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PREFACE

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

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

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

The Editors of Teiresias wish to thank McGill University, and the Deans of the Faculties of Arts and of Graduate Studies and Research, for their generosity and interest. We also take this opportunity of thanking two students, Mrs. J. Hanigberg and Miss E. Schwartz, for their assistance in transcribing the discussions. Finally, our warmest thanks go out to the other participants, particularly those who came from so far, for their efforts.
En 371 av. J. C. Cléombrate, roi de Sparte, fut ordonné d’environner la Béotie avec son armée qui était alors en garnison en Phocide. Il avança jusqu’à Coronée où il s’arrêta, ou bien il était arrêté. Son progrès nous est décrit par trois écrivains anciens.

i. Xénophon, Hell. VI, iv, 3

"Ωυτω δ’ ἐγεὶ τὴν στρατιάν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν [σ. ὁ Κλεόμβροτος]. καὶ ᾗ μὲν οἱ θηραίοι ἐμβάλειν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν συκών προσάκτων καὶ ἔπει στειν τινὶ ἐμβάλλον σὺν ἐμβάλλεις. δὲ δὲ Θισάθην ἔδει ὁρείνην καὶ ὀπροσδόκητον πορευθεῖν ἄφθικται εἰς Κρείταν.

ii. Pausanias, IX, xiii, 3

"Ας δὲ ο λακεδαίμων καὶ θηραίων ἔχθρο πόλεμος καὶ λακεδαίμονις δύναμις καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπὶ τοὺς θηραίους ἥξιοι, Ἐπαμεινόνδας μὲν ἔχον τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἀντεκάθθηκε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρακλείδου λήμνης ὡς ποιημένοις τῶν Πελοποννησίων τῇ ἑρακλείδι, Κλεόμβροτος δὲ ο λακεδαίμονις μακεδόνας ἐπὶ Ἀμφώπολις τρεῖτο καὶ τῶν συκών" ἀποκτείνει δὲ Χαλεάν, δὲ ψυθοῦν διετέκτον τῆς παροίκων, καὶ δίλοις τοὺς σὺν αὐτῆς θηραίους, ἕπερ ἐκεῖνα ἄφθικται τὰ Βοιωτῆς.

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

"Οὔτω μὲν ὁν προσόγγοιτες ἄκα τοὺς Κορίνθιους, κατεπαύτευσαν καὶ τοὺς θηραίους ἀνέμενον. οἱ δὲ θηραίοι δὲ τὴν πολέμων ἐπηρεάσαν τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναικῖς τῶν Αἰθίους ἐπικείσαντο, ἀνάβετο δ’ Ἐπαμεινόνδας στρατηγὸς ἔλεεος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπετρήφαν, συμμεροῦσας αὐτῆς Ῥωσταρχὸν ἔτε. δ’ Ἐπαμεινόνδας πανορμεῖ τοὺς θηραίους τοὺς ἐν ἴωλοῖς στρατεύει δύναις καταλέγεις εἰς τὴν πάλιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν τοὺς ἐκθέτος προῆλθον τὴν ὁδόν σαμνην ἔκ τῶν θηραίους, ἔχον τοὺς συμπάντας.
Après Coronée Cléombrâte dut reculer en Phocide pour rentrer dans la Béotie par une autre voie, celle de la côte sud de la Béotie. Cette dernière route a été récemment étudiée par W. K. Pritchett, qui la poursuit jusqu’au champ de bataille à Leuktra où l’armée spartiate reçut une défaite écrasante. Ce qui nous intéresse ici n’est pas cette route même, mais les événements aux environs de Coronée.

Les trois écrivains grecs nous racontent à peu près la même histoire, mais avec certaines petites divergences. Le récit de Xénophon est le plus bref, et Pausanias y ajoute quelques détails; Diodore est plus discursif. Suivant ce dernier Cléombrate s’arrêta à Coronée pour attendre l’arrivée de certains détachements de son armée qui venaient en retard – nous ne sommes pas informés comment et pourquoi – et les Thébains profitèrent de ce délai pour occuper les défilés. Ainsi les Thébains purent empêcher Cléombrate de continuer vers l’Est, vers les plaines centrales de la Béotie. Les deux autres sources nous disent, en effet, que les Thébains avaient déjà occupé les défilés avant l’arrivée de Cléombrate à Coronée.

Quoi que soit l’ordre exact de ces événements – et probablement nous aurions raison en préférant la version conjointe de Xénophon et Pausanias – l’occupation des défilés par les Thébains obligea les Lacédémoniens à reculer en Phocide et à rentrer dans la Béotie par l’autre voie.
Avant de considérer cette voie, Pritchett remarque "Epameinondas had occupied with a strong force the narrow pass near Koroneia, between a spur of Mount Helikon on one side and Lake Kopais on the other". En réalité les sources ne nous fournissent pas trop de précision sur la position occupée par les forces thébaines. Diodore, en premier lieu, l’appelle τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν στενὰ et, peu après, τὰς παράκοιλας. Xénophon emploie l’expression ἐκ στενὸς τῶν et Pausanias dit que Epameinondas αντικήθηκε βολό τῆς Κρήτης Ἀκήρατος λίμνης.

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

Chacune de ces deux montagnes pourrait correspondre à la position des Thébains comme décrite par Pausanias βολὸ τῆς Κρήτης Ἀκήρατος λίμνης - "Kephis(α)ia" étant tout simplement un nom alternatif pour "Kopais" en antiquité, et surtout quand on parlait de son bord sud. En plus, une simple logique militaire indique très clairement que pour empêcher à une armée de procéder vers l’Est, partant de Coronée, il serait bien nécessaire d’occuper les deux défilés. Il occuper que l’une aboutirait à rien, car l’autre défilé serait libre. Et nous connaissons que les Thébains voulaient occuper chaque défilé. Les Béotiens devraient avoir occupé les deux positions dont je parle pour pouvoir obliger Cléombrate qu’il retourne en Phocide sans disputer le passage. Xénophon ne nous parle que d’un défilé, mais son
récit est très bref. Diodore cependant nous parle d'une pluralité. En vérité la première fois sa description το σαϊνδον ne veut rien dire, car le mot σαϊνδον était souvent employé au pluriel avec un sens singulier, comme on dit actuellement en anglais "the Straits of Gibraltar", mais la seconde fois Diodore écrit τοις πολιμίους προκαταλήγειν τοις παρόδους et ici la pluralité est bien claire.

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

PALAIOTHIVAI (cf. plan, fig. 2)

L. Ross, Wanderungen 1, 31-2.
C. Bursian, Geographie von Griechenland, 1, 234.
F. Guillon, La Béotie antique 110, note sur pl. XXIX.
(q.v. pour la position de Palaiothivai).
L. Scranton, Greek Walls 168 (Catal. 185, Type B26).
J. Fontenrose, TAPA c (1969) 125.

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

On remarquera que j'ai désigné la construction polygonale "Phase I", et la construction brute "Phase II". Cet ordre me paraît clair. Le circuit plus étendu doit être plus récent, car les deux murs sont conservés, encore aujourd'hui, jusqu'à une hauteur de 1.5m. à l'Est; si donc le plus petit circuit était la deuxième phase
les défenseurs auraient laissé un mur d'une certaine hauteur (probablement encore plus grande en antiquité que maintenant) hors de leur mur, et ainsi auraient fourni aux attaquants une protection très proche à leurs défenses. Une telle situation doit nous sembler inconcevable et cette simple logique militaire nous oblige à considérer le circuit polygonal comme le plus ancien.

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

Vlora (cf. plan, fig. 3)\(^9\)

P. Guillon, *La Béotie antique*, 110, notes sur pl. XXIX.
S. Lauffer, *AA* (1940) 186.

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

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

Comparaison et Conclusions  

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

Ainsi les systèmes sont composés tous deux de fortifications à chaque bout de la crête, et de cette façon peuvent tous deux surveiller les défilés et toutes les routes Est-Ouest ou Ouest-Est dont nous parlions plus haut (cf. carte, fig. 1).  

Néanmoins c'est les deux forteresses de la Phase II qui dominent également les deux défilés, car le poste du guet sur Výglā dans le système polygonal ne constituait aucun obstacle sérieux à l'avance d'une armée puissante. Quand on considère que c'est exactement la Phase II aussi qui présente un travail facile à construire en vitesse, il est évident que cette
phase répond mieux aux exigences de 371 av. J.C. Je suggère, donc, que dans ces fortifications brutes on voit le travail des forces thébaines - les traces, c'est-à-dire, de l'occupation par Epaminondas des défils qui obligea Cléomède à reculer en Phocide. Ce système domine très bien les routes, pouvait être construit en vitesse, et a fourni une petite indication d'une date dans le 4e siècle.

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

Le Nom

Nous revenons enfin au titre de cette étude, car il a toujours été considéré qu'une de ces fortifications doit être la forteresse Τιλπόσαιον mentionnée par Démosthène et dont la possession par les Phociens au milieu du 4e siècle était d'une importance capitale - avec l'occupation en même temps de Coronée, Orchomène et Khorsiai.1

Quelle fortification des deux était Tilphosaios est difficile à déterminer.15 La question est confuse par l'identification douteuse du sanctuaire de Tilphousiaos Apollon.16 Dans une étude récente de ce dernier problème, Fontenrose a répété la suggestion que le sanctuaire se trouvait au covent actuel d'Agios Nikólaos.17 Bien sûr, ce site reste toujours le meilleur candidat pour le sanctuaire mais Fontenrose semble ignorer les réserves de Ducat,18 réserves que je dois souligner, ayant moi aussi examiné en détail la région du couvent. J'ai trouvé, comme Ducat, que rien ne se présente là qui peut être plus ancien que l'époque byzantine.
Mais, si l'identification du sanctuaire doit rester encore incertaine, Fontenrose a fait tout de même une suggestion capitale en ce qui concerne le nom de la montagne. Il considère que le nom Tilphosaion pourrait bien indiquer la crête entière, et non seulement un de ses deux sommets. Nous avons souligné dans cette étude que la crête constitue une unité militaire autant que géographique. Si donc la crête entière pourrait porter le nom Tilphosaion, il est fort probable que les fortifications sur ses bouts portaient elles aussi, toutes deux, le même nom.

Notes:

3. Str. ix, 411.
5. Cf. LSJ s.v. στρυόν, 2.
6. J'ai étudié ce site en avril 1968 avec l'aide précieuse de R. S. Green; qu'il trouve ici l'expression de ma profonde gratitude.
8. Mise à part la citerne, aucune trace de construction interne ne se présente, mais on remarque plusieurs fragments de tuiles sur le sol.
11. Comme à Palaiothovia plusieurs fragments de tuiles se trouvent sur le sol aujourd'hui, mais il n'y a aucune trace de constructions internes.
12. Les lignes de vision indiqués sur la carte ont toutes été vérifiées sur le terrain.
15. Les archéologues précédents ont suggéré soit l'une, soit l'autre.
   i. Pour Palaiothovia:- Ross, loc. cit.; Bursian, loc. cit.; Guillou, loc. cit.; id., Trépieds 11, 105 n. 2; id., Rouxler 87 n. 134; Schober, loc. cit.
   ii. Pour Vigla:- Leake, loc. cit.; Gall, loc. cit.; Vischer, Erinnerungen 560; Frazer, loc. cit.; Papakhatzis, Pausaniae V 199 n. 1. (Conze et Michaelis, Amt. d. Inst. xxxiii [1861] 84-6 & Philologus xix [1863] 180 ont suggéré que Vigla était le site d'Alaikommene.)
SOME UNDERLYING CULT PATTERNS IN BOEOTIA (See Map fig. 5)
by A. Schachter

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

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

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

Female Trinities

The characteristics of this type are, besides the sex and number, association with a spring, and possession of powers of fertility and inspiration. There are three trinities which fairly certainly belong to the group—the Charites of Orchomenos, the Muses of Helikon and the Three Parthenoi of Eleon—and several others which
may do so: the three Praxidikai of Telphoussion, the three Aphrodites of Thebes, the Sphragitid Nymphs of Mt. Kithairon.

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

The Charites of Orchomenos were, since Hesiod, three in number. They were associated with a fountain (Akidalia), and had powers of fertility and inspiration.

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

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

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

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Female Fairs

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

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

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

Alke and Androklea, daughters of Antipoinos of Thebes, were said to have been buried in the sanctuary of Artemis Eukleia. They had killed themselves in order to ensure victory against the Orchomenians.

The two daughters of Skedasa of Leuktra - variously named, but most often referred to as Leuktrides - hanged themselves after being raped by two Spartans. The father, unable to obtain redress, killed himself. On the occasion of the battle of Leuktra, Epaminondas sacrificed to all three. We therefore have here evidence for a cult of aveters of evil.

Meteoe and Maniipe were daughters of Orion at Orchomenos, but went by the name of Koronides. Orion, of course, is usually associated with Hyria in Boeotia, and we might therefore suggest the possibility of a connection with that town: one of the sources for the story is said to have been Korinna. Koronos or Koronis is traditionally the founder of Koroneia. The girls killed themselves
to put an end to a plague or drought, and were subsequently worshipped by the Orchomenians.

A fourth pair, Hentioche and Pyrrha, daughters of Kreon, were commemorated with statues in the Isemion at Thebes. There is no other evidence concerning these two.

Male Paire

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

Amphion and Zethos are most closely connected with the walling of Thebes. Another story links them to Eutresis (near the field of Leuktra, cf. the Leuktridees), and the story of their birth places it on Mt. Kithairon.

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

In addition to building the treasury for Hyrieus, Trophonios and Agamedes as a pair are best known as the architects of the Delphic Apollo’s first temple.

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

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

Larger Male Groups

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

The so-called Alkaidai, or sons of Herakles and Megara, share Herakles’ cult at Thebes, as a passage of Pindar vividly reveals: they are eight in number and dead warriors: (καλλοδιπν οὐτος ἔθιοντων) worshipped with nocturnal rites and annual games.
Other sources give different numbers, but Pindar, describing a rite as performed in his native city, must be regarded as authoritative.

According to legend, Herakles fathered some 49 or 50 or 52 sons on the daughters of Thespios or Thestios of Thespiae. Of these sons, called the Thespíadai, Iolaos took all but nine with him to Sardinia; of the remaining nine, two went to Thebes and the other seven remained at Thespiae where they were called Συμφακτοί. There is no actual evidence for a cult, but they seem to be reasonably similar to the Alkaïdai, and the connection with Herakles at both places cannot be wholly fortuitous.

The Héroes Areôgeistai of the Platáid, to whom the Greeks were instructed to pay homage before the battle of Platáia, were eight in number, and, one must assume, a warlike group. Of the names given to them two (Aktasion and Androkrates) are drawn from local mythology, two (Leukon and Polyeidé) from Boeotian tradition, while the other four are otherwise unknown. My guess is that the names were attached to members of the group by a fairly late source.

I am less certain about the existence of other multiple groups of warriors in Boeotia. There are a number of other candidates: at Thebes, the group known variously as the Seven Against Thebes and the fourteen children of Niobe and Amphion, commemorated east of the Kadmeia at the place called Seven Pyres; perhaps the Seven Against Thebes at Eleutheraí; and finally the mysterious Trophoníadai of Ódóra.

Underground Oracle

The two members of this group are Amphíaraós and Throphiónoi; both were regarded as human beings who, on being pursued by an enemy, were swallowed up by the earth and became oracular deities, possessed also of healing powers. The oracle of Trophonios was situated at Lébdæla; Amphíaraós possessed apparently two oracular shrines: one at Óropos, at least from late in the fifth century BC, and another in the vicinity of Thèbes, which lapsed some time before the middle of the fifth century BC.

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

The Dying Boy

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

The best known example of this type is Íparfiós: he is a youth who, for whatever reason, is drowned in a spring at Donakon ('reed thicket') near Thespiae. At the edge of the spring the flower sprang up. Íparfiós is also commemorated at Óropos and across the strait in Euboea.

Somewhere in the vicinity of the river Kephisós is the location of the story of the youth Argympnos, beloved of Ægæmon: he died at the Kephisós. Argympnos was the son of Peisíde, daughter of Leukon son of Athamás. Leukon and Athamás are generally located in
the areas immediately west and east of the Kopais.

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

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

Another dying youth associated with a stream, but rather late, is Aktation: his connection with Gargaphia at Kithairon does not seem to be original to the tradition.

**Log Procession**

This rite is best known from the Daidala, a festival of Hera at Plataia, but a similar procession seems to have formed the basis of the Daphnephoria at the Theban Ismenion. Although the Daidala took place on Mt. Kithairon, Pausanias relates that, of the fourteen "daidala" in the procession, eight were allocated to Plataia, Koroneia, Theopliai, Tanagra, Chironela, Orkomenos, Lebadeia and Thebes, while the remaining six were shared by smaller towns. This, and the inclusion of Alakomenai in the atition, suggests that the rite once enjoyed "pan-Boeotian" status, and references to Hera's sojourn in Euboia indicate a possible further connection eastwards. The rite itself culminated on Mt. Kithairon. The Daphnephoria, on the other hand, took place at Thebes, but the cult on the Ismenion shows other signs of having absorbed extraneous elements from the surrounding countryside, e.g., Tenes, eponym of the Teneric Plain.

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

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

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

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

**Summary and Conclusion**

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

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NOTES

1. BICS 14 (1967) 1-16.
3. Eteokles, who was the first to worship them, was son of Kephisos (Hesiod, fr. 71 [Merkelbach and West; 39 Hr.]); a fountain is mentioned by Pausanias (9.38.2) but not definitely attributed to the Charites; a polos in Deiomenika 11.4; Akidalia in Pindar, fr. 232 (Bowra; 244 Smell); connected with the Charites by Servius (on Vergil, Aen. 7.72). On Akidalia, see Wilamowitz, Pindaros, p.154 and note 1, and GDM 1.188 note 4.
4. Ephoros Forlì 70F152; cf. Parnell, Cults 5.429ff.
5. e.g., Pindar, Olympian 14.1ff.
6. Pausanias 9.29.2ff.; and cf. Eumelos, fr. 17 Ki (three daughters of Apollo: Kephisous, Apollinia, Borysthenia). Other sources include: Ephoros Forlì 70F272; Varro in Servius on Vergil, Elogiuni 7.21; Diod. Sicul. 4.7.2; Cornutus, Theologiae Graecae Compendium ch.14 (Lang); Plutarch, Quaest. Conv. 14 (744C-D).
8. SEG 13.347.
9. Plutarch, Quaest. Gr. 41 (301A-C); BMC Central Greece 65.52-54.
10. Pausanias 9.33.3 and 9.33.5; Pausias, fr. 18 Ki; Dionysios Forlì 4.394F3; Anacore Acan. 1.76.23ff.
12. Kleidemos Forlì 323F22; Pausanias 9.3.9; Plutarch, Aristeides 11.3-4 (329C-D); Quaest. Conv. 1.10.3 (628E-F).
14. e.g., Diod. Sicul. 15.54.2-3; Pausanias 9.13.5-6; 9.14.3; Plutarch, Pelopidæ 20-22 (288D-289D); Amiat. Narrat. 3 (773-774D); De Herod. Malign. 1 (856F); Xenophon, Bell. 6.4.7.
15. Korinna, fr. 3 (656 Page); Nikandros in Antoninus Liberalis 25; Ovid, Metam. 13.685-704 (at Thèbes); Schol. Lykophron 1247.
37. Petrakos, op. cit., p.66f.
38. Ibid.
39. Pausanias 1.34.5.
40. e.g., Pausanias 9.39.5-6.
41. See above, and also BICS 14 (1967) 9.
42. e.g., Ovid, Metam. 3.339ff.; Konon Porph. 26Fl.24; Pausanias 9.31.7.
43. Strabo 9.2.10 (404); Eustathios on Odyssey, p.1967.36.
44. Probus on Vergil, Elogques 2.48.
45. e.g., Hesiod, fr. 70.33 (Merkelbach and West; 37-38 Rz.);
46. 9.33.4.
47. Id. 9.10.5-6.
48. Porph. 10.1241.iv.5-10.
49. e.g., Pausanias 9.2.3.
50. Ovid, Metam. 3.155ff. is the earliest source for this.
51. Pausanias 9.31ff.; Plutarch Porph. 388Fl.
52. Pausanias 9.10.4; Proklos in Photios, Bbl. 239, p.321A-B.
53. Pausanias 9.3.6. The epithet "Κιθαιρόνα" is attached to Hera at Theopil by Clem. Alexandr., Protr. 4.46.3 (St.; 40P).
54. Pausanias 9.3.1; Plutarch Porph. 388Fl.
55. BICS 14 (1967) 4.
57. Saphnephoria: Proklos, loc. cit.
58. Pindar, fr. 84 (Bowra; 94b Snell).
59. e.g., Herodotos 9.52f.
60. Compare also Pausanias' "Little Daedala" (9.3.4-5), where the trees are collected at Alakomenai, and Proklos, in Photios, Bibl. 239, p.321A-8 (Bekker), where the laurel for the Daphnephoria is gathered from Helikon and the river Melas.

61. It is interesting to note that none of the cult types appears on the coasts of Boeotia. However, very little is known about the traditions current in these areas: nothing about the south coast, and on the north and east the only traditions concern Glaukos at Anthedon, the events at Aulis, and - if Hyria was a coastal town - the stories of Hyrieus, Orion and Lykos, Nykteus and Antiope at Hyria.

*       *       *

The following points arose from the discussion:

1. On the question of Amphiparaos, the relations between his sanctuary at Oropos and the sanctuary of Aristarchos-Amphieraos at Rhamnous were cited. See J. Pouilleux, La Porteresse de Rhammonte (Paris 1954) pp.93-102, esp. p.97 (on the similarities).

2. The Boeotian trinities were, to all appearances, regarded as entities, and there was no apparent division of function, except possibly in the doubtful case of the triple Aphrodite (Apostrophia-Ourania-Pandemos) at Thebes.

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

From all this it may be inferred that Ceresus was a defensible spot, not necessarily a settlement; that it was defended against the Thessalians by the Thebans, and, no doubt, other Boeotians, as well as by the Thespians; that, since it was used seldom (if not only twice), it lay not too conveniently close to Thespiae, although in Thespian territory; that it did not pose a difficult problem of attack to a fourth century general like Epaminondas; that it should have been of such a nature as to seem to be assailable by cavalry. This last point deserves emphasis. The Thessalians' main strength
lay in their cavalry; no sane general, unless there are very strong
reasons to the contrary, attacks when there is no apparent chance of
success; Laotamias should have had the hope of successfully em-
ploying his main force. Therefore Cerussus should be a location
that at least gave the impression that cavalry could assault it.

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

The main road provides the best route to Thbes and Thespiae,
but the third route is not impossible, though far less obvious as a
route for cavalry. Nonetheless it is somewhere along the third
route that Cerussus has usually been placed. The railway line is
too far to the north, well beyond Thespian territory, and the main
road runs immediately below the hillock on which is the assumed site
of Onchæstos. The boundaries of Thespian territory should, therefore,
lie south of the highway, and hence, Cerussus cannot be on the On-
chæstos ridge. As will be seen, however, there is a location within
the modern limits of Thespian territory that overlooks the main road.
The most commonly accepted location is at Pallioworo (variously termed Palaiopyrgo, Palaiopanagia, Ayios Taxiarhos), a hill about 1 km. west of the village of Panagia, on which can be seen a ruined tower. It is about 3½ km. from the site of ancient Thespiae. It overlooks the valley of the Permessus from the west and affords a good view of the Copaic and Theban plains. It is a strong position, controlling a narrowing of the valley, but it is difficult to approach and has very steep slopes on three sides, the north, east and south. There are no good lines of retreat towards Thebes or Thespiae, only southwest towards the wilds of Helicon. Nor is it a suitable location even for sallying out to attack an enemy in the valley, since egress is as difficult as access. It is solely a defensive spot, one that would require siege operations for its reduction, but one that could provide the defenders with little opportunity to interfere with an invading army.

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

A third site sometimes favoured is near Neochorion, on the hill just northwest of that village. Ruins were observed here by Leake and others, and from an abandoned church an inscription was recovered (I.G. 7. 1862), that clearly identifies the place as a dependency of Thespiae. It holds a strong position overlooking the mouth of the valley; remnants of walls were observed on the west and
northwest of the hill, in the weakest sectors. Forces debouching into the Kanavari valley and turning east to Thespiae would pass immediately below the hill, well within striking range. It is, as Leake observed, the best position in the Permessus valley to interfere with any forces coming toward Thespiae. On the other hand, the only line of retreat lies up the vale of the Muses; a force occupying the hill at Neochoron would be cut off from Thebes and Thespiae.

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

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

The Thessalians, strong in cavalry, sought battle where that arm could be employed efficiently. Their objective in the campaign seems to have been the reduction of at least Thespiae and probably all of eastern Boeotia. Their best route for attack would be over the Onchestus ridge into the Tegean plain and then either directly towards Thebes or through the gaps in the hills east of Vagia towards Thespiae. On this route an infantry force in the plain, or on the slopes south of the plain could be dealt with very efficiently.

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

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

There is, however, a location overlooking any line of approach to eastern Boeotia north of Helicon, and from which it is possible to deploy into the Permessus valley or towards the Onchestus ridge without difficulty. This is the hill of Listi, just north of the village of Mavromati. It is about a kilometre long, running east-west, with fairly steep slopes to the north, west and east and to most of the south, being separated from Mavromati by a steep-sided ravine. The slopes to the north and west are deceptive; they look much less steep than they are. The southwest corner, however, is
connected to the main line of hills running toward Thebes by a gently
sloped saddle steep to the west. From the top of Listi there is a
clear view over the Copaic and Theban plains as well as the Onchestus
ridge and the entrance to the Permessus valley. It lies about 5½
km. from Thespiae and about 2½ from the generally accepted site of
Onchestus. It should be close to, and south of, the northern bound-
dary of Thespian territory. Water supplies are available from streams
running to the east and west; springs are alleged to occur on the
lower slopes to the west. No walls or other architectural features
are observable, but a few sherds, probably Early Helladic, can be
seen at the base of the hill to the west. A neolithic site lies
nearby.\textsuperscript{10} Probably the hill was not settled in the Classical
period. The name in /ss/, like that of the nearby Pernissos, hints
at a pre-Greek toponym.

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

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

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

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

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

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Notes:-

1. As Bölte, RE, xi, s.v. "Keressos", 287, rightly observes.
2. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, II, 137; Philippson-Kirsten, Griechische Landschaften, I, 2, 469.
3. See Frazer, Pausanias, V, 140, for a description of this route.
4. Philippson-Kirsten, Gr. Land, I, 2, 469.
8. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, II, 500; Bölte I.c. (note 1), mentions it favourably.
10. AA, LV (1940), 186.

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

Pindar's Pythian XI begins thus:

Κάλλον δέκα, Σειμελά μὲν Ὄλομπαιών ἀγνωτίς,
'Ἰμώλες Αίανθες τοις ἔρημοις Ἀσεπίποιοι.

Daughters of Cadmus - Semele o dweller on Olympus,
and Ino White Goddess
sharer with the Nereides of the sea's deep chambers,
come with Hercules' mother blessed in her offspring

to the presence of Nelia,
to the treasure of golden tripods,
which Loxias loved above all
and named it Isemion,
a true seat of prophecy,
o daughters of Harmonia; 
hither he now invites
all the neighbouring host of the heroines
to sing of holy Themis and Python
and of the earth's navel the Upholder of justice
at the fall of evening
to grace Thebes of the Seven Gates...

In other Odes of Pindar, especially in their opening, a city is often asked to welcome home a victorious athlete. The present case is quite different. Thrasydilos, the victor in question, is somehow associated with the feast of Nelia which, of course, has nothing to do with the Pythian Games or with Thrasydilos himself. We have here a rare passage. What stands out is the feast in itself and by
itself. It provides a solemn setting. It evokes the atmosphere of a local religious celebration; and, as such, it gives us a good example of rituals actually, if poetically, witnessed.

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

ECOLDONI APLO DEUMONW TIN
LHEXI PELATI AMEPOSOE MELEX
GNOVON KALIM SYNNXH YRNO
HERAIA TE FROEAS DIOJ TIRENO XARNO.
LATURAL, AKHERELE,
MOEIOUS DUNAITEOS TIGNOS LO
XOPHTHTOH, [DOMOLO], TELO.
EN KAPRINOS KOINHONIOMAN
APLOE H购EAEKSON PRODASEN EKEKUXE
KEPHER MIHAGIAI 'AXEANOUL MELEX STO ...

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

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

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

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

DIYHLEI GHEAN
YAN TE KAI IPELOSAVE
KAI SOKAIA
....
.... APLOE UFOE EPOE
KAI MHEAEI KEPHER ETAPLOE KEPHERA SKEPE
MELETOS APLOE ...

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

There follows, still in Strabo, the mention of "the three-peaked retreat of Mount Ptoon" (ΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΧΑΡΗΟΝ ΠΑΣΟΛΟΥ ΧΩΣΜΑΝ) and of Tenerus "who bears the same name as the underlying plains" (ΝΑΟΚΟΛΟΥ ΜΑΝΤΙΝ ΔΑΠΕΔΟΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΚΛΕΙΑ).

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

The glowing reality of the feast contrasts with its obscurity.
You will have trouble finding Melia in any mythological handbook.
It is interesting that the only authority about her, besides Pindar, seems to be Pausanias who says (IX, 10):
Above the Ismenion you will see a fountain which is sacred to Ares. Adjoining this is the tomb of Kaanthos. They say that Kaanthos was the son of Oceanus and the brother of Melia and that the father sent him to seek the sister who had been ravished. As he found that Melia was in Apollo's possession and that he could not take her away from him, he set fire to Apollo's temple which is today called Ismenion; then the god, so the Thebans say, killed him with an arrow; there is nearby the grave of Kaanthos. They say that Apollo had two sons from Melia, Tenerus and Ismenius – to Tenerus the god gave the gift of prophecy, and Ismenius gave his name to the river.

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

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

Whatever the case may be, there can be no doubt about Pindar's style in evoking the festive hour. It is both solemn and passionate – as if the shrine of Melia 'which Loxias loved above all else', 'true seat of prophecy', mattered to Pindar more than Delphi itself. Delphi, of course, commanded universal reverence; but we might suppose that, as it often happens, the more personal, more local centres exerted a more intimate spell; and there existed, especially in Boeotia, many other minor seats of prophecy – e.g., Lebadeia, Eutresis, Tegyra, Oropus. Pindar never seems to show for Delphi the enthusiasm which he shows here for the Ismenion. In his treatment of myths on a larger scale – in Pyth. IV and V, for instance, and in Ol. VII – it is always the oracle of Delphi which gives the right response and opens the way to the future; but when it comes to his personal experience, it is not quite so. Another example in point is Pyth. VIII 55–60:

κυρων ὑπὶ καὶ αὐτός
Ἀλκμήνα στεφάνου ἐβάλει, Μαίαν ὑπὶ καὶ γυμν,
γείσων δὲ μοι καὶ κτεῖνον φίλας ἐμον
ὑπάντησεν ἐν τῇ μη μεμάλην παρ' ὀδύσσων,
μοντείας τ' ἐφέβη μακρόνοις τάγματις.

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

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

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We have the impression that a Greek city – Thebes in this case
– was peopled with animate points of reference. The myths are em-
bedded in the landscape. See how the same name designates a land-
mark and a living being. Ismenus, for instance, is the river and
the son of Melia. Melia herself, daughter of Ocean, conveys a sense
of water, and yet she is the bride of Apollo. Thebes is a city of
waters, of springs. "Dumb of heart is he who is not ever mindful
of Dirce's waters" says Pindar (Pyth. IX 87). Elsewhere (Isthm.VI 74)
of Melia, Apollo and Ismenus, what stands out is the spell of a local belief, all the more intense in that it is rooted in a certain place and not converted into a religious or philosophical message. Thus Findar, in the lines quoted above, shows an almost mystical participation in the underlying life of Thebes, through those waters that are transformed into a stream of song.

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

It is in this spirit, perhaps, that we must read the opening of Pythian XI. Ino's tragic experiences with Athamas, Semele's sufferings through Hera's jealousy, the persecutions which Alcmena underwent after the death of Hercules - all these stories could not have had here the slightest place. Ino, Semele, Alcmena - like Melia - are here pure embodiments of a glorious moment, summoned up to establish a divine element in the life of the city. Similarly Melia, Metopa, Theba, Asopus hardly lend themselves to any complicated story. They underline the delicate and elusive relations which bind places to the sense of divinity emanating from them.
They are names loaded with emotional significance. They neither have the abstraction of symbols nor the concreteness of real persons. Their value lies in their self-existence as images - images which are not fanciful, bound as they are to the place.

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

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

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

It is hard for us to understand these identifications of a land with a divinity conceived in human shape. But reading Pindar we can recapture, perhaps, something of the underlying imaginative process.
In the fragment just quoted the hieoros gamos beautifully consummated on the island tells us of a rocky shape suddenly bursting into life. In the same way a Greek city rising upon its hill or close to its springs seems to be naturally grown out of the soil. Nature and the gods conspire to stir it into existence. We again have this impression, for instance, when Pindar invokes Syracuse at the opening of Nemean I:

"Ἄιμελμα σεμινὸν Ἀλφεοῦ, κλείσαν τῷ ποῖον νῆος Ὁρτυγία, δέμην Ἀντέμεδος, ἄβαλος χαλκύτια.

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

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

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* * *

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

At an early point in Socrates’ famous dialogue with his two Theban friends (Phaedo 62a), we read καὶ ὁ Κερις ἐρίμα ἐκτητέοις, ἴττω Ζεὸς, ἔση, γὰρ ἀθέτητο πολὺς εἰὼν 'and Cebes with a soft chuckle said "'Ittō Zeōs," speaking in his own dialect.' The Boeotian words are literally translated 'Let Zeus know!' in the context they are virtually equivalent to our formula 'Right you are!' or 'You bet!'. My present interest in the passage from Plato is centered upon the implication that Cebes lapsed into his native speech that time but otherwise he and his fellow Theban conversed with Socrates in Attic.

As a preliminary I must dispose of the textual or phonetic complications and a question of literary method. First, the manuscripts present the unfamiliar Boeotian expression with nearly every conceivable variant, although no deep corruption.1 The true reading may well be άττω Ζεω 'know, O Zeus' with the second person imperative rather than the third.2 There is, besides, a minor issue over the opening letter of the god’s name. Texts other than Plato3 give it with Α— in Boeotian, instead of Ζ—; the sound may have been odd so that Attic authors naturally wavered as to the writing of it. But anyhow Plato put down something in the first word — the ττ— to suggest the actual Boeotian sound; he did not summarily convert it into Attic.

A more interesting technicality, not to be dismissed outright, is Plato’s general manner of composition whenever a character is not Athenian: Plato has everyone speaking Attic.4 It is unsafe to infer that in real life all those people did speak Attic while visiting Athens. To depict or simulate dialects was appropriate to a
comedian, as such mimicry is part of the amusement. Also the historians Thucydides (5.77,79) and Xenophon (Hell. 1.1.23) copied a few documents in Doric, without the superfluous exercise of putting them into Attic. But whatever an author, other than a comedian, composed was written without the shadings of dialect natural to each character. Instead the dialect of the composition becomes that of all the characters.⁵

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

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

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

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

The Boeotians, although living on the borders of Attica, were among the least enthusiastic Atticizers, in spite of some intermittent and troubled alliances. While the Attic ὀλυμπιακὸς was gaining ground, no Boeotians became famous for books written in it — not
even on a plane with Aeneas Tacticus, the Arcadian. Boeotia produced no great literature in that period, unless Corinna, whose date is disputed, composed her dialect poems then. The great Plutarch flourished after the χωνή along with the depopulation of Greece had virtually extinguished the dialects.

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

Before the period of the Attic χωνή, the great Boeotian poets Hesiod and Pindar composed not in Boeotian but in the χωνή appropriate to their respective literary genres. By his own statement (Op. 630-640) Hesiod was the son of an immigrant from Cyne in Asia Minor, an Aeolic town close to the main Ionic area. His origin may have been relevant or irrelevant to his use of the same meter as Homer, and the same variety of Greek — notwithstanding the difference in subject and poetic temperament. The Iliad and the Odyssey are very long narratives, enlivened with frequent speeches; Hesiod’s poems are more like catalogues of lore, including some narratives but relatively brief ones. It has often been remarked that the most Hesiodic passage in the Iliad, the catalogue of the ships, begins with Boeotia (2.494) and may therefore be the work of a local poet. But if Boeotia, with the shrine of the Muses on Mount Helicon, was indeed the original center for poetry in that vein, the content was of pan-Hellenic interest, not aimed particularly at a Boeotian audience, nor was the language affected much by the region.

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

In between this χωνή for epic or catalogue poetry and the later Attic χωνή for educated conversation and prose writing, there arose still another Doric χωνή for choral lyrics. The most illustrious lyricist, in the judgement of the ages, was Pindar of Thebes. But more than a century before his birth the custom of a singing and dancing chorus, trained by a poet of talent from the outside, was already established in Sparta and some other Doric towns. As A. Meillet has insisted, not one poet of note was a native Dorian, from Terpander on; but regardless of their miscellaneous origin,
they all composed in practically the same Doric dialect with some admixture of Aeolic features. For their sponsors and the local performers were Dorian, until the rest of Greece came to value the beauty and perhaps also the social benefit of lyric choruses. By then the form was set, so that even when Pindar wrote paens or epinician odes for his own townsmen to sing, they were in the Doric 𐄄𐄄𐄄 like the rest of his compositions. A large part of his patronage, to be sure, still came from Dorians — in Aegina, Rhodes, Cyrene, Sicily, etc.15

In its contribution to literature Boeotia compares favorably with most parts of Greece; but circumstances determined that dialects other than Boeotian should gain prestige as 𐄄𐄄𐄄, accepted by the Boeotian authors themselves. Corinna, however, is one that has come down to us in Boeotian dialect — or at least in Boeotian spelling and with some Boeotian forms.14 The extant remains of her lyrics tell vivid and detailed myths of the river Asopus and the mountains Helicon and Cithaeron — a poetic horizon little broader than Corinna’s actual view from the town of Tanagra. Her biography is a blank to us; being a woman, she would presumably have been less able than Pindar to go abroad, no matter how much her countrymen admired her. To our knowledge, at any rate, she did not write for foreign patrons, nor for a general Greek audience, nor in the Doric 𐄄𐄄𐄄.

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

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

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1. The most interesting readings are ἔτη ἄρτες B
   ἔτη ἄρτος W
2. This would give us an anomalous imperative ending -τι, (σέ, ἵξ)
   actualized as -ττι-, whereas the Attic and Ionic form is τού.
   ἔρμα (Aristophanes, Aoh. 884) shows the normal ending; here
   the suffix did not entail an unwieldy consonant group, requiring
   some simplification. Inscriptional sources for the Boeotian
   dialect naturally fail to give evidence of the 2nd person
   imperative.
   However, in Aoh. 911 (cf. note 3) it is ἔτη δεῖς. ἔτη
   ἀπαλίκης (660) is metrically irregular.
   Plato, in a different text, the Seventh Epistle (345a), has
   "ἔτη ζεὺς," ἔτη δεῖς ἀπαλίκης. (The readings εἴτε and ἔτε, although given by reputable ms., appear to be mere etacisms;
   hardly any scribe, however expert in Attic orthography, was
   proficient in Boeotian too.)
3. Corinna col. 3.13; Aristophanes, Aoh. 911 (according to the
   best ms. B; the vulgate has ἔτης, the lectio facillior);
   Herodian, Παλἀνονος Αλέξος 1.6 (Grammatical Graces
   3.2.911.9 Lentz); Choebochos, Can. maco. 10 Gram. Gr.
   4.1.213-32-34 Hilgard).
4. E.g., Theodorus of Cyrene (Thaetetus 143d ff.), Parmenides
   and Zeno (Parm. 127e ff.), Protagoras (316b ff.), Gorgias (448a
   ff.), Meno the Thessalian (70a ff.), Timaeus of Locris and
   Hermocrates of Syracuse (Tim.17a, 20c ff.), Diotima of Manti-
   nes (Symposium 201e ff.).
5. The lyric portions of a tragedy count as a separate composi-
   tion, for purposes of dialect, and diverge from Attic by
   reason of certain forms belonging to the Doric υλη (see the
   latter part of this paper).
6. Why did Cebes lapse into dialect just then? (This interesting
   point was raised in the discussion of my paper at the Confer-
   ence.) His motive can be inferred from the lack of an oath
   είτε ἄρτος or ἔτη δεῖς in the entire Attic corpus. His
   exposure to the speech of Athenians is comparable, at least, to
   our acquaintance with their speech written down. What we can-
   not find, he probably never heard from them. So he fell back
   upon his native repertory for swearing.
7. As a Scot speaking English might pronounce sore with a Scottish
   "burr" in the r (whereas it would be sör in his own dialect).
8. The υλη that is exemplified in the history of Herodotus and
   the medical works attributed to Hippocrates may well have been
   a language of educated conversation too. That it originated
   specifically in Miletus, rather than other places in the Ionic
   region of Asia Minor and the neighboring islands, is indemon-
   strable.
9. But from Isocrates (Puray. 50), who says that those who had
   been drawn to Athens to learn what they could of the superior
   Attic thought and expression, went on to convey this mastery
   elsewhere, it is likely that in their role of educators they
   spoke Attic even in their home towns. Isocrates declares
   (perhaps with his eye on the Macedonians) that Attic accult-
   ration more than Greek birth identified a man as a Greek. The
   υλη that spread to non-Greek countries was of course Attic.
10. See D. L. Page, Corinthia (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic
   Studies, supplementary paper no. 6; London, 1953), pp. 65 ff.
11. Theopompus, Phil. 25, fr. 149 Grenfell-Hunt (Hellenica
   Oxyrhynchica, Oxford Classical Text); K. Meisterhans, Grammatik
   der attischen Inschriften, 3d ed. rev. by Eduard Schwyzer
   (Berlin, 1900), pp. 4-6.
12. My statement applies best to the Theogony and the Works and
   Days; but even taking the Apis or Shield of Heracles) and the
   lost Skolai as authentic works of Hesiod, we have there no
   narrative on the scale of Homer. If the Apis is not by
   Hesiod, it is still Boeotian in the prominence given to Thebes
   (2, 13, etc.) rather than Argos.
13. τάχα πάντα πελε της Χαλκίδος υοι τον Ἀμφιδύανος καὶ τοῦ
   δραίου και τοῦ τριπάνου εμφανίσθησα φησὶν ὁ πλοῦταρχος ἄξις
   οὐδὲν ἐξενος χρηστον — Agostino Pertusi (ed.), Schoiia Vetaer
   in Hesiodi Opera et Dies (Milan, 1955; Pubblicazioni dell'
   Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, nuova serie, Scienze
   filologiche v. 53), p. 205.23. But in Septem aequilinentum
   concilium (Mor. 153f-154a) Flutarch accepts the contest at
   Chalcis without reservation, and even the legend that the com-
   petitor whom Hesiod defeated was Homer! See Ulrich von
   Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's comment; Hesiodos Erq (Berlin,
   1928), p. 117.
14. Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque, 7th ed. (Etudes et
15. The headings of the odes, in any edition, bring out the range
   of people that he wrote for.
17. Upon hearing Professor Vivante's paper I am impelled to acknowledge that Pindar's words are indeed loved for their wondrous beauty, their evocation of a landscape which is at once real and divinely sparkling.

* * *

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

LES LOIS FEDERALES BOIOTIENNES (voir la carte, fig. 5)
par F. Rosecr

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

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

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

Ces lois sont de trois ordres: les unes sont des Lois organiques,
qui règlent le fonctionnement des organes du gouvernement fédéral (n° 1 à 3); d’autres sont des lois judiciaires, qui s’apparentent aux lois organiques en ce sens qu’elles règlent le fonctionnement de la justice (n° 4 et 5); d’autres enfin, que l’on peut appeler lois d’urgence, ont été établies pour l’ensemble de la Béotie pour répondre à une situation bien déterminée.

I.- Loi sur le mandat des béotarques.

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

- Pausanias, 9,14,5 : "O μὴ χρόνος βουλαρχεύεται ἑαυτῷ διόνυσον, τεθνάναι δὲ ἐπέτεις ἐπιλαμβάνει δύναμις τῆς δραχῆς" οὐ δὲ Επιμελώνδας ἔπειτε ἄντα τὸν νόμον ἰσορρόπησεν.

"Epaminondas était parvenu au terme de son mandat de béotarque, et la peine de mort était prévue pour tout citoyen qui conservait plus longtemps cette magistrature; or Epaminondas, qui considérait avec mérise que cette loi n’était pas de circonstance, était béotarque..."

- Appien, B. de Syrie, 61 : Σωσάτη γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἑξώτου τὸν ἐν ἀγίας ἄρχην δράσασα ἀλλοθρίων.

"La loi punissait de mort celui qui exerçait par la force les fonctions d’un autre", c’est-à-dire les fonctions que devrait exercer le successeur.

Quelques lignes plus loin, Epaminondas déclare lors de son procès: "Je reconnais avoir exercé le commandement illégalement à cette époque" ("Ομολογεῖ παρανόμως ἔδραξε τόν τῶν χρόνων").

- Cornelius Nepos, XV : Epaminondas, 7,5 : Lex erat Thibis quae morte multatam etiam imperium diutius retinuisset quam lege praefinitum fuerat.

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

- Plutarque, Pélopidas, 24,2-3 : "Τὴν ἄρχην ἔδει παραλαμβάνειν ἐκπάροις ἐποίησεν τὸν πρῶτον μιᾶς, ἢ ἐνεργέως τῶν μη παραληφθέντων οἱ δὲ ἀλλοι ἐκεῖ ἐγεῖνται καὶ τὸν νόμον ἕλθοντες τὸν καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐγείροντες ἐπιστήσαντο ἐπὶ σκέπων τὸ στρατεύμα.

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

- Ibid., 25,2, Plutarque précise encore : Βανόντω γὰρ ἀμφίτεροι δύος ἔσοδον ἐπαλαμβάνοις, ἢ στὸν νόμον κελεύοντος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μηνὶ παραδοθεῖσθαι τῇ βουλαρχίᾳ τίταροι, διὸ Βοικόττων ὀνομάζοντος, τέταρτος διός προσπεράσαντο μήνας.

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

II.- Loi sur les thesophylakes.

Les thesophylakes (τεσσαροφιλάκες en béotien) étaient des magistrats fédéraux chargés de faire respecter le droit béotien sur
l'ensemble du territoire de la Confédération (cf. Thespesia et la Confédération béotienne, p. 149-159). Gardiens de la loi, ils étaient l'instance suprême du pouvoir judiciaire. Plutarque, Quaest. Graecae, 8 (292 D) y fait une brève allusion : Παραδόσοι δὲ λέγει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θεσμοφορίας κληροδότον νόμου, πλεῖστον οὖν τοῦτον ... Les copistes ont omis de transmettre la citation annoncée. Mais ce qui nous intéresse, c'est de savoir qu'il s'agissait d'une citation tirée de la loi sur les thesmophylakes; et comme ces thesmophylakes étaient des magistrats fédéraux, il est évident que la loi était une loi fédérale organisant la magistrature en question.

III.- Loi sur les katoptai et les naopes.

Cette loi est mentionnée brièvement dans le devis de construction du temple de Zeus Basilios à Lébadée, IG, VII, 3073, 1. 87-89. Après des dispositions relatives au contrôle des travaux, l'inscription précise : τὰ δὲ Ἑλλὰ ἔργα μὴ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ γέγραπται κατὰ τὸν κατοπτικὸν νόμον καὶ ναοκτικὸν ἔτος. "Pour tout ce qui n'est pas inscrit dans le contrat, on se conforme à la loi sur les katoptai et les naopes". (Les katoptai étaient les contrôleurs des finances). La construction a été décidée par la Confédération, les béotarques sont chargés du contrôle général des travaux; la cité de Lébadée n'intervient pas dans cette entreprise. Il est donc exclu que la loi mentionnée soit une loi de la cité; c'est une loi fédérale. Cette loi n'est pas connue par ailleurs, et l'on ignore tout de son contenu. Mais il est vraisemblable qu'elle définissait les compétences des magistrats financiers.

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

IV.- Loi sur les estimateurs d'expropriations.

Cette loi est mentionnée brièvement dans une inscription de Tanagra, datée des années 230-220 environ (Reg, 12, 1899, p. 53, l. 16-17). À la suite d'un oracle, la cité décide de transférer le sanctuaire de Déméter et Coré de l'extérieur de la ville dans la ville. Pour le cas où il faudrait exproprier des terrains appartenant à des particuliers, et pour régler les contentions possibles, on désignera onze experts, onze estimateurs pour résoudre les litiges éventuels : τὸ πολεμάρχης στρατηγὸς τιμᾶτος ἔνδεξα ἐνδρας καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν κυνῆ θυσίων. Le texte précise bien qu'il s'agit d'une loi "commune aux Béotiens", d'une loi fédérale.

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

Cette loi est citée dans la grande inscription de Nikaréta à Orchomène, IG, VII, 3172 (Schwyzer, DOE, 523). La hespienne Nikaréta, qui a prêté une forte somme à la cité d'Orchomène, tente en vain de se faire rembourser; après avoir essayé diverses procédures, elle soumet le litige à la justice fédérale. La décision prise par la juridiction, prôchanton kata tōn νόμον, est suivie de la citation d'un article de la loi (IG, VII, 3172, 1. 27-35 = DOE, 523, 1. 104-112) : ἢ δὲ πράξις ἔστω ἐκ τε αὐτῶν τῶν δανειούμενων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξαποιμηθέντων τῶν ἐξ ἐκ τῶν ἐξαποιμηθέντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξαποιμηθέντων. "Quelque recouvrement se fasse sur les débiteurs eux-mêmes et sur leurs garant, soit sur l'un d'eux, soit sur plusieurs, soit sur tous, et sur leurs biens". Le style de ce passage est très différent du reste de l'inscription; il est sec, impersonnel, précis; il prévoit les différents cas possibles et indique une gradation dans la gravité des peines. C'est sans aucun doute une citation de la loi elle-même.

Pendant longtemps on n'a connu - ou du moins on aurait pu ne connaître - que ces cinq lois. Mais récemment deux nouveaux textes
sont venus s'ajouter à cette série. Mais leur caractère est différent, car il s'agit de lois d'urgence.

VI. - Loi sur la préparation militaire.

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

10 (...) 'Επειτει νόμος ἐστι ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ὑπόθεσιν τὰς πόλις παρεχόμεν τινὰς οἰκίνες εὐδοκούσιν τὸ κοινὸν καὶ τὴν ἱππαίρειαν τὸν πόλεμον ...

14 τοιχεῖον καὶ ἀκοντίσσεται καὶ τάδεσσθε συντρίβετε πρὸς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ...

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

Ce texte est d'une importance capitale, car c'est la première fois dans l'histoire grecque que l'on voit une confédération organiser la préparation militaire non seulement des adolescents, des 'grands garçons' (ναυιακοὶ), mais des enfants, donc de tous les jeunes de 12 à 17 ans, avant leur entrée dans l'éphèbe. En effet, en vertu de cette loi, le maître désigné doit enseigner non seulement les exercices traditionnels du gymnase (tir à l'arc et au javelot), mais la manœuvre militaire, c'est-à-dire, compte tenu de la date (vers 250), la manœuvre de la phalange macédonienne. Cette inscription est évidemment en rapport avec les événements des années 252-245, qui ont vu la Béotie, après une longue période de paix, se réveiller brutalement avec une armée démodée et mal entraînée, et des ennemis tout à l'entour. Elle s'est trouvée devant la nécessité urgente d'abord de réformer sa tactique et par suite son armement pour l'armée active, ensuite de prévoir dès l'enfance un entraînement des futurs éphèbes à la difficile manœuvre de la phalange. C'est donc, selon toute vraisemblance, vers 252-250 que la Confédération a ordonné par une loi à chaque cité d'organiser chez elle cette préparation militaire. C'est là une intervention directe de la Confédération dans la politique des cités. Mais elle se justifie par le fait que chaque cité apportait sa contribution en fantassins et en cavaliers à l'armée béotienne unique. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'une telle mesure ne peut être qu'exceptionnelle et résulter d'une situation particulièrement grave. On monterait dans mes Études sur la Béotie hellénistique que la défaite de Chéronée en 245 est la conséquence, et non la cause, de cette réforme trop tardive.

VII. - Loi sur l'ambargo des produits agricoles.

L'inscription, un décret de Chorsiaï pour Kapon de Thissbé, (Rev. Phil., 1965, p. 257), ne mentionne pas formellement une loi fédérale, mais son existence découle du contexte et de deux expressions. La cité de Chorsiaï honore Kapon pour avoir ... violé la loi! En effet, malgré l'interdiction de transporter du blé d'une cité dans une autre, Kapon a fourni à ses risques et périls du ravitaillage à Chorsiaï. Le décret précise (1. 4-6) : σαμασστια τιμωτας γνωτεινας περι τὸν χαρακτήρα, καὶ τὰν πολίων παράκεν ἐπικαμιστὰς πρὸς τὸν τὸν στὸν ἀποστολὰς, ...

"Comme une disette sévissait dans toute la région, et que toutes les cités avaient interdit par décret de faire sortir du ravitaillage ..."

Par deux expressions, le décret insiste sur le caractère général de ces mesures. D'une part la disette sévissait dans tout le pays, περὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα (si c'est devait désigner le seul territoire de la
cité, on aurait (ν τῇ γούργ); d’autre part τὰν πολίων παράγως, toutes les cités (et ce ne peuvent être que les cités de Béotie) ont interdit par décret (ἀποφασίας) qu’on laisse sortir des vivres. Si toutes les cités ont pris une mesure identique au même moment et pour les mêmes raisons, c’est sans aucun doute parce que l’ordre leur a été donné par le gouvernement fédéral. Celui-ci, comme dans le cas de la loi sur la préparation militaire, a dû prendre un décret ou voter une loi valable pour tout le territoire béotiien, et enjoignant aux cités de prendre chacune les mesures appropriées, conformes à la décision fédérale. Ce décret, qui date des premières années du IIe siècle a.C., montre une fois de plus combien était malveillante l’opinion de Polybe sur l’état de la Béotie à cette époque.

Il devait y avoir beaucoup d’autres lois fédérales, si l’on considère tout ce qui était organisé à l’échelon de la Confédération. On connaît les lois qui régissaient trois magistratures fédérales : il y en avait évidemment pour les autres. De plus, il y avait certainement des lois pour organiser, par exemple, la désignation des héréditaires chargés de représenter l’tribe béotiien à l’assemblée délibérante; pour ordonner la frappe des monnaies fédérales; pour régler le recrutement et le commandement de l’armée béotiennne.

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

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

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

Tout cela nous conduit à la conclusion que jusqu’auprice siècle la Béotie se distingue des autres confédérations par une organisation structurée et centralisée, qui donne au gouvernement fédéral des pouvoirs étendus et un droit d’intervention directe dans la politique et l’économie des cités. Au IVe siècle Thèbes a abusé de ces droits qui lui ont permis de mettre la Confédération à son service. La Confédération qui a duré de 338 à 146 a su au contraire user modérément de ses pouvoirs et respecter l’autonomie des cités. Il n’en reste pas moins que la notion de supranationalité existe : les cités abandonnent au Kotinon une partie de leur souveraineté, mais d’autre part elles contrôlent l’État par les assemblées populaires et par la désignation de magistrats fédéraux. Ainsi a-t-on
réussi, après bien des péripéties, à concilier un pouvoir central fort et l'indépendance des cités membres de la Confédération, et par là-même à assurer la souplesse de la politique et l'unité du pays.

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The following points arose from the discussion:

1. Our knowledge of Boiotian federal laws is restricted to allusions and/or decrees of application, rather than the actual documents.

2. Manumission decrees, although they exhibit formal similarities, may be regarded as belonging to a community wider than that of the Boiotian confederacy; e.g., the formulæ in west Boiotian manumission decrees can be paralleled in Delphi.

BOIOTIA IN THE TIME OF STRABO (See map, fig. 5)
by P. W. Wallace

The Geography of Strabo describes the physical and historical geography of Greece in the last century before Christ, one of the most poorly documented periods in Greek history. Strabo sailed through the Cyclades to Corinth in 29 B.C. while on a journey to Rome, and perhaps visited Athens at the same time. It is not possible to say definitely whether or not Strabo saw any part of Boiotia. There is some possibility of autopsy in his section (9.2.6-14) on the coast facing Euboea, for that section is fresh and lively. He may have sailed along this coast, or, for that matter, may have paid a brief visit to some of the Boiotian cities.

But if Strabo did see any part of Boiotia, he must have regarded his experience there as being too limited to be of much independent value. Though he describes the region in his own person, he never refers to a personal experience, but prefers to cite other authors.

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

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

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

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

In Boiotian studies very little attention has been given to the Roman period, and there is consequently not enough evidence to say whether conditions in Boiotia were quite as bad as Strabo describes them. We have only the historical inference suggested by a review of events in Boiotian history in the last two centuries before Christ, when Greece was plagued with wars. The summary of Boiotian history in this period confirms, I think, Strabo's observations, and gives some support to the contention that Strabo himself passed through the then bleak Boiotian territory. For the possible destitution of Boiotia in the time of Strabo, it may be appropriate to begin with the events surrounding the Third Macedonian War.

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

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

Long ago George Finlay observed: "From Sulla's campaign in Greece, the commencement of the ruin and depopulation of the country is to be dated." The severe reprisals, exhausting tribute, and the battles themselves of the Mithridatic War probably did more than
anything else to depopulate Boiotia. Sulla, receiving no help from home, was a heavy drain on the resources of Greece, whose troops, money, and supplies he used; Thebes, for example, was forced to supply tools, iron, and catapults for the siege of the Piraeus. Among the troops in the battle of Khaironeia was a contingent from Khaironeia itself. Boiotia probably suffered more from Sulla’s campaigns than any state except Athens. Boiotia was the scene of the fighting and was punished for disloyalty. A number of Boiotian cities were destroyed. The troops of Mithridates destroyed Lebadeia, and Sulla destroyed Laryma, Anthison, and Halai, and perhaps Alakomenai and Orkomenos.

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

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

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

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