

Reconstructing Thespiai

1. — INTRODUCTION

This is an attempt to reconstruct an outline of the history of Thespiai up to 335 BC¹. I shall begin by examining certain Thespian cults, then turn to a study of the $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ and urban centre of the polis, then say something about its institutions, and end with a chronological survey.

2. — THE CULT CONTEXT

A careful analysis of the cults of a community should shed some light on the background and composition of its population. Isolated cults are difficult to interpret, but when there are clusters of identical or similar cults, and when cult distribution coincides with evidence from other kinds of data, then the results can be informative, especially with regard to population movements.

Mount Helikon owes its reputation to Hesiod. He dedicated a prize tripod to the Muses of Helikon, on the very spot where they first set him on the way to composition². This is the earliest recorded overt act of veneration of these goddesses³. The first recorded public

¹ What follows takes account of comments and criticisms made when I delivered the paper. I am indebted to my colleagues for their help.

Thespiai is the most important polis connected with Mount Helikon, but little is known about its early history. We know a great deal about the Hellenistic and Roman periods, thanks to the important work done by the late Paul Roesch. The earlier stages of the polis, on the contrary, have not been systematically examined: see, for example, Fiehn, *RE* 6A (1936) *sv* «Thespeia» (1) 37.

² *Works and Days*, 654-659. The poem with which he won may have been the *Theogony*: see M.L. West, ed., Hesiod, *Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 44-47.

³ Near the foundations of the later monumental altar which was the principal edifice of the sanctuary in its most active periods, from the third century on, a deposit was found which included Corinthian aryballoi, Boiotian black-figure skyphoi, terracotta figurines, and a black-glaze sherd with the graffito HIC, possibly Ηε[ρῶς/ν], incised in the sixth or fifth century in the Attic dialect: *Cults of Boiotia*, 2 (London, 1986), pp. 157-158.

monuments, statues of the Muses, date from the first quarter of the fourth century, when Thespiai was under the protection of Sparta⁴.

The Muses were only one of several groups of goddesses of the same type, who had the power to drive men mad, or in other words, to inspire them. In Boiotia there were also the three Charites of Orchomenos and the Sphragitid Nymphs of Mount Kithairon, who, according to local tradition, had once uttered oracles there and enchanted the local people⁵. Other groups are known by name only: the Three Maidens of Eleon east of Thebes, the Muses of Mount Thourion outside Chaironeia, the Leibethrian Nymphs, in a cave on Mount Leibethrion, one of the heights of the Helikon range⁶. The worship of these goddesses could have been brought to Boiotia by people travelling the upland mountain routes, transhumant as opposed to settled, herdsmen, perhaps related to the people who brought, from the region of Homole, just across the vale of Tempe from Olympos, the names and epithets derived from that place and found all over Boiotia⁷.

The Muses were not the only gods of Thespiai who probably pre-date the establishment of the polis. The mother of the Muses, Mnemosyne, has connections with both Helikon and Kithairon, which another mother goddess, Leto, also haunted. Both may have been related to the great goddess of southern Boiotia, whose cult goes back at least to the Bronze Age, Hera. She is named on a Theban Linear B tablet. Hera was not worshipped in Hellenic Thebes, but, since Mycenaean Thebes controlled all of southern Boiotia, it is permitted to assume that this Hera was the goddess later worshipped under the epithet Kithaironia, whose cult had its principal centre in Plataia at the foot of Mount Kithairon. She was also worshipped on

⁴ Plutarch — *De genio Socratis* 5 (577 E) and 7 (578 E-579 A) — tells of a prehistoric tomb found at Haliartos in which there was a document with a strange inscription, which Agesilaos had sent to Egypt to be deciphered. The answer came back that the inscription ordered them to celebrate an agon in honour of the Muses. These events mark the beginning of the official, public cult of the Muses of Helikon. See *Cults of Boiotia* 2, 157.

⁵ *Cults of Boiotia* 2, 185-187.

⁶ *Cults of Boiotia* 2, 146 (Muses of Mount Thourion), 187-188 (Nymphs of Mount Leibethrion), 199 (Three Maidens).

⁷ As well as Otos and Ephialtes, from the regions of Ossa and Pelion, who were said to have been the first to sacrifice to the Muses of Helikon: *Cults of Boiotia* 2, 156, note 1. See too A.R. Burn, *BSA* 44 (1949), 323.

Euboia⁸, and it is not easy to divorce this cult from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, and perhaps at the Argive Heraion as well⁹. Hera surnamed Kithaironia was worshipped at Thespiiai too¹⁰. Two inscriptions of the second decade of the fourth century BC have to do with the furnishings of hestiatoria associated with the cult, and may serve as a link between the Hera of Kithairon and the Hera of Perachora. One of these was discovered at Chostia. It lists sacred utensils belonging to the Thespians, most of them at the Heraion, with two smaller lots at Siphai and Kreisys, that is, Kreisys¹¹. It is not certain that the

⁸ The Scholiast to Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautika* 4, 1138 has Hera cast Makris out of Euboia because she — Makris — had received the infant Dionysos from Hermes in order to nurse him. We remember that in one of the aitia for the Daidala (Plutarch, fr. 157) Makris was Hera's nurse. The scholiast ends his remarks with the words «ἡ δὲ Εὐβοία ἱερά ἐστιν τῇ Ἥρᾳ». The worship of Hera is attested at Eretria. An inscription of about the middle of the fourth century BC dealing with the Artemisia at Amarynthos, requires the χῶροι to participate in the provision of choice cattle καθάπερ Ἡράοις, as at the Heraia. An even earlier inscription, a proxy decree of the beginning of the fifth century BC, refers to a month called Heraon, that is, the month of the Hera(i)a. The month recurs also at Tenos and Phokaia, in the period equivalent to August/September, and might very well have fallen within the same season at Eretria. We do not know what went on at the Eretrian Hera(i)a, but the participation of the χῶροι and their provision of oxen for sacrifice suggests that it might have been similar to the Plataian Daidala at least in respect of the participation by the constituent parts of the polis.

See *IG* 12, 9, 189 (l. 27); *IG* 12, *Suppl.* 549; D. Knoepfler, in *BCH* 105 (1981), 326-327.

⁹ At both Perachora and Plataia, a major feature of the cult activity was the eating of communal meals, as the extensive dining facilities found at Perachora and the description in Thucydides of the Plataian katagogion, built next to the Heraion and equipped with klinai, banqueting couches, show.

Perachora: R.A. Tomlinson in *Le sanctuaire grec = Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 37 (Vandœuvres-Genève, 1992), 332-334.

Plataia: Thucydides 3, 68, 3: ὤκοδόμησαν (sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι) πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταγώγιον διακοσιῶν ποδῶν πανταχῇ κύκλῳ οἰκήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν, καὶ ὀροφαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τοῖς τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἃ ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἔπιπλα, χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος, κλίνας κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἥρᾳ, καὶ νεῶν ἑκατόμπεδον λίθινον ὤκοδόμησαν αὐτῇ.

¹⁰ Arnobius relates that the people of Thespiiai used to worship «ramum pro Cinxia», a «branch as Juno, goddess of marriage», a clear allusion to the Daidala. Clement of Alexandria writes that Kithaironian Hera had at Thespiiai a πρέμνον ἐκκεκομμένον, a tree stump or trunk, which had been cut down: *Cults of Boiotia* 1 (London, 1981), 251.

¹¹ P. Roesch and J. Taillardat, *RPhil* 40 (1966), 70-87; on page 70, they accept the arguments of M. Feyel (*BCH* 62 [1938], 166) about the motive for drawing up and publishing the inventory. On this, see below, Part 6.

The lists are correctly identified as furnishings of hestiatoria by R.A. Tomlinson, *BSA* 75 (1980), 221-224.

last two were connected with Hera, but no other god is named, and it is likely enough. Chorsiai — if it was the site of the Heraion in this part of Thespian territory —, Siphai, and Kreisus, were all ports on the Gulf of Corinth, easily accessible from Perachora. The other inscription comes from Thespiiai itself, and although it is fragmentary, its contents and date are similar¹².

Thespiiai and at least one of the other poleis in its extended *χώρα* — Thisbe — are also attached to the rest of southern Boiotia by the cult of the bi-form Demeter, worshipped as Achaia at Thespiiai, Thisbe, and the Tanagraia, as Eleusinia at Thespiiai and Plataia, as Megalartos and Megalomazos at Skolos near the Asopos, and as Thesmorphoros at Thebes and Potniai, where she was the direct descendant of the Mycenaean Potnia, who is named on a Theban Linear B tablet. Moreover, at Thebes, Potniai, and Thespiiai, the cults of Demeter and Dionysos seem to have been closely linked, probably another survival from the Bronze Age: the two Thespian cults were apparently associated with a single extended family, at least in the Hellenistic and Roman period¹³.

One other cult figure ties Thespiiai closely to the rest of the Helikon massif itself. This is Charops Herakles, a youthful deity tended by a priestess, at Thespiiai, Thisbe, and at the other, northern, end of the route from Koroneia to the coast, on the slopes of Mount Laphystion in the territory of Koroneia, where he is associated with Zeus Laphystios in a union which probably dates back to the Bronze Age. The youthful Charops and his priestess may have been descended from the kourotrophos known on Aigina and at Mycenaean Thebes as Haphaia/Aphaia, and her charge. Traces of this pair are found throughout Hellenic Boiotia, under different names in different places¹⁴.

These cults suggest that the people who eventually were brought together to form the Hellenic polis of Thespiiai included a substantial

¹² *Teireisias* E, 76, 46. Another possible allusion to this cult may be seen in *Schol.* Euripides, *Phoinissai* 24. The text reads *Κιθαιρωνίας Ἡρας ἐν Θήβαις ἱερὸν*. N. Platon, *BCH* 62 (1938), 161, note 1, observing that Pliny, *nh* 4, 318 mistakenly calls Thisbe Thebes, suggested reading ἐν Θίσβῃ. However, given the comment by Clement of Alexandria (see above), ἐν Θεσπιαιῶς is perhaps more likely (as well as involving a single, minimal change).

¹³ *IG*, 7, 1867: see *Cults of Boiotia* 1, 170 and 194.

¹⁴ See *Cults of Boiotia* 3 (London, 1994), 2 and note 3.

number who were direct descendants of the Bronze Age population, and others who were descendants of migrants from the north.

The actual foundation of the polis can be associated with the cult of Apollo Archegetas, Apollo the Founder, whose sanctuary was between one and two kilometres southwest of the city.

A number of other Thespian cults can be explained as representing the contributions of the various poleis who aided in the reconstruction of Thespiiai after the Persian Wars: the Dioskouroi and Kasstoridas from Sparta, Aphrodite Melainis from Corinth, the Eleusinian Demeter and perhaps Athena from Athens¹⁵.

3. — THE POLIS: ITS χώρα

It is generally assumed that geography was the dominant element governing the boundaries of a polis. The nature of the terrain in Greece is cited as the cause of the fragmentation of the Greek political map. There are exceptions, of which Thespiiai is one: it is only on the west and north, were Helikon and the hills bordering the Teneric Plain respectively form natural barriers, that the terrain limits the territory of the polis, and even here, there is no fixed point which could be identified as a boundary. The situation is even more fluid to the east and south, where there are no obvious geographical barriers. To the east, Eutresis was said to have been in Thespian territory, but its legendary rulers — Amphion and Zethos — have more to do with Thebes and Kithairon than they do with Thespiiai. Nor is there anything along the course of the river Thespios (Kanavari) to mark it as a boundary. The story of the disposition of the fifty sons engendered by Herakles on the daughters of Thespiiai — three moved to Thebes, seven remained behind as *δημοῦχοι*, and the rest went off with Iolaos to Sardinia — suggests that at some time part of the territory

¹⁵ One other cult figure may have been introduced at the same time, that is, soon after the Persian Wars. This is Herakles. We know that an agon was celebrated in his honour at Thespiiai during the second quarter of the fifth century. There is also evidence that, while Thebes was in eclipse, other Boiotian poleis besides Thespiiai may have tried to claim Herakles for their very own: see *Cults of Boiotia* 2, 12 (Tanagra), 3, 25 and note 3.

After the battle of Koroneia of 446, when Thebes took back its leadership over the rest of Boiotia, Herakles was once more established as a specifically Theban figure.

of Thespiiai was annexed by or transferred its allegiance to its eastern neighbour¹⁶. Towards the southwest, the smaller poleis of Thisbe and Chorsiai were at varying times dependent upon or independent of Thespiiai, with Thisbe, like Eutresis, gaining its own place in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships. The port of Kreusis, on the other hand, seems always to have been under the control of Thespiiai, while Siphai, at the eastern end of the bay of Domvraina/Thisbe, belonged to Thespiiai in 424, and at least until the Peace of Antalkidas. We know that Thisbe, Chorsiai, Siphai, and perhaps even Eutresis were independent under the Hellenistic koinon, some of them perhaps as early as 371¹⁷. There is no significant border between Thespiiai and Plataia.

The χώρα of Thespiiai also included Askra at the eastern end of the Vale of the Muses, as well as the plain of Leuktra, which was bounded on the east by Eutresis, the area called Donakon, located perhaps between Thespiiai and Thisbe, and Keressos.

It is not certain how far to the west beyond the Vale of the Muses Thesopian territory extended. It may once have gone as far as Hippotai. Hippotai was a strongly fortified village between Koroneia and Thisbe. It is mentioned only by Plutarch¹⁸. The name Ἴππόται is an odd one for this area for, although cavalry would perforce traverse it, the terrain is hardly suitable for the rearing of horsemen. An alternative is to take the name from a divine epithet, in this case as it was applied to the Spartan Dioskouroi by Alkman¹⁹. It is interesting that the only place in Boiotia outside of Thespiiai and its territory

¹⁶ See *Cults of Boiotia* 3, 56-58.

¹⁷ Siphai belonging to Thespiiai in 424 (and presumably later in the century since he uses the present tense): Thucydides 4, 76, 3 (αἱ δὲ Σίφαι εἰσι τῆς Θεσπικῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ Κρῖσαιῶ κόλπῳ ἐπιθαλασσιδίου). Chorsiai-Siphai belonging to Thespiiai early in the fourth century: see below, Part 6, on *SEG* 24, 361.

¹⁸ *Amatoriae Narrationes* 1 (771 F), the story about the attempted rape of a κωνηφόρος of Zeus Basileus. The perpetrator and his friends fled first to Orchomenos, where they were turned away; then they went to Hippotai, where they were given refuge. Eventually, the village succumbed to a siege.

Two sites have been proposed for Hippotai: Koukoura — now called Agia Anna — in the small plain of that name at which routes from east-west and north-south meet, and further to the east, at a site some two km south-west of Zagora (Evangelistria). [Koukoura, J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago, 1988), 339. Two km from Zagora: S. Lauffer, *Kopais* 1 (Frankfurt-Bern-New York, 1986), 60-61. See too A.R. Burn, *BSA* 44 (1949), 317.]

¹⁹ Alkman fr. 2 *PMG*: πῶλων ὠκέων δματῆρες ἰππόται σοφοί.

to provide evidence for the Dioskouroi under that name is Koroneia: perhaps, therefore, Hippotai ought to be seen as a liminary site, marking the boundaries of Thespiai, Koroneia, and Thisbe.

4. — THE POLIS: THE ἄστυ

Another accepted truth is that the typical polis had a defensible stronghold, a hilltop, an akropolis. While it is true that the urban centres of most poleis did have an akropolis, not all did. At least three Boiotian poleis did not have a proper akropolis: Lebadeia, Plataia, and Thespiai²⁰. Clearly something other than the availability of a hill site influenced those who built these cities in their choice of location. Convenience and ease of access to and from the surrounding χώρα seem to have been important factors. The Classical city of Thespiai was built largely south of the river Thespios (Kanavari), which could have afforded only a minimum of protection, and even cut the inhabitants off from the two hills on its northern side, either of which might have done very well as an akropolis²¹. The walls of Thespiai were torn down more than once and at least twice the population was obliged to retire to Keressos. It is a remarkable tribute to the inherent optimism of people — some might call it stupidity — that the citizens of Thespiai, like those of Plataia, persisted in living in a place which was easy to get to rather than one which was easy to protect. Sparta was not the only polis to rely on its manpower rather than on walls of stone.

The Cambridge-Bradford survey of the townsite of ancient Thespiai has shown that, while the site was heavily populated from the Classical period on, signs of settlement during the Geometric and Archaic periods are scarce. In one of their reports, the authors note

²⁰ It is true that Plataia was walled, but the walls were erected later. The townsite of Lebadeia was in the plain at a distance from either of the two hills — the one now topped by the Frankish kastro, and the hill with the temple of Zeus Basileus — which might have served the purpose.

²¹ Streams were used as boundaries of townsites elsewhere, at Thebes, Koroneia, Eretria, Athens, Sparta, to name just a few. If there was also a hill or two available, as at Thebes, Koroneia, Eretria, Athens, Sparta, well and good, but the primary consideration seems to have been convenience in day-to-day living, rather than a preoccupation with keeping enemies out. It is not until the latter part of the sixth century that cities begin to be walled in earnest.

that «throughout the Bronze Age, and on into the Early Iron Age and even the Archaic period, occupation material presents a curiously sporadic pattern, as if there were not one but several small nuclei of settlement». They observe that for the Geometric and Archaic periods, «this picture conforms to the model for the growth of the historical Greek city from a scatter of separate villages or hamlets», citing Sparta as the classic example²².

The answer to the specific problem posed by Thespiiai may, however, lie elsewhere. Herodotos tells us that in 480 BC the Persians destroyed Thespiiai and Plataia by fire. The Thespians had already abandoned the city and gone to the Peloponnese²³. Subsequently the city was rebuilt — a portion of the classical wall has been uncovered²⁴ — and a call even went out for additional citizens.

The reason so little pre-classical material has come from the region of the Classical and later townsite may be that the Classical city of Thespiiai was built at a different place from that of its predecessor. My own candidate for the site of the Archaic focal point of the polis of Thespiiai would be the area around the temple of Apollo discovered accidentally by Paul Jamot in July 1890, at a place called Toumboutsis or Topitsi, and located as a point between one and two kilometres southwest of the Classical and later town²⁵. The temple

²² J. Bintliff and A. Snodgrass, «Mediterranean survey and the city», *Antiquity* 62 (1966), 66-69 (on Thespiiai). The quotations are taken from page 66. The site is illustrated p. 66, fig. 6 (aerial photograph), p. 67, fig. 7 (period map, Geometric and Archaic), 68, fig. 8 (period map, Classical and Early Hellenistic), 69, fig. 9 (period map, Late Roman). See too, by the same authors, *ADelt* 41 (1986 [1990]), B, 51-55, which contains on page 54, an additional figure (3) locating visible remains in the town site (on page 53, it is suggested that sites 5 and 6, intersected by the city wall, may have been a temple or other large building).

²³ 8, 50, 2: ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξη, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπῶτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὠσαύτως, ἤκέ τε ἐς Ἀθῆνας καὶ πάντα ἐδήσιου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

²⁴ *Antiquity* 62 (1988), 67 and 68 fig. 8.

²⁵ *Cults of Boiotia* 1, 88-89; to which add P. Jamot, *En Grèce avec Charalambos Eugénidis* (Paris, 1914), 185-186 (see below); H. Van Effenterre, *Les Béotiens* (Paris, 1989), 24 (photograph at foot of page); H. Beister, in S. Lauffer, ed., *Griechenland* (Munich, 1989), 675.

Jamot's book is not easy to find (although it is findable), so I quote what he has so say on the matter: «*Juillet 1890*... Enfin, dans un endroit où nos prédécesseurs n'ont jamais rien soupçonné, nos tranchées découvrent les substructions d'un temple; une pointe de lance en bronze, portant une dédicace du V^e siècle, nous apprend

is identified as Apollo's by a bronze spear head found nearby, incised $\tau\acute{o}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\text{H}[\iota]\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu$, in the Attic dialect, in characters of the fifth century BC²⁶. It remained in use until the Hellenistic period. This may be the sanctuary of Apollo Archegetas referred to in a land-lease document of the third century BC²⁷. Although this part of the territory of Thespiiai was rural in the third century, it is not impossible that it was at or near the centre of urban activity until early in the fifth. We may compare, for example, Eretria, where the sanctuary of Apollo — the focus of the nucleated settlement — developed, apparently, out of a cluster of houses belonging to the leading family of the polis²⁸. One would expect to find Apollo Archegetas in this kind of setting rather than out in the $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ of the polis²⁹.

If the original focus of the polis — where the leading family or families of early Thespiiai lived — was where I have suggested, then we should look for Keressos in the same general area, rather than to the north or west of the classical city³⁰.

que cet édifice était un sanctuaire d'Apollon.» I am grateful to John Bintliff for handing over to me slides made from two photographs of the site, in the collection of the Ecole française d'Athènes.

²⁶ *Seg 2*, 237. A thick bronze plaque in the shape of a striding man, in a private collection in Athens, is said to have come from Boiotia, and Thespiiai has been proposed as its point of origin. It is inscribed (boustrophedon) and dated 500-450 BC: *SEG 33*, 404 = Lazzarini 130 = *CEG 1*, 331 = *LSAG 434*, 15a: $\Sigma\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ $\acute{\Lambda}\rho\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\nu\iota$ $\pi\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\chi\omicron\sigma\iota$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ | $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\pi\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon$ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$. It would not surprise me if this came from the sanctuary at Thespiiai.

²⁷ M. Feyel, *BCH 61* (1937), 217, III (line 38, and see Feyel's comments on pp. 225-226). See too R.G. Osborne in *La Béotie antique* (Paris, 1985), 318. The same document appears to refer in line 33 to a sanctuary of Dionysos, presumably in the same vicinity (—]Διωνούσω τῶ[—). The earliest datable inscription dealing with the worship of Dionysos at Thespiiai, from early in the fifth century, was found at Xironomi, which is also southwest of the city: *IG 7*, 1794. (I am informed by Dr. V. Aravantinos that the stone bearing this inscription is now in the Thebes Museum.) There are also a number of grave stelai, with a kantharos as their only adornment: *BCH 22* (1922), 278, 124 (the name in «lettres archaïques»); 278, 125 (later); 278 (reference to at least one other example from Thespiiai).

²⁸ For a summary of the evidence, see my comments in *Le sanctuaire grec* (cited above, note 9), 18-21.

²⁹ It might be argued that the sanctuary of Apollo Archegetas could have been created at the time of the resettlement. But this would not explain why, during the Hellenistic period — and presumably earlier — it was in the countryside, not in the city.

³⁰ There are a number of suitable heights in the vicinity, nearer the proposed settlement area than any which have been suggested. A site within the elbow formed by the Permessos, that is, south and west of the river, would be suitable. Such a site

5. — THE POLIS: INSTITUTIONS

Hesiod complains about gift-devouring βασιλεις, who gave his undeserving brother the greater part of their inheritance³¹. These basileis must have derived their status from the Mycenaean past, when a basileus held what would now be called a middle management position, either as the representative of the wanax — in this case the wanax at Thebes — or as the head man of a local community or other body³². With the collapse of the central authority, the local leadership was all that remained to fill the vacuum, and the basileis developed eventually either into kings, or, as seems to have been the case where Hesiod lived, into a clique of barons³³.

Another possible survival from the Bronze Age, when Thebes ruled all of southern Boiotia, is a formal division of authority into units of seven. At Thespiiai they are the seven δημοῦχοι, sons of Herakles and the daughters of Thespios: their descendants were for a long time counted among the leading citizens of the polis. At Plataia, their counterparts were the seven Archegetai Heroes, the Founding Heroes. At Thebes itself, they were the seven champions who defended the city against its Argive invaders: scholars tend to focus on the invaders rather than the defenders as the more important personae in this drama, but when seen in the context of the Plataian and Thespian groups, the Theban story takes on a different aspect³⁴.

At Thespiiai, aristocratic influence persisted well after the foundation of the polis, and the greedy basileis transformed themselves into snobbish aristocrats, who thought it beneath them to engage

would be well placed for defending — successfully — against a cavalry attack. For a review of previous literature, see J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago, 1988), 163.

³¹ *Works and Days*, 37-39.

³² See, for example, J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World* (Cambridge, 1976), 70.

³³ Something rather similar happened following the dissolution of the Hellenistic Boiotian koinon in 171 BC. Such pan-Boiotian enterprises as still survived — principally the management of the Pamboiotia and the Basileia — were entrusted to the only surviving organ of the koinon, the college of naopoioi, which had been established to oversee the construction — never completed — of the temple of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia. See *Cults of Boiotia*, 1, 117 and 3, 124-126.

³⁴ The number seven survives even later in Boiotia, not only in the seven Boiotarchs of the fourth century federation, but even in the number of leaders of Boiotoi and Minyans, five plus two respectively, in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships.

in work or farming, and as a result, according to Aristotle, as quoted by Herakleides Lembos, most of them were heavily indebted to the thrifty Thebans, who apparently found money making less distasteful³⁵.

Herakleides Kretikos remarks that the Thespians were notorious for *πλεονεικία*, quarrelsomeness³⁶. It is true that he attributes faults of character to all Boiotians, but this does not mean that there is not a germ of fact in what he says. Symptoms of discontent appear as early as Hesiod. The aristocrats were powerful and well entrenched, the demos powerless and resentful. Each group turned for help to their counterparts in Thebes; outside Boiotia, the aristocratic faction allied itself to Spartan interests, the demos to the Athenians. As far as the aristocrats are concerned, their distaste for work of any sort suggests that they were using the Spartans as their rôle models³⁷.

6. — CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

Every site within the extended territory of Hellenic Thespiai has produced some Bronze Age material, but all, except for Eutresis and Thisbe, on a small scale³⁸. Linear B documents from Thebes refer to

³⁵ Παρά Θεσπιεῦσιν αἰσχρὸν ἦν τέχνην μαθεῖν καὶ περὶ γεωργίαν διατρίβειν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πένητες οἱ πλείους ἦσαν, καὶ Θηβαίοις οὔσι φειδωλοῖς πολλὰ ὤφειλον: M.R. Dilts, ed. and trans., *Heraclides Lembos Excerpta Politiarum* = *BRBS Monograph 5* (Durham, N.C., 1971), 40-41, no. 76. They were also, on one notorious occasion in the third century BC, heavily in debt to Nikareta, a lady of means of Orchomenos: *IG 7*, 3172.

³⁶ 1, 25.

³⁷ Nevertheless, the landed gentry, of whom Hesiod and his family are early representatives, once their importance in the defence of the polis was acknowledged, clearly took more power unto themselves. The aristocrats may have refused to soil themselves in commerce, but the middle class had no aversion to trade and making money: Thespiai was, after all, one of the Boiotian poleis which minted coins in the late sixth century. Coinage represents not only accumulated wealth in forms other than land, but also the ability and the inclination to buy and sell. That the Boiotians from the very beginning adopted a widely accepted standard of coinage, the Aiginetan, shows quite clearly that they placed a premium on commerce. On Thespian coins in the sixth century BC, see below, Part 6.

³⁸ See, for example, R.H. Simpson, *Mycenaean Greece* (Park Ridge, New Jersey, 1981), 74 (C 39-40), 75 (C 41-44); J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago, 1988), 138, 139, 140, 143, 148, 152, 161.

Eutresis seems to have functioned not only as a settlement, but also as an important junction in the network of routes connecting the Gulf of Corinth by way of

Ra-mo and Ra-mi-jo, which have been connected with the river Lamos on Mount Helikon. It would appear from this that the land controlled by Thebes in the Bronze Age extended at least as far west as Mount Helikon³⁹.

The name of the polis occurs first in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships⁴⁰, which lists twenty-nine Boiotian sites — one of them the grove of Poseidon at Onchestos — and two Minyan sites. Many of these were relatively unimportant, which makes it surprising that it does not mention Hesiod's home at Askra. But on the other hand, Hesiod does not mention Thespiāi⁴¹.

Thisbe and the ports of Siphai and Kreusis, with Thebes and the east, and with Haliartos, Davlosis, and Gla, leading to Orchomenos and the north. Thisbe is situated inland from the sea, on the foothills of Helikon, and controls an extensive plain which probably formed the southwest corner of the territory of the Mycenaean kingdom based at Thebes.

³⁹ Ra-mo, on Thebes tablet Of 38; J. Chadwick in T.G. Spyropoulos and J. Chadwick, *The Thebes Tablets II: Minos Supplement 4* (Salamanca, 1975), 106.

Ra-mi-jo, on Thebes nodule Wu 88, β; C. Piteros, J.-P. Olivier, J.L. Melena, *BCH* 114 (1990), 129.

Equation with Lamos: V. Aravantinos in *Minos* 20-22 (1987), 38 and note 15; *BCH* 114 (1190), 154.

Lamos, in Pausanias 9, 31, 7: ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρᾳ τῆ κορυφῆ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν ὁ Λάμος. Also mentioned by Nonnos 9, 28 and 47, 678. See P.W. Wallace, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 16, who accepts Leake's emendation to Ὀλμιός. Hesiod, *Theogony* 5-7 writes of the Muses that they καὶ τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χροῖα Περμησσοῖο | ἢ Ἴππου κρήνης ἢ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο | ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο Strabo 9, 2, 19 (407): καὶ ὁ Περμησσοῦς δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀλμειός, ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος συμβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμπύπτουσι λίμνην τὴν Κοπαΐδα τοῦ Ἀλιάρτου πλησίον, and 9, 2, 30 (411), on the location of the former polis of Haliartos: πλησίον τοῦ Περμησσοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ὀλμειοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔλους τοῦ φύοντος τὸν αὐλητικὸν κάλαμον. The scholiast on Hesiod, *Theogony* 6 writes that Ὀλμειός ποταμὸς ἐν Ἑλικῶνι τῆς Βοιωτίας κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ὀλυμου τοῦ Σισύφου παιδός (a shorter version on line 5). We seem to have a double confusion: first, the location atop Mount Helikon, which results from a possible misreading of Hesiod (it is only the dancing which can be located on the very top of Helikon: the waters they washed in could have been anywhere else); and second, a possible confusion with the eponym of Olmones, which is situated in the highlands north of the Kopais (Pausanias 9, 24, 3 and 9, 34, 10). Pausanias 9, 31, 7 appears to preserve the correct name; Hesiod either confused the names, or wrote of a different stream or spring in the Vale; on the other hand, perhaps he had the name right, and it was changed by a later hand.

In Nonnos, *Dionysiaka*, the river Lamos is the father of the nymphs to whom the infant Dionysos was entrusted: 9, 28; 14, 147; 24, 50; 47, 678.

⁴⁰ On the form of the name — Θέσπεια, Θεσπιαί, but also Θέσπια, Θεσπία — see Fiehn, *RE* 6A (1936) sv «Thespeia» (1) 37-59. Thespeia is the form used by most literary sources, from Homer on; Thespiāi is the form found most often on inscriptions.

⁴¹ As to which came first, Thespeia or Askra, or otherwise put, the *Iliad* or Hesiod, there are arguments on either side. (See M.L. West, ed., Hesiod, *Theogony*

Late sources report the existence of a Thessalian town called Thespeia⁴², which may have been in north-eastern Thessaly, near the mouth of the Peneios and Mounts Homoloion and Pelion. The name may therefore have been brought down to Boiotia by the same people who brought the Muses, Nymphs, and the epithet Homoloios. Etymologically it would suit devotées of goddesses who cause inspiration⁴³. If the connection with this wave of migrants is sound, then the name probably did not get down to Boiotia until after the Bronze Age.

The immigration of Hesiod's father in the early Archaic period reveals not only that there was land available, but that the ruling basileis were not interested in keeping it for themselves and were probably concerned only to exploit the asset.

I have suggested that the Archaic polis of Thespiai had the sanctuary of Apollo Archegetas as its focus, and that the polis incorporated descendants of the Bronze Age population and more recent immigrants. Nothing is known about Thespiai between the Catalogue of Ships and the sixth century BC. During the latter century the Thespians suffered a major Thessalian raid, which they withstood successfully at Keressos.

Two things can be said with certainty about Keressos, first, that there was a place by that name within the territory of Thespiai, and second, that it served as a point of refuge twice, once at the time of the battle of Leuktra — when it did not hold out against Epameinondas — and earlier, before the Persian invasion — when it

[Oxford, 1966], pp. 46-47). Hesiod's failure to mention Thespiai might be taken as setting him before the foundation of the polis, but his general indifference to places — he only names Askra, Aulis, Chalkis, Thebes, Kyme, and Mekone — means only that he was not interested in places in their own right, not that they did not exist.

⁴² *Schol.* Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautika* 1, 105: αἱ Σῖφαι τῆς Βοιωτίας πόλις, Σιφαιεύς δὲ δῆμος Θεσπιέων· Θέσπεια δὲ (καὶ) πόλις Θεσσαλίας.

Stephanus of Byzantium, *sv* Θέσπεια... δευτέρα θεσσαλίας. τρίτη ἐν Σαρδοῖ.

Pliny, *nh* 4, 32, 5: «ostium Penii, oppida Homoloium, Orthe, Iresiae, Pelium» (Thespieae a conjecture for Iresiae).

⁴³ C. Brixhe, in *La Béotie antique*, 365-384, esp. 366-368, on the origins of the name Thespiai, and see D. Knoepfler, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 448, 72. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* 2 (Paris, 1970), 432 *sv* θεσπέσιος («On a aussi rapproché le nom de ville Θεσπιαί... Θέσπις et ses dérivés ont mieux conservé un sens oraculaire»). H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1 (Heidelberg, 1960), 667 *sv* Θεσπέσιος «Hierher noch Θεσπιαί pl. Stadt in Böotien unter anderen EN»).

managed to withstand the Thessalians⁴⁴. Plutarch gives two dates for the latter: sometime before 571, and not long before 480⁴⁵.

The problem of the date is not easy to resolve, but we can try. We must ask first why the Thessalians came into Boiotia by way of Thespiiai, that is, by the mountain route: this by-passes much of the Kopais and all of Theban territory, following the upland valleys inside the Helikon range, and opening out into Thespian territory, the field of Leuktra, and thence easily to Plataia⁴⁶. But the normal route through western Boiotia is along the great carriageway which leads from Chaironeia and follows the foot of the hills on the southern edge of the Kopais, entering the Teneric Plain and central and eastern Boiotia by the pass of Onchestos: this is the route followed by all major invading armies, by the migrating Boiotoi, and in the other direction by the Kadmeians fleeing Thebes, and by the young Apollo on his way to Krisa. The only logical reason for the Thessalians to have taken the upland route rather than the route of choice must be that the latter was blocked because it was too well defended. The major force in this area was Minyan Orchomenos, which controlled the territory west of a line drawn between Kopai and Koroneia, all the way up to Chaironeia. Late in the sixth century, Orchomenos and Thebes and their allies struggled for supremacy in the Kopais⁴⁷, and ultimately Orchomenos was defeated. But earlier on, relations between Orchomenos and other parts of Boiotia were friendly enough: even in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, the Minyans and Boiotians, although separate, seem to co-exist peaceably, and the tombstone of a Thespian buried at Orchomenos in the second half of the sixth century⁴⁸ reveals that there were

⁴⁴ Pausanias refers to Keressos as ἔχυρον χωρίον... ἐν τῇ Θεσπιέων (9, 14, 2). This comes from his digression on Epameinondas, and may have originated in Plutarch's lost *Life*. Plutarch himself, in his *Life* of Camillus, refers (19, 3) to a victory at Keressos, or, as the manuscripts have it, at Geraistos. But far more certain evidence is provided by three Thespian tombstones, two epichoric and one Hellenistic, of men called Kereisichos (*IG* 7, 1926, 2033) and Kereisodotos (1927). The latter name implies that there was a deity — hero or daimon — called Keressos.

⁴⁵ See below, Appendix One.

⁴⁶ See, most recently, W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* 6 (Berkeley, 1989), 112-113.

⁴⁷ See my article in H. Beister and J. Buckler, eds, *Boiotika* (Munich, 1989), 73-86, esp. 80-82.

⁴⁸ *IG* 7, 3233: HERMON|ΘΕΣΠΙΕΥ[Σ]. R. Scodel, *GRBS* 21 (1980), 301-320, esp. 320, suggests that the tradition of Hesiod's burial at Orchomenos may have arisen between the end of the sixth century and the date of the composition of Euripides' *Herakles* (between 422-416).

normal relations between the latter and at least one of the three poleis — the others being Koroneia and Tanagra — which the Thebans regarded as their closest allies in the last decade of the sixth century.

On the whole I lean towards the earlier date for Keressos: it is easier to explain an invasion of Boiotia by way of Thespiai in the first half of the century than towards its end. And, when the Thessalians at Thermopylai claimed that until recently they had controlled Boiotia, they probably meant that they had the free run of the mountain route. We know, for example, that a force of Thessalian cavalry came down to Attica in 510 to help Hippias, and, what is more important, they went back up again, unmolested, even though by then they were in full retreat⁴⁹.

Towards the end of the sixth century, the Boiotians issued their own federal coinage. Orchomenos retained a certain measure of independence, issuing its own small denomination coins, but this does not mean that Orchomenos did not use Boiotian coins of larger denominations. Coins were minted by several member states, identifiable by their initials: Thebes, of course, Tanagra, Mykalessos⁵⁰, Koroneia, and three others, whose mint marks have been interpreted in more than one way. I follow Denis Knoepfler in attributing the coins with the marks H and Φ to Hyettos and Thespiai respectively, rather than to Haliartos and Pharai⁵¹. Coins with A are more likely to belong to Akraiphia than Haliartos: the latter was not a major site at the time, but Akraiphia was an extremely prosperous, if small, dependency of Thebes⁵². It should be noted that Thespiai remained the only polis within its *χώρα* ever to mint coins. The periods of independence of Thisbe, Siphai, and Chorsiai did not occur at times when any of these could have operated its own mint.

⁴⁹ Herodotos 5, 63, 3-64, 1.

⁵⁰ The cemetery at Rhitsona — ancient Mykalessos — contains many sixth century burials, the number growing steadily throughout the century: B.A. Sparkes, *JHS* 87 (1967), 128-130.

⁵¹ In R. Etienne and D. Knoepfler, *BCH Supplément* 3 (1976), 218-226 (on Hyettos/Haliartos), and *Gnomon* 53 (1981), 146 (Hyettos/Haliartos), 147 (Thespiai/Pharai).

⁵² D. Knoepfler, in *BCH Supplément* 3 (1976), 221, note 768, suggests that the coins with A could have been issued at Haliartos. The prosperity of Akraiphia: see my comments in H. Beister and J. Buckler, eds, *Boiotika* (Munich, 1989), 75.

Thespiiai, with Tanagra and Koroneia, were the Thebans' closest allies in the campaign of 506 BC⁵³. But the situation had changed by 480, for when the Persians invaded northern Greece, Thespiiai along with Plataia alone of all the Boiotians refused to medize⁵⁴. We can only guess at what happened in the interval: Theban designs on Plataia suffice to explain the estrangement of that polis. Indeed, Plataia was enrolled as a dependent ally of Athens in 519 BC, and its men fought with the Athenians at Marathon. Its border with Thebes was fixed at the river Asopos. As for Thespiiai, fear of Theban ambitions, especially in the light of Thebes' alignment with the Persians, may have led the Thespiians to re-evaluate their position. Ties of friendship with opposite numbers in Sparta, Athens, Corinth, as well as Thebes — for Thebans of the same persuasion fought at Thermopylai — may have led the Thespiians to behave as quixotically as they did and side with the Hellenes, who were powerless to help them, rather than submit to Persia. Yet another factor which may explain their really unusual behaviour would be their fear of the Thessalians, who had medized.

Seven hundred Thespiians and four hundred Thebans were in the force that defended Thermopylai⁵⁵: the Thespiians' almost immediate reward was to have their city — like Plataia — burned by the Persians, who had been reminded by the Thebans that they were not medizing. Even before this, the Thespiians had gone to the Peloponnese⁵⁶. We may perhaps assume that not every Thespiian left home, but at least those of the hoplite class, who, as a result of the involvement of their peers at Thermopylai, would have realized that they

⁵³ Herodotos 5, 79, 2. A funereal epigram from Thisbe can probably be associated with this unfortunate affair: *IG* 7, 2247 = *CEG* 1, 112 = *GVI* 321: ἀσσοῦ[ς] καὶ χσένοιαι Φάνες φίλος [ἐνθάδε κεῖται], | [hός] ποτ' ἄρισστεύον ἐν προμάχοις [ἔπεσε]. The last word in each line might have been, for example, κείμαι, ἔπεσον.

⁵⁴ Herodotos 7, 132.

⁵⁵ Herodotos 7, 202. They and the Thebans were the only non-Spartans whom Leonidas kept with him at the end. All the Thespiians died at the side of the Spartans. A bond was formed between Thespiiai and Sparta at Thermopylai which survived at least among the hoplite class until 371, if not beyond. The leader of the Thespiians was Damophilos son of Diadromas. Herodotos 7, 222 and 226: I have transposed their names into their Boiotian forms. Damophilos could have been the grandfather of the Damophilos who died at Delion (*IG* 7, 1888). The latter was possibly a paraibatas, that is, a member of the local contingent of the Boiotian elite corps. It is to be presumed that these men were of the upper middle class.

⁵⁶ Herodotos 8, 50. He does not specify their destination.

were compromised in the eyes of the Persians. Eighteen hundred Thespians fought at Plataia, but as φιλοί, light-armed troops, for, as Herodotos notes, they did not have their hoplite armour⁵⁷.

After the battle of Plataia, the victorious Hellenes regarded Plataia itself as sacred ground, and took steps to ensure that the battle was commemorated by themselves and the local people. This involved a commitment — not always honoured — to protect Plataia⁵⁸.

A less well publicized joint undertaking was the re-establishment of Thespiai. Sikinnos, Themistokles's slave, the paidagogos of his children, who had acted as his go-between with Xerxes before Salamis, was later rewarded by his master, who gave him money and sent him off to be a citizen of Thespiai, when the Thespians were admitting extra citizens⁵⁹. This must have happened quite soon after the battle of 479, in any case before Themistokles' own eclipse in the late 470's⁶⁰. It would have been about this time that Polygnotos, who painted a mural in the newly-erected temple of Athena Areia at Plataia, created another mural — subject unspecified — at Thespiai⁶¹.

The additional new citizens would have come from several places. Evidence from cult suggests new input from Athens, Sparta, and

⁵⁷ He calls them «the surviving Thespians» (9, 30: Θεσπιέων... οἱ περιεόντες). By this I suppose he means the Thespian citizens of the hoplite class who had not gone to Thermopylai. This would give a full fighting force of 2500, which seems a reasonable number. The Thespians and the Plataians are listed on the «Serpent-Column» at Delphi: Meiggs-Lewis 27.

In the immediate aftermath of the departure of the Persians and the abasement of Thebes, the leading power in eastern and central Boiotia seems to have been Tanagra. Plataia and Thespiai, their urban centres having been destroyed in 480, and in the case of Thespiai its population dispersed, were in no position to contest the issue. The basic study is B.H. Fowler, «Thucydides 1, 107-108 and the Tanagran Federal Issues», *Phoenix* 11 (1957), 164-170: the special Tanagran issues dated 479-456 by Head were minted while Tanagra was the dominant power in Boiotia. See too R.J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton, 1979), 141-142; D.M. Lewis, in *CAH* 5 (Cambridge, 1992), 96 (more cautious: «The numismatic evidence may suggest that Thebes lost her superiority and that Tanagra may from time to time have tried to claim some form of ascendancy»; compare p. 116: more cautious still).

⁵⁸ See *Cults of Boiotia* 3, 128-129.

⁵⁹ Herodotos 8, 75, 5: Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους παίδων. τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπία τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιεὲς πολίτας, καὶ χρήμασι ἔλβιον (The mission to Xerxes: 8, 110, 8).

⁶⁰ P.J. Rhodes in *CAH* 5 (Cambridge, 1992), 66-67.

⁶¹ Pliny, *nh* 35, 123, 6: «pinxit et ipse (sc. Pausias Sicyonius) penicillo parietes Thespiis, cum reficerentur quondam a Polygnoto picti.»

Corinth, the poleis which had contributed the largest Hellenic contingents at Plataia. The Athenians even provided an oikist in the person of Thespios, a son of Erechtheus⁶². Also from Athens would have come the epithet Eleusinia for Demeter, brought by people connected with the Eumolpidae⁶³. Close relations with Athens are confirmed by an Athenian decree granting proxenia to four Thespians⁶⁴.

From Sparta came the Dioskouroi and Kasstoridas, son of Kastor, both attested at Thespiai in the fifth century. I have already suggested that the village of Hippotai was named after the Dioskouroi. The Thespian cult of Artemis as Agrotera may also have had its origins with the Spartans⁶⁵. Corinth must have been the home of Aphrodite Melainis. There she had a sanctuary at the northeast edge of the

⁶² Diodoros of Sicily 4, 29, 2: Θέσπιος ἦν ἀνὴρ τὸ γένος ἐπιφανῆς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, υἱὸς Ἐρεχθέως, βασιλευίων δὲ τῆς ὁμωνύμου χώρας ἐγέννησεν ἐκ πλειόνων γυναικῶν θυγατέρας πεντήκοντα.

⁶³ Note the daidouchos Kallias son of Hipponikos, cited by Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6, 4, 5 as having claimed that Plataia and Thespiai had been destroyed. Perhaps he was speaking on behalf of Thespian relatives.

Two Thespians later held the office of hierophant at Eleusis: one is named on a bronze plaque in the Berlin Antiquarium: BCH 50 (1926), 419, note 2 = AA (1904), 32: Κένχραμος Ἀριστοκλέους Θεσπιεύς ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν ἱεροφάντης. The other was said to have been the last hierophant ever: Eunapios, *Vitae Sophistarum* 47, 6. For Eupatridai and hereditary priesthoods, see, for example, N.G.L. Hammond, *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford, 1973), 137-138, esp. 137 note 6.

Another possible sign of Athenian influence may be the crescents which appear on Thespian coins, of the fifth and fourth centuries, the latter probably issued after the Peace of Antalkidas. See below, Appendix Two.

⁶⁴ IG 1³, 23, dated there ca. 447 BC. The Thespians are Koraidēs, Thalykidēs, Menestratos, and Athenaios. The last-named could have been born after the resettlement of Thespiai, if the name is significant.

⁶⁵ Another possible item from the fifth century: the funerary inscriptions IG 7, 1903-1904 are on the same stone, the first (Ἀριστοκράτης) having been dated by Kirchoff to the beginning of the fifth century, the second to the period 378-371 BC. The second is now recognized as having been inscribed in the Lakonian script: A.W. Johnston, in L.H. Jeffery, *LSAG* (Oxford, 1990), 447, 62a, who (448) accepts a date in the 370's. However, to judge by the letter forms, a date in second half of the fifth century looks better, and I would transcribe it Ηποκλέ|ε|ς Λαχε|δαμύ|νιος, taking the first letter not as E but as H. The H is clear in *LSAG* (pl. 75) and so transcribed (p. 417); this form of the aspirate was still in use towards the end of the fifth century (p. 183), which should give a *terminus ante quem*; the form of the sigma, in use from the middle of the century, a *terminus post quem*.

The epithet Agrotera is found in Boiotia in the Haliartia (*Cults of Boiotia* 1, 99), on Mavrovouni above Siphai (1, 102-103), Thisbe (1, 106), and Agrotis at Lebadeia (1, 101). Artemis as huntress/goddess of the wilds is attested at Aulis (1, 94-98), Kithairon (1, 99), and Thespiai (1, 105; on a relief and a coin). Many of the data are late, but the type goes back to Homeric times and probably earlier still.

city, which was associated with the fourth century courtesan Lais⁶⁶. The cult of Hera, as I have noted above, is probably connected with Corinthian Perachora, but this goes back to the Bronze Age.

A tombstone of late in the fourth century lists members of a single family who had died in battle: one died at Oinophyta, two at Oropos, one at Koroneia⁶⁷. It is not possible to identify the last two or three battles exactly, but there was only one battle at Oinophyta, in 458, on the sixty-second day after the battle of Tanagra, when the Athenians defeated the Boiotians and thus gained control of Boiotia and Phokis⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ Pausanias 2, 2, 4; compare Athenaios 13, 589 B-C.

C.K. Williams II, «Corinth and the Cult of Aphrodite», in M.A. Del Chiaro, ed., *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx* (Columbia, Mo., 1986), 12: «This cult apparently emphasized the chthonic aspects of the goddess, also indicated by her cult activities in other cities» (there are no such «activities» attested, all we know about this goddess is her epithet). The «chthonic aspects» are generally accepted without question: e.g. E. Will, *Korinthiaka* (Paris, 1955), 224-225; M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris, 1985) 134, 316, 427, 437, 508 (Aphrodite Melainis at Melangeia).

I would rather compare this black Aphrodite with the black Artemis of Ephesos, and suggest, given the obvious eastern influences at work on the cult of Aphrodite at Corinth, that she too was literally black. The black Ephesian Artemis: *LIMC* 2, 2 (Zürich and Munich, 1984), 567, 49; 568, 58, 60, 62; 569, 68; 572, 130. Note also the black Aphrodite of Aphrodisias: *LIMC* 2, 2, 154, 13 and 155, 24, whom R. Fleischer, *LIMC* 2, 1 (Zürich and Munich, 1984), 153, compares with the Ephesian Artemis. Pausanias lists several examples of Artemis Ephesia in Greece: at Corinth itself (2, 2, 6), Skillous (5, 6, 5: a foundation of Xenophon), Alea (8, 23, 1), Megalopolis (8, 30, 6), He remarks (4, 31, 8) that Ἐφεσίαν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν πόλεις τε νομίζουσιν αἰ πάσαι...

I would also note that Corinthian coins with Aphrodite on their reverse do not have a crescent. Nor need the female head on the Thespian coins be that of Aphrodite. It might be a Muse, or Mnemosyne, or perhaps Hera. See below, Appendix Two.

⁶⁷ *Seg* 19, 363 r = *BCH* 82 (1958), 133, 174. The stone which survives was erected to commemorate the death of one Philolaïos, and lists a Laukles who fell at Oropos, another Philolaïos at Oropos, and a third at Koroneia. P. Jamot, who discovered it, suggested that it had been put up to replace earlier monuments lost when the city was destroyed.

A Philolaos is among the Thespian dead at Delion: *IG* 7, 1888, e, 7. Was he another member of the family, or was he perhaps Philolaos II, the one who had died at Oropos? The Athenians referred to the battle as the battle of Delion, because that is where the disaster which befell them occurred, but a Boiotian might have called it the battle of Oropos. According to Thucydides 4, 90, after fortifying Delion, the main body of the Athenian force marched off, and were ten stades away when they were intercepted: (4, 91) οὐκ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἔτι εἰσὶ (μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἰωρρωπίας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦσαν, ὅτε ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα); compare Diodoros of Sicily 12, 69: τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον κεῖται πλησίον τῆς Ἰωρρωπίας καὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Βοιωτίας.

⁶⁸ Thucydides 1, 108, 2-4.

As D.M. Lewis points out (in *CAH* 5 [Cambridge, 1992], 115), «we have no idea where Oenophyta was». It is located by all modern scholars near the Asopos in the

In 424, at the battle of Delion, Thespian hoplites shared the left wing of the Boiotian line with the men of Tanagra and Orchomenos⁶⁹. Although the Boiotians won the battle, their left wing was overcome, with the Thespians in particular being badly worsted. Many of them died in hand-to-hand combat. Of the approximately five hundred Boiotian dead, the names of sixty-one Tanagrans and one hundred Thespians are listed on the surviving blocks from funereal monuments set up by their poleis. The Thespians therefore suffered at least twenty percent of the casualties of the Boiotian side⁷⁰.

In the summer of the following year, the Thebans, accusing the Thespians of ἀττικισμός, tore down the city wall of Thespiiai. Thucydides claims that this had long been the Thebans' desire, but that they were now able to do it more easily because, as he puts it, the flower of the Thespians had perished. They could, with greater ease, have done the deed immediately after the battle. The year's delay suggests that they were reacting to events inside Thespiiai subsequent to the battle. The loss of so many men of the hoplite class must have weakened the oligarchic — that is, pro-Theban and pro-Spartan — faction to the point where the democratic faction felt itself to be in a position to take control of the polis. Tearing down the walls was not so much an act of war by Thebes against Thespiiai as an act of support for the temporarily hard-pressed hoplite class⁷¹.

It was a precautionary measure which justified itself in the summer of 414, when the Thespian δῆμος rose up against its rulers. The Thebans came to help the latter, and were able to put down the

Tanagraia — for example, D. Knoepfler, *Gnomon* 53 (1981), 148; J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago, 1988), 58-60 — but there is no evidence to support this. Nor is it certain on whose side the Thespian would have fought, the Boiotian or the Athenian, although if, as seems likely, he was a member of the oligarchic faction, he probably fought for the Boiotians.

⁶⁹ Thucydides 4, 93, 4 and 4, 96, 3; Diodoros of Sicily 12, 70.

⁷⁰ This out of a federal army which totalled about seven thousand hoplites, ten thousand and more light armed troops, one thousand cavalry, five hundred peltasts. C.W. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos* (Oxford, 1983) comments on the monuments: 230, 48 b = *IG* 7, 585 (Tanagra) and 232, 48 c = *IG* 7, 1888 (Thespiiai). With regard to the latter, he suggests (p. 233) that the original list may have contained approximately three hundred names.

⁷¹ C. Tuplin, *The Failings of Empire: Historia Einzelschriften* 76 (Stuttgart, 1993), 175-176, pays insufficient attention to internal events within Thebes and Thespiiai.

revolt: some were arrested, others fled to Athens, and Thespiai was made safe for its oligarchs⁷².

It is to this sequence of events that I would attach the story of the forty or so remaining sons of Herakles and the daughters of Thespios who went to Sardinia with Iolaos, as part of a larger group which he led, which included Athenians among them⁷³. If there is a real event lurking behind this story, the most likely occasion would have been the aftermath of the expulsion of Thespian democrats in 414.

In the following year, 413, the Boiotians sent three hundred hoplites, including Thespians, to help the Syracusans. These three hundred may have been the standing elite corps of the Boiotian army. They were led by two Thebans and one Thespian⁷⁴.

The constitution of Boiotia, as described by the Oxyrhynchos historian, gives the Thespians two boiotarchs, and control over a territory from Eutresis on the east at least as far west as Thisbe. Thespians fought as part of the Boiotian army at Haliartos in 395 and Nemea in 394⁷⁵, but in 387 the Peace of Antalkidas set Thespiai and other Boiotian poleis free from Theban control. The inventory of Thespian sacred utensils at the Heraion and at Siphai and Kreusis has been interpreted as resulting from Thespiai's having lost control over its dependencies after the Peace. However, as Paul Roesch pointed out, this explanation will not work for Kreusis, which seems never to have been independent of Thespiai. The explanation also fails to take into account the fact that the Peace was aimed at Thebes, not at the other Boiotians, and certainly not at Thespiai, which was on close terms with the Spartans⁷⁶. It seems more likely that Thespiai's territory

⁷² An Athenian decree in honour of some Thespians has been connected with this affair: *IG* 1³, 72, dated 7412 BC. It has even been suggested that the Athenians had a plan to settle the Thespian refugees and other exiles as colonists: reference in *Cults of Boiotia* 3, 58, note 2.

⁷³ Pausanias 1, 29, 5; 7, 2, 2; 9, 23, 1; 10, 17, 5. See *Cults of Boiotia* 3, 56-58.

⁷⁴ Thucydides 7, 19, 3 and compare 7, 43, 7.

⁷⁵ Xenophon, *Hellenika* 4, 2, 18; 20; 22.

SEG 2, 186, re-edited by A. Plassart, *BCH* 82 (1958), 117, 65, who accepts A. Wilhelm's identification of the names in (fragmentary) column 1 as Thespians who fell at Haliartos, and those in column 2 as Thespians who died at Nemea. See too C.W. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos* (Oxford, 1983), 236, 86 c.

⁷⁶ The ethnikon Thisbeus, restored on a tombstone of the fourth century in the Athenian agora, cannot be used as evidence for the independence of Thisbe, as it is a private, rather than a public, document: D.W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora* 17 (Princeton, 1974), 105, 504.

was not carved up until after the battle of Leuktra, when Thebes took control of Boiotia again.

Before then, however, perhaps shortly after the Spartan capture of Thebes in the summer of 382, Thespiiai, Haliartos, and probably Tanagra, came under direct Spartan control as well. When the Spartans were expelled from Thebes at the end of 379, Thespiiai remained loyal to them: the Spartan harmost on the Kadmeia asked for help from both Thespiiai and Plataia; it came, but was unavailing⁷⁷; and in the winter of 378, Kleombrotos was able to leave Sphodrias as harmost at Thespiiai. The latter felt secure enough to launch his ill-conceived attack on Athens from Thespiiai⁷⁸. Subsequently, Phoibidas was installed in his place by Agesilaos, who walled the ἄστυ and not only used Thespiiai as his base of operations in 378, but also arbitrated between two Thespian factions who had fallen out with each other⁷⁹.

After the defeat and death of Phoibidas in a skirmish against the Thebans, Sparta sent a detachment to Thespiiai under a polemarch⁸⁰. During the 370's, probably in 376 or 375, Thebes regained control of Thespiiai along with other neighbouring poleis⁸¹. This may be the campaign to which Xenophon refers when he says that the Theban cavalry at Leuktra was in good fighting condition as a result of their experience in wars against Orchomenos and Thespiiai⁸². It may also

⁷⁷ Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5, 4, 9-10; 12, 19.

⁷⁸ M.H. Munn, *The Defense of Attica* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1993), 142-148, esp. 145-148, where the author takes a more charitable view of Sphodrias' escapade than is usual.

⁷⁹ Munn 155-167; walling Thespiiai: Xenophon, *Hellenika* (5, 4, 41 (Munn, 161 and note 49).

⁸⁰ Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5, 4, 42-46; Diodoros of Sicily 15, 33; Phoibidas: Munn, 162.

⁸¹ Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5, 4 63 (θρασέως δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς περιουκίδας πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον); 6, 1, 1 (οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις, ἐστράτευον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα). Are we to imagine two stages, in the first of which Thebes took control of its nearer neighbours (such as Thespiiai, Plataia, Tanagra), and then extended its grip westward? it is difficult to envisage them venturing against Phokis with potentially hostile forces at their backs. See C.J. Tuplin, *Athenaeum* 64 (1986, 327; Munn 172).

⁸² *Hellenika* 6, 4, 10. C.J. Tuplin (1986), 328 places this war between 374 and 371. However, it is possible that Xenophon, like Diodoros of Sicily 15, 37, is referring to the battle of Tegyra of 375 as the battle of Orchomenos (at Diodoros 15, 81, 2 the manuscripts' Τεγέαν is not to be emended to Τεγύραν: Diodoros or his source has confused two battles here). If this is so, then Xenophon actually did refer to the

have been the occasion at which Thespiyai was compelled συντελεῖν εἰς τὰς Θήβας⁸³. It has been argued that between 373-372 and the summer of 371 Thespiyai was destroyed, the polis ceased to exist, and its population was moved into small settlements in the χώρα⁸⁴. However, the archaeological record shows no signs of a serious break, and there is other evidence that the polis was still in existence in 371. For example, before the battle of Leuktra, the Thespians begged Athens to protect them from Thebes and keep them from becoming ἀπόλιδες⁸⁵. This implies surely that the polis was still functioning at the time, although Kallias the daidouchos is quoted by Xenophon as saying that Plataiai and Thespiyai had been destroyed⁸⁶. The Thespians were nevertheless enough of a threat for Epameinondas to attack them after the battle of Leuktra⁸⁷. He besieged them at Keressos, which, this time, fell. But even this probably did not bring about the dissolution of the state. When Demosthenes in about 353 refers to Thespiyai, Plataia, and Orchomenos as having been destroyed, he surely is writing about their urban centres only⁸⁸. He repeatedly mentions Philip's promise to rebuild the walls of Plataia and Thespiyai, from which we can deduce that what was at issue was only the urban centre⁸⁹. According to Demosthenes these promises were not kept, or at least they had not been by 343⁹⁰. Nevertheless, in 340 Thespiyai sent a hieromnemon to

battle of Tegyra (just as, at *Memorabilia*, 3, 5, 4, he describes the battle of Koroneia of 447 as having taken place at Lebadeia: see *Cults of Boiotia* 3, 76). The Thespian engagement to which Xenophon refers could have happened in 375 or the year before. See also Diodoros 15, 46, 6 and 15, 51, 3.

⁸³ Isokrates 14, 8-9: τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν... βιασθεῖσαν Θηβαίοις συντελεῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένας ἠγοῦμαι τολμηροτέρους εἶναι τούτων (sc. τῶν Θηβαίων), οἵτινες τὰς μὲν ἰδίας ἡμῶν ἐκάστων πόλεις ἀφανίζουσι, τῆς δὲ σφετέρας αὐτῶν πολιτείας οὐδὲν δεομένους κοινωνεῖν ἀναγκάζουσιν... (9) ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτούς, ἐπειδὴ πείθειν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν οὐχ οἶοί τ' ἦσαν, ὥσπερ τοὺς Θεσπιαίας καὶ τοὺς Ταναγραίους, συντελεῖν μόνον εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀναγκάζειν... νῦν δὲ φανεροὶ γεγόνασιν... τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμήσαντες. So that συντέλεια did not involve the loss of territory. See Tuplin (1986), 322 and 337.

⁸⁴ Tuplin (1986), 337 and 339.

⁸⁵ Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6, 3, 1 and 6, 3, 5; Tuplin 331 and 334.

⁸⁶ Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6, 3, 5.

⁸⁷ Epameinondas appears to have had good reason to mistrust the Thespians: they, and other unnamed Boiotians, abandoned the field before the battle when he gave them the opportunity to do so (Pausanias, 9, 13, 8).

⁸⁸ Demosthenes 16, 4, 25-26, 28.

⁸⁹ Demosthenes 5, 10; 6, 30; 19, 21, 37, 42, 112, 325.

⁹⁰ Demosthenes 19, 112, 325.

Delphi, and between 338 and 335 Orchomenos, Tanagra, Thebes, Plataia, Koroneia, and Thespiiai, all sent either a hieromnemon, treasurer, or *naopoiioi*⁹¹. These are official delegates, and if they are identified by an *ethnikon*, the logical conclusion is that the *poleis* they represented existed at the time⁹². The sack of Thebes, on the other hand, was another matter altogether: the polis was eliminated, root and branch, and ceased to exist not only as a city but as a state until it was rebuilt after 315. Thespiiai played a part in its destruction, together with the Plataians, Orchomenians, and others⁹³.

A useful control of political developments as reported by the literary sources is provided by relief stelai — both funerary and votive — either found at Thespiiai and its *χώρα*, or made of Thespian stone. They suggest that, despite the vicissitudes of fortune, everyday life at Thespiiai proceeded in as normal a fashion as possible. This can be attributed first, to the continuing prosperity of the upper middle class, who probably lived in the countryside rather than the city, and second, to the fitful nature of warfare in Archaic and Classical Greece, which was usually — although not always — conducted between spring and autumn, leaving quite a bit of the year for normal activity⁹⁴.

⁹¹ P. Roesch, *Etudes béotiennes* (Paris, 1982), 467 (340); 468 (hieromnemes 337/336; *naopoiioi* 337/335; *tamias* 337).

⁹² This does not hold for private documents, such as epitaphs, of which P. Roesch (as cited in the preceding note) lists several.

⁹³ Diodoros of Sicily 17, 13, 5; Justin 11, 3, 8. Plutarch, *Alexander* 11, 5 and Arrian 1, 8, 8: Phokians and Plataians only.

⁹⁴ Although the sample is small — thirty-five works over a period of two centuries — it is meaningful when set against the rest of the record. These works, it should be noted, will have been commissioned by people of means, that is, those more likely to have been members of the oligarchic rather than the democratic faction.

The earliest group is of two stelai from the final years of the sixth century: W. Schild-Xenidou, *Boiotische Grab- und Weihreliefs archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Munich, 1972), 4, 3 (510/500 BC); 5, 4 (ca. 500). After them there is a gap until about the middle of the fifth century, which corresponds with the abandonment of the polis by its hoplite class and the subsequent re-establishment of the urban centre. The rate of production reaches a peak in the third and fourth quarters of the fifth century: Schild-Xenidou 11, 11 (mid-century); 14, 14; 15, 15; 16, 16; 20, 19 (450/425); 17, 17 (440/430); 21, 20; 22, 21; 22, 22; 23, 23; 24, 24; 25, 25; 26, 26; 27, 28; 29, 30; 30, 31; 33, 34; 34, 36 (425/400). Then, after falling off, it remains steady until the last quarter of the fourth century: Schild-Xenidou 33, 35; 37, 40 (400); 45, 49; 47, 51 (400+); 47, 52 (375/350); 53, 60; 54, 62; 55, 63; 56, 64; 57, 65 (375/350); 61, 70 (350); 64, 73; 65, 75; 70, 81 (350/325); 70, 82 (325/300). This

7. — CONCLUSION

To conclude: the polis of Thespiai was founded twice, once in the early Archaic period, its population including descendants of the Bronze Age inhabitants of southern Boiotia, and people who had migrated into the area from northern Thessaly, and in one famous case at least, from Kyme in Aiolis. The second foundation was after the defeat of the Persians, when, to all appearances, Athens, Corinth, and Sparta helped the exiled citizens of Thespiai to rebuilt their city in a new location and with the addition of new blood. The cults and legends of Thespiai reflect both foundations.

Thespiai is unusual in that, despite its size and importance, it seems never to have aspired to hegemony in Boiotia. Orchomenos, Tanagra, and even Haliartos, at one time or another challenged Thebes. To be sure, the Thespians participated eagerly in the sack of Thebes in 335, but this was a matter of vengeance, conducted under the protection of a superior power. It was not that Thespiai lacked brave men, either, as Keressos, Thermopylai, Plataia, and Delion testify. It was rather a combination of factors: first, the oligarchic faction at Thespiai was largely in sympathy with their peers at Thebes, and when necessary, relied on them to intervene if the *demos* threatened; second, like Plataia, but unlike Tanagra, Thespiai was vulnerable to attack. This conceals a possible third factor, a simple lack of ambition extending beyond the confines of their own homeland. We see it as early as Hesiod, and in the general willingness, even inclination, on the part of the Thespians, to entrust themselves to others for their protection: Thebes, Sparta, Athens, and later Rome, all played this rôle at different times. The Thespians were followers, rather than leaders, patients rather than agents. And if it were not for the Muses of Mount Helikon, we might know even less about Thespiai than we do about that other enigmatic Boiotian polis, Tanagra.

McGill University

Albert SCHACHTER

would tend to confirm the observation that, in the last quarter of the fifth century, it was essentially members of the *δημος* who were expelled, and that, in the fourth century, although the city may have been razed, the polis remained intact. A surprisingly high proportion of the funerary stelai (nine out of twenty in the most active period) depict women.

**APPENDIX ONE:
KERESSOS, THE EVIDENCE AND THE ARGUMENTS**

In his *Life* of Camillus, Plutarch wrote that this incident took place more than two hundred years before the battle of Leuktra, that is, before 571 BC. But in the *De Malignitate Herodoti* he has the Thessalians refer to an invasion in which Lattamyas was killed ἔναγχος — not long before — Thermopylai:

Kamillos 19, 3 (138 A); τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν Βοιωτοῖς Ἴπποδρομίου μηνός, ὡς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἰσταμένου πέμπτη δύο λαβεῖν συνέβη νίκας ἐπιφανεστάτας, αἱ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἠλευθέρωσαν, τήν τε περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ τήν ἐπὶ Γεραιστῶ (*codd.*) / Κερησσῶ (Palmer), ταύτης πρότερον ἔτεσι πλείοσιν ἢ διακοσίοις, ὅτε Λατταμύαν καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐνίκησαν.

De Herodoti Malignitate 33, 4 (866 F): the Thessalians at Thermopylai claim ὅτι τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὺς κρατοῦντας ἄχρι Θεσπιέων ἔναγχος ἐξήλασαν μάχη περιγεγόμενοι καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Λατταμύαν ἀποκτείναντες (*sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι*).

Pausanias (9, 14, 2-3) refers to a Delphic oracle which had supposedly been given to the Thessalians when — *πάλαι ποτέ* — a long time before Leuktra, they were unable to take Keressos, where the Thespians had sought refuge.

The two versions by Plutarch seem to be irreconcilable, since ἔναγχος cannot be made to refer to an event almost one hundred years before Thermopylai. G.A. Lehmann, *Boreas* 6 (1983), 41, note 23, remarks that ἔναγχος in Plutarch could be a rather flexible expression, citing *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae* 19 (815 D) (ἔναγχος ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ). However, J.-C. Carrière, in his edition of this piece (Plutarque, *Œuvres Morales* XI, 1 [Paris, 1984]), remarks (p. 10) that «Il est vrai que l'adverbe 'récemment' (ἔναγχος) est assez imprécis, mais on peut admettre qu'il ne désigne pas une période de temps supérieure à douze ans», which would put the Thessalian invasion under Lattamyas at about 490 B.C.

Some of those who favour a later date have connected it with the organization of the Boiotian confederacy, which they place in the last quarter of the sixth century. Attempts have been made to solve the problem by changing Plutarch's text from «two hundred» to «one hundred» years. See, for example J. Ducat, *BCH* 97 (1973), 65, who reviews earlier scholarly opinion. He himself prefers a date late in the sixth or early in the fifth century (see pages 66-67 and 70). R.J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* (Edmondson, 1979), 108-112, and 173: not before

525, and probably close to 520. Indeed, if the manuscripts of the Life of Camillus could produce Γεραιστῶ in error for Κερησοῶ, then a mistake in the transmission is not impossible, and a late date would be acceptable.

However, recent proponents of the earlier dating point to the destruction of the two temples at the sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo at Kalapodi — in the territory of Hyampolis — early in the sixth century, and associate this with the incursion by the Thessalians which ended in their being rebuffed at Keressos and defeated at Hyampolis: R.C.S. Felsch, *AA* (1980), 83; *AA* (1987), 19-25: both early archaic temples destroyed in the first decades of the sixth century; P. Ellinger, *AA* (1987), 91, connects the destruction with the liberation of Phokis and the foundation of the Elaphebolia. Ellinger cites, in support of the earlier date for Keressos, both Felsch and G.A. Lehmann, *Boreas* 6 (1983), 40-42.

APPENDIX TWO: CRESCENTS ON THESPIAN COINS

These are conventionally connected with the Thespian Aphrodite Melainis, but the two symbols used — female head and crescent — do not always appear together, or even on the same coin. The coins show waxing and waning moons together, a horizontal one, a waxing one, and a waning one. If it is not a magistrate's mint mark, the crescent might be a descendant of the symbol on several Athenian coins.

Thespian coins: E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* 2, 3 (Paris, 1914), 305/306, 360 (which he dates 456-446 BC); 305/306, 361-364 (ca. 431-424 BC); 307/308, 365-368 (387-374 BC). B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1911), 354 dates them all after the Peace of Antalkidas.

Athenian coins: E. Babelon 73/74, 1-2 (480-407 BC); Head, 370, insists that the moon behind the owl on the Athenian tetradrachm is waning, «decrecent»; he connects it with Hippias's new coinage of 514 BC. But not all the Athenian crescents wane: see L. Lacroix, «La chouette et le croissant sur les monnaies d'Athènes», *L'Antiquité classique* 34 (1965), 130-143, esp. 135. Lacroix associates both crescent and owl with the cult of Athena Glaukopis (perhaps the Thespian Athena Ergane — Pausanias 9, 26, 8 — is to be connected with this: see Lacroix, p. 136), in which case the crescent on the Thespian coins

could have been a discreet nod in the direction of Athens. See too C.M. Kraay, «The Archaic Owls of Athens, Classification and Chronology», *NChron* 16 (1956), 43-68, esp. 57 («the uniform direction of the crescent may here be due to the uniform direction of the reverse type as a whole»), and 58 (where he dates the addition of wreath and crescent on these coins ca. 479), and compare *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), 61-62 (62: «More probably the moon was added to the larger flans of the tetradrachms alone, simply as a reference to the nocturnal character of the owl»).

Crescents appear on the reverse of a number of Corinthian staters of the fifth century in conjunction with the head of Athena, so there may be something in this: O. Ravel, *Les poulains de Corinthe* 1 (Basel, 1936), 89, 294 (T 232), 89, 295 (T 233) (these two dated 439/431), 90, 299 (T 235), 90, 301 (T 237) (these dated 430/415). In the first two Athena faces right, the crescent, behind her, opens to the left, the directions are reversed on the second two. Ravel notes (pp. 116-117) that «Il se pourrait que ces petits croissants aient été ajoutés au revers pour rappeler un événement particulier, mais selon toute vraisemblance ils sont des éléments décoratifs des coins, inspirés par d'autres monnaies, comme celles d'Athènes. La façon dont ces coins avec le croissant sont mélangés avec ceux sans symboles paraît le confirmer». B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1911), 402, lists a coin dated by him ca. 350-338 with three crescents. This is part of a series of symbols whose significance lies more with the whole group than with any single item in it: see C.M. Kraay (1976), 85-86.