to A. V. WALSER and the editorial board of *Chiron* for their feedback. N. PAPAARKADAS would like to acknowledge the generous financial support from the Sara B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy that has enormously facilitated his research in Thebes all these years.

¹ See ARAVANTINOS 2005–2006 [2012].

 [----- ?μὲ ἐξέμεν καταλ]-
 ὑεσθαι [τὸ]γ πόλεμον ἡιστιαέ-
 ας χορις Θεβαίον· ἡαγεμονία-
 ν δὲ ἔμεν τὸ πολέμο Θεβαίον καὶ
 4 κατὰ γᾶν καὶ κατ θάλατταν
 vacat

Translation

[-----]
 [It will not be allowed for?]
 the Histiaeans to abandon (?) the war
 without the Thebans. The leadership
 of the war will belong to the Thebans both
 by land and by sea.

Epigraphical Notes

It may not be readily visible, but the stonecutter appears to have opted for a stoiche-
 don pattern, albeit with rather limited success. Thus the first eighteen letters of lines
 2–4 are roughly arranged stoichedon. In line 1, only the lower end of the vertical stem
 of the first surviving letter is preserved. Of the dotted nu, only the right vertical is dis-
 cernible. The dotted letters of the ethnic are preserved in their lower halves.

Notes

1: For the general meaning cf. πόλεμον δὲ καὶ εἰρήνην μὴ ἐξεῖναι Κορκυραίοις
 ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν συμμάχων (IG II² 97 = Staats-
 verträge 263). Our restoration is only offered exempli gratia but it is almost certainly
 along the right lines. For the use of the middle καταλύεσθαι, see Hdt. 9.11.1: Ἀθηναῖοι
 δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χήτεῖ τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτως
 ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται;² Andoc. de pace 17: Ἐνθυμήθητε οὖν τῶν πόλεων τὰς μεγίστας,
 τίνι τρόπῳ τὸν πόλεμον καταλύονται; Anaxim. Rh. Al. 23: ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δὲ τοὺς
 συμμάχους ὑπολαμβάνουσι δεῖν ἢ διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον συμφέρειν τοῦτο ἢ διὰ τὸ κατα-
 λύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον;³ also IG II² 127, ll. 42–43: [κ]αὶ οὐ προκαταλύσομαι τὸν
 πόλεμον ἄν[ευ Κερτιπόριος κ]αὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον etc. For the use of
 the present infinitive, cf. IG I³ 83, ll. 11–12: [κ]αταλύνει δὲ μὲ ἐ[χσέναι τὸν πόλεμον
 πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μεδεμῖαι τὸν πόλεον, ἐὰν μὲ ἡαπάσαις] δοκ[ε]ι.⁴

² «καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ ... with πόλεμον or τὰς ἐχθρας understood», as per FLOWER –
 MARINCOLA 2002, 120.

³ Other examples can be found in LSJ⁹ s.v.

⁴ Safely restored on the basis of Thuc. 5.47.4.

1/2: ἡιστιαιέ[ας]. We have here the canonical ethnic for the Euboean city-state, which was already being called Oreos in the 5th cent. B.C. Thucydides knew it primarily as Hestiaia (Ἑστιαία), but for most of the 4th century B.C. Ἰστιαία was the official term.⁵

2: χορίς. As an adverb, χορίς/χωρίς appears already in 5th cent. B.C. Attic decrees. Here, however, it is used as a preposition. The banal ἄνευ is more common; cf. IG II² 116, ll. 31–34: [τ]ὸ[ν] δὲ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ [ἐξεῖν]α[ι] κ[αταλ]ύσασθαι [μήτε] Θετταλοῖς [ἄ]νευ Ἀθηναίων μήτε] Ἀ[[θην]αίοις ἄ[νευ τῷ] ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ [τοῦ Θετ[αλῶν], and IG II² 127, ll. 42–43, cited above. It seems that here we have one of the earliest (on the date, see below) epigraphical uses of the word in the sense of ‘without’.⁶

2/3: The concession of military leadership to a specific party is well known already in the Classical period, as in the mid-fifth century B.C. treaty between Sparta and the Aitolian [E]rxadieis: [ῥεπο]μ[έ]νος ἡόπι κα Λα[κεδαιμόν]ιοι ἁγίονται καὶ κα[τὰ γὰν] | καὶ καθάλαθαν.⁷ A phrasing very similar to the one found here occurs in the treaty between Athens and Sparta of 369 B.C., as attested in Xenophon (Hell. 7.1.1): περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας νῦν ἡ σκέψις. τῇ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ προβεβούλενται ὑμετέραν μὲν εἶναι τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τὴν κατὰ γῆν.⁸ A specific obligation to recognize Theban leadership is known also from the treaty signed between Thebes and the Achaians in 367 B.C.: Ἐπαμεινώνδας πιστὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἥ μὴν συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθήσειν ὅποι ἂν Θηβαῖοι ἡγῶνται, οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν οὐκ ἄδε (Xen. Hell. 7.1.42).⁹

2/3: This is the earliest epigraphical attestation of the term *hegemonia*, here in the dialectal form ἡγεμονία. Linguistically, one should note the use of the aspirate and the retention of the original long alpha (ᾱ) instead of eta.¹⁰ The second is a feature of the Boeotian dialect (see below), as we know both directly and indirectly from Boeotian personal names.¹¹ In any case, the term ἡγεμονία is of the utmost impor-

⁵ See KNOEPLFER 2001, 120 with n. 86; REBER, HANSEN, and DUCREY, in: HANSEN – NIELSEN 2004, no. 372; cf. THREATTLE 1980, 282, for a useful discussion of the similarly formed ethnic in Attic inscriptions.

⁶ For prepositional uses of the word with the genitive in literature, see LSJ⁹ s.v. χωρίς II.

⁷ SEG 26, 461, ll. 4–7; improved text and date in ΠΙΚΟΥΛΑΣ 2000–2003 [2004], reported in SEG 51, 449. In general, for such «Heeresfolgeklauseln» see PISTORIUS 1985, 119–134.

⁸ In Staatsverträge no. 274, BENGTSOON provides the version of the event as recounted by Diod. Sic. 15.67.1: ... καὶ τὰς μὲν ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥστε τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἄρχειν Ἀθηναίους, τῆς δὲ γῆς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

⁹ Staatsverträge no. 283; see also below pp. 249.

¹⁰ BLÜMEL 1982, 91–92, maintains that in Boeotian inscriptions the aspirate in the beginning of words was regularly noted until the first half of the 4th cent. B.C.

¹¹ E.g. IThesp 84, line 23: ἀγεμόνες; IThesp 235, line 4: Ἀρτάμιδι Ἀγεμόνη. See also the hapax Ἀγεμονίνα, attested in a Theban funerary stele recently published by KALLIONTZIS 2004–2009 [2010], 378 no. 11.

tance because it confirms that the association of Thebes with hegemony, so well known from the works of Xenophon and especially Ephorus (via Strabo and Diodorus Siculus),¹² was very much current in contemporary politics (see below). We must be clear though that *ἡγεμονία* here denotes military leadership, a meaning that is very common in the oeuvre of Xenophon.¹³

3: The infinitive *ἔμεν* is of course a known dialectal form, corresponding to Attic *εἶναι*.¹⁴ Here it cannot be decided if it stands for *ἦμεν* or *εἶμεν*, since both forms, produced by lengthening, are attested in the Boeotian dialect, though *εἶμεν* is statistically more likely.

4: *κατ θάλατταν*. The apocope in the preposition *κατά* is at home in Thebes.¹⁵ The double tau in *θάλατταν* may be familiar from Attic Greek, but otherwise it appears in few Greek dialects: Boeotian is one of them.¹⁶ The form *κατ θάλατταν* as such is known from the Boeotian proxeny decree in honour of the Carthaginian Nobas, IG VII 2407 (RHODES – OSBORNE, GHI no. 43). The proxeny probably dates to the 360s, i.e., it supports a date in the first half of the 4th century B.C. for our inscription, advocated below.¹⁷

The dialect, as we have seen (apocope in *κατ θάλατταν*, long alpha in *γᾶν* and in *ἡγεμονίαν*, and athematic infinitive *ἔμεν*, i.e., *ἦμεν* or *εἶμεν*), is Boeotian. The lettering – basically a developed form of the traditional Boeotian script, for which see more below – suggests a date in the closing years of the 5th or, most probably, in the first quarter or so of the 4th cent. B.C. Lambda is of the old style, resembling a Latin L. Similarly, delta has the form of a triangular D. Rho is tailed, whereas chi is of the old-fashioned *Υ* type. Sigma has four outward slanting bars. Theta is in the form of an omikron with a central dot; both of these letters are smaller than the others. Moreover, the curved loops of beta are an indication of a mature script, as is the vertical stem of ypsilon in line 1. Finally, epsilon and alpha with horizontal crossbar both indicate a

¹² Ephorus and Theban hegemony: WICKERSHAM 1994, 124–133.

¹³ See BUCKLER 1982, reprinted with ameliorations in BUCKLER – BECK 2008, at 130 with n. 23 and 24. It is likely that by a process of semantic expansion the term *ἡγεμονία/ἡγεμονία* came to denote not only specifically military leadership but also political supremacy. See DE STE. CROIX's classic interpretation (DE STE. CROIX 1972, 108–110) of how a series of treaties between Sparta and individual allies, obliged «to follow the Spartans whithersoever they may lead», gave rise to the so-called Peloponnesian League.

¹⁴ BLÜMEL 1982, 208–209.

¹⁵ BUCK 1955, 75; THUMB – SCHERER 1959, 46.

¹⁶ BUCK 1955, 65; THUMB – SCHERER 1959, 32. Interestingly, -ττ- appears to be a common feature in the region comprising Attica, Boeotia, and Euboea: see VOTTERO 2006, 140 with the note by KNOEPFLER, in BE 2007, 304 (we are indebted to DENIS KNOEPFLER for bringing this to our attention).

¹⁷ For an improved chronological analysis of this decree (dated vaguely in the 360s–350s in RHODES – OSBORNE, GHI no. 43), see now KNOEPFLER 2005, 81–85 (cf. SEG 55, 564 bis).

date in the 4th cent. B.C.¹⁸ All in all, the lettering stands very close to the lettering of an epigram preserved in the first four lines of the inscription on a recently published statue base signed by the famous sculptor Lysippos (Fig. 2).¹⁹ The base in question, intended for the statue of a military leader, is, according to the editors, of unknown origin, but it has been plausibly suggested that the actual provenance of the base is Thebes, and that the man celebrated was none other than the great Pelopidas. For these reasons the inscribed base has been provisionally dated to ca. 372–364 B.C., although KNOEPFLER is resolute that it belongs to the 360s.²⁰ The similarity of the lettering of the two texts is so striking that if the inscriptions were not cut by the same mason, they must have been carved by roughly contemporary cutters. However, the epigram, dedication, and signature of the statue base differ from the new treaty in one important aspect: they are written in the Ionic script, with the letter H standing for eta and with Ω representing long o.²¹

As we have already mentioned, with the exception of individual letters, e.g. gamma, the script of the new inscription is essentially Boeotian. Note in particular the use of omikron to denote long o in the words χορίς and Θεβαίων, as well as in the genitive ending of τῷ πολέμῳ.²² Note also the use of epsilon to denote long e in Θεβαίων again and in the infinitive ἔμειν, and finally the aspirate in lines 1 and 2. For years it was believed that the introduction of the Attic (i.e. Ionic) alphabet in Boeotia in toto dated to the mid-390s B.C., around 395–394 B.C.²³ KNOEPFLER made the sensible suggestion that the liberation of Thebes with Athenian assistance in 379 B.C. provided a better historical context for the adoption of the Ionic script by the Thebans.²⁴ More recently VOTTERO has advocated more caution, claiming, after a rigorous conspectus of the relevant evidence, that one cannot be more precise than providing a date in the first

¹⁸ Similar letter forms appear in the list of names IG VII 2427, which is now dated by VOTTERO 1996, 161–163, to 379–371 B.C. Yet IG VII 2427 has relatively large omikrons and lambdas with slightly right-slanting verticals, two old-fashioned lettering characteristics that are lacking in the new inscription.

¹⁹ DUCREY – CALAME 2006 [2008] = SEG 56, 551. At 74, DUCREY – CALAME note that ll. 1–4 have been carved more assiduously than ll. 5–6, though it is not clear whether two stone-cutters worked on the base or only one. The two scholars place the lettering of their inscription in the mid-4th century on the authority of FOSSEY 1991, 86–87, pl. 21–23, and yet the lettering of IG VII 3206 discussed by FOSSEY looks decidedly later than that of the inscribed base.

²⁰ See the detailed note by KNOEPFLER in BE 2009, 259, both on the date and the tentative identification of the honorand with Pelopidas.

²¹ Other letters that are different are delta and rho. Attic epigraphy, with its much richer output, has already given us a striking example of a stone-cutter producing work in two different scripts. As first recognized by LEWIS 1985, the cutter of the famous decree of Kallias, IG I³ 52 (Attic script), should probably be identified as the cutter of another famous document, the sacrificial calendar from Thorikos, SEG 33, 147 (Ionic script).

²² As ANGELOS P. MATTHAIOU has pointed out to us, this probably represents a Boeotian genitive ending τῷ πολέμῳ: cf. IG VII 2418.

²³ TAILLARDAT – ROESCH 1966.

²⁴ KNOEPFLER 1992, 423–424 no. 24; cf. KNOEPFLER in BE 2009, 244.

half of the 4th cent. B.C.²⁵ He argued however that 371 B.C. was the turning point, when most Boeotian cities, and certainly Thebes amongst them, adopted the Ionic alphabet. Thus, VOTTERO's analysis appears to suggest that 371 B.C. is the inescapable terminus ante quem. Some of these complicated issues have now been revisited by IVERSEN who has argued that experimentation is detectable in the idiomatic mixture of epichoric and Ionic letter forms in Boeotian texts of this period, and that instead of looking for a specific point when the Ionic alphabet was introduced to Boeotia via a legislative act, we should be thinking of a gradual process.²⁶ In a forthcoming article, SCHACHTER is also receptive to the idea of gradual development, which, however, he does not find incompatible with the theory of legislated change.²⁷ In view of the above, we are of the opinion that historical contextualization should take precedence over any arguments based exclusively on letter forms, important as these may be. At any rate, we will revisit some of these arguments in the next section.

Historical Context

The truly intriguing aspect of the fragmentary document under consideration is of course the historical context. Histiaia (Oreos) was under firm Athenian control throughout the entire Peloponnesian War.²⁸ Thus a date before 404 B.C. may be epigraphically possible but it is historically implausible. Early in the 4th cent. B.C., in the beginning of the Corinthian War, the Euboeans joined the anti-Spartan alliance that included Athens, Boeotia, Argos, Corinth, and some other Greek powers.²⁹ Yet there are some serious difficulties in placing the new treaty in that period. One minor difficulty, for instance, is that we never hear of Histiaia (or Oreos) as such in the Corin-

²⁵ VOTTERO 1996.

²⁶ See IVERSEN 2010, esp. 262–263, who puts forward a date ca. 400–375 B.C. for IThesp 38 and 39, the two inventories that constitute the subject of his discussion. Although these two documents show a rather limited number of local letter forms (e.g., tailed rho and, occasionally, epichoric delta), overall they give the impression that, epigraphically, they belong to the same timeframe as that of the new Theban treaty.

²⁷ See note 50 below.

²⁸ See Thuc. 8.95.7: λαβόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες, τοὺς δὲ ζωγρήσαντες τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ Εὐβοίαν [τε] ἄπασαν ἀποστήσαντες πλὴν Ὀρεοῦ (ταύτην δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον) καὶ τὰλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν καθίσταντο (we are indebted to A. P. MATTHAIOU for this reference), and its echo in Arist. [Ath. Pol.] 23.1: ἡττηθέντες δὲ τῇ περὶ Ἑρέτριαν ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀποστάσης ὅλης πλὴν Ὀρεοῦ ..., with REBER, HANSEN, and DUCREY, in HANSEN – NIELSEN 2004, no. 372, who argue that Histiaia was lost to the Athenians only in 404 B.C.

²⁹ Good accounts of the Corinthian War in BUCKLER 2003, 75–128, and HORNBLOWER 2011, 217–233. For the participation of the Euboeans see Xen. Hell. 4.2.17: ἢ γε μὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἡθροίσθη ... καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων, and Diod. Sic. 14.82.3: εὐθὺς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τε Εὐβοία ἅπασα προσέθετο καὶ Λευκάδιοι.

thian War. The real obstacle however is posed by the overall tenor of the famous Theban speech as reported by Xenophon in his *Hellenica*.³⁰ Eager to secure Athens' support, the Thebans repeatedly evoked Athens' 5th-cent. B.C. hegemonical role, and even agreed to follow willingly Athens' leadership for the success of their joint alliance against Sparta.³¹ Such an obedient Thebes can hardly be reconciled with the assertive Thebes of the new document. Similar concerns are raised by a probe into the extant epigraphical record: IG II² 14 records the defensive alliance of Athens not with Thebes, but with the Boeotians, i.e. with the Boeotian koinon. And despite its fragmentary state of preservation, the treaty seems to contain a proviso that both parties should confer with each other before making any amendment to their agreement.³² Clearly, this situation is incompatible with the Theban initiative central to the new inscription. Once more, even though the lettering may well fit the 390s-380s, the historical context is not exactly ideal.

There are two other occasions on which Thebes and Histiaia crossed paths in the early 4th cent. B.C. The 370s was a turbulent decade. Amongst others, Athens attempted to resurrect her hegemony by establishing the so-called Second Athenian League. Histiaia, our sources inform us, was the only Euboean city that refused to join the alliance and preferred instead to stay loyal to Sparta. Chabrias' raid of 377 caused some disturbance but it was the Thebans who managed to bring Histiaia over to their side with the help of a random opportunity.³³ The Thebans, who were suffering from grain shortage, sent expeditions to Thessaly in order to get as much grain as possible. One of these groups, consisting of approximately 300 men, fell in the hands of the Spartan Alketas, who controlled Histiaia. The Spartan commander imprisoned the Thebans, but he was rather negligent in guarding them: the Theban captives not only managed to escape, but they also seized the citadel of Histiaia, thus securing a supply

³⁰ Xen. Hell. 3.5.7–15.

³¹ See, e.g., Xen. Hell. 3.5.14: πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς αὐτὸ προστήτε τῶν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικουμένων, νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἤδη μεγίστους τῶν πρότερον γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχεστε, τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μόνων δῆπου ἡγεῖσθε· νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤρχεστε καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. Even though several elements of the speech have been suspected as artificial and disingenuous (see, e.g., GRAY 1989, 107–112, who is however indifferent to the question of authenticity), the core of the Thebans' speech cannot be doubted: see TUPLIN 1993, 61 (somewhat critical of GRAY) and CARTLEDGE 2002, 237–239.

³² IG II² 14 = RHODES – OSBORNE, GHI no. 6. The heavily restored clause reads ἐὰν δὲ τ[ι] δ[ιο]κῆι ἢ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν κοινῇ βουλευομένο[ις] ---]. See also the good account of the role of the Boeotians (note 'Boeotians' rather than 'Thebans') in the Corinthian War by COOK 1990.

³³ The story is presented at length by Diod. Sic. 15.30. Eventually Histiaia joined the League as we know from the famous prospectus: RHODES-OSBORNE, GHI no. 22, line 114: [Ἐστ]ιαιῆς. See STYLIANOU 1998, 270–281, for his analysis of the formation of the Second Athenian League, including the stance of the Euboean cities.

of grain for their city.³⁴ It would not be an exaggeration to argue that the fates of Thebes and Histiaia never overlapped more fully than in this incident. The temptation to associate the new inscription with the events of 377/76 B.C. is hard to resist. To begin with, the association nicely explains the force of the Xenophontic ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται: far from having been subjugated, Histiaia was thought to have revolted. The epichoric alphabet appears to offer further corroboration for the association, if we are to follow VOTTERO's chronological theory outlined above. Thus the emphatically mentioned war (note in particular the definite article in [τὸ]ν πόλεμον and τὸ πολέμο) will be the so-called Boeotian War of 378–371 B.C.³⁵ Last but not least, the fact that the treaty names the Thebans, rather than the Boeotian koinon, could also be taken to support this early date, even though, as most scholars maintain, Thebes appears to have tried to resuscitate the koinon almost immediately after its liberation from Spartan control.³⁶

For methodological reasons we would like to play devil's advocate here. In 377/76, one could object, Thebes was rather weak to claim hegemony. Admittedly, the term *ἡγεμονία* in the inscription ought not to denote anything more substantial than supremacy of Thebes in her relations with Histiaia. After all, the adventitious capture of the Histiaian citadel by the 300 or so Thebans would have left few if any doubts about which was the superior party between the two. Still, one feels that the surviving hegemonia-provision of the treaty would better fit the aspirations of a power much stronger than Thebes was before Leuctra, let alone before Tegyra.³⁷ Moreover, one must ask how compatible the proviso that the Histiaians follow the leadership of the Thebans is with the Peace of Antalcidas. However, one should also take into account

³⁴ Xen. Hell. 5.4.56: Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σίτον δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὀρεόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνοι τὸν σίτον συνεικονοῦντο, ἐπληρώσατο τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγετο ὁ σίτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τὸν τε σίτον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐζώγρησεν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τριακοσίους. τοὺτους δὲ εἶρξεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἐσκήνου. ἀκολουθοῦντος δὲ τινος τῶν Ὀρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε κάγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν. καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται ὥστ' εὐπόρως ἤδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σίτον παρεκομίζοντο; cf. SPRAWSKI 1999, 64–65, BUCKLER 2003, 243–245, and RHODES 2010, 214.

³⁵ For the name of the war, see Diod. Sic. 15.25.1: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ κληθεὶς Βοιωτικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέστη Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς Βοιωτοῦς διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας, and 15.28.5: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς ἐποιοῦντο πολλὴν φροντίδα, προσδοκῶντες μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τὸν Βοιωτικὸν πόλεμον, with STYLIANOU 1998, 489. The name, which probably goes back to Ephorus, occurs in several important modern accounts (see, e.g., chapter 7 of BUCKLER 2003, which is entitled 'The Boiotian War'), but according to MUNN 1993, 152 with n. 35, the war was called 'Theban' by the Spartans (though MUNN himself uses the term 'Boiotian War' in the title of his monograph). In any case, it was probably recognized as a single war from very early on.

³⁶ See, for instance, BUCKLER 1979 [updated and reprinted in BUCKLER – BECK 2008].

³⁷ For the battle of Tegyra (probably 375 B.C.), see BUCKLER 1995.

that in 375 B.C. Histiaia joined the Second Athenian League, which could hardly tally with the terms of the alliance in our document, though, of course, the realities of power could easily overcome any such technicalities. Besides, some scholars even think that the Euboean cities, Histiaia included, actually joined the Second Athenian League at the Thebans' enthusiastic instigation.³⁸ In brief, despite these reservations a date of 377/76 B.C. for the new inscription seems perfectly feasible. We would like however to put forward as another historical context the second engagement between Thebes and Histiaia.

Soon after the battle of Leuktra Thebes inaugurated a policy of close links with Central Greece, primarily by means of alliances.³⁹ At this point all the Euboean cities left the Second Athenian League, and Histiaia, as far as we know, was no exception. Xenophon relates these developments in two passages:

Xen. Hell. 6.5.23: ἡκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγεννημένοι καὶ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Μηλιεῖς etc.⁴⁰

Xen. Ages. 2.24: ἀπὸ γε μὴν τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα στρατευσαμένων Ἀρκάδων τε πάντων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ Αἰνιάνων καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Εὐβοέων.

These references are rather generic. Interestingly, one piece of evidence adduced to support the connection between Thebes and Euboea in the period under question is a list of loans made by wealthy Thebans to the city of Karystos.⁴¹ A little-remarked aspect of that inscription is the presence of a non-Theban creditor, namely a Histiaian man called Philokrates.⁴² As it happens, the interest reimbursed to Philokrates surpasses any other sum preserved on the stone.⁴³ This simultaneous occurrence of Thebans and a Histiaian has never been satisfactorily explained. Strangely enough, MIGEOTTE saw little political significance in this set of loans, even speculating that

³⁸ PICARD 1979, 235. Note that, as DENIS KNOEPFLER aptly indicated to us per epistulam, the treaty between Thebes and Histiaia was presumably annulled the moment Histiaia joined the Second Athenian League.

³⁹ Diod. Sic. 15.57.1; 62.4. See BUCKLER 2000, 432 [reprinted in BUCKLER – BECK 2008, 166]; BUCKLER 2003, 297–298; BUCKLER, in: BUCKLER – BECK 2008, 134 with n. 44 (But, depending on the date of the new document, his contention, first made in BUCKLER 1982, that all these alliances were defensive could be challenged); RHODES 2010, 252.

⁴⁰ See WALLACE 1956, 10–11; PICARD 1979, 235.

⁴¹ IG XII.9 7; superior editions by WALLACE 1962 and MIGEOTTE 1976 (SEG 26, 1041; reprinted with an addendum in MIGEOTTE 2010, 15–29). But as the response of WALLACE 1976 shows, the interpretation of this intriguing document is far from certain.

⁴² WALLACE 1962, ll. 9–11: Ἀντίμαχος Φιλοκ[ράτει Ἰστιαεῖ : X : Τιμο?]κράτης : Φιλοκράτει Ἰστιαεῖ : ͵͵͵͵[: -creditor- Θηβαίω] ἐπόγδοον : ͵͵͵͵ : Τιμοσθένης Φιλ[οκράτει Ἰστιαεῖ : X :]. The historical significance of this transaction was not lost however to GLOTZ – COHEN 1941, 151 (but see some justified concern expressed by MIGEOTTE 1984, 252 n. 416).

⁴³ 1500 drachmas and 255 drachmas, but the two sums have been conjectured on the basis of complicated calculations.

the inscription may date as late as 350 B.C.⁴⁴ But we would be surprised if the host of Theban lenders had nothing to do with Thebes' political power. We do think that various arguments, including historical plausibility and prosopography, speak for a date between 371–362,⁴⁵ and in this context the appearance of a Histiaian cannot be coincidental. At any rate, the Karystian document allows us to detect some sort of financial connection between Thebes and Histiaia (or at least a framework that facilitated links between the two cities) in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C.⁴⁶

Placing the new document in the context of post-Leuctra diplomatic developments has certain advantages. First there are the two references to the war (l. 1: τὸν πόλεμον, and l. 3: τὸ πολέμο). In 366/65 B.C., with the orchestration of the Thebans, the Persian king Artaxerxes negotiated a peace amongst the Greeks. According to Diodorus the peace put an end to the period known as the Laconian-Boeotian War, which might well be the war mentioned in the new document.⁴⁷ Then there is the obviously attractive correlation between the term *ἡγεμονία* and the decade 371–362 B.C., the period of the famous Theban hegemony. Could we possibly be more precise in dating the treaty within this period? If we were to associate the treaty with the entrance of the Euboean cities into Thebes' network of allies, a date ca. 370 B.C. would be very tempting.⁴⁸

There is however much to say against this low, post-Leuktra, chronology. First of all, there is the problem of the script. We have already seen that in his carefully structured argument, VOTTERO, a cautious interpreter, made a sound case in support of the theory that the old Boeotian script was abandoned for good after Leuktra. We wish however to note that in a recently published Boeotian proxeny decree, provisionally dated by the ed. pr. to the 360s, the *nomina sacra* of the heading are carved in a script that does not employ eta or omega.⁴⁹ The main body of that decree is actually carved in the Ionic alphabet, which reveals that even after Leuktra and the alleged abandonment of the older epichoric script, there was still some ambiguity amongst Boeotian stone-cutters.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ MIGEOTTE 1984, 248–252 no. 73.

⁴⁵ PICARD 1979, 235.

⁴⁶ As EMILY MACKIL has pointed out to us, the fact that the interest is said to have been paid back to Thebes and Histiaia (SEG 26, 1041, ll. 5–6: [ὁ] | τόκος ἀπεδόθη ἐς Θήβας καὶ Ἱστιαίαν)) in what otherwise appears to be a record of transactions involving private lenders is extraordinary.

⁴⁷ Diod. Sic. 15.76.3 (= Staatsverträge no. 282); with STYLIANOU 1998, 489.

⁴⁸ Cf. KNOEPFLER 1995, 331–332.

⁴⁹ SEG 55, 564 bis, l. 1: Πολυδεύκης· Κάστορ· Ἀθάνᾱς} Ἀλέα. Ed. pr. MACKIL 2008, calls these forms dialectal, but the peculiarity is probably morphological rather than phonological. The chronological setting of the decree in the 360s was first advocated by KNOEPFLER 2005, 79–81.

⁵⁰ Working on some roughly contemporary material, SCHACHTER, forthcoming, aptly observes: «The change from epichoric to Attic-Ionic script in Boiotia – whatever its motivation – would not have happened overnight. It was a process which began, presumably, at an official level» etc.

However, by and large the available evidence appears to support a date before 371 B.C. for the abolition of the Boeotian script in official documents.⁵¹

Then there is a much more serious objection: the new inscription refers to the Thebans, not the Boeotians. Quite revealingly, in 377 the Thebans joined the Second Athenian League as Thebans, rather than as Boeotians.⁵² On the contrary, after Leuktra Thebes acted mostly in the name of the Boeotian federation (κοινόν). A series of epigraphically attested proxenies was granted by the κοινόν rather than the city of Thebes alone.⁵³ In this light, how likely is it that our diplomatic document was issued in the name of Thebes? Unlikely, if we are to rely on the epigraphical sources; less so, if we consider the literary tradition.⁵⁴ Both Aeschines and Plutarch speak of the Theban, rather than Boeotian, alliance with Ptolemaios of Macedon in 368.⁵⁵ Plutarch again refers to Thebans, in the context of the 367 B.C. truce between them and Alexander of Pherai, though admittedly Diodorus mentions a Boeotian raid into Thessaly.⁵⁶ Yet both Plutarch and Diodorus agree that the important peace of 367 with the Persian King was signed by Pelopidas and the Thebans, not the Boeotians. Arguably of greater importance is the testimony of Xenophon, who twice speaks of interstate agreements signed by the Thebans. In one case, Thebes signed a peace treaty with the Corinthians and the Phleiousians.⁵⁷ In the second case, which we have already cited, Epaminondas obliged the Achaians to pledge «to be allies of the Thebans and to follow wherever the Thebans lead».⁵⁸ Needless to say, the clause ἀκολουθήσειν ὅποι ἂν Θηβαῖοι ἡγῶνται is conceptually very close to the clause ἡγεμονία|ν δὲ ἔμειν τῷ πολέμῳ Θεβαίων of the new document. It is undoubtedly likely that the orators and the historians were employing the language of realism, i.e., they understood that the Boeotian koinon was a façade for Theban foreign policy. Nevertheless, the aforementioned Xenophontic passage may well reflect the diction of an original document.

⁵¹ D. KNOEPFLER, who favors a date around 377–376 B.C. for the new treaty, has communicated to us (per epistulam) his conviction that the Boeotian script was abandoned by a legislative act, either separately in individual poleis or at the federal level, in the 370s. In an unpublished paper, he has argued that the evidence from the Theban staters bearing the name of Charon (first spelt with Υ later with X) supports an alphabetic reform in the early 370s, at least for Thebes: see provisionally KNOEPFLER 2006–7, 634–635.

⁵² RHODES – OSBORNE, GHI no. 22, l. 79; cf. Diod. Sic. 15.28.5: συμμαχοῦντων τοῖς Θηβαίοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων (we owe this reference to EMILY MACKIL).

⁵³ To this small but well-known dossier (IG VII 2407 [= RHODES – OSBORNE, GHI no. 43], 2408, SEG 34, 355; cf. FOSSEY 1994, 35–36), two new examples have recently been added: the proxeny for the Laconian Timeas, MACKIL 2008 = SEG 55, 564 bis), and the proxeny for two Olynthian or Corinthian individuals (ed. pr. VLACHOGIANNI 2004–2009 [2010])

⁵⁴ See the good pages by KNOEPFLER 1978, 391–392.

⁵⁵ Aeschin. 2.29; Plut. Vit. Pel. 27.3 (= Staatsverträge, no. 277).

⁵⁶ Plut. Vit. Pel. 27.3; Diod. Sic. 15.75.2 (= Staatsverträge, no. 281).

⁵⁷ Xen. Hell. 7.4.10 (= Staatsverträge, no. 285).

⁵⁸ Xen. Hell. 7.1.42 (= Staatsverträge, no. 283): ... ἡ μὴν συμμαχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθήσειν ὅποι ἂν Θηβαῖοι ἡγῶνται.

In sum, it is rather difficult to decide firmly on the exact historical context of the new treaty. As we have already explained, from an epigraphical point of view the text could belong to the early 4th – if not the late 5th – cent. B.C., but there are several historical obstacles to such an early date. Although based on the lettering and the advantages of connecting the new treaty with a known incident of Theban-Histiaian interaction we strongly prefer a date ca. 377/76 B.C., in the name of caution we cannot entirely dismiss a date after Leuktra. If, however, we are right in our preference, then Boeotian epigraphy would acquire a good point of reference against which other documents could be evaluated epigraphically from now on.

Where was the treaty originally set up?

One last issue we would like to address is the original location of the treaty. As mentioned above, the inscription was found out of context but in the area near the sanctuary of Herakles and his sons.⁵⁹ Traces of anathyrosis suggest that the inscribed stele might have been surrounded by similar stelae creating some kind of a panel or wall.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, no publication clause is preserved. At first, this may seem odd since one would have expected the publication clause to have followed the important term recorded at the very end of this document. Addressing very similar concerns with regard to an Athenian treaty, RHODES and OSBORNE aptly observed that «it is equally possible that the proposer on his own simply put down the various items as he thought of them and did not afterwards rewrite his material in a more logical order».⁶¹ The same, we submit, is probably true in the case of our document.

We do not know where the Thebans normally published their public documents,⁶² but a military alliance is a special text and the stele on which it was inscribed might have needed a special venue. Important interstate agreements of the Classical period were regularly set up in the most conspicuous shrines of the signatory poleis or even in the major «international» sanctuaries.⁶³ Located just outside one of the main city-gates

⁵⁹ The sources on Herakles at Thebes have been conveniently collected by SCHACHTER 1986, 14–30. For the approximate location of the Herakleion, see ARAVANTINOS 2010, 130, 152, 381; ARAVANTINOS 2005–2006 [2012]; BONANNO-ARAVANTINOS forthcoming.

⁶⁰ This type of architectural arrangement is very rare, though there is a good parallel from Boeotian Lebadeia, where the stelae with the building specifications for the temple of Zeus were set up in such a way as to create a single wall (IG VII 3073, esp. ll. 49–50: πασῶν τῶν στηλῶν καὶ τῶν θριγκῶν τῶν ἐπὶ ταύτας τιθεμένων; 79, 84): see TURNER 1994, who adumbrates some further examples of such «epigraphical walls».

⁶¹ See RHODES – OSBORNE, GHI no. 20 (esp. p. 87), an Athenian alliance with Chios from 384/83 B.C.

⁶² See, however, the very interesting suggestion recently put forward by KNOEPFLER, in BE (2010) 296, that after 371 the Boeotian koinon, headed by Thebes, displayed its decrees in the shrine of Herakles Leuktriades.

⁶³ Thus copies of the famous Peace of Nikias were set up in the shrines of Olympia and Delphi, on the Athenian Acropolis and in the Spartan Amyklaion (Thuc. 5.18.10, with HORN-

of the acropolis of Thebes, the shrine of Herakles Promachos (note the epithet) could have been precisely such a venue. It was in Herakles' shrine where a series of divine omens predicted the triumph of Theban arms before the battle of Leuktra in 371 B.C.⁶⁴ If the decades either side of 370 B.C. are the correct chronological context of the new inscription, then the Herakleion would have become the single most important shrine for the religious protection and celebration of Theban hegemony, real or imaginary.

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BLOWER 1996, 482–483). The alliance between Athens and Sparta of 422/21 B.C. was similarly displayed at the shrines of Apollo Amyklaios and Athena Polias, in Sparta and Athens respectively (Thuc. 5.23.5 with HORNBLOWER 1996, 499). Last but not least, the famous 'Quadruple alliance' was set up on the Athenian Acropolis, at the shrine of Apollo in the Argive Agora, in the shrine of Zeus in the Agora of Mantinea, and in Olympia (IG I³ 83, and Thuc. 5.47.11, with HORNBLOWER 2008, 109–111, 119–120).

⁶⁴ Xen. Hell. 6.7.4: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὥς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρημένου.

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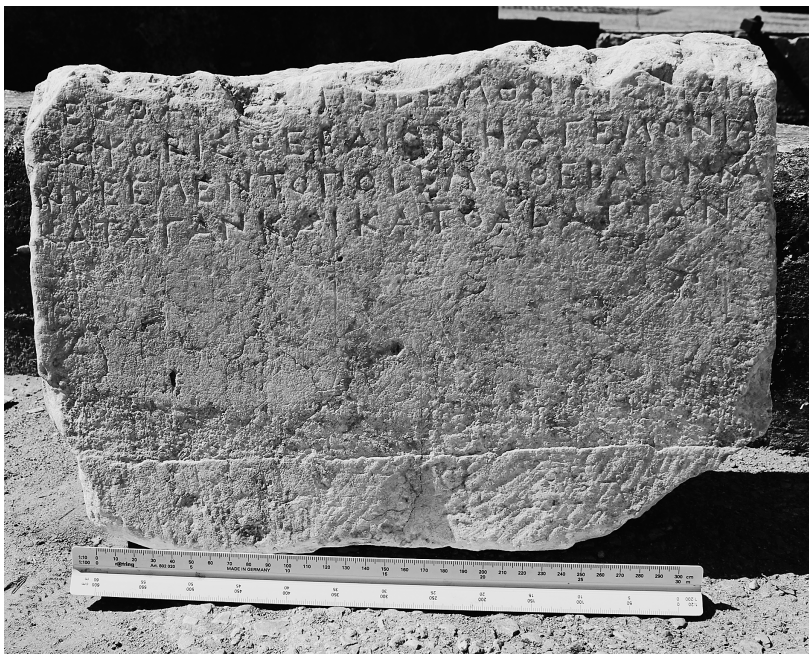


Fig. 1: Archaeological Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 45507 (photo by Y. Kalliontzis)

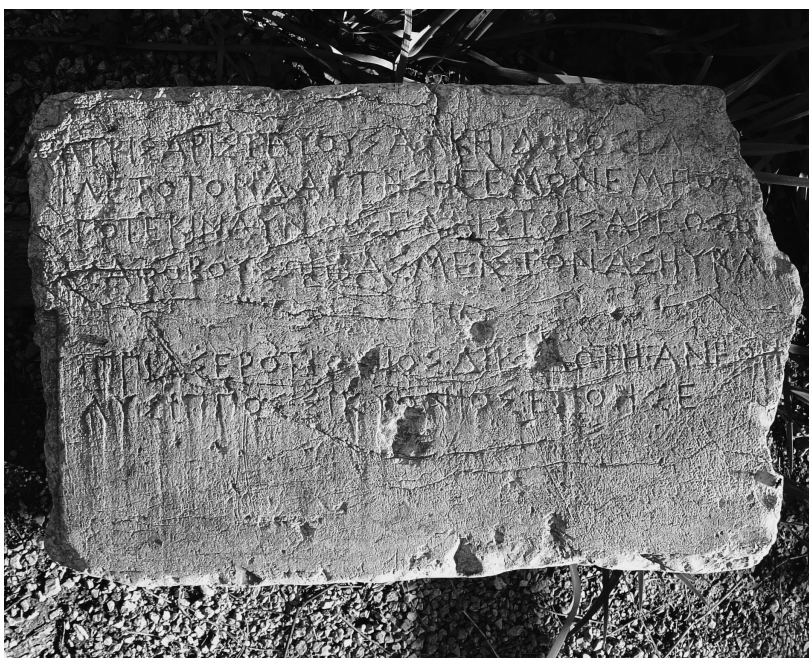


Fig. 2: Archaeological Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 21393 (photo by Y. Kalliontzis)