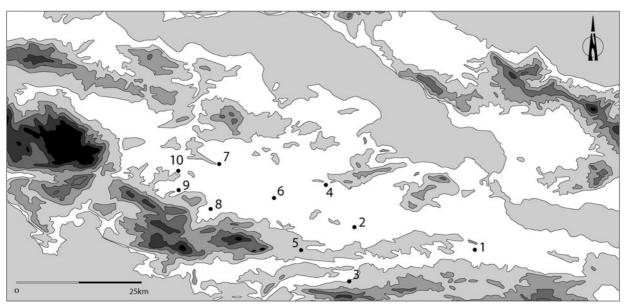
ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE 2013-2014

Recent epigraphic research in central Greece: Boeotia

Fabienne Marchand | University of Fribourg | fabienne.marchand@unifr.ch



Map 3. Map of sites in central Greece referred to in the text. © BSA.
(1) Tanagra; (2) Thebes; (3) Plataia; (4) Akraiphia; (5) Thespiai; (6) Haliartos; (7) Orchomenos; (8) Koroneia; (9) Lebadeia; (10) Chaironeia.

The past ten years have been particularly prolific for research in Boeotian epigraphy: excavations and museum work carried out by the ephoreias, along with the activities of international projects such as the Boeotia Project, have yielded many exciting new documents and generated a very dynamic scholarly production. Epigraphy is therefore particularly well served in Boeotia, as the prominent place given to inscriptions in the recently refurbished museums of Chaironeia and, in particularly, Schimatari – and, no doubt, in the future new museum of Thebes too – exemplifies further. The present synopsis cannot cover the entirety of scholarship produced over the past ten years, but it is hoped that it provides a fair overview. Instead of a geographical approach, a thematic arrangement has been preferred.

A new invaluable tool for the study of the epigraphy of Thespiai appeared in 2009 in the form of a **corpus of inscriptions** prepared by Paul Roesch (†1990) and finalized by Gilbert Argoud, Albert Schachter and Guy Vottéro (*Les inscriptions de Thespies* (*IThesp*); see *SEG* LVII 478). The 12 searchable PDFs of *Les inscriptions de Thespies* can be downloaded from www.hisoma.mom.fr/production-scientifique/les-inscriptions-de-thespies, along with a 13th file providing concordances, a list of unpublished texts and a list of reused monuments. One of the main values of the corpus is that it brings together the inscriptions of Thespiai, the publications of which, since the late 19th century have been scattered in various places. The section devoted to Thespiai in *IG* VII (1892) includes just over 500 entries, and, with the new corpus, 1,303 inscriptions are now conveniently made available to scholars in one place. Some of its 69 *inedita* are presented in *SEG* LVII 480 (a fragmentary proxeny decree dating to the early second century BC), 481 (an honorific inscription for the emperor Valentinian), 482 (the base of a honorific statue of a woman dedicated to Dionysos – with the sculptor's signature). Two additional *inedita* relating to the family of the Statilii Tauri and the cult of the Theos Tauros, *IThesp* 410 and 411, are discussed in Marchand 2013. There is no doubt that the immensely rich resource of *IThesp* will offer further possibilities for innovative research.

Over the past ten years epigraphic scholarship related to festivals has been dramatically enriched. In 2009 Alessandra Manieri produced an invaluable catalogue of agonistic inscriptions from Boeotia with Greek texts, translations and commentaries (Manieri 2009; see also SEG LIX 463, where a full concordance is provided). This volume remains roughly up-to-date and includes the most recent material available at the time of publication, including a fragmentary inscription (SEG LIV 516) discovered in 2003 in excavations at Thebes on the Cadmeia conducted by the 1st EBA and the 9th EPCA (ID2998) that records victors at a new festival established shortly after 146 BC, the Romaia (Fig. 88). Other inscriptions have since come to light. These include two substantial inscriptions related to festivals from Tanagra, both found in excavations carried out by the Archaeological Service in the vicinity of Dilesi. The first is a pedimental stele recording the accounts related to the festival of the Delia of Tanagra, dating to the late second century BC (SEG LVII 452). The second is a pedimental stele



88. Thebes: list of victors at the Romaia, shortly after 146 BC.
© Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.

from the early third century AD (SEG LIX 492) on which a fully preserved text of 62 lines details a list of ephebes and officials of the gymnasium of Tanagra, including 13 agonothetai, responsible for eight ephebic agones (περὶ ἀλκῆς, Delia, birthday of the emperor, Hermaia, Hekatephoria, prosdromai, dixestos and boarsion: 1. 14–25), some of which are newly attested. Kynegesia are also mentioned at the very end of the inscription (1. 62). At Thespiai, study of the festival of the Mouseia benefits from a new fragmentary catalogue of victors brought to light in 2007 by the team of the Thespiai Survey (Schachter and Marchand 2012: 28–29 no. 4). A comprehensive study of this festival, with new conclusions about its chronology and organization, has now been offered by Schachter (Schachter 2010–2011). Epigraphic documents have fed a series of further studies on Boeotian festivals: Manieri 2006 (on the reshaping and restoration of festivals by Sulla); Camia 2011 and SEG LVI 506 (both on financial aspects); SEG LIX 462 (an overview of Boeotian festivals); SEG LVIII 433 (on the honorary decree for Epaminondas of Akraiphia and restoration of the Ptoia); Fossey 2014: 105–16 (on foreigners participating in Boeotian festivals). The festivals of the Trophonia and Basileia at Lebadeia are analysed in detail by Denis Knoepfler on the basis of unpublished notes taken by Louis Robert (Knoepfler 2010 = SEG LVIII 439). Their history and chronology are discussed in detail on the basis of epigraphical testimonies, as well as their relation to the Boeotian koinon (see below).

Another dynamic area of research in the field of Boeotian studies remains, of course, the **Boeotian League**, to which epigraphy contributes greatly, as Nikolaos Papazarkadas' freshly-published proceedings of the symposium organized at Berkeley in 2011 exemplifies in a masterly way: *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia. New Finds, New Prospects* (Papazarkadas 2014a). This will no doubt become a fundamental source for Boeotian epigraphy. In section 1 ('Boeotian history: new interpretations') four contributions enrich our knowledge of the confederacy from the sixth century BC down to the Late Hellenistic period, with papers on ethnic identity (Beck 2014; on this topic, see also Larson 2007), common polity (Mackil 2014; see also Mackil 2013) and the expansion towards Euboea (Knoepfler 2014). The study by Christel Müller on the post-146 BC *koinon* (Müller 2014) reaches the conclusion that the Boeotian League was revived only late in the first century BC and not around 80–70 BC, as recently defended by Knoepfler (2010). This paper complements Müller's earlier research on the districts of the Hellenistic confederacy, which has led her to demonstrate, *inter alia*, the dominant role of Thebes in the early second century BC

(Müller 2011). Finally, a forthcoming book from Cambridge University Press on federalism in Antiquity will offer – among many other things – a long-awaited synthesis on the *koinon* with a chapter by Hans Beck and Angela Ganter entitled 'Boeotia and the Boeotian Leagues' (Beck and Funke 2015; for a detailed synopsis, see *Teiresias* 44.1 (2014) no. 441.0.1).

Our knowledge of **institutions** has also been noticeably augmented. For example, the Boeotian dossier of the *paradosis* between magistrates has been tackled by Pierre Fröhlich (Fröhlich 2011), while Christel Müller examines the procedures behind the publication of decrees in Boeotia between *ca*. 250 BC and the first century BC (*SEG* LV 551). Concerning **military institutions**, besides the third-century ephebic inscription from Tanagra mentioned above, *SEG* LVII 431–35 and 437–38 are worth mentioning as they provide the texts of seven previously unpublished military catalogues from Chaironeia dating from the mid third century to the early second century BC found in excavations carried out in 1904 by George Soteriadis in the Early Byzantine basilica of Agia Paraskevi. As for Thespiai, a generously illustrated article by Yannis Kalliontzis discusses a series of ephebic inscriptions (Kalliontzis 2010–2013), which includes on page 317 the edition of a new fragment belonging to *IG* VII 2445 (first century AD). These new catalogues also greatly enrich the onomastic repertoire of Boeotia.

The excavations conducted by Soteriadis also brought to light five new **proxeny decrees** from Chaironeia – *SEG* LVII 429 (for two Aetolians), 430, 436, 439 (for a man from Phokis) and 440 (for men from Pheneos) – all dating to 250–200 BC. A mid second-century proxeny decree from Koroneia for the Ephesian artist Zotion son of Zotion, originally published in 1927, has been given new life in the light of recent scholarship on *agones* and performers (*SEG* LVII 443). John Fossey has recently produced a revised and augmented version of his 1994 study on Boeotian decrees of *proxenia* (Fossey 2014: chapter 1) and a convenient catalogue of Boeotian proxeny decrees – city and federal (Fossey 2014: chapter 4). The decrees of Haliartos are also discussed (Fossey 2014: chapter 2). A forthcoming book by William Mack will offer further reflections on Boeotian proxenies (Mack 2015).

Six manumission records from Chaironeia inscribed on an altar and originally published by Laurence Darmezin (SEG XLIX 506–11) were revisited in 2008 by Ernst Meyer (SEG LVIII 436 II–VII), who also provides, for the first time, the text of the dedication to Asklepios naturally omitted from Darmezin's study which is focused on the manumissions (SEG LVIII 436 I). The same inscribed altar is discussed again by Fossey and Darmezin (Fossey 2014: chapter 9), who provide different readings, and by Claire Grenet, who discusses in detail the whole series of Hellenistic manumissions from Boeotia and, in particular, those from Chaironeia (Grenet 2014). Grenet reappraises the chronology of the whole dossier. She strongly defends the view that at Chaironeia and Orchomenos the synhedrion replaced the boule in manumission acts after 167 BC and that the mention of the synhedrion offers a secure terminus post quem for dating slave dedications. The evolution in the formulae of the manumissions is accompanied by other changes, such as the disappearance of private witnesses. According to Grenet, this alteration in procedure reflects the need for Boeotian cities, after the dissolution of the confederacy in 171 and after the end of the Third Macedonian War, to recast some laws which had disappeared along with the koinon.

Inscriptions recently discovered by the team of the Thespiai Survey expand our knowledge of various **institutions of Thespiai**. *Pentekostologoi* – tax-farmers who collected a tax of 2% usually levied as an import/export duty – are now attested for the first time in Boeotia on a monument dating from the first half or the middle of the fourth century BC, which may well have been a herm erected by the *pentekostologoi* at the end of their term of service. A second-century BC dedication to the polis records a group of *hagnistai*; this is the second attestation of the term besides Hesychios *s.v.* ὑδρανός. *Hagnistai* were probably involved in processes of purification by water and perhaps acted in collaboration with the city's *gynaikonomoi*. Finally, an inscription on an Early Imperial official measure in clay (perhaps a kotyle) leaves no doubt that it was custom-made for an *agoranomos* (see, respectively, Schachter and Marchand 2012: 278–80 no. 1, 284–87 no. 3, 295–99 no. 6).

Scholarship on the period of the **Theban hegemony** will benefit from the publication of two new federal proxeny decrees. Of the first – found in rescue excavations on the Theban Cadmeia in the 1980s – only the upper part remains, and only the last few letters of the ethnic of the brothers granted proxeny

are preserved $(-v\theta i\omega \zeta)$, leaving open the question of their origin, perhaps Corinth or Olynthos (SEG LVIII 447). The second is a marble stele of unknown provenance now kept at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts which may well be related to the Boeotian shipbuilding programme of the years 365–363 BC (SEG LV 564bis, with text; see also SEG LVIII 482). It is remarkably decorated with two relief panels: one illustrating a warship and, above it, another with Polydeukes, Kastor and Athana (i.e. Athena) Alea, topped by a triangular pediment containing a relief of Herakles strangling snakes. Underneath, below an invocation to the Dioskouroi and Athana Alea, are preserved seven damaged lines of a proxeny decree of the *koinon* for a Laconian, Timeas son of Cheirikrates.

Several newly-discovered inscribed documents throw new light on **interstate relations**. The earliest will undoubtedly feed research on relations between Boeotians and Athenians. The first is a small limestone column found by the 9th EPCA during the winter of 2001–2002 at Pyri on the periphery of Thebes. It was discovered in a cist which also contained – though in a different, perhaps undisturbed, layer – four bronze tablets dating to the late sixth or early fifth century BC (for



89. Thebes: inscribed kioniskos, late sixth to early fifth century BC.
© Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.

preliminary notes, see Matthaiou 2014; see also below for more details), and offers a fragmentary dedicatory epigram in epichoric script alluding to Eleusis and Chalcis (**Fig. 89**; **ID3024**; *SEG* LVI 521). Its first editor associated the monument with the Theban defeat at Chalcis in 506 BC at the hands of the Athenians and the subsequent liberation of Boeotian hostages, while other scholars have subsequently proposed a later date during the first Persian War (see *BE* 2011: nos 177, 302). An arbitration between Megarians, on one side, and Thebans and Eleutheraians, on the other, over a piece of land, which was probably contiguous to the territories of all parties, is recorded in one of the four bronze tablets mentioned above (Matthaiou 2014: 213–15). This late sixth-century BC document records the very first mention of χσενοδίκαι; it is also the earliest inscribed arbitration.

Study of relations with the neighbouring island of Euboea benefit from the discovery in 2006, during rescue excavations carried out just outside the southern line of the fortification wall of the Cadmeia in the vicinity of the Sanctuary of Herakles (see below), of an inscribed stone preserving the last four lines of a treaty between Thebes and Histiaia (Aravantinos and Papazarkadas 2012). The text dates to the beginning of the fourth century BC and offers the first epigraphic attestation of the word $h\alpha\gamma\epsilon\mu\nu\nu$ (dialect form) used to describe Theban military leadership. It may well be related to the events of 377/6 BC when a group of Thebans seized Histiaia, then under Spartan control.

No study on the reconstruction of Thebes after 315 BC following Cassander's impulse will omit a new fragment belonging to *Syll*.³ 337, which records contributions towards the rebuilding of the Boeotian city (Buraselis 2014: 160, fig. 1). The new fragment, found on the Cadmeia probably around 1992, reveals a series of donors in the nominative, with patronymic and ethnic, and a sum of money. This new list complements well the already known fragment which consists mostly of donations by cities and Hellenistic rulers. Foreigners in the newly-published fragment include two Cypriots from Soloi and Kition, and, if the restorations suggested for some ethnics are correct, perhaps also some Macedonians.

Scholarship on several Boeotian **sanctuaries** will benefit from new studies and discoveries. A comprehensive study of the sacred landscape of the Sanctuary of the Muses at Thespiai was offered in 2012 by Betsey Robinson, who takes into consideration epigraphical material in addition to literary, topographical and archaeological data. The texts of five inscriptions dating to the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC from the Leibethrian Cave at Koroneia are now recorded in *SEG* LIX 474 (see also *SEG* LVIII 438). Two sanctuaries of Herakles in Boeotia have yielded new epigraphical material. At Tanagra, a deposit of inscribed sherds and vases dating from the late sixth to the late fourth century BC was (re)published in 2007 with abundant illustrations (*SEG* LVII 476). The most exciting discoveries, however, come from an excavation



90. Thebes, Herakleion: bronze tablet, first half of the fifth century BC. © Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.

carried out in 2004–2005 by the 9th EPCA southeast of the Cadmeia (**ID3019**). Iconographical and epigraphical data leave no doubt that the Herakleion of Thebes has finally been discovered in the region of the Elektran Gates. The inscriptions – on vases, metal and stone – from this sanctuary will no doubt generate abundant scholarship. A selection of the inscriptions has just been published in a richly-illustrated article (Aravantinos 2014), including 70 vase inscriptions consisting mostly of dedications to Herakles (Aravantinos 2014: 158–96; see also *SEG* LVIII 449). Three inscriptions on metal are also discussed (Aravantinos 2014: 196–206). One of them, a small bronze plaque, broken to the left with two holes on the right and dated to the first half of the fifth century BC,

offers the earliest attestation of a boiotarch (**Fig. 90**; Aravantinos 2014: 199–202; see also *SEG* LIX 498). A bronze kantharos with an Archaic dedication to Apollo Hismenios, whose sanctuary was nearby, was also found in the same excavation (Aravantinos 2014: 202–04; see also *SEG* LIX 500). In an appendix, Vassileios Aravantinos also publishes a fragmentary sixth-century inscription found in Thebes 2001 but now lost (Aravantinos 2014: 206–07); this was probably a dedication to Apollo Ismenios.

Among additional scholarship on **cults**, see the following: on the cult of Apollo Genetas and Artemis Eileithia at Thespiai, see Schachter and Marchand 2012: 280–84 no. 2; on Egyptian Gods, see *SEG* LVII 423; on *Menogenia* at Koroneia, see Kalliontzis and Aravantinos 2012: 1031–32 no. 2; on Samothracian gods at Thebes, see **ID 3096**; on Tritopatreis at Thebes, see Kalliontzis and Papazarkadas 2013; on Tlepolemos in the vicinity of Aulis, see Schachter 2014; on Tyche at Lebadeia, see *SEG* LVI 516; on Zeus Homoloichos at Hyettos, see Kalliontzis and Aravantinos 2012: 1032–33 no. 3; on Zeus Soter at Thebes, see *SEG* LVI 547.

Several new inscribed **epigrams** have been brought to light. A limestone statue base found at Akraiphia offers not only a metrical dedication (elegiac distich) of the statue of a Theban general (Pelopidas?) to Zeus Saotas, but also a new signature of the sculptor Lysippus (SEG LVI 551). It is, however, our corpus of early inscribed epigrams – from the sixth and fifth centuries BC – that has grown most (see also previous section). Two of them are engraved on columns: SEG LVI 521 (mentioned above) and Papazarkadas 2014b: 233–47 (see previously SEG LIX 501). The latter is one of the most exciting recent Greek epigraphic finds (Fig. 91). It consists of a limestone column that was found in March 2005, which is inscribed with eight lines in epichoric script, compatible with a date in the late sixth or early fifth century BC, and eight very damaged lines in Ionic script that were probably inscribed in the early or mid fourth century BC, with some overlaps. The epigram consists of four couplets of dactylic hexameters and pentameters. A careful analysis of the text of the epigram by Papazarkadas reveals that the monument is associated with the shield that the Lydian King Croesus dedicated to Amphiaraos, as reported by Herodotus (1.52). The shield was stolen and, with the help of the oracle of the Theban Apollo Ismenios, it was recovered by the supervisor of the shrine of Apollo, who set up the monument to commemorate the miraculous event.



 Thebes: inscribed epigram on a kioniskos mentioning Croesus' shield, late sixth to early fifth century BC. © Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.

An epigram for war-dead was unearthed in 2001 during excavations carried out by the 9th EPCA along the Thebes-Mouriki road (for excerpts from the text, see *SEG* LIX 502; see now Papazarkadas 2014b: 222–33). The four-line epigram was engraved first in epichoric letters in the late sixth or early fifth century BC, and below again in the fourth century BC in Ionic script (or at least with Ionic elements). The text alludes to funeral games, and may be associated with Thebans soldiers who fell in battle during the Persian Wars or possibly at a later date in the fifth century.

A new reconstruction of the monument for Eugnotos of Akraiphia based on the archaeological autopsy of the orthostate slabs forming its base (after *ca.* 291 BC), along with a critical edition of the epigram with alternative readings and a translation in English, is offered by John Ma (*SEG* LV 553).

The Imperial elegiac couplet *IThesp* 271 by the female poet Herennia Procula (*ca.* AD 70–90?), which was probably composed for one of the copies of Praxiteles' Eros, feeds a study on female receptions of the statue of Eros by Kathryn Gutzwiller, who also provides an English translation of the text with a detailed literary analysis (*SEG* LIV 523). Finally, Boeotian Hellenistic funerary epigrams are now conveniently gathered in Cairon 2009; a convenient concordance for the 21 epigrams catalogued in that volume can be found in *SEG* LIX 461bis.

Besides Lysippus' signature and SEG LVII 482, mentioned above, signatures of sculptors have been brought to light. Excavations north of the Ismenion at Thebes have uncovered a Late Hellenistic statue base bearing the partial signature of the artist [-]κράτους ἐπόησε (Fig. 92; ID 962; SEG LVI 544). Knoepfler proposes to [Θοινίας? Τεισι]κράτους identifies the artist with a member of the family of Lysippus' pupil Teisikrates of Sikyon, whose grandson and son – active at Thebes in the middle of the third century BC – were both called Thoinias (BE 2010: no. 299; see SEG LIX 506).



92. Thebes: signature of a sculptor (family of Teisikrates of Sikyon?), Late Hellenistic. © Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.

As for **associations**, a new association organized around an otherwise unknown P. Cornelius Vetranus has appeared at Thespiai, with a statue erected by *synthytai* in the first or second century AD to honour their eponymous *euergetes* (*SEG* LIII 475). A fourth-century BC list of names in the epichoric script arranged in two columns, with, on the left, seven male names, and, on the right, six female names, could perhaps be one of the earliest inscriptions linked with the associative phenomenon in Boeotia (Kalliontzis and Aravantinos 2012: 1030–31). The inscriptions pertaining to religious associations in Boeotia are now conveniently gathered in two books: Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011; Ascough *et al.* 2012. The latter is accompanied by a website where the texts of the inscriptions can be found: www.philipharland.com/grecoroman-associations.

A new trophy by Sulla discovered in 2004 adds to the dossier of the **epigraphy of war** in Boeotia (**ID3052**; *SEG* LVIII 428; *SEG* LIX 483). Another monument traditionally related to Sulla's victories (*SEG* XLI 448) is reappraised by Kalliontzis (2014). In the same article, Kalliontzis also discusses a casualty list 'ἐν Ὀλύνθωι' from Plataia found by Nikolaos Pappadakis in 1924, but never properly published. A detailed list of monuments pertaining to the memory of war in Boeotia is provided in an appendix (Kalliontzis 2014: 346–67).

Land leases and sales at Thespiai and Thisbe are investigated by Isabelle Pernin on the basis of epigraphic documentation (Pernin 2004; 2014). A newly-discovered fragmentary opisthographic bronze tablet (late sixth or early fifth century BC) records further land leases or sales in the territory of Thebes. A board of πρόραρχοι (= φρούραρχοι) and new measures for the size of land (στᾶτις οr στατίς), hεμιστατίδιον and hαυλά, are mentioned (Matthaiou 2014: 215–19).

Two new **Imperial milestones** from the region of Copais dating from the reign of Trajan have recently been made available (Kalliontzis 2010–2013: 310–11 nos 1, 2). Both were reused in the fourth century AD to honour emperors.

Unsurprisingly, the category of inscriptions that has been most enriched is that of **funerary inscriptions**, which, among other things, have considerably increased the **onomastic repertoire** of Boeotia. It would be impossible to list them all, and, therefore, only a selection is offered here. Forty two funerary inscriptions kept at the museums of Chaironeia and Thebes – most of them *inedita* – were published in 2009 (*SEG* LVIII 430). The texts recorded in *SEG* LVIII 435 (Alalkomenai), 437 (Haliartos), 441–43 (Lebadeia), 451–71 (Thebes), 473–80 (Thespiai) and 484–89 (unknown provenance) offer several so far unattested anthroponyms, such as Σύναυλος (*SEG* LVIII 437), Κριβόνδας (*SEG* LVIII 442), Άγεμονίνα (*SEG* LVIII 473), Εὐγειτόνδας (*SEG* LVIII 475), Λαμπρονίκα (*SEG* LVIII 477) and Μεγατίμα (*SEG* LVIII 478). Fossey also publishes some new epitaphs (Fossey 2014: nos 22, 24, 25, 30, 45, 48, 79). Further new epitaphs are presented below grouped according to find-place



93. Thebes: tombstone for Aristomenes, third century BC. © Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.



 Thebes: palmette funerary stele for Kleonymos, 150– 100 BC. © Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.

At Thebes, recent excavations by the 9th EPCA have uncovered the following: SEG LVI 530 (**ID962**); SEG LVI 531-43 (Figs 93, 94; all reused in Hellenistic tombs); SEG LIX 504 and 505, revealing two new personal names, Βαλτέρα and Πέλλαρος (SEG LIX 504 1-2). Eight limestone stelae with painted Doric friezes are discussed in detail by Margherita Bonanno-Arvantinos in SEG LVI 523–29 (Fig. 95); for further new monuments from three different cemeteries in Thebes, see Bonanno-Aravantinos 2014. Excavations led by Angeliki Andreiomenou at Tanagra in the 1970s and 1980s brought to light 23 epitaphs which were published in 2007 (SEG LVII 453–75). They reveal two new personal names – $\Delta \iota \circ \chi \circ \circ \circ \circ$ (SEG LVII 546) and Τιμοκκώ (SEG LVII 465) – as well as a new ethnic – Άριβανδεύς (SEG LVII 467) - which is likely to reveal a so far unattested city in Lycia, Aribanda. A Hellenistic tombstone reveals a new word in the Greek language designating a profession, πλόκιστρα, which might well correspond to a hairdresser (Marchand 2011). Roman funerary stelae with anthemion, including IG VII 1610–11, are analysed in detail by Elena Vlachogianni (2003–2009), while Bonanno-Aravantinos (SEG LIX 488) conveniently gathers together and discusses in detail (with illustrations) Roman tombstones for those who bore religious functions (all previously published: IG VII 1518, 1581, 1603/1604, 1621, 1636). For Plataia, see SEG LIX 486–87; for Chaironeia, see SEG LVI 510 (Fig. 96); for Eutresis, see SEG LIX 473; for Kreusis, see SEG LIX 475–80; for Ellopia, see SEG LVI 513; and, finally, for Thespiai, see SEG LVI 550.



95. Thebes: painted stuccoed funerary stele for Daphnis, late third century BC. © Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.



96. Chaironeia: funerary stele with anthemion for Eudama and Homoloichos, 200–150 BC. © Ministry of Culture and Sport: 9th EPCA.

Bibliography

Aravantinos, V. (2014) 'The inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes: an overview', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 149–210

Aravantinos, V. and Papazarkadas, N. (2012) 'hαγεμονία: a new treaty from Classical Thebes', Chiron 42, 239–54

Ascough, R.S., Harland, P.A. and Kloppenborg, J.S. (2012) Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook (Waco)

Beck, H. (2014) 'Ethnic identity and integration in Boeotia: the evidence of the inscriptions (6th and 5th centuries BC)', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 19-44

Beck, H. and Funke, P. (eds) (2015) Federalism in Greek Antiquity (Cambridge)

Bonanno-Aravantinos, M. (2014) 'New inscribed funerary monuments from Thebes', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 254-310

Buraselis, K. (2014) 'Contributions to rebuilding Thebes: the old and a new fragment of IG VII 2419 \approx Sylloge³ 337', Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 188, 159–70

Cairon, E. (2009) Les épitaphes métriques hellénistiques du Péloponnèse à la Thessalie (Budapest)

Camia, F. (2011) 'Spending on the agones: the financing of festival in the cities of Roman Greece', Tyche 20,41-76

Fossey, J. (2014) Epigraphica Boeotica II. Further Studies on Boiotian Inscriptions (Leiden)

Fröhlich, P. (2011) 'La paradosis entre magistrats dans les cités grecques. Le dossier béotien', in N. Badoud (ed.), Philologos Dionysios. Mélanges offerts au professeur Denis Knoepfler (Geneva) 183-229

Grenet, C. (2014) 'Manumission in Hellenistic Boeotia: new considerations on the chronology of the inscriptions', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 395–442

Kalliontzis, Y. (2010–2013) 'Επιγραφές Βοιωτίας', Horos 22–25, 309–26

-(2014) 'Digging in storerooms for inscriptions: an unpublished casualty list from Plataia in the Museum of Thebes and the memory of war in Boiotia', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 332-68

- Kalliontzis, Y. and Aravantinos, V. (2012) 'Μουσεία Θηβών και Χαιρωνείας: Η σύνταξη καταλόγου των επιγραφών', in A. Mazarakis-Ainan (ed.), Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 3. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 12.3-15.3.2009. ΙΙ. Στερεά Ελλάδα (Volos) 1029–38
- Kalliontzis, Y. and Papazarkadas, N. (2013) 'Tritopatreis in Boeotia', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 184, 165–71
- Kloppenborg, J.S. and Ascough, R.S. (2011) *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary: Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace* (Berlin and New York)
- Knoepfler, D. (2010) 'Louis Robert en sa forge: ébauche d'un mémoire resté inédit sur l'histoire controversée de deux concours grecs, les *Trophônia* et les *Basileia* à Lébadée', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1421–62
- (2014) 'EXΘΟΝΔΕ ΤΑΣ ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑΣ: the expansion of the Boeotian *koinon* towards central Euboia in the early third century BC', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 68–94
- Larson, S. (2007) Tales of Epic Ancestry: Boiotian Collective Identity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods (Stuttgart)
- Mack, W. (2015) Proxeny and Polis. Institutional Networks in the Ancient Greek World (Oxford)
- Mackil, E. (2013) Creating a Common Polity. Religion, Economy and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon (Berkeley)
- (2014) 'Creating a common polity in Boeotia', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 45–67
- Manieri, A. (2006) 'Agoni musicali in Beozia: gare di « epinici » nel I sec. a.C.', in M. Vetta and C. Catenacci (eds), I luoghi e la poesia nella Grecia antica: atti del convegno: Università « G. d'Annunzio » di Chieti-Pescara, 20–22 aprile 2004 (Alessandria) 345–58
- (2009) Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica. 1. Beozia (Pisa and Rome)
- Marchand, F. (2011) 'A new profession in a funerary inscription from Tanagra', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 178, 207–09
- (2013) 'The Statilii Tauri and the cult of the Theos Tauros at Thespiai', *Journal of Ancient History* 1.2, 145–69
- Matthaiou, A. (2014) 'Four bronze tablets from Thebes: preliminary notes', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 211–22 Müller, C. (2011) 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΕΛΩΝ. Quelques réflexions autour des districts de la Confédération béotienne à l'époque hellénistique', in N. Badoud (ed.), *Philologos Dionysios. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Denis Knoepfler* (Geneva) 261–82
- (2014) 'A *koinon* after 146? Reflections on the political and institutional situation of Boeotia in the Late Hellenistic period', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 119–46
- Papazarkadas, N. (ed.) (2014a) *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia: New Finds, New Prospects* (Leiden) (2014b) 'Two new epigrams from Thebes', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 222–51
- Pernin, I. (2004) 'Les baux de Thespies: essai d'analyse économique', in C. Chandezon and C. Hamdoune (eds), Les hommes et la terre dans la Méditerranée gréco-romaine. Colloque international de Montpellier et Loupian (21–23 mars 2002) (Pallas 64) (Toulouse) 221–32
- (2014) 'Land administration and property law in the proconsular edict from Thisbe (*Syll*.³ 884)', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 443–59
- Robinson, B.A. (2012) 'Mount Helikon and the Valley of the Muses: the production of a sacred space', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 25, 227–58
- Schachter, A. (2010–2011) 'The Mouseia of Thespiai: organization and development', *Rudiae* 22–23, 31–61 (2014) 'Tlepolemos in Boeotia', in Papazarkadas 2014a, 313–31
- Schachter, A. and Marchand, F. (2012) 'Fresh light on the institutions and religious life of Thespiai: six new inscriptions from the Thespiai Survey', in P. Martzavou and N. Papazarkadas (eds), *New Documents and New Perspectives. Epigraphical Approaches to the Study of the Postclassical Polis (Fourth Century BC–Second Century AD)* (Oxford) 277–99
- Vlachogianni, Ε. (2003–2009) 'Δύο «ανθεμωτές» επιτύμβιες στήλες ρωμαϊκών αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων από την Τανάγρα', *ADelt* 58–64 *Meletes*, 391–410