

# T E I R E S I A S

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## NEWS

### 47I.0.01      Fribourg “Boiotia and the Outside World” conference



The “Boiotia and the Outside World” conference took place at the University of Fribourg from 7 June until 9 June 2017, and brought together 18 speakers and 7 posters from 11 countries. Thank you to all participants for making the event a very stimulating as well as friendly experience! A video interview of the keynote speaker, Prof. Hans Beck, is available here <http://www3.unifr.ch/alma-georges/articles/2017/wir-sollten-das-lokale-ernster-nehmen>

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## WORK IN PROGRESS

**471.0.02 Elie de Rosen (University of Birmingham) *Livadia: a possible town in the Middle Byzantine period.***

### Introduction

In my doctoral thesis, I am examining the economic evolution of urban settlements in Boeotia, Thessaly, and Western Macedonia during the so-called “Middle” period, which I would define as lasting from ca. 800 to ca. 1200.<sup>1</sup> Looking at Boeotia, it is a curious fact that we have as many unconfirmed and obscure urban settlements than definite and remotely well-studied ones. Thebes, Kastorion, Davlia Amfissa fall in the latter category, and Zaratova, Trikhia, Kanala, Platana, and Koroneia into the former. And the biggest unknown factor is arguably Livadia. This community, which experienced a period of greatness under the Catalans<sup>2</sup> and which stood just to the side of Greece’s main north-south public road<sup>3</sup> may also have had a Middle Byzantine legacy. Was this the case, and if so what was the legacy’s magnitude? In my article, I will strive to answer the question. In doing so, I will rely heavily on Livadia’s castle, the most prominent piece of material evidence at our disposal.

### I. Context

Before addressing my main question, I will briefly address the quality of life of Medieval Livadians. Did nature offer them any reasons for residing here? A few incentives do come to mind. Livadia is endowed with a variation of the Warm-Summer Mediterranean climate. While temperatures remain sensibly identical (for example, they generally do not fall below freezing or exceed 30°C) precipitation does not. Rainfall averages 631 mm. a year, compared with 390 mm. for most of the Boeotian lowlands.<sup>4</sup> The latter phenomenon is not only more plentiful but more evenly distributed. The May-September period’s share is approximately 21%, as opposed to approximately 12% for the rest of Boeotia. This substantial and advantageous climatic variation is attributable to Livadia’s location, on the edge of the Plain of Chaeronea and at the foot of the Helicon mountain range. The climate itself probably helps to explain why (judging by several early-mid 19th century testimonies) the neighbouring plains are uniquely well-suited to the cultivation of cereal, cotton, rice, and the kermes oak, as well as the raising of livestock.<sup>5</sup> In the

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<sup>1</sup> In defining Byzantine urban settlements, I employ four criteria, taken from contemporary authorship: the presence of a bishop, the size of the community, a position as a trading center, and the presence of archons.

<sup>2</sup> According to Bon, the castle was always cited as the first of the Duchy of Athens in said duchy’s chancellery documents, and was under the authority of a vicar-general. Bon 1937, 192-193. For details on the vicar-general’s authority, see Fine 1991, 398-399.

<sup>3</sup> Which Anna Komnene called the *demosia leophoros*. Anna Komnene 1937-1976, vol.2, 24, Prontera 2003 Koder and Hild 1976, table 1.

<sup>4</sup> The figure of 390 mm. is drawn from statistics on Thebes, which receives a typical Warm-Summer Mediterranean regime. Carr 2012, Eliassen 2007. The Kermes oak’s leaves are a staple food of the red-dye producing Kermes insect. Conder 1830, 32-33, Miles 1838, 157, Strong 1842, 165-166, Leake 1835, 119.

<sup>5</sup> The Kermes oak’s leaves are a staple food of the red-dye producing Kermes insect. Conder 1830, 32-33, Miles 1838, 157, Strong 1842, 165-166, Leake 1835, 119.

same vein, it should be noted that the modern day settlement sits astride the Erkyrna river.<sup>6</sup> The river, which takes its source in the Helicon mountains, is consistently deep, wide, and fast-flowing. It would have been of considerable benefit to Byzantine Livadia if –as seems likely – the latter also abutted it. There is only one historically relevant local mineral resource, and that is marble.<sup>7</sup> Regarding infrastructure, I have already spoken of the *demosia leophoros*. In addition, one political event supports the notion that a road connected Livadia to Itea, in Phokis. In 1147 King Roger’s Normans landed in Itea and penetrated deep into the Chrissan plain.<sup>8</sup> I am also inclined to think there was a road between Livadia and the Bay of Antikyra (fig. 1): one of the first buildings erected at Osios Loukas Monastery was a hostel for travelers, and there was a 10th century metochion of Osios Loukas at Paralia Distomou.<sup>9</sup> There were almost certainly dirt tracks or roads that radiated out from Livadia. But we do not have any information about them. Overall, we are looking at a territory that was fairly well connected to the rest of Boeotia and Phokis, and whose soil appears to have been relatively diverse and fruitful. For purposes of comparison, the other regional lowlands have historically been apt for the growing of cereals, olives, the holly oak, and (on the perimeter of Lake Copais) melons.

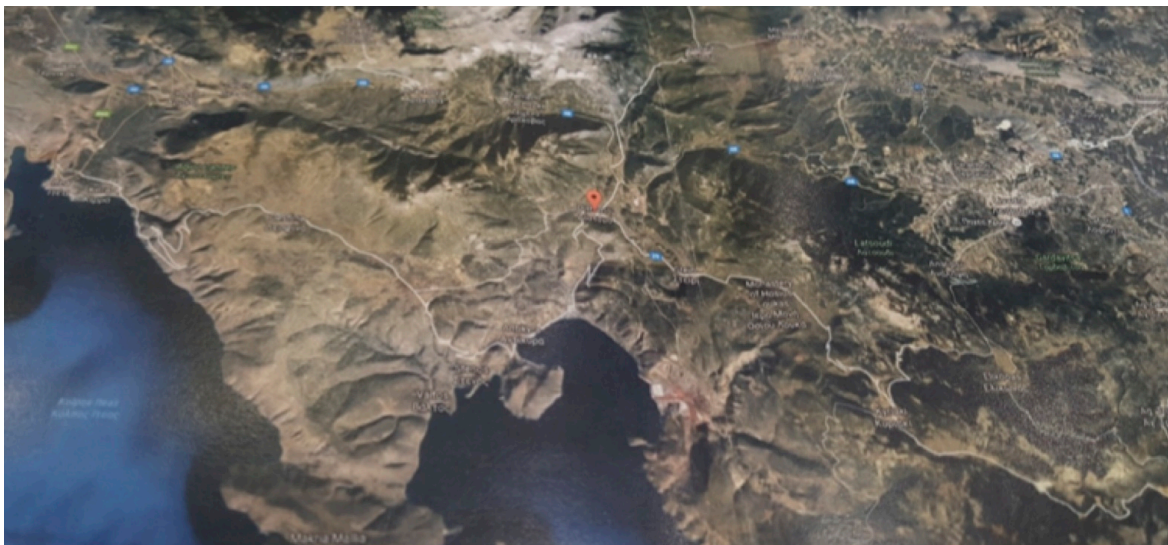


Figure 1: A map of the contemporary roads in Western Boeotia and Phokis. Note the position of Osios Loukas Monastery, on the Antikyra-Steiri-Kriaki-Livadia route. Google maps.

## II. History

Livadia’s first – and only – potential mention in the Middle Byzantine period comes in the 10th-11th century. There exists a contemporary seal of a certain Sabas, Archbishop of AEB. The complete name is thought by Laurent to be ‘Leukas’ (Λέβκας) but it could also be Λεβαδειά.<sup>10</sup> In fact, one could be forgiven for dismissing the Leukas hypothesis as implausible, because the correct Greek translation for Leukas has always been Λευκάς, not Λέβκας. But since misspellings on Byzantine seals are not unheard of, we must consider both possibilities. The Archbishopric of Livadia, if it existed, would have been autocephalic. This is not difficult to believe. The Archbishopric of Thebes, created in the 8th century, was itself autocephalous at first.<sup>11</sup> It only acquired sees in the 10th century. However, more

<sup>6</sup> A similar situation held true in Antiquity. According to Pausanias, Livadia was adjacent to the Erkyrna, “which separated the town from the oracle of Trophonios”. Frazer 2012, book IX.39.

<sup>7</sup> Presently, the rock is quarried in the mountains adjacent to Livadia, at the rate of 20,000 m<sup>3</sup> a year. Prikryl 2004, 69.

<sup>8</sup> Niketas Choniates 1975, 76.

<sup>9</sup> Parala Distomou is 3 km. east of Antikyra. Stikas 1970, 224-242.

<sup>10</sup> Schlumberger 1884, 177, Laurent 1963, no.1821.

<sup>11</sup> Darrouzes 1981, 79.

problematically, Sabas' seal is the only one of its kind. This suggests that the experiment, if it occurred, was not very successful. I had hoped to glean some information from a certain Boeotian inscription. It comes from the base of a pillar in one of the churches of Osios Loukas Monastery and contains the line *ιερα Λεβαδέων πόλις*.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately the inscription is dedicated to the Roman co-emperor Constantius Chlorus, who reigned a good 500 years before my period of focus. All the inscription tells us is that the site of Roman Livadia may have been deserted at the time of Osios Loukas' construction. This would have made it easier for the Monastery's masons to acquire spolia from Livadia.

The pioneer of research on Livadia, Bon, alleges that, not only was there demographic growth in Livadia, but that it was stimulated by the abandonment of nearby Orchomenos. Supposedly, Orchomenos's living conditions were less attractive than Livadia's – that it was unhealthier, more difficult to defend, and less well endowed with clean water.<sup>13</sup> Though the water factor seems inconclusive to me,<sup>14</sup> the other Orchomenos-Livadia 'pull factor' is more convincing. The notion of Orchomenos as a relatively unhealthy place – although not corroborated by any Byzantine sources – makes some sense. Orchomenos was situated about 8 km. away from Lake Copais. Throughout its existence the rivers that fed Copais had to be diverted through an array of canals and dams. When the diversion works were neglected Copais would eventually overflow its banks. The terrain on its western periphery would turn to marshland, and become a breeding ground for malaria-carrying mosquitoes. By contrast, 18 km. separated Livadia from the lake – more than twice as far as Orchomenos. And Livadia's geographic location and topography are more suitable for protection than those of Orchomenos. But for the moment, Bon's theory cannot be proven. Apart from the Church of Skripou, founded in 873, Byzantine Orchomenos is for the moment a cypher to us.<sup>15</sup>

### III. Archaeology

I will move on to the archaeology of Livadia, beginning with the castle that covers the hill of Kastro. The castle's ramparts enclose ~3.5 hectares. There were three stepwise enclosures, although when it comes to the outer enclosure, only the north-facing battlements are accounted for. On the basis of the ample space comprised within the walls, Kontogiannis surmises that the site could not have been purely military in function. Instead, it comprised all of Byzantine and Latin Livadia.<sup>16</sup> The first enclosure – the largest one (~2 hectares) – protected the ordinary people, the second enclosure the citadel, and the third the residence of the governor. I concede that the first enclosure was unjustifiable from a purely military perspective. I shall return to this point when drawing conclusions. Both its length and the space it defended were disproportionately greater than the corresponding units for the second and third levels. Worse, because the wall runs sharply downhill for most of its length, a breakthrough halfway up the hill would have cut off all defenders below the point of penetration. A large fieldwork operation in the space enclosed by the outer enclosure is sorely overdue, especially since (according to Bon) there are construction remains strewn all over the abovementioned space.<sup>17</sup> Incidentally, I have not forgotten what I said on page 2, on the possibility (which that a settlement existed outside the castle. After all, the practice of living on a steep, elevated landform presents obvious inconveniences in terms of water supply arrangement and moving about. As mentioned on the previous page, the pre-Medieval town occupied the lowland east of the Erkyna. There is

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<sup>12</sup> Vatin 1966, 246.

<sup>13</sup> Bon 1937, 192.

<sup>14</sup> Orchomenos could conceivably have been adjacent to either the Melas or Kifissos rivers. Today, the community stands a good 1 km. away from both waterways. But we do not know whether this was the case in the Middle Ages.

<sup>15</sup> Even *Der Neue Pauly*, an authoritative encyclopaedia on (among many other things) the history of the Early Middle Ages, does not have any answers to offer. Fittschen 2006.

<sup>16</sup> Kontogiannis 2012, 72.

<sup>17</sup> Bon 1937, 199. For my part, in the course of two separate visits to the castle I found almost nothing to corroborate Bon's words. But the first time I was travelling alone, which made it too dangerous to explore the exceptionally difficult terrain roughly east of the second enclosure's barbican. The second time, I was accompanied, but I considered that my companion's timetable did not allow us time to visit the difficult terrain.

certainly a likelihood that – as a result of the chaos and instability which accompanied the mass Slavic migrations into Greece – Livadia’s inhabitants sought refuge on the hill of Kastro. But there is an equally good likelihood that they returned to the more convenient ancient zone as security improved, in the 9th century. We do have tangible – albeit very slim – proof of post-1000 century extra-mural settlement. I will deal with it on pages 10-11.

But the more pressing question is: can the castle’s construction phases (of which there are several) be dated with a modicum of confidence? One is tempted to answer negatively, since the line between Byzantine and post-1204 Latin military architecture is heavily blurred.<sup>18</sup> Epigraphy could be an answer, were Livadia not entirely devoid of inscriptions. The best solution available is to use previously studied fortifications as a standard of comparison. It must be stressed that there are ironclad rules for military masonry, since the latter was influenced by climatological, resource, and expediency factors. Nonetheless, as Veikou argues in *Byzantine Epirus*, certain features in Macedonian, Albanian, Thessalian, Thracian, and Peloponnesian fortifications crop up with sufficient regularity as to warrant their being pointed out.<sup>19</sup> They are as follows:

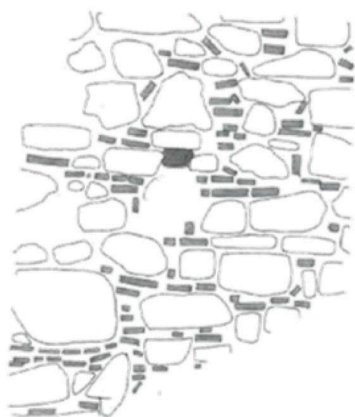


Figure 2: ‘Type A’ masonry from the Castle of Rogoi. Veikou 2012, fig. 34. Courtesy of Brill.

A) 5th to 10th century (fig. 2). Rubble / gallet / terra-cotta / mortar core, randomly-shaped ashlar arranged in regular courses and set in mortar. There are many gaps, which are filled with small rubble (gallets) and terra-cotta (tiles and bricks).

B) Mid-9th century onwards (fig. 3). Rubble masonry; blocks are randomly sized and shaped, but arranged in regular courses. Heavy use of spolia. Terra-cotta is used widely, in both horizontal and vertical joints (which sometimes results in uninterrupted courses of brickwork). The gaps are also filled with other brick-elements and (occasionally) gallets.

C) Late 9th-10th century. Squared or undressed rubble arranged in courses alternating with bands of terra-cotta. In 12th century terra-cotta become more prolific.

D) 9th-11th century. Rubble masonry in random order, with very poorly dressed stones usually containing pebbles or gravel. Spolia is fairly limited: it is used in those parts of the buildings which need more support, e.g. lower parts of walls and fortification towers. Sporadic use of terra-cotta and supporting horizontal wooden beams. The mortar entirely covers the gaps between stone blocks.

E) Similar to type B, but features what we might call incomplete cloisonné: terra-cotta (either

<sup>18</sup> At least in Greece. Nicolle contends that this was the result of the Latins having to rely on local masons and architects. Nicolle 2007, 14.

<sup>19</sup> Veikou 2012, 113-130. I have consulted some of architectural investigations that Veikou’s list relies on, including Triposkoufi 2001, Tsouris 1998, Marki 2001, Koumoussi 2011, and Veikou’s site inventory in *Byzantine Epirus*. All of them date the buildings concerned via pottery sherds, coins, or inscriptions.

horizontally or vertically positioned) is sometimes found in the vertical joints.

- F) Similar to previous type, but the terra-cotta in the vertical joints is now vertically positioned. It possibly represents a slightly later phase.

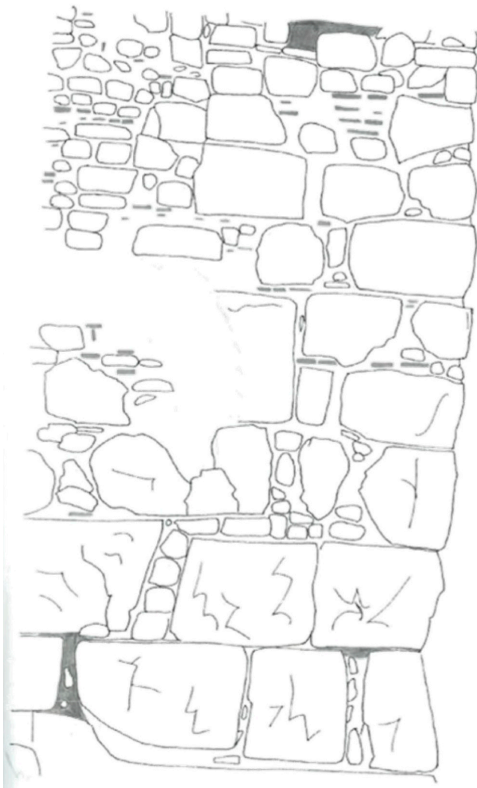


Figure 3: "Type B" masonry from the Castle of Nafpaktos. Veikou 2013, p. 36. Courtesy of Brill.

- G) 10th-12th century. This type is similar to type B, but with three key differences: use of wood reinforcements, use of recessed bricks, and more random brick/stone courses.

Then we have the land fortifications of Constantinople, namely the Theodosian Walls. To be sure, they were anything but typical. They received priority over all other fortifications, and so – in terms of durability, lavishness, and complexity – were very much the apex of Byzantine military architecture. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that their typology trickled into the provinces in a simplified form, as was the case for numerous Constantinopolitan cultural innovations. As described by Foss and Winfield in *Byzantine Fortifications: an introduction*, the main lines on the capital's masonry evolution are as follows:<sup>20</sup>

- A) During the Transition Period (a term that I will use in lieu of 'Dark Ages') regularly coursed spolia (laid so as to approximate ashlar) covered the walls and doubled as decoration. Terra-cotta was kept at a premium, possibly because there were so many abandoned buildings available for reuse.

- B) The 9th century was marked by the large-scale re-emergence of terra-cotta, especially in the superstructures of towers. Spolia continued to be well-cut and to resemble ashlar.
- C) During the reign of John I, cloisonné masonry began to be heavily used. Then, brickwork began to assume a decorative function, in the form of alternating patterns. Often a coating of mortar was added to the surface, to give the illusion of a smooth wall. This last trend was continued by the Lascarid dynasty in Nicaea.

To return to Livadia: back in the 1930s, Bon assigned practically everything on the hill to the Catalan period. For a long time his interpretation was accepted as fact, despite its speculative character. Bon reasons that the Catalans must have erected the castle, because they had excellent reasons for doing so (namely, that Livadia's industrial and trading activity had soared in the 13th century).<sup>21</sup>

Thankfully, in recent decades a handful of Greek scholars having begun poking holes in Bon's interpretation. But there is more to be said. With this in mind, I will observe the castle's configuration and endeavour to draw some dating conclusions. The first's enclosure's thickness ranges between 1, 40 and 1, 80 m. Its outside faces are characterized by small and medium-sized limestone blocks. The stones are roughly dressed but arranged in regular horizontal rows. The inside (as with all medieval fortifications) is rubble filling. The vertical gaps are filled by

<sup>20</sup> Foss and Winfield 1986, 162-164.

<sup>21</sup> Bon 1937, 193, 206.

abundant, horizontally-positioned terra-cotta fragments.<sup>22</sup> Fully a quarter of the enclosure – the northwestern zone – is double-layered (see S. and K. Mamaloukos, 2012, p. 12), although the projecting wall is relatively thin (0,70 m. on average). The inner layer features a line of (now filled-up) arrow loops at regular intervals.



The movable portion of the inner enclosure's gate has effectively disappeared, but traces of its main and auxiliary components (namely the crossbar recesses of a portcullis and staircases) are still visible. The gate abuts a massive tower to the west (fig. 4), which would have permitted enfilading fire. At the western extremity of the enclosure there used to be a postern, but it has been filled up. At the opposite end of the enclosure stands a crenelated, rectangular, two-floor keep (fig. 5). I shall refer to it hereafter as the Kryas tower. By far the largest tower in the complex – 8, 50 x 15 m. – it must have played a vital role in keeping the garrison supplied with water. On its ground floor was a built staircase, which effectively served the function of a well. It extended deep below the surface, to a stream which feeds into the neighbouring Erkyna. Through this arrangement the garrison could count on a steady and inconspicuous supply of water – no mean advantages in the event of a siege.

Figure 4: Flanking tower of first enclosure's inner gate. Author.



Figure 5: The Kryas keep and part of the first enclosure. Papathanassiou 2012 (www.kastra.eu). Courtesy Manolis Papathanassiou.

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<sup>22</sup> Kontogiannis 2012, 72.

Equally interesting is the keep's lower external section and its two corners (more specifically, the lower two thirds of said corners). Both components are made from massive, finely dressed blocks of stones. Only other structure in the castle shares this feature – the tower flanking the inner enclosure's gate. The terrace of the keep is crowned with crenelated parapets, although they are not the original ones.<sup>23</sup> Beneath the parapets investigators identified fragments of protruding wooden beams. Their exact dimensions are unknown, but they jutted out from the eastern, northern, and southern wall faces. Undoubtedly the beams were designed to help stabilize the tower. In at least one place<sup>24</sup> the mortar is not whitish-yellow, whitish-grey, white, or pink – as was the custom in Medieval times – but dark grey. I assume it was added in the 1960s by the 23rd Ephorate, like the crenellations. No wall remains have been identified east of the Kryas keep. This is not particularly surprising; for the eastern and southern approaches to the hill of Kastro consist of tall, redoubtably precipitous cliffs. Without modern climbing gear, I do not see how anyone could have gotten the better of these obstacles.

There is only vestige inside the first ring, as far I know: a wall ~35 m. southeast of the first enclosure's gate (fig. 6). It is half-buried by the natural landscape: only 6 m. of its outer face is visible. Its masonry features regularly horizontal courses of stone, but no terra-cotta. The mortar present shows a great contrast. On the upper two thirds of the wall, it is extremely withdrawn. But on the last third, it covers practically the entire façade. This may suggest the patron tried to create a superficially monumental architectural work. Alternatively, the masons applied their mortar extremely carelessly, so that binding agent spilled onto the vertical surface of the wall. The site could correspond to any number of structures: a workshop, a granary, a house, a chapel etc. It is difficult to know for sure, particularly since the wall is not connected to anything (except for a pile of collapsed stones ~3 m. to the north).



Figure 6: Livadia, isolated structure between first and enclosures. Author.

The inner and outer gates stand out from the rest of the enclosure, because their doorways are framed by poros arches (figs. 7 and 8). Although I have only identified two Byzantine/Latin gate framings in Greece decorated in the same manner (at Platamon and Lamia) a possible

<sup>23</sup> The current parapets were installed by the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in the 1960s.

<sup>24</sup> Approximately 22 m. northwest of the Kryas keep.



reason for the arch's existence is as follows: in the 14th and 15th centuries a trend developed in England, France, Spain, and Northern Italy of constructing beautiful, convenient, and comfortable but military impractical castles.<sup>25</sup> Ostensibly nonviolent values now took precedence over defensive power. The castle sometimes still looked strong, but was no longer expected to resist a serious attack. Effectively, it became a palace. The trend could simultaneously have made its way – to a very limited extent – into the Mediterranean colonies of the Catalonians and the Duchy of Florence. What would have prevented a more thorough transformation of Livadia's castle? Insufficient time and resources come to mind, but also lack of stability. A castle's owner would not have decked his gates and walls with marble sculptures or capitals if the political climate of the region was obviously unstable. In doing so he would have risked the destruction of his decorations at the hand of a besieging rival. The political climate of Central Greece in the 14th century was definitely unstable. Alternatively, some might argue that the inspiration for palatial castle architecture was actually provided under the Komnenoi dynasty. Going back to Foss and Winfield's Constantinopolitan chronology, cloisonné masonry was heavily applied to the Theodosian Walls starting in the reign of John I.<sup>26</sup> Bricks were significantly more vulnerable to siege weapons than stones, so their popularization represented a setback for the purely defensive school of thought. Admittedly, my theory is difficult to reconcile with the abutting tower's spolia angles, which indicate a clear need to reduce the impacts of missiles. But it may be that the inner gate was rebuilt after the tower's construction.



Figure 7: Outer gate of first enclosure. Sawyer 2007. Courtesy Andrew Sawyer.



Figure 8: Inner gate of the first enclosure. Sawyer 2007. Courtesy Andrew Sawyer.

<sup>25</sup> Hay 1989, 67, Stokstad 2005, 68-80.

<sup>26</sup> The same technique was used in two concurrent fortifications on the Nestos river: those of Gratini and Paradeissos.

The second enclosure (displayed on p. 204 of Bon's article, though I did not obtain permission to use the image) generally conforms closely to the first one, with several notable exceptions:

- A) It lacks any arrow loops.
- B) Its entrance zone was single-layered, but the enclosure itself was endowed with three towers. By contrast, the first circuit had to make do with a single turret. The largest of the three towers. It measured 15 x 8.70 m, and was entered through a door lined with finely cut poros blocks. Again, we can legitimately ask ourselves if this lining was an echo of the 'palatial castle' trend. The two other towers are not as imposing (width: 5,20 and 4,05 m.), either because their defensive value was slighter or because they were seldom seen by visitors.
- C) On the whole, the walls' breadth are narrower, ranging from either 1.20-1.50 m. or 0,70-0,75 m.

On the third enclosure, which sits atop a natural platform roughly shaped like a broken triangle, there is little to say. Its stonework is barely visible, being very poorly preserved. It encloses the castle's final redoubt, a rectangular donjon (fig. 9).



Figure 9: The castle's donjon, at the summit of the hill. Author.

The edifice (dimensions: 7.5 m. x 7 m.), features regular courses of rectangular stones, though the blocks' sizes are inconsistent. The horizontal gaps are filled with terra-cotta. Since the donjon's walls are about 1.5 m. thick, the interior space cannot be more than 6 x 5.5 m. The only surviving opening is a small square window on the west side. The window is ~2 m. above ground, so it perhaps presented the only means of entrance (with the help of a ladder). The donjon's dimensions refute, in my opinion, Kontogiannis's proposal that it served as the governor's residence. No governor would have willingly dwelt in such a cramped lodging.<sup>27</sup> We should note the presence of a further wall that extends eastward from the eastern corner of the enclosure. It

terminates very close to, but quite not at, the second enclosure. 10 m. southwest of the donjon there is a rectangular, single-room, column-less chapel known as Agia Sophia.<sup>28</sup> Its masonry consists mostly of regular horizontal stone courses, with no spolia or terra-cotta. The mortar is either heavily withdrawn, or at the same level as the stones. The eastern façade is an exception, having ashlar blocks with extremely thin mortar in the joints. Agia Sophia sits atop a former cistern, now a chapel dedicated to Agia Barbara.<sup>29</sup> Mamaloukos' opinion is that Agia Sophia

<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, the presence of a ladder entrance does not disprove Kontogiannis' 'governor' theory. At least one other Frankish seignorial dwelling in Greece, the Tower of St. Omer in Thebes, was accessed via a ladder.

<sup>28</sup> Dimensions: 5.24 m. x 7.05 m. All relevant scholars until now have referred to Agia Sophia as a church. But the combination of the modest dimensions and paucity of interior spaces gives me cause to believe we are dealing with a chapel.

<sup>29</sup> Bon 1937, 202-203.

dates to the 19th or early 20th century.<sup>30</sup> While I am not sure if we should be so precise, the complete absence of spolia, terra-cotta, or load-bearing columns does allow us to make a good case for a post-Middle Ages foundation.

The inconsistent dimensions and/or masonry of the Kryas keep, the tower adjacent to the first curtain's inner gate, and the rest of the first and second enclosures, along with the incomplete nature of the wall east of the third enclosure, make it clear that there were multiple construction phases. I believe only the two poros frames of the first curtain gates' and the poros lintel of the tower abutting the second curtain's gate are not indicative of a particular phase. Rather they were intended to impress visitors, who would surely have paid more attention to the entranceways. Stavros and Kampoli Mamaloukos submit that there were four stages.<sup>31</sup> The first one can be traced to the reign of Justinian. It concerns chiefly the base of the northeastern tower, which was constructed using spolia from the nearby Roman and Hellenistic/Classical buildings. The second phase was limited to the remainder of the existing northeastern tower. The next phase was a Catalan one. It was during this period that the castle assumed its present form, with two fortified enclosures, reinforcing towers and ramparts, and a tower at the hilltop. Lastly, under Ottoman occupation, the walls underwent extensive repairs, though no new structures were added.

I concur partly with the proposals made by the Mamaloukoi, but have several of my own thoughts to add. First, I would tentatively give the bulk of the first enclosure a 700-850 terminus post quem. For it displays most of the elements of Veikou's type A masonry (except that its stones are not ashlar). Yet at the same time it displays three of the features associated with type B masonry. The Kryas keep and the tower abutting the first enclosure's inner gate are cases apart. They come even closer comparison to type B, in that they make heavy use of spolia. I would thus assign them a mid-9th century terminus post quem. The above spolia is significant not just due to its plentifulness but its location. "Spolia corners" are discernible in numerous Middle and Late Byzantine/Latin towers, notably at Servia, Veroia, Pharsala, Trikala, and Mistras. This arrangement conferred extra sturdiness to the corners, which by their shape were more liable to be damaged by missiles than flat surfaces. I would therefore argue that the spolia corners were added in a period of regional instability, and with the expectation that the towers to which they belonged would probably be attacked. This does not mean that the remainder of the Kryas keep and the abutting tower's masonry are contemporaneous to their corners. Some portions could have been added subsequently, as repairs. And it behooves us not to conclude too hastily that the spolia at the base of the tower was built during the reign of Justinian, since it could have been recycled much later. The enclosure's gates also appear to be chronologically distinct. Their arched frames bears a faint echo of the Western European 'palatial castle' trend discussed earlier in the article. If the inspiration for the arched frame indeed originated from Western Europe, as I suspect it did, we are looking at Catalan or Florentine constructions. Unfortunately we cannot exclude that the inspiration came from 12th century Constantinople's opulent brickwork decoration (or from the similar decoration in Lascarid Nicaea).

What do the arrow loops in the first enclosure's northwestern sector tell us? Loopholes appear on a bastion of Constantinople's sea-walls dating to Theophilus' reign and on the walls of Ankara's citadel.<sup>32</sup> And at Nicaea, a wall with four loopholes (which abuts the Yenishehir gate) is dated by inscription to 1208.<sup>33</sup> Apart from the fact that these examples are not very substantial, we must consider the possibility that arrow loops were used by the Franks, Catalans, and Florentines. Indeed, there are loops at Monemvasia and Chlemoutsi though it is unclear if

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<sup>30</sup> Mamaloukos 2012, 16.

<sup>31</sup> Mamaloukos and Mamaloukos 1999.

<sup>32</sup> The citadel's walls were reconstructed in 859, as indicated by inscriptions. Foss 1977, 79. Likewise, the Theophilean bastion is dated by inscription. Foss and Winfield 1986, 54.

<sup>33</sup> Foss and Winfield 1986, 85-86.

they post-date the Latin occupation.<sup>34</sup> One of the two eastern outworks of Acrocorinth (as well as the northeast curtain) features loopholes that supposedly date to the early 14th century.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, the thin apertures were already popular among the Crusaders of the Levant in the 12th century.<sup>36</sup> Consequently, arrow loops do not help to move the debate forward. Overall, I am unable to propose any *terminus ante quem*, since because we lack a detailed chronological typology for the 13th-15th centuries (except with regard to Constantinople and Nicaea). Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that the role played by the Franks and Catalans in constructing the castle is considerably smaller than has previously been thought.

Set aside its castle, Livadia has two pertinent sites. One is a small graveyard, located in the heart of the modern town. One of the tombs (there were five tombs and five burial pits) contained the skeleton of an adult man. On the man's finger was a ring decorated with an incised bird. On the basis of comparable ornaments from Thebes and Corinth, Koilakou has dated the ring to the Middle Byzantine era.<sup>37</sup> The second site requires a little contextualizing. In 1904, the Byzantinist Lampakes discovered a marble slab (very possibly belonging to a templon) bearing a relief decoration in the ruins of a certain church. Because Lampakes neglected to record the site's location, it remained unidentified for many years. Progress was only made at some point before the early 1980s, when I. Dimakopoulos<sup>38</sup> apparently conceived the idea of consulting Amand von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's writings. This Austrian traveler, who had toured Greece in 1882, left a book containing a precise illustration of the Panagia of Livadia, a former, then intact, local church. The illustration allowed us to trace the Panagia's location to a terrace overlooking the Erkyne's right bank. The church was revealed to be a cross-in-square, domed building. Surveying further showed that the masonry was of the *cloisonné* type and the dome was octagonal. Each side of the octagon was pierced by bilobed windows. Rather unusually, the windows were divided horizontally and not vertically. In the resulting lower level, several fragments of a column were visible. Such windows are found in Agion Apostolon of Solaki, Agios Theodoros of Athens, the Taxiarchis Charoudas of Mani, and the Panagia of nearby Osios Loukas Monastery. All four of the above churches are of 11th century origin, with the Panagia in particular being dated to 1050-1100. There is a small annex on the north side of the church. The roof was gabled, and its middle portion was crowned by a bell tower apparently entirely devoid of terra-cotta (except for its window). The frame of the annex's door is lined with toothed brickwork. On the basis of the main building's cross-in-square plan, *cloisonné* masonry, dome windows, and the marble slab,<sup>39</sup> I would suggest an 11th-12th century foundation date.

## Conclusions

What can we make of Archbishop Sabas' seal, the castle, the Panagia of Livadia, and the burial in the modern town? One thing seems clear to me: that there is a good chance the bulk of the castle was constructed by the Byzantines, in the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Kontogiannis and S. and K. Mamaloukos have done much to disprove Bon's interpretation, and I am thankful for their efforts. However, in my opinion the contributions of the Catalans and the Franks ought to be downplayed even further.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately the 'Byzantine' interpretation, while not implausible, is not provable. The location and likely date of the Panagia of Livadia – in the same general place where Pausania's Livadia stood – are promising clues. However, the Panagia is only one building. I had hoped to achieve more, to offer some definitive answers. But the latter will

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<sup>34</sup> Andrews 1978, 201, 204.

<sup>35</sup> According to Andrews, though he does not back up his position. Andrews 1978, 140.

<sup>36</sup> As shown by Tortosa, the Krak des Chevaliers, Kerak, Chastel Blanc, and Margat.

<sup>37</sup> Koilakou 1994, 124-125.

<sup>38</sup> Dimakopoulos 1984.

<sup>39</sup> The slab bears close comparison to one belonging to the templon of the 11th century Church of Peribleptos of Politika, on Evia. Orlandos 1937, 179.

<sup>40</sup> Although in the more recent of his two articles, S. Mamaloukos does consider it possible that portions of the outer enclosure and of the Kryas keep date to the Middle Byzantine period. Mamaloukos 2012, 17.

probably have to wait until an intensive survey is conducted in the castle's outer ring, or until such a time as rescue excavations became possible in the modern town.

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### **471.0.03 Matthew J. C. Scarborough (University of Cambridge) *Studies in the Linguistic Prehistory of the Boeotian Dialect***

This article offers a brief synopsis and partial summary of my Ph.D. Dissertation *The Aeolic Dialects of Ancient Greek: A Study in Historical Dialectology and Linguistic Classification* (Cambridge, 2016). This will consist of situating the contribution of the study in its scholarly context (summarising the first chapter of the dissertation), followed by a more concise synopsis of the linguistic features analysed by the dissertation and its evaluation methodology. The main dissertation synopsis is then followed by a concise survey of the dissertation's principal results for Boeotian dialect research, aside from the dissertation's general conclusions that an Aeolic subgrouping is likely, and that Boeotian appears to share a closer affinity with Thessalian than it shares with Lesbian, and that from the cumulative evidence a Thessalian-Boeotian subgrouping within Aeolic appears to be more likely than a Thessalian-Lesbian one.<sup>1</sup>

#### ***Studies in the Linguistic Prehistory of the Boeotian Dialect***

In his study of ethnicity in Greek antiquity Jonathan Hall stated that “[t]he field of Greek philology, and especially dialectology, represents a distinct and seemingly arcane enclave within the discipline as a whole, rendered all the more bewildering by the fact that universal consensus rarely exists.”<sup>2</sup> The study of the dialects traditionally designated ‘Aeolic’ has been particularly problematic from the use of the term to simultaneously designate an ethnic identity in Greek antiquity, as well as its usage to refer to a potential linguistic sub-grouping of Ancient Greek dialects. My dissertation is concerned with ‘Aeolic’ in the latter sense and investigates the vexed question of the interrelations of three dialects of Ancient Greek — Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian — which have been traditionally classified together as a historical (genetic) subgrouping. As such, the study is undertaken strictly from a comparative linguistic perspective, and seeks to rehabilitate the linguistic evidence for the use in more broad reconstructions of Ancient Greek prehistory which also utilise evidence from archaeology, ethnography, and historiography.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This dissertation was completed between 2011 and 2016 at the University of Cambridge under the supervision of Dr. Rupert Thompson, and was funded in part by a Doctoral Fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Award No. 752-2011-1532). As space is limited this synopsis omits the argumentation regarding the distribution of individual linguistic features; for that information I refer the reader directly to the dissertation itself. I would like to thank Fabienne Marchand for offering me the opportunity to write a report on this research for *Teiresias*.

<sup>2</sup> Hall (1997:153).

<sup>3</sup> For the emergence of Aeolian ethnic consciousness, I would alert readers to a forthcoming D.Phil. dissertation currently in preparation on *Aeolian Ethnogenesis* by Alexander Wilson at the University of Oxford.

The first chapter of the dissertation consists of a critical literature review of the notion of Aeolic dialects in Classical scholarship. The modern classification of an Aeolic dialectal subgrouping consisting of the Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian dialects goes back to the first volume of Heinrich Ahrens's treatise *De linguae graecae dialectis*, which appeared in 1839.<sup>4</sup> With the further development of theory and methodology in historical linguistics during the nineteenth-century, the relationship between these three dialects was formally conceived of as a genetic subgrouping, going back to a common ancestor dialect.<sup>5</sup> While this presumed original unity of Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian was not further questioned in the nineteenth-century literature, there was much debate as to where the Aeolic subgrouping related to the rest of the Ancient Greek dialects. In nineteenth-century scholarship these debates were inextricably bound with the question of the origins of the different Ancient Greek ethnic groups, with which the local dialects were then mistakenly directly equated.<sup>6</sup> Very influential were the ideas of Karl Hoffmann, who postulated that the Aeolic dialects and the newly discovered Arcado-Cypriot dialectal subgrouping both went back to an 'Achaean' group, and on the basis of this it was hypothesised that the arrival of the Greeks had occurred in three waves of migration consisting respectively of Achaean speakers, (Attic-)Ionic speakers, and Doric speakers (cf. Fig. 1.1.).<sup>7</sup> This three-wave model of Greek dialectal development was further codified by Kretschmer (1909), and remained relatively unchallenged until the mid-twentieth century.

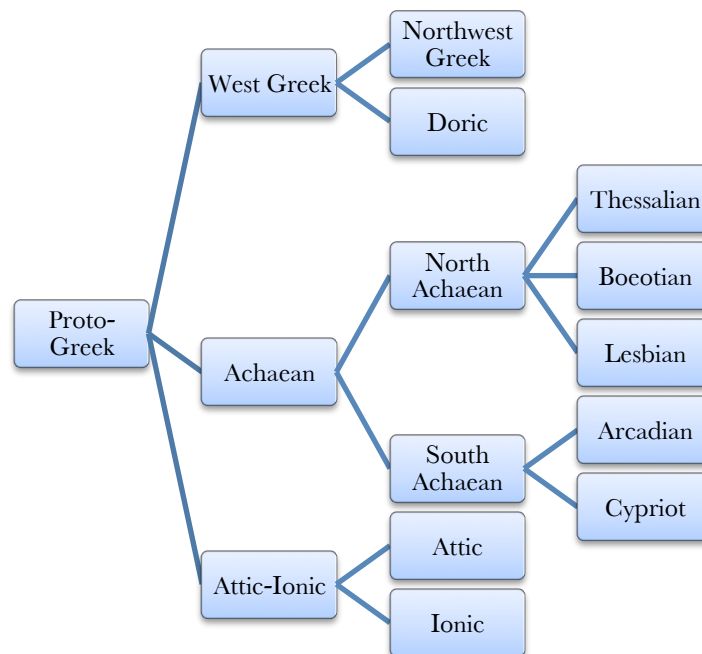


FIG. 1.1: THE FAMILY TREE OF THE GREEK DIALECTS ACCORDING TO HOFFMANN (1891-1898)

The three-wave model was overturned through the work of Walter Porzig and Ernst Risch in the 1950s.<sup>8</sup> Risch and Porzig applied the techniques of dialect geography, which had been developed for modern languages to the Ancient Greek situation. Consequently it became

<sup>4</sup> The first volume, Ahrens (1839), was concerned with the Aeolic dialects (i.e. Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian) and the 'Pseudo-Aeolic' dialects (i.e. Arcadian and Elean, the dialects also ascribed to 'Aeolic' by Strabo 8.1.2 in his discussion of Ancient Greek dialect geography). Ahrens's groundbreaking work on the epichoric dialects was made possible through the availability of data for non-literary, epigraphic dialects of Ancient Greek through the publication of the first volume of Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* in 1828 (Boeckhius 1828).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Meister (1882:7).

<sup>6</sup> On the necessity of separating ethnicity and dialect, cf. Hall (1995), Hall (1997:153-181).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hoffmann (1891-1898).

<sup>8</sup> Porzig (1954), Risch (1955), cf. Chadwick (1956). For a more recent and nuanced discussion, cf. Horrocks (2010:13-24).

apparent that the dialects evolved *in situ* within Greece, rather than being imported through successive migrations from elsewhere. Porzig and Risch proposed a new classification of the Classical Greek dialects along as North–South or West–East split focused around the feature of the assibilation or non-assibilation of original *\*-ti* as found in the 3.pl. active verbal endings, e.g. West Greek φέροντι, East Greek \*φέρουσι (Att. φέρουσι).<sup>9</sup> As the Aeolic dialects are split over this feature, they were envisaged as a ‘bridge’ dialect between the two areas.

One further important contribution to the comparative study of the Aeolic dialects in the twentieth century was José Luis García-Ramón’s monograph *Les origines postmycéniennes du groupe dialectal éolien*, whose principal goal was to establish relative and absolute chronologies for the fragmentation of an original Proto-Aeolic dialectal area.<sup>10</sup> Using a combination of Thucydides’s testimony that the ancestors of the Boeotians were expelled from Arne in Thessaly sixty years following the Trojan War and the archaeological consensus of the time, García-Ramón hypothesised that the Proto-Aeolic dialectal area had a short period of unity at the end of the Mycenaean period, with Proto-Boeotian splitting off first ca. 1200-1150 BCE, followed by a brief period of unity between a common ancestor of Thessalian and Lesbian until an Aeolian migration to Asia Minor occurred ca. 1000 BCE.<sup>11</sup> According to this model the dialectal areas ancestral to Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian then continued to develop in their respective locations and converge with West Greek and Ionic dialects in their respective territories following these migrations (schematised as Fig. 1.2).

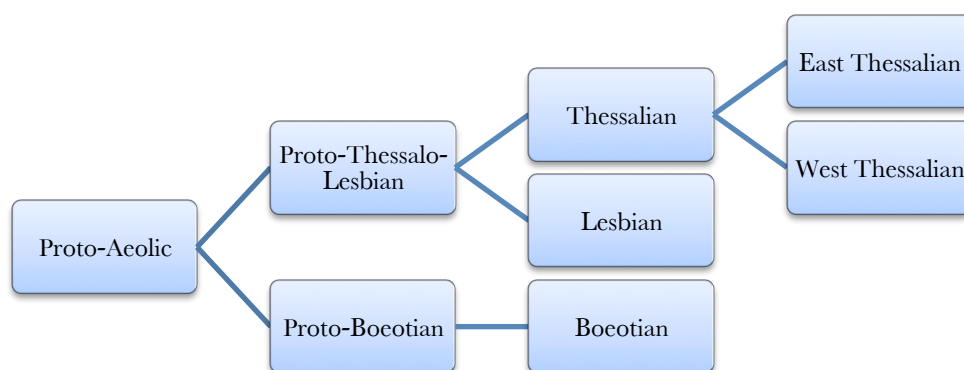


FIG. 1.2: THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE AEOLIC DIALECTS ACCORDING TO GARCÍA-RAMÓN (1975)

A fundamental flaw of almost all studies of the Aeolic dialects is an *a priori* assumption that the hypothetical reconstructed Proto-Aeolic ancestor dialect existed at all in the first place.<sup>12</sup> This assumption was controversially challenged by Bile, Brixhe, and Hodot, who challenged the enterprise of comparative reconstruction on the Ancient Greek dialects altogether in their 1984 article *Les dialectes grecs, ces inconnus*.<sup>13</sup> Even more recently Holt Parker has attempted to dismiss the Aeolic subgrouping altogether, as a companion study to Brian Rose’s argument that there does not appear to be any clear archaeological evidence for an Aeolian migration to Asia

<sup>9</sup> Porzig used the terms *Westgriechisch* and *Ostgriechisch*; Risch favoured *Nordgriechisch* and *Südgriechisch*. In English language scholarship the terms *West Greek* and *East Greek* are generally used for these concepts, cf. Horrocks (2010:9-42), Colvin (2014:55-64).

<sup>10</sup> García-Ramón (1975).

<sup>11</sup> García-Ramón (1975:22) and García-Ramón (1975:80), following Thuc. 1.12, Snodgrass (1971:301) and Desborough (1972:245).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. exceptionally Wyatt (1970).

<sup>13</sup> Bile, Brixhe, & Hodot (1984). Their views have been further advanced in the papers collected in Brixhe & Vottéro (2006). Of these, regarding Boeotian specifically, cf. Vottéro (2006).



Minor ca. 1000 BCE at all.<sup>14</sup> While these studies rightly criticise earlier work for implicitly having a presupposed assumption of an Aeolic subgrouping without further reservations, one may counter their arguments by considering how historical linguistic hypotheses are constructed in the first place. In response to these studies, García-Ramón has correctly emphasised the principle of the cumulative evidence of the linguistic data.<sup>15</sup> In other words, the evidence from a single linguistic innovation shared between two dialects may not be so significant in itself, but when there is a large number of shared linguistic innovations, then shared linguistic history is more likely. This was already recognised long ago by Leonard Bloomfield, who eloquently stated that in historical dialectology:

“[A] set of isoglosses running close together in much the same direction — a so-called bundle of isoglosses — evidences a larger historical process and a more suitable basis of classification than does a single isogloss that represents, perhaps, some unimportant feature.”<sup>16</sup>

Accepting that bundles of innovative features (innovative dialectal isoglosses) are more important for historical classification than individual unique innovations, one might ask how many isoglosses are needed to be confident of a genetic relationship. Attempting to sub-group closely related linguistic varieties exposes one of the difficulties of the comparative method in historical linguistics.<sup>17</sup> As pointed out by McMahon & McMahon, since the operation of the comparative method is gradual and cumulative, the application of the comparative method is based on many individual philological judgements that take on a cumulative effect. This principle makes the comparative method extremely powerful for making historical explanations, but since the results are recovered from a cumulative set of human judgements, and so biases can creep into the comparative method when successive generations investigate the same data.<sup>18</sup> As a way of testing controversial hypotheses, McMahon & McMahon advocate the application of quantitative methods by means of a statistical test.<sup>19</sup> As a way of resolving this impasse between the positions in Ancient Greek dialectology critical of subgrouping against those who do advocate subgrouping, my dissertation has therefore aimed to devise a statistical test that may be able to test the likelihood of subgrouping hypotheses between closely related dialects based on the evidence from the complete bundle of innovative isoglosses, rather than relying on a one or two unusual features.

Prior to any possible quantitative study of the isoglosses that unite Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian, it is first necessary to establish what linguistic features can be considered by such a methodology in the first place. This is the goal of the second chapter of the dissertation is to establish these preliminaries. For linguistic subgrouping, this work follows Leskien’s Principle in historical linguistics, namely that only shared innovations may be used as evidence for subgrouping.<sup>20</sup> In the parallel discipline of biological phylogenetic classification this same principle is called Hennig’s Principle.<sup>21</sup> Of course, if shared innovations appear to be spread through non-genealogical means (e.g. areal diffusion, parallel independent innovation), then such innovations must be discounted as evidence.<sup>22</sup> In arguing against an Aeolic subgrouping Parker made the prior assumption in his methodology that areal diffusion is in principle *always* possible.<sup>23</sup> This position runs contrary to the established practice in phylogenetic systematics as

<sup>14</sup> Parker (2008), Rose (2008).

<sup>15</sup> García-Ramón (2006), García-Ramón (2010).

<sup>16</sup> Bloomfield (1933:342).

<sup>17</sup> On the comparative method in historical linguistics, cf. Hock (1991:556ff.).

<sup>18</sup> McMahon & McMahon (2005:69).

<sup>19</sup> McMahon & McMahon (2005:68-69).

<sup>20</sup> Leskien (1876:vii), cf. Hock (1991:578-580).

<sup>21</sup> Hennig (1966:120).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Hock (557-561).

<sup>23</sup> “[E]ven genuinely shared innovations may not always provide an infallible guide to preexisting dialect geography. Sound changes and lexical or morphological borrowings between contiguous areas can be blocked by geographical features (e.g., mountain ranges, rivers). Equally so, they can proceed along a variety of communication paths leaving intervening (uninhabited or sparsely populated) areas relatively untouched.” (Parker 2008:442).

used in the biological sciences. In biological phylogenetic systematics, it is argued that a convergent feature should not be assumed *a priori*.<sup>24</sup> Hennig formulated this as an auxiliary principle on the basis that if proof was required in every single case that a feature was not convergent, then the entire enterprise of phylogenetic classification would collapse upon itself.<sup>25</sup> Consequently it is argued, against the methodology of Parker (2008), a linguistic analogue to Hennig's Auxiliary Principle ought to be adopted for the case of dialectal classification, and carefully applied to the evidence as each innovation is examined. Following the discussion of methodology in classification, the second chapter also gives some brief methodological consideration to the diversity of the question of identifying and defining individual dialects of Ancient Greek, problems of literary and epigraphic source material, and questions of sociolinguistic register.<sup>26</sup>

The third chapter of the dissertation on the 'core' Aeolic isoglosses consists of an analysis of the innovative features shared by all three dialects traditionally classified as Aeolic. The features under examination in this chapter are drawn up from a composite list of potentially innovative isoglosses commonly ascribed to the Aeolic group in the handbook treatments of Buck (1955), Thumb & Scherer (1959), Hainsworth (1982), Méndez Dosuna (2007), and those examined by Parker (2008). These features are:

#### A. Boeotian-Thessalian-Lesbian 'core' Isoglosses:

- (1) Labial reflexes of Proto-Greek \*/k<sup>w</sup>/ \*/g<sup>w</sup>/ \*/k<sup>wh</sup>/ including before /e/
- (2) Vocalisation of Proto-Greek \*r > or/ro (Att.-Ion., West Greek ar/ra)
- (3) Lowering of \*/i/ > /e/ before /r/
- (4) Syllabicity loss in prevocalic \*/i/ (i.e. \*-iV- > \*-iV-)
- (5) Dative plural -εσσῑ in consonant stems
- (6) Thematically inflected perfect active participle in -ων, -οντος
- (7) First person plural active verbal ending -μεν
- (8) Paradigmatic levelling of stem ἴα 'one' (elsewhere μῑα)
- (9) Morphologically derived patronymic adjectives

Of these features, it is argued that (A1), (A2), (A5), (A6), (A7), and (A8) are innovations that are potentially shared by a common ancestor dialect, while features (A3), (A4), (A9), are either obviously too recent or too poorly attested to justify postulating as potentially inherited innovations. It is admitted that small categories of exceptions to the phonological rules (A1) and (A2) do exist, but they may be explained through borrowing or influence from inter-dialectal literary registers.<sup>27</sup> On the basis of these six potentially inherited features from the 'core' Aeolic isoglosses, it is argued in the fifth and final chapter of the dissertation that these constitute sufficient evidence for an Aeolic subgrouping descended from Proto-Greek.

The fourth chapter considers the innovative isoglosses shared between two of the three dialects, or those innovative isoglosses shared with geographically neighbouring dialects which may be areal features. This discussion is made to determine the features that may be used for cladistic arguments within the Aeolic subgroup. The features examined in this chapter are based on the handbook treatments of Buck (1955) and Méndez Dosuna (2007).

#### B. Lesbian-Thessalian Isoglosses:

<sup>24</sup> Hennig (1966:121).

<sup>25</sup> Hennig (1966:121-122).

<sup>26</sup> The second chapter of the dissertation also briefly addresses the question of the question of an Aeolic phase in Homeric composition and transmission. It finds the arguments of Jones (2012) for a diffusion model most plausible, although on this issue cf. more generally Haug & Andersen (2012). Ultimately, the question of an Aeolic phase of Homeric composition is not of relevance to the central argument of the dissertation.

<sup>27</sup> For argumentation, cf. Scarborough (2016:58-81) and Scarborough (2016:81-93) respectively.

- (1) Geminate liquids and nasals in environment for First Compensatory Lengthening in other dialects (e.g. Lesb. *σελάννα* < \**selás-nā*, etc.)
- (2) Syllabicity Loss: \**-iV-* > \**-iV-*
- (3) Athematic Inflection of *verba vocalia* (κάλημι, etc. = Att. καλέω)
- (4) Selection of variant preposition ἀπύ (Att. ἀπό)
- (5) Selection of variant preposition ὄν (Att. ἀνά)
- (6) Modal Particle κε (Att. ἄν, West Greek κα)
- (7) Lexical item ἄ(ν)γρεμι (Att. αἰρέω)

C. Lesbian-Boeotian Isoglosses:

- (1) Geminated sigmatic-infix (ἐκάλεσσα, etc.)
- (2) Selection of preposition πεδά (Att. μετά)

D. Thessalian-Boeotian Isoglosses:

- (1) (Non-)Assibilation in restricted morphological categories
- (2) <EI> = Proto-Greek \**ē*
- (3) γίνυμαι (Att. γί(γ)νομαι)
- (4) Thematic present active infinitive -μεν (Att. -ειν)
- (5) Third person plural endings -νθι, -νθαι (-νθη), -νθο
- (6) Compound names Διόζοτος, Θεόζοτος
- (7) ἔλεξε = εἶπε in decree formulae
- (8) υστερομειν(ν)ια 'last day of the month'

E. Lesbian-Ionic Isoglosses (areal)

- (1) Psilosis
- (2) Early loss of \**μ*
- (3) Monophthongisation of final -*āi*, -*ηi*, -*ωi* > -*ā*, -*η*, -*ω*
- (4) Assibilation in restricted morphological categories
- (5) Thematic dative plural -*αισι*, -*οισι*

F. Thessalian-Boeotian-Northwest Greek Isoglosses (areal)

- (1) Non-assibilation in restricted morphological categories
- (2) Sporadic -*σθ-* > -*στ-*
- (3) (ϕ)ίκατι '20'
- (4) -κάτιοι 'hundreds'
- (5) Generalisation of future -*ξω*, aorist -*ξα* to -*ζω* verbs
- (6) ἱαρός 'holy'
- (7) ἐν < \**ένς* (Att. εἰς)
- (8) παρά 'at, with' construed with the accusative
- (9) πότη(ι) (Att. πρὸς)

G. Thessalian-Northwest Greek Isoglosses (areal)

(All isoglosses shared with Thessalian and Northwest Greek are also shared with Boeotian.)

H. Boeotian-Northwest Greek Isoglosses (areal)

- (1) Middle participles in δείμενος as if from \**δε-έμενος*

- (2) West Greek form of Ἄρταμις (Att. Ἄρτεμις)
- (3) Modal Particle κα (Att. ἄν)
- (4) Temporal adverbs in -κα (e.g. πόκα, ~ Att. πότε)
- (5) Ordinal numeral πρᾶτος (Att. πρῶτος)
- (6) 'Place where' suffix -ει (Att. -ου)
- (7) Plural definite articles τοί, ταί (Att. οί, αί)

#### I. Boeotian-Attic Isogloss (areal)

- (1) Depalatalised voiceless dentals -ττ- (φυλάττω, etc.)
- (2) Depalatalised voiced dentals -δδ- (sporadic also Attic)

The examination of these features finds only the selection of the prepositions ἀπύ (B<sub>4</sub>) and ὄν (B<sub>5</sub>) potential evidence for a Thessalian-Lesbian sub-clade, the selection of πεδά (C<sub>2</sub>) the only possible evidence for a Lesbian-Boeotian sub-clade, and the thematic present active infinitive in -μεν (D<sub>4</sub>) and the aspirated third person plural endings in -νθι, -νθαι (-νθη), -νθο (D<sub>5</sub>) are the best potential evidence of a Boeotian-Thessalian sub-clade. The areal isoglosses are dismissed for classificational purposes, but are interesting as clear evidence for more recent *in situ* linguistic convergence with their respective geographically adjacent dialects.

The fifth and final chapter of the dissertation devises a probabilistic clade test to estimate the likelihood of the Aeolic dialects going back to a common ancestor dialect. The mathematical and statistical basis of the test will not be elaborated in full here, but the basic elements of its implementation will be summarised.<sup>28</sup> The first step of the methodology estimates the likelihood of the *repeatability* of a given innovation, that is to say how likely it is that an innovation is made independently from first principles. The second step of the methodology estimates the *innovability* of a given innovation based on its observed distribution among the dialects. Once the innovabilities of the potentially inherited feature (and their margins of error) have been estimated, the product of these innovabilities of the potentially inherited features are measured against a known critical value for statistical significance, which has been calculated for the likelihood of repeatability in the sample. If the value obtained is less than the critical value for statistical significance, then it is unlikely that the identical innovative isogloss bundles shared between the dialects have been innovated in common by chance, and a common ancestor dialect is likely. The results of the quantitative test on the features examined for an Aeolic subgrouping in the main body of the dissertation has found that it is indeed unlikely that the core Aeolic isogloss bundle was independently innovated by all three dialects, and consequently it is statistically likely that Aeolic forms a genetic subgrouping, descended from Proto-Greek. The remaining bundles for potential Lesbian-Thessalian, Lesbian-Boeotian, or Boeotian-Thessalian subgroupings within Aeolic failed to meet a standard critical value for statistical significance to be confident of further clades descended from Proto-Aeolic.

Following the probabilistic clade test, the fifth chapter further elaborates a philological argument for Proto-Lesbian leaving the Proto-Aeolic dialectal area first, while the precursors to Boeotian and Thessalian remained in contact, innovating in common a small number of additional features. This argument is made on the basis of the frequency of unique innovations shared between Thessalian and Boeotian but lacking in Lesbian (athematic active infinitive -μεν, which was also extended to thematic active -μεν (D<sub>4</sub>), aspirated third person plural endings -νθι, -νθαι (-νθη), -νθο (D<sub>5</sub>), γί(γ)νομαι reanalyzed as an athematic νυ-present γίνυμαι (D<sub>3</sub>), and onomastic trend of names in -ζοτος (D<sub>6</sub>). Likewise, it is argued that Lesbian reorganized an inherited system of infinitives consisting of thematic active \*-ehen (e.g. Attic -ειν, Laconian -

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<sup>28</sup> The full operation of this methodology may be found in the dissertation, and is also the subject of an article in preparation by the author of the dissertation and Rupert Thompson.

ην)<sup>29</sup> and active athematic *\*-men* (West Greek, Boeotian, etc. -μεν) into the unique system attested by epigraphic Lesbian (-μεναι formed to monosyllabic athematic roots, re-characterized with the suffix -αι taken over from the sigmatic aorist -σ-αι; -ην, -ᾶν, -ων, ὕν found in all other classes depending on stem termination).<sup>30</sup>

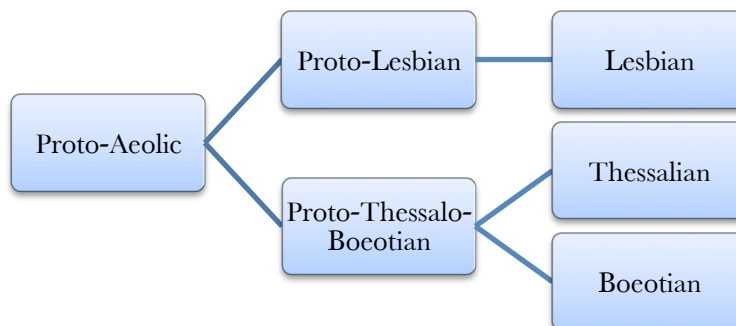


FIG. 1.3. A NEW PROPOSED FRAGMENTATION OF THE AEOLIC DIALECTS

## Summary of Contributions to Boeotian Dialect Research

### *Core Aeolic Isoglosses*

Boeotian shares the core Aeolic isogloss bundle with Thessalian and Lesbian, these include features (A1), (A2), (A5), (A6), (A7), and (A8) above. The full argumentation for these features as potentially inherited from a more recent ancestral dialect descended from Proto-Greek is given in the third chapter of the dissertation. For the remaining features (A3), (A4), and (A9), we may remark: the lowering of *\*/i/ > /e/* before */r/* and the loss of syllabicity of prevocalic *\*/i/* (i.e. *\*-iV- > \*-i̯V-*) are ascribed to Boeotian,<sup>31</sup> but the Boeotian evidence for these developments are quite limited and consequently these should not be considered properly ‘Aeolic’ features.<sup>32</sup> Boeotian also has a system of deriving patronymic adjectives morphologically, but the morphology used to derive them are either inherited archaism or new developments specific to Boeotian, and consequently the shared use of patronymic adjectives likewise cannot be used as evidence for an Aeolic subgrouping.<sup>33</sup>

### *Boeotian-Lesbian Isoglosses*

There are only two specifically innovative isoglosses shared by Boeotian and Lesbian. The first of these normally found in the handbooks is the presence of a geminated sigmatic-infix in aorists (C1) as a common innovation of Boeotian and Lesbian.<sup>34</sup> While this may be a common innovation, it is not so clear that they are inherited, as in Boeotian the feature is only attested in two late forms, *σουκκαλέσ|σαντες* (*SEG* 43:212a.15-16, ca. 260-250 BCE) and *ἔσσώμο[σ]αν* (*I.Thesp*:84.61, ca. 210-200 BCE).<sup>35</sup> Likewise, the nature of the spread of -σσ- in aorists (and futures) as attested in the Lesbian inscriptions of the fourth century BCE appears to be the result of in multiple competing interparadigmatic analogies, and it is consequently more likely that

<sup>29</sup> The ending *\*-chen* is probably from an original s-stem formation with an *-en* extension *\*-cs-en* (Rix 1992:237-238). The uncontracted ending *\*-chen* is attested via Mycenaean *e-ke-c /hek<sup>h</sup>chen/* (PY Eb 297.1).

<sup>30</sup> On the analysis of -αι as an infinitive-forming suffix, cf. Meritt (2015).

<sup>31</sup> Buck (1955:25), Thumb & Scherer (1959:20, 56, 88), Méndez Dosuna (2007:462), García-Ramón (2010:223-224).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:94-96, 117-119).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:110-112).

<sup>34</sup> Buck (1955:116).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:136-138).

these are parallel independent innovations.<sup>36</sup> The second Boeotian-Thessalian shared innovation is the selection of the preposition *πεδᾶ* for *μετά* (C2), although this is not exclusively Boeotian-Lesbian, as *πεδᾶ* is also attested in Arcadian and West Greek dialects and both variants of the preposition are attested in variation with one another in Mycenaean.<sup>37</sup> It is potentially of use for classification as a selection between inherited alternatives, but it is the *only* remaining exclusive Boeotian-Lesbian isogloss that could be interpreted as innovated from a potential more recent ancestor, and consequently a Boeotian-Lesbian sub-clade is extremely unlikely.

### *Boeotian-Thessalian Isoglosses*

As discussed above, Boeotian and Thessalian also share a number of additional innovations that may be taken as potential evidence for their subgrouping within Aeolic. The innovations that be used without reservations for classification are the selection of an athematic active infinitive morpheme *-μεν*, which was further generalized as the thematic active infinitive *-μεν* (replacing inherited *-ειν/-ην* from earlier *\*-chen*) (D4),<sup>38</sup> and the innovation of aspirated third person plural active and middle endings *-νθι*, *-νθαι*, *-νθο* (D5), most likely originating from an analogy in the middle endings.<sup>39</sup> In addition to these, the uniquely shared reanalysis of *γί(γ)νομαι* as an athematic *νυ*-present *γίνυμαι* (D3) and the shared onomastic trend of *Διόζοτος* and *Θεόζοτος* as though reanalyzed from *Διόσ-δοτος*, *Θεός-δοτος* (D6) is extremely striking.<sup>40</sup> These may be indicative of an earlier period of linguistic unity prior to their separation.

The older handbooks commonly allege that <Ei> for Proto-Greek inherited *\*/ē/* (D2) is a shared innovation of Boeotian and Thessalian.<sup>41</sup> However, as Bartoněk long ago demonstrated, these spellings are the result of quite different historical processes and they should be discarded as a feature for subgrouping.<sup>42</sup>

### *Boeotian-(Thessalian-)Northwest Greek Isoglosses*

Both Thessalian and Boeotian share a number of innovative isoglosses with the Northwest Greek dialects, with Boeotian sharing more of these features than Thessalian. The fact that these are areal features spread from West Greek are most apparent in the cases of the generalisation of *-ξ-* as a marker of the future and aorist in *-ζω* (F5). Such forms are confined to the epigraphy of Koroneia and Thespiiai (e.g. *ια|ρειάξασα IG VII:2876.4-5*, *έκομιξάμεθ[α] I.Thesp:40.23*), whereas elsewhere in Boeotia expected outcome of the voiced dental stem *\*-δ-σ-* > *\*-τσ-* > *-ττ-* (e.g. *κομιττάμενοι IG VII:2406.8*, Thebes) is found.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, the sporadic spellings of *-στ-* for *-σθ-* (e.g. *ἀπολογιττάστη IG VII:3172.140*), which are well known from Northwest Greek,<sup>44</sup> are restricted to Orkhomenos.<sup>45</sup> In addition to these Boeotian also shares with West Greek the non-assibilation of original *\*-ti* in certain morphological categories (D1, F1),<sup>46</sup> the selection of the variant *ιαρός* (F6),<sup>47</sup> the selection of the preposition *πότ(ι)* (F9),<sup>48</sup> the preposition *παρά* with the meaning ‘at, with’ construed with the accusative

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Hodot (1990:190).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:138-139).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:154-156).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:156-161).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. respectively Scarborough (2016:151-154) and Scarborough (2016:161-164).

<sup>41</sup> Buck (1955:25, 148), Thumb & Scherer (1959:57).

<sup>42</sup> Bartoněk (1962), I have further argued elsewhere (Scarborough 2014) that the spellings of <Ei> and <OY> in Thessalian is likely to be simply an orthographic convention.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:172-175). The *-ξ-* forms, moreover, are not regular in Koroneia, cf. *ἀπολογιττάνθω (SEG 43:205.15)*.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Méndez Dosuna (1985:333-348), cf. García-Ramón (1975:95), Blümel (1982:156-157).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:169-170).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:139-151), Scarborough (2016:170-172).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:175-176).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:176).

(F8),<sup>49</sup> the modal particle *κα* (H3),<sup>50</sup> temporal adverbs in *-κα* (e.g. *πόκα* ‘when’) (H4),<sup>51</sup> the ordinal *πρῶτος* (Att.-Ion., Lesb. *πρῶτος*, Thess. *προῦτος*) (H5),<sup>52</sup> the use of the ‘place-where’ suffix in *-ει* (e.g. *αὐτῷ SEG 43:212a.5*) (H6).<sup>53</sup> Buck considers participles in *δείμενος* as though from *δε-έμενος* (H1) as a Boeotian feature, but in fact these formations are restricted in their attestation epigraphically.<sup>54</sup> Only one example is attested: *δει|μένοις (IG VII:2858.3-4)*.<sup>55</sup> The only other form attributed to Boeotian, *ἀδικείμενος* (Ar. *Ach.* 914), as argued by Colvin, is more likely a feature used by Aristophanes to designate a character more generally of Central Greek origin rather than specifically Boeotian.<sup>56</sup> Participial formations of this type are generally more widely attested in the Northwest Greek dialects.<sup>57</sup> The co-occurrence of these isoglosses shared between Boeotian and Northwest Greek are strong evidence for sustained interaction between speakers of these dialects for some considerable time.

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:176-177).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:179-180).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:180).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:180-181).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:181-182).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Scarborough (2016:178-179).

<sup>55</sup> Buck (1955:124) also considers the form *ἀφικνεμένων (I.Orop. 277.8, ca. 387-377 BCE)*, which appears in an Ionic inscription, to be due to Boeotian influence.

<sup>56</sup> Colvin (1999:219-220).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Méndez Dosuna (1985:489-498).

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**471.0.04 Paul Grigsby (University of Warwick) *Boiotian Games: Festivals, Agones, and the Development of Boiotian Identity* (supervisors: Prof. James Davidson and Dr Zahra Newby).**

## Introduction

This thesis, currently awaiting submission, takes as its theme Boiotian identity as expressed and disseminated through Boiotian games and festivals. At its simplest, it provides a complete chronological record of the evidence for Boiotian *agones* from the seventh century BC through to the end of the third century AD, alongside that of the most important collective Boiotian festivals. More importantly, it discusses the role played by the Boiotian games and festivals in the creation, development, and promotion of a unified Boiotian identity, thus contributing to the wider debates on identity and Boiotian ethnogenesis.

In my introduction, I place this thesis amongst recent studies on Boiotian ethnogenesis by Kühr (2006), Larson (2007), and Kowalzig (2007), which themselves build upon the works on ethnicity of Smith (1996) and Hall (1997; 2002), and which take as their central focus cultural common denominators such as myths of common descent, epic ancestry, and a shared dialect,



integral to the creation of a single Boiotian *ethnos*.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to these studies – which by the nature of their methodology focus on the development of a unified Boiotian identity (the ‘argument from unity’ as I call it) through shared traditions – my thesis emphasises a complementary view of Boiotian identity (the ‘argument from diversity’) which stresses the role played by the separate Boiotian *poleis* in the creation of a multifaceted Boiotian identity. Such a view acknowledges the fiercely independent nature of the Boiotian *poleis* and the federal nature of the Boiotian political system, this latter more recently discussed by Mackil (2013, 2014), and Beck and Funke (2015).<sup>2</sup> Inter-*polis* competition, conflict and rivalry was ever a part of the ‘uneasy amalgam’ of the unified Boiotia, and any broad study of Boiotian identity (not limited to ethnogenesis) must take this tension into account. For while common cults were integral to the matter of Boiotian ethnogenesis *per se*, local identities were part of the dynamic, ever-changing, overarching identity of the federal Boiotian *koinon*. It is this dynamic interplay of local and regional identities which this study of Boiotian *agones* seeks to emphasize.

This thesis highlights three important roles played by festivals and *agones* in the formation and development of Boiotian identity. The first (discussed in Chapters One and Two), is the development of a unified Boiotian identity (Boiotian ethnogenesis proper) through cult interactions at local – often liminal – sanctuaries during the Geometric, Archaic, and early Classical periods. The second (Chapters Two to Five), is the promotion through *agones* of Boiotian identity to the wider-Hellenic world especially during the later Classical, Hellenistic, and early-Roman periods, my argument being that the cults and events celebrated through each *agon*, and the manner of this celebration, can be understood as a reflection of what the Boiotians themselves believed central to their own identity and self-perception. The third (Chapters Six and Seven), is the role played in maintaining a Boiotian community following the coming of Rome and the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* after 171BC, where participation in pan-Boiotian agonistic festivals – so Müller (2014) has recently argued – was a crucial factor in the regeneration of a quasi-political Boiotian *koinon* just before the Imperial era.<sup>3</sup> Thus games and festivals can be seen as integral in the creation, dissemination, and survival of Boiotian identity.

## Methodology – Why Games?

The choice of *agones* as a medium for the expression of identity is dictated by a number of interconnected factors best summarized as visibility, agency, and complexity.<sup>4</sup> In terms of visibility, the games provide an unparalleled and consistent wealth of epigraphic (and literary) evidence from the seventh century BC down to the end of the third century AD, covering the entire period of the existence of the historical Boiotian *koinon* and arguably that of its development. Records of the games are found in epigraphic sources as varied as victor lists, *polis* and Amphiktyonic decrees, dedications of individual competitors and their families, and

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<sup>1</sup> Hall, J. M. (1997), *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Hall, J. M. (2002), *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*, London: University of Chicago Press; Smith, A. D. (1986), *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell; Kühn, A. (2006), *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien Kam: Polis und Ethnos im Spiegel thebanischer Gründungsmythen*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag; Larson, S. L. (2007a), *Tales of Epic Ancestry: Boiotian Collective Identity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag; Kowalzig, B. (2007), *Singing for the Gods: Performances of Myth and Ritual in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>2</sup> Mackil, E. (2013), *Creating a Common Polity: Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon*, Berkeley: University of California Press; Mackil, E. (2014), ‘Creating a Common Polity in Boeotia’ in N. Papazarkadas (Ed.), *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia: New Finds, New Prospects* (pp. 45-67), Leiden: Brill; Beck, H., & Funke, P. (2015), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, C. (2014), ‘A Koinon after 146? Reflections on the Political and Institutional Situation of Boeotia in the Second Half of the Second Century BC’ in N. Papazarkadas (Ed.), *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia: New Finds, New Prospects* (pp. 119-146), Leiden: Brill.

<sup>4</sup> It should also be noted that this thesis relies heavily on the work on Boiotian cult by Albert Schachter, (including of course Schachter, A. (1981-94), *Cults of Boiotia*, London: Institute of Classical Studies) and the many epigraphic contributions of Denis Knoepfler (too numerous to list here).

accounts of festival organizers (*agonothetai*) which often provide records of the games expenses, organization, and winners; literary evidence is provided by works such as the *epinikia* of Pindar and later accounts such as those of Plutarch and Pausanias. Such visibility allows for what is perhaps the most important factor in positing a link between *agones* and identity, this being agency. Epigraphic records by their very nature often provide evidence of the actions of named individuals, members of the wealthy elite for example, or that of the individual *poleis* or the Boiotian *koinon* itself and their roles in the promotion of local and regional *agones* in the wider Greek world. As for complexity, Boiotian festivals, and especially *agones*, provide a platform for the expression of prestige, ambition, and identity at a number of levels simultaneously, such as that of the individual competitors, the *agonothetes*, the *polis* whose cult was promoted, and the region (pan-Boiotian concerns), often at one and the same time. The intricacy of the relations expressed through the *agones* exemplifies the complex picture of Boiotian identity put forward in this thesis. Equally, the diachronic approach undertaken here allows changes in agonistic habits (with their link to Boiotian identity) to be viewed across the entire history of the Boiotian *koinon*, in relation to the external political events of the wider Greek world. It is, I argue, one of the strengths of this thesis that its broad diachronic scope paints a picture of *agones* and festivals as constant *loci* of re-invention, with elite prestige and ambition expressed through the constant adaptation of ancient traditions to suit present needs. Viewed in such a light, the archaisms and ‘re-inventions’ of the later Second Sophistic appear part of a constant and active traditional pattern of adaptation, allowing a more positive assessment of Boiotia and Boiotian identity under Rome.

## Thesis Overview

In my Introduction, I place this thesis within the current scholarship and argue for the use of festivals and *agones* as a measure of Boiotian identity as suggested above. In addition, I discuss the important role played by geography in the creation of a single Boiotian *ethnos*, an argument which develops further in Chapter One – ‘Archaic Period (700-480BC)’ – where I present the evidence for cult interaction at sanctuaries whose ‘communities of interaction’ particularly at liminal sites between the *polis* territories (*khoraí*) formed the nucleus of the later Boiotian *koinon*. The sites discussed in this Chapter include the sanctuaries of Poseidon at Onchestos, Apollo Ptoios near Akraiphia, and Athena Itonia near Koroneia. Further to this, I address the process of aggregative identity formation (crystallized by external pressure from the powers of Thessaly and Athens during the sixth century BC) alongside the evidence for the first inscriptions made by the collective ‘Boiotoi’ and the appearance of a common coinage sporting the Boiotian Shield. This latter symbol I associate strongly – at least in the Theban mind – with Herakles.<sup>5</sup> It is at this time that epigraphic evidence is found for the first Boiotian *agon*, the Herakleia at Thebes, whose suggested link to the putative Battle of Keressos would be the first example of the use of an agonistic festival as a promotion of a collective Boiotian identity (linked to Boiotian military prowess) to the wider Greek world, a pattern which was to be repeated throughout Boiotian agonistic history.<sup>6</sup>

In Chapter Two ‘The Classical Period (479-323BC)’ I present the evidence for Boiotian games found in Pindar, especially for games as *loci* of elite ambition and prestige as suggested, for example, in Pindar’s *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles of Thebes* (fr.94b). While Pindar’s ‘duly ordered Boiotian Games’ (*Olympian* 7.84-85) – from which I take the title of my thesis – cannot be specifically identified, I show how each of the Boiotian games for which Pindar provides evidence contributed to the development of the Boiotian *ethnos*, and were central to the forging

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<sup>5</sup> But cf. Larson, 2007, 80.

<sup>6</sup> See for example *IG VI 801*. The link with Keressos was suggested by Janko (1986, 48 and n.62). Janko, R. (1986), ‘The Shield of Heracles and the Legend of Cycnus’, *Classical Quarterly* 36, 38-59; see also Mackil, Mackil, 2013, 24.

of a unified Boiotian identity.<sup>7</sup> Further I discuss the ‘re-invention of tradition’ already present at this early stage, wherein local festivals such as the Theban Daphnephoria became associated with wider pan-Boiotian concerns. With the creation of the federal political *koinon* ca.446BC, alongside evidence of a unifying myth of a common descent (found in the *aitia* of various festivals and *agones*), many of the strands which make up the ‘argument from unity’ were now in place, yet the later Classical period, with its military successes, can be linked to an increasing militaristic Boiotian identity, exemplified in the creation of a number of new *agones* specifically linked to Boiotian victories (at least in *aition*), each demonstrating a very traditional hippic/athletic program of events. In the latter part of this chapter I discuss the evidence for these new *agones*, and the role they played in promoting this militaristic identity to a wider non-Boiotian audience.

Chapter Three ‘Early Hellenistic Period (322BC – 200BC)’ discusses the change in Boiotian self-perception and identity as expressed through *agones*, concomitant with the political and military diminution of the Hellenistic Boiotian *koinon*. I argue that given the decrease of the political self-determinism of the previous century, the Boiotian *agones* of the third century became an increasingly important *locus* for the expression of Boiotian identity, an expression which was to become even more vital under Rome when the political and military freedom of the Boiotians was wholly extinguished. While this period ushered in an era of increased agonistic competition across the Hellenistic world, especially in the Greek East, the Greek mainland was for the most part unaffected. Yet Boiotia stands out as an exception, following its own unique agenda with a series of actions unlike those found anywhere else in the Hellenistic world. Around 260BC, the Boiotians requested and were granted *asylia* for the sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia where the militaristic (Boiotia-only) team games of the Pamboiotia were held, the earliest example of the granting of such a status in the Hellenistic world.<sup>8</sup> By the end of the third century Boiotia had sought *asylia* and Panhellenic recognition for many of its sanctuaries and their *agones*, and during the decade of the 220s underwent something of an agonistic boom, developing – under the influence of a branch of the *Technitai* of Dionysus now housed in Thebes – a new artistic reputation, with games which attracted the interest (and money) of Hellenistic Kings. We hear for the first time of the Mouseia at Thespiiai, and of the Ptoia at Akraiphia, new *agones* attached to prestigious local cults which already possessed pan-Boiotian importance, and whose continuing significance is attested in the pan-Boiotian organization of the games – evidence that these individual local cults were becoming a recognisable and central part of a more inclusive Boiotian identity (my ‘argument from diversity’). As I suggest, these changes represent the flowering of a previously insular and belligerent Boiotian identity, whose traditional inter-*polis* rivalries were now sublimated through the *agones*, with the resulting agonistic arms race – as each *polis* competed for status for its own festival or *agon* – responsible for two further agonistic booms within Boiotia, the first a century later at the end of the second century BC, a second following the Mithridatic War ca.86BC. This new agonistic self-confidence seems to express a wider, more artistic and well-rounded Boiotian identity closer to the ideal Hellenistic model.

Chapter Four – ‘The Later Hellenistic Period (200-100BC)’ – looks at the effect on *agones* and identity of the coming of Rome and the loss of political and military self-determination with the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* after 171BC. Evidence reveals that the celebration of common festivals and *agones* allowed for the continued expression of a unified Boiotian identity,

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<sup>7</sup> This approach follows the suggestion of Ganter (2013) that only through a diachronic study of individual communal Boiotian festivals and games can a full understanding of the complex process of Boiotian ethnogenesis be gained. Ganter, A. (2013), ‘A Two-sided Story of Integration: The Cultic Dimension of Boiotian Ethnogenesis’ in P. Funke, & M. Haake (Eds.), *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration* (pp. 85-105), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

<sup>8</sup> Aside from the temporary *asylia* granted to the games of the *periodos*, the only place declared immune from war in the classical period was Plataia in 479BC, with similar stories fabricated for Elis, Delphi and Delos – see Rigsby, 1996, 25. Rigsby, K. J. (1996), *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, London: University of California Press.

whose organization made possible the *koinon*'s eventual quasi-political revival at the end of the first century BC.<sup>9</sup> It is during this period that we first see evidence of the strong relations fostered between the elites of certain Boiotian *poleis* and Rome, with games such as the Soteria initiated at Akraiphia and the Romaia at Thebes, relations which were to grow stronger in the following centuries. These Roman relations are further explored in Chapter Five – ‘The First Century BC (100-0BC)’ which focusses on the events following the Mithridatic War, where the positive actions of Sulla towards several Boiotian *poleis* and their *agones* (such as the Amphiaraiia at Oropos and the Erotideia at Thespiiai) instigated a post-war agonistic boom, unique in the Greek world at this time. This was the period of greatest agonistic expression within Boiotia, with what seems to have been the formation of a strong Boiotian agonistic circuit. The Roman Civil Wars, played out in part on Greek soil, led to a collapse of this circuit, but the latter half of the first century BC also ushered in a return of the Boiotian *koinon* (in a religious if not political role) itself arising from the dense nexus of interaction of the wealthy elite of the Boiotian *poleis* (such as the families of Aischriondas and Theomnestos at Akraiphia, and Kapon at Thisbe) at the Boiotian *agones* such as the Ptoia, Basileia, and Pamboiotia, evidence of which I discuss at length in the latter part of this chapter.

Chapter Six – ‘First century AD (0-100AD)’ examines the increasingly strong relations between Boiotia and Rome. In 37AD Epameinondas of Akraiphia, an ambassador to Rome on behalf of the Boiotian League, reformed the *agon* of the Ptoia, and in 67AD set up a stele recording Nero’s declaration of the freedom to the Greeks, in his hometown. Usually imagined as standing at the start of the ‘archaism’ and ‘re-invention of tradition’ of the Second Sophistic, I place Epameinondas’ recreation of the Ptoia as a relatively late example of the continued re-invention which this thesis witnesses from the beginning of the Classical period, and which I link to the expression of (especially elite) prestige, pride, and ambition. Equally, the relations of the Boiotian *agones* with Rome, epitomised in the almost universal adoption of Imperial epithets for games (such as the Megala Ptoia Kaisareia, the Mouseia Sebasteia Julia, Erotideia Kaisareia, and the Amphiaraiia Romaia), and the creation of new (possibly ephebic) *agones* linked to Imperial cult (the Kaisareia at Lebadeia, Sebasteia at Akraiphia), rather than acts of toadyism, are best understood, so I argue, as evidence of a new Boiotian identity under Rome, another ‘uneasy amalgam’, this time of the local and Imperial.

Finally, in Chapter Seven – ‘Second to Fourth century (200-400AD)’ I discuss how the survival of only the most prestigious *agones* which enjoyed close links to individual *poleis*, when viewed alongside evidence for an increasing role for the local traditions of the *ephebeia*, and the disappearance from the epigraphic record of those games most closely linked to the militaristic Boiotian *koinon* – the Basileia at Lebadeia and the Pamboiotia at Koroneia - suggests that from the Second Century AD onwards Boiotia *per se* (lacking as it did any real political reality), was no longer an active *locus* of elite prestige and ambition. While collective Boiotian sentiments were still expressed during the Second Century – witness for example the festival of the Daidala at Plataia which celebrated Boiotian unity, and whose structure and *aition* were in many ways symbolic of the ‘uneasy amalgam’ of the Boiotian *koinon* and Boiotian identity itself<sup>10</sup> - the pattern revealed by the *agones* shows that by this time local *polis* identity seems to have assumed precedence over the collective Boiotian.

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<sup>9</sup> Müller, 2014, 122 and 136.

<sup>10</sup> See especially Knoepfler, D. (2001), ‘La fête des Daidala de Platées chez Pausanias: une clef pour l’histoire de la Béotie hellénistique’ in D. Knoepfler, & M. Piérart (Eds.), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l’an 2000* (pp. 343-374), Geneva: Droz.

**471.0.05 Catherine Grandjean (Université François Rabelais, Tours) & Fleur Kemmers (Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main) *Studying Greek federal coinages: a new French-German research project***

A new research project on Greek federal coinages has been launched in June 2017. The project is funded for three years under the funding scheme 'Franco-German Call in Humanities and Social Sciences', a joint initiative of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR). The project is titled 'KOINON: Common currencies and shared identities. Understanding the structures and daily realities of Greek federal states through an analysis of coin production and coin circulation in the Aetolian and Peloponnesian Koina (5th-1st centuries BC)'. The aim of the project is to gain a better understanding of the functioning of Greek federal states (*koina*), both at a structural and a day-to-day level, by a comprehensive and integrated analysis of their coinages. Since coins are always issued by an authority, yet are used by people in a society, they offer a unique source for investigating not only aspects of political and economic history but also of daily life. The coinages of three Greek *koina* – the Arcadian League, the Achaian League and the Aetolian League – will be investigated from this perspective. Coinage is an instrument and a witness of federal policy and power during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, which can be used to learn more about the political and economic relations of the Leagues with the various other power groups exerting influence over Greece, such as the Macedonians, the Ptolemies and, finally, Rome.

Three lines of research will be pursued: 1) How were competences and decision making divided between the authorities of the *koinon* on the one hand and the local authorities of the cities on the other? 2) How integrated were the cities within the federal state? 3) How was a federal identity created and communicated? In all three lines of enquiry, developments will be traced from the time of origin of the League until after its dissolution. The selection of the Arcadian, the Achaian and the Aetolian League is necessary in order to contextualize the results obtained for each League individually and to see whether general patterns can be observed. Chronologically these three Leagues are partly consecutive, partly overlapping, allowing the subject to be studied over a longer time period and trace developments over time from the fifth to the first century BC.

Three complementary approaches to numismatic material will be used in these three research avenues: metrological and iconographical analyses, coin hoard and single find studies, and archaeometallurgical analyses. The first approach can show in how far the weight of the silver and bronze coins of a League on the one hand and the individual cities on the other were aligned with each other, which is an indication of the monetary integration of the League and the level of autonomy of the cities. Secondly it will become clear how federal and civic identities overlapped or excluded each other and how this was used to build up, maintain and disseminate a joint or independent identity. An analysis of coin hoards and single finds within the territory of the three Leagues will demonstrate in how far coin circulation, and by implication commerce, were integrated between the individual cities and the League at large. Furthermore, this provides evidence for the distribution of particular coin types and their associated iconography and thus how wide spread certain images and messages were. The archaeometallurgical analyses, both elemental analyses and lead-isotope-analyses will be used to characterize the metals used to mint the silver and bronze coins of both the cities and the Leagues and to trace the provenance of the silver coins. This will show in how far the League set standards, which were followed by the individual cities. Equally, it will demonstrate whether the League monopolized access to silver resources or if the cities were able to tap into their own silver bullion supply network.

This complementary approach is possible because of the various research strengths and traditions combined in the research team. Based in Tours (Université François Rabelais) Prof. Catherine Grandjean and Dr Eléni Papaefthymiou will work on the metrological and iconographical analyses of the coinage of the three selected leagues and their member states. This corpus will at a later stage be integrated in the Corpus of Greek Coinage Online (GCO). At the IRAMAT-CEB (CNRS/université d'Orléans) Dr Maryse Blet-Lemarquand will conduct elemental analyses on selected coins, made available by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. In Germany, David Weidgenannt, MA and Prof. Fleur Kemmers (both Goethe-University, Frankfurt am Main) will study coin circulation based on site finds and hoards and Prof. Sabine Klein (German Mining Museum, Bochum), with the assistance of a postdoc, will conduct lead-isotope-analyses on selected silver coins. To strengthen the historical background for the project, PD Dr Angela Ganter (Friedrich Wilhelm University Erlangen-Nürnberg) has joined the team and will focus especially on literary sources and inscriptions concerning the Arcadian League.

The project has just started and is currently busy with compiling the necessary datasets and the creation of a web-based database to store the project results. We plan to hold a conference in September/October 2018 to present first results and discuss them with our fellow historians and archaeologists.

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