

5 | Contested Memories

Remembering the Atheno-Boiotian Relations at Panhellenic and Local Spaces

Examine only how we acted after the departure of the Mede and the recovery of the constitution; when the Athenians attacked the rest of Hellas and endeavoured to subjugate our country, of the greater part of which faction had already made them masters. Did we not fight and conquer at Koroneia and liberate Boiotia, and do we not now actively contribute to the liberation of the rest, providing horses to the cause and a force unequalled by that of any other polis in the *koinon*?

—Thuc. 3.62.5

[T]hey (the ephebes) went to the Amphiareion and asked about the sanctuary's history from the start of its control by the demos, sacrificed and continued to march through the *chora* that same day.

—IG II² 1006 ll. 70–2

How do these neighbours recall their past interactions? The examples above demonstrate the malleability of social memory. The Theban speakers during the Plataian trial (427) present a concerted effort by the *koinon* at the Battle of Koroneia (446), which actually involved only a band of exiles (Chapter 2.4). The example of the ephebes shows how sanctuaries acted as mirrors for neighbourly interaction. These young men visited the Amphiareion in search of a past that was related to them by the priests, the dedications, and inscriptions gathered throughout the temple's history. In this chapter, both the 'spoken word' and the arenas for commemoration, such as civic and sacred spaces, will be analysed to uncover what they reveal about the neighbourly relations.

The neighbourly past was commemorated at three 'levels': Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi, local sanctuaries like the Theban Herakleion and, finally, contested sanctuaries, like the Oropian Amphiareion (see Figure 5.1). This threefold approach has the added advantage that the intended audiences of the monuments, orations and other forms of commemorations at these sites are relatively similar, as opposed to a disparate picture of varying topographies, audiences and historical considerations. This relative homogeneity illuminates the differences between

commemorating in different venues and can help detect common denominators in these processes. Seminal tropes of the Atheno-Boiotian relations such as their behaviour in the Persian Wars will be interwoven into the descriptions of the commemorative practices at the various sites. That means that accusations of medism, for instance, will be viewed differently at Panhellenic sites than at Athens or local venues.

In some cases their collaborative efforts ended in defeats, making it less likely they wished to preserve that memory. In others, the evidence does not refer to the neighbourly relations.¹ What is important to keep in mind, especially with regard to the Athenian side, is the agency and impetus behind inscribing monuments. Different memorial cultures co-existed within the polis, preventing a monopoly on what constituted the fine lines of history and memory from forming. The moment an individual in the Assembly moved to have an inscription made meant that an individual memory or view could become part of a collectivised memory, both negatively or positively.² The impetus for memorialisation was therefore not always an initially broadly shared view. The memory that these monuments reflected was constantly negotiated and changed, through destruction, erasure or other means. Only a snippet of all the decrees moved or accepted in the Assembly have survived, either in literary sources or on stone. The ones that survived on stone add another layer of analysis, since these decrees or treaties were deemed important enough to be immortalised and given a prominent place at ‘cosmopolitan spaces’ such as the Akropolis or the Agora, as Peter Liddel describes.³

Another caveat concerning the memorial structures is that the Boiotians did not achieve their victories over the Athenians when they were at the apogee of their power in the mid-fourth century. This obliquely influences the observations on memorial culture in this chapter. A discernible change in the Boiotian impact on the Amphiareion during their zenith is noticeable, demonstrating that the preference for the local was a mainstay and not a result of limited influence or power.

¹ E.g., the Corinthian and Boiotian Wars. There was a possible Athenian victory monument at Delphi and Athens, but these refer to Naxos (375), a naval victory without Boiotian participation. Another example is Chabrias’ statue in the Athenian Agora. This statue was linked to Naxos, rather than exploits with the Boiotians, even if he was depicted as a crouching hoplite in reference to the fight against the Spartans: Buckler 1972. Another case without context is the possible state burial for Boiotians in Athens: Arrington 2010: 514–15; Schilardi 1980. But this relies on interpreting two fifth-century Boiotian *kantharoi* as indicating a state funeral for foreigners and remains too conjectural to offer plausible interpretations.

² Low 2020; Rhodes 2018. ³ Liddel 2020: II 65–6; Matuszewski 2019: 48–62.



Figure 5.1 Places of dedication except Olympia.

5.1 Commemorations for Panhellenic Audiences

The Panhellenic sanctuaries were the ideal platform to disseminate messages across the Greek world. Through buildings, statues or other offerings to the gods, these sanctuaries became loci of intensive competition between the Greek poleis. This form of peer polity interaction meant most of the Greek world could view or engage with the offerings on display.⁴ Zeus' sanctuary at Olympia and Apollo's temple at Delphi witnessed a flurry of offerings from the eighth century BCE until the end of Antiquity.⁵ One would expect sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia and, in a lesser manner, those at Isthmia and Nemea would be teeming with dedications related to the Atheno-Boiotian conflicts of the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries. Delphi's position in Central Greece, in particular, renders it an appealing option.

In reality, however, there is a remarkable dearth of evidence. This absence could be a result of survival, but the sites at Delphi and Olympia are well excavated. The reason for the lack of any significant visible influence on the dedicatory landscape of these sites should therefore be found

⁴ Scott 2010. ⁵ Morgan 1990.

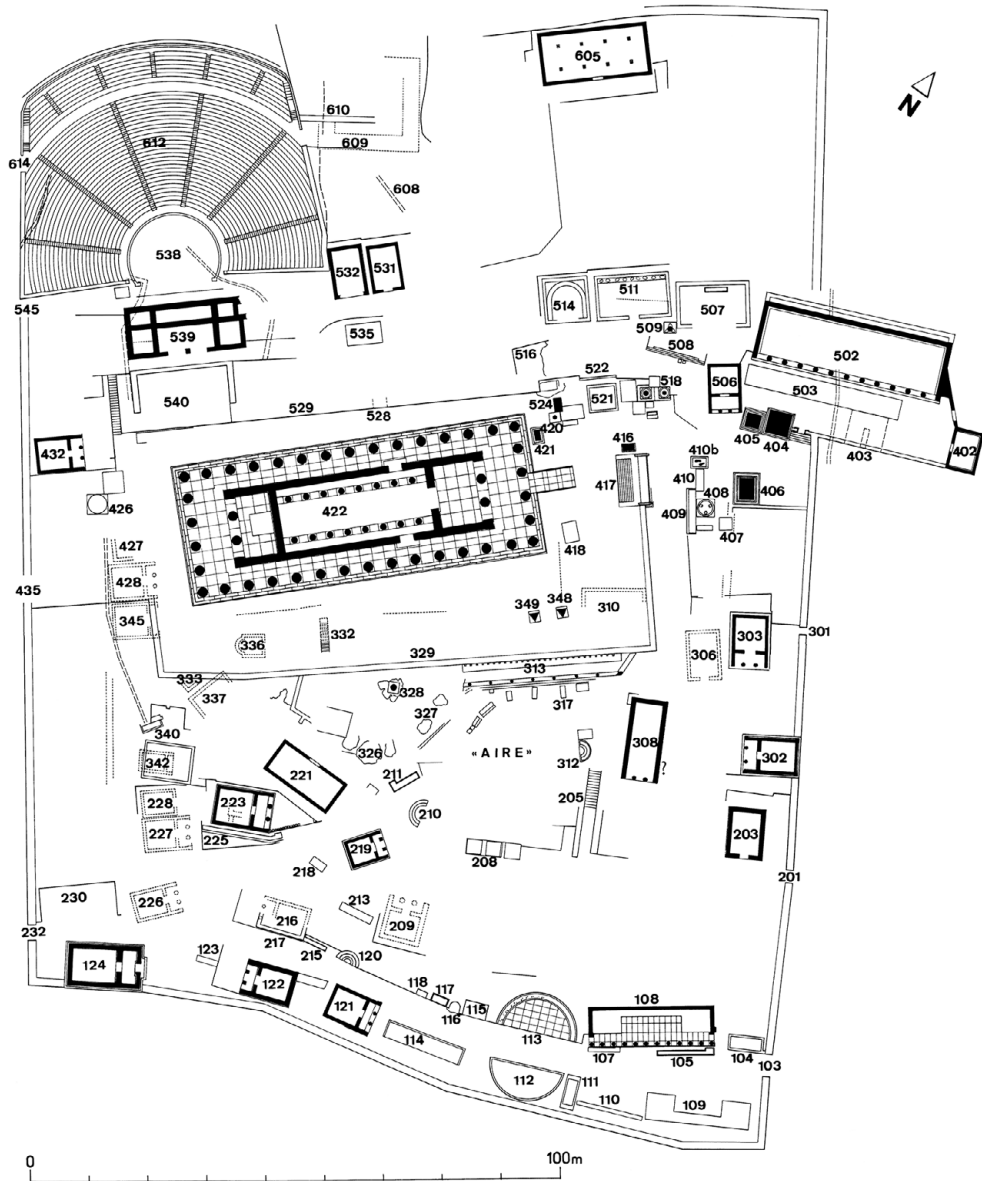


Figure 5.2 Map of the Sanctuary at Delphi (after Bommelaer 1991). 103: Southeast Entrance; 109: Aegospotami monument; 110: Marathon Statue Group; 112: Base of the Seven against Thebes and Epigonoï; 124: Theban treasury; 223 and 225: Athenian treasury; 226: 'Archaic' Treasury of the Boiotians; 232: Southwestern Entrance; 313: Athenian portico; 326: Base of the Boiotians; 407: Base of Serpent Column; 422: Apollo temple.

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elsewhere. My explanation is that indications of neighbourly rivalry on a Panhellenic stage were the result of their involvement in wider conflicts that involved other participants like the Spartans. These other combatants were mostly responsible for using Panhellenic sanctuaries to disperse the message of victory and their leading role within it.

That does not exculpate or exclude the participation of Athenians and Boiotians in these ‘allied dedications’. What it does reveal is that the Panhellenic platform was preferred only in cases involving other parties.⁶ These dedications are all related to the expression of hegemonic ambitions by poleis in Greece, starting with the Spartans after the Persian Wars and ending with the Boiotians in the mid-fourth century.⁷ What unites these dedications is their challenging nature: whenever a monument was dedicated to a victorious alliance, particularly at Delphi, it aimed to counter earlier dedications by the previous hegemon promulgating their Panhellenic credentials (see Figure 5.2). Another feature of these dedications is the frequent omission of defeated hegemons or other parties, making direct interactions with the defeated less obvious than in localised memorial landscapes. Only after the Third Sacred War (457–446) did the names of the defeated find their way onto the inscriptions accompanying the dedications at Panhellenic shrines. Finally, these dedications inevitably flow forth from the Persian Wars and the prestige attached to it. These set the tone for future dedications and therefore form the start for a diachronic investigation of hegemonial contests at the Panhellenic shrines.

5.1.1 *The Serpent Column at Delphi and the Zeus Statue at Olympia*

The first examples are the dedications made by the victorious Greek poleis after the Persian Wars in 480/79: the Serpent Column at Delphi and the Zeus statue at Olympia.⁸ These dedications celebrated warding off the invading Persian army and proudly proclaimed the role of the

⁶ The Athenian treasury at Delphi is omitted because the scholarly consensus dates the treasury’s construction after Marathon and links it to that battle: Amandry 1998; Scott 2010: 75–81. Others date the treasury to the late sixth century as a monument dedicated to the victory over the Boiotians and Chalkidians: Funke 2001: 8–10; Hering 2015: 83–4; Jung 2006: 101–3; Partida 2000a: 52. Schröder 2019: 58–62, partially following Rausch 1999: 131, dates the treasury to the late sixth century, but views it as a monument to the new Kleisthenic reforms. Another example are the shields dedicated by Asopichios after Leuktra: Chapter 5.1.3.

⁷ Philip’s conspicuous displays at Olympia and Delphi may fit that tradition: Scott 2010.

⁸ There are numerous dedications at Delphi relating to the Persian invasion of 479, but these reflect an epichoric view of the conflict and were not made by this study’s protagonists. Similarly, NIO 5 does not commemorate the Persian Wars: Chapter 2.3.

victors.⁹ In light of the common tropes surrounding the recollections of the event, such behaviour would be unsurprising. The memory of the Greek victory over the Persians ensconced itself in the annals of Hellenic history and formed a reference point for the inhabitants of those poleis that had resisted the invaders. History was less kind to the Greeks caught on the wrong side of the divide, the medizers. Their reputation was tarnished in the eyes of their fellows because of their treacherous behaviour. One way of promulgating this view was through the trophies and monuments set up by the victors at Delphi, Olympia and, on a lesser scale, Isthmia or Nemea. Framing the conflict with the Persians as a seminal event and as a unified effort by patriotic Greeks determined to resist subjugation and a loss of freedom helped to delineate between them and the medizers, traitors to the Greek cause. The Boiotians – sans the Plataians and Thespians – and Athenians ended the war fighting on different sides of the conflict and, accordingly, found themselves on opposing sides of the commemorative spectrum (Chapter 2.3). Where better to advertise this divide than at the famous stomping ground of Apollo in Central Greece and frequented by Athenians, Boiotians and the whole Greek world alike?

This interpretation of the memory of the Persian Wars and its recollection, however, does not align with reality. The picture was substantially more complex. The Greek world was not divided into good and bad, and the story of many medizing poleis was more complicated than the sources allow for. Nor is it possible to speak of a common commemoration of these wars. David Yates demonstrated that the epichoric outlook of this seminal conflict dominated the Classical period, instead of a notion of a unified war.¹⁰ That notion became dominant only during the fourth century when Panhellenic ideology permeated accounts of the Persian Wars.¹¹ Philip and Alexander, the Macedonian kings, were the first sponsors of a homogenised version. Even after they established their rule over Greece, their version was repeatedly challenged. Poleis were more focused on propagating *their* version of the war, rather than believing in a shared Greek struggle against the Persians.¹² This has repercussions for how we should view the Serpent

⁹ The current chronology of the dedications views the Zeus statue as the first dedication in 477, followed by the Serpent Column several months later: Gauer 1968: 97; Stephenson 2016: 90.

¹⁰ Yates 2019. There is one possible example of a unified dedication at Delphi – the Salamis Apollo – but its reconstruction and the restoration of the accompanying inscription is problematic: Proietti 2021: 123–215. An example of the epichoric outlook is Megara: Beck 2009: 61–8; Yates 2018. Barringer 2021: 114–15 still views the Serpent Column as ‘Panhellenic’.

¹¹ Marincola 2007; 2010.

¹² AP 6.344 for the example of the Thespians returning from Alexander’s campaign.

Column and Zeus Statue. These were not the proud proclamations of a Hellenic League wishing to emphasise the divide among the Greeks, nor do they present a homogenised picture of their defeat of the Persians.

The history of the Serpent Column shows that quite clearly (see Figure 5.3). The initial inscription on the tripod base, according to sources such as Thucydides, *did* emphasise a communal effort and stressed the role of the Spartan king Pausanias as the leader of an alliance of ‘Greeks’ or ‘Hellenes’ defeating the Persians: ‘When the leader of the Greeks defeated the Persians / He, Pausanias, raised this monument, so Phoebus might be praised.’¹³

Following Pausanias’ fall from grace, however, Thucydides mentions that the dedication’s inscription was immediately (εὐθὺς) altered. Instead of reading the *Hellenes*, the tripod now listed the poleis that had contributed to the defence of Greece, headed by the engraved statement that it was dedicated by ‘those who fought the war’ (το[ῖδε τὸν] πόλεμον [ἐ]πολ[έ]μεον).¹⁴ This enumeration aimed to demonstrate the contributions of *each* polis, thereby stressing the epichoric outlook of the monument. This was the result of pressure partially from the other poleis wishing to emphasise *their* role and partially from the Spartans wishing to cover up Pausanias’ hubristic claim after his fall from grace.¹⁵

The list of victorious poleis emphasises defeating the Persians and the role of the Greek poleis that participated in that glorious victory. An almost similar list was partnered with the Zeus Statue at Olympia, as shown in Table 5.1.

Considering only a small fraction of Greek poleis committed to the defence of Greece, the lack of references to the medizing Greeks is striking. Not even the Persians are mentioned according to this restoration. The emphasis is on those poleis that had contributed to winning the war and the glory they shared. Some notable poleis are missing from the list, making their role in the war instantly recognisable as dubious at best. Argos, for instance, is nowhere to be found, a result of both their neutrality

¹³ Thuc 1.132.2–3; Yates 2019: 31–44.

¹⁴ The Persians are conventionally mentioned in dedications from the Persian Wars: Gauer 1968: 134; Steinhart 1997: 60–1. Perhaps the Serpent Column’s first line should read ‘τὸν Μέδδον πόλεμον ἐπολέμεον’. Naming practices shed a light on the date of the Athenian Stoa at Delphi. Its celebratory inscription (ML 25) lists equipment taken from ‘the enemies’ (τὸν πολε[μίον]) but the Persians go unmentioned. Amandry 1978; Baitinger 2011: 19; Gauer 1968: 102 regard the stoa as a Persian War memorial. But Walsh 1986 downdated the stoa to post-458.

¹⁵ This fits with the Spartan desire to frame the Battle of Plataia as *their* victory: Schachter 2016a: 227–35. Plutarch relates the Plataians prosecuted the Spartans to change the epigram: Plut. *de Hdt. Mal.* 873c.

Table 5.1 Comparison of inscribed names on Serpent Column (Delphi) and Zeus Statue (Olympia)

Serpent Column (ML 27): Translation		Zeus Statue (Paus. 5.23) Translation	
το[ἰδε τὸν]	From those who fought the war	Λακεδαιμόνιοι	Lacedaimonians
πόλεμον [ἐ]-	Lacedaimonians	Ἀθηναῖοι	Athenians
πολ[έ]μεον	Athenians	Κορίνθιοί	Corinthians
Λακεδ[αιμόνιοι]	Corinthians	Σικυώνιοι	Sicyonians
Ἀθαναῖο[ι]	Tegeans	Αἰγινῆται	Aeginetans
Κορίνθιοι	Sicyonians	Μεγαρεῖς	Megarians
Τεγεᾶ[ται]	Aeginetans	Ἐπιδαύριοι	Epidaurians
Σικυόν[ιοι]	Megarians	Τεγεᾶται	Tegeans
Αἰγινᾶται	Epidaurians	Ὀρχομένιοι	Orchomenians
Μεγαρεῖς	Orchomenians	Φλιοῦντα	Phliusians
Ἐπιδαύριοι	Phliusians	Τροίζηνα	Troizenians
Ἐρχομένιοι	Troizenians	Ἑρμιόνα	Hermionians
Φλειάσιοι	Hermionians	Τιρύνθιοι	Tirynians
Τροζάνιοι	Tirynians	Πλαταιεῖς	Plataians
Ἑρμιοῖες	Plataians	Μυκλήνας	Mycenaens
Τιρύνθιοι	Thespians	Κεῖοι	Keans
Πλαταιεῖς	Mycenaens	Μήλιοι	Melians
Θεσπιεῖς	Keans	Ἀμβρακιῶται	Ambracians
Μυκανεῖς	Melians	Τήνιοι	Tenian
Κεῖοι	Tenians	Λεπρεᾶται	Lepraians
Μάλιοι	Naxians	Νάξιοι	Naxians
Τένιοι	Eretrians	Κύθνιοι	Cynthians
Νάξιοι	Chalkidians	Στυραεῖς	Styraians
Ἑρετριεῖς	Styraians	Ἥλειοι	Elians
Χαλκιδεῖς	Elians	Ποτιδαῖοι	Potidaians
Στυραεῖς	Potidaea	Ἀνακτόριοι	Anactorians
Φαλεῖοι	Leucas	Χαλκιδεῖς	Chalkidians
Ποτειδαῖοι	Anactorium		
Λευκάδιοι	Cynthos		
Φανακτοριεῖς	Siphnos		
Κύθνιοι	Ambracia		
Σίφνιοι	Lepreum		
Ἀμπρακιῶται			
Λεπρεᾶται.			

during the war and their inveterate rivalry with the Spartans. Others who did initially engage the Persians, such as the Thebans, are omitted.¹⁶ Such omissions implicitly reveal those who had collaborated with the Persians.

¹⁶ Yates 2019: 124–5, 257.



Figure 5.3 Replica of Serpent Column at Delphi. (Source: Didier Laroche, CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons)

Yet they were not explicitly mentioned, nor were the medizers openly condemned.¹⁷ Worse, there are some, like the Thespians, who are lacking from the Olympian list altogether. Since their polis was burned to the ground for its resistance to the Persians, its omission is perhaps the most noticeable.¹⁸ Earlier commentators perceived the difference between the lists as sloppiness from a copyist or negligence by Pausanias.¹⁹ But he is generally regarded as a careful and honest reporter with regard to

¹⁷ Steinbock 2013: 108 for a more stringent condemnation. ¹⁸ Hdt. 8.50.

¹⁹ *ML* p. 59; Jung 2006: 256.

monuments, especially when it comes to the Persian Wars. Moreover, the Greeks' attention to detail in honorary inscriptions is well known.²⁰ The answer to this conundrum probably lies elsewhere.

First, these dedications were not representative for the Persian Wars *in toto*, as argued by Michael Jung, Russell Meiggs and David Lewis.²¹ Instead, they expressed the victories at Plataia and Salamis.²² These grandiose gestures represented only a small portion of the conflict, not coincidentally those in which the Spartans played a prominent role. These monuments reflect *their* perspective, not a communal Greek one. The list is not a genuine reflection of all the participating poleis, nor a proper summary of all those poleis that joined the Hellenic forces at Salamis or Plataia.²³ That discrepancy is best reflected in the omission of poleis like Croton or Seriphos that did contribute to both battles, but were left off the list.²⁴

Similarly, the snub towards Thespias and its later inclusion suggests some sort of lobbying to be written onto the list at Delphi occurred; arguably, the Serpent Column presented something of a 'finalised list'. The Thespians possibly received backing from the Athenians, as the latter were instrumental in rebuilding the city after the war and appear to have supported Thespian efforts to establish their Panhellenic credentials on other occasions as well (Chapters 2.3, 3.2.1). That inclusion mattered, even in later times, becomes clear from the Plataian Debate in 427, recorded by Thucydides. During their trial before a Spartan jury, the Plataian place on the Serpent Column is evoked by its inhabitants as a reflection of virtue and proof of their excellence during the Persian Wars: 'it will seem a terrible thing for the Lacedaimonians to destroy Plataia – for your fathers to inscribe the city on the tripod at Delphi for its excellence, but for you to erase its houses and all from all of Greece on account of the Thebans'.²⁵

²⁰ Habicht 1985: 28–63, 149; Hutton 2005; Schröder 2019: 281–301. That overlooks the melting of the golden tripod by the Phocians during the Third Sacred War (357–346): Paus. 10.13–19. Initially, the names were inscribed on the tripod, before being inscribed on the base (Liuzzo 2012). That could have given other poleis an opportunity to inscribe their name, in the wake of Panhellenic fervour that Philip and Alexander promoted after the Macedonian victory at Chaironeia (338).

²¹ *ML* p. 59; Jung 2006: 254.

²² Hdt. 9.81.1: 'Having brought all the loot together, they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi. From this was made and dedicated that tripod which rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent, nearest to the altar; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, from which was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus.'

²³ Yates 2019: 43–4. Many other omitted poleis presented their own version of events in competition with the Serpent Column, such as the Eretrian bronze bull: Yates 2019: 61–98.

²⁴ Hdt. 8.46.4; 47. ²⁵ Thuc. 3.57.2.

The Plataians are here speaking to the Spartans directly, but there are other clues that Spartan leadership determined places on the monuments. They replaced Pausanias' epigram on the Serpent Column. While that does not exculpate other parties from having a role in, or sharing the same view of, these events, it hints that agency behind the dedication and edits lay with the Spartans above all.

The relatively limited scope of the Persian Wars on the monuments is shown by the Tenians' inclusion, whose sole merit was the defection of one trireme during the Battle of Salamis. According to Herodotus, *that* was the reason for their inclusion on the Serpent Column.²⁶ Their contribution pales in comparison to some other members of the Hellenic League and even those notorious turncoats, the Thebans (Chapter 2.3). Apparently, the Thebans had forfeited their right to be inserted on the list after their *volte-face*, although they had provided troops for the defence of Thermopylai and provided more help to the Greek cause than some of the poleis on the Serpent Column could claim.

It is tempting to view these dedications at Olympia and Delphi as reflections of Athenian hostility to the Thebans and those Boiotians that medized. The Athenians' prominent position on the inscription, as well as the notable location of these dedications, implies this.²⁷ Yet the focus on the Battles of Salamis and Plataia contradicts this notion. These battles occurred after the Thebans' surrender to the Persians, rendering their previous help irrelevant. This explains their omission. It places the agency for this dedication with the Spartans, whose ambitions vis-à-vis the medizers differed. Sparta's allies in the Peloponnese had not medized, and its nemesis, Argos, had played a dubious role. Implicating the medizers played into their hands, but does not necessarily reflect the Athenians' disposition. Most of their recently joined allies in the Delian League had medized. Advertising a hostile attitude towards medizing on a Panhellenic stage seemed inadvisable or counterproductive (Chapters 2.3, 3.2.1).

That does not mean the Thebans and other medizers were openly forgiven for their sins, but there was little emphasis on the role of other Greeks in the fifth-century Athenian commemorative practices at Athens and the Panhellenic sanctuaries. That reluctance was not necessarily institutionalised to spare medizers for political expedience, but also was the by-

²⁶ Hdt. 8.82.1.

²⁷ *ATL* vol. II: 96–100 claims the sequence on the list aligns with the internal structure of the Hellenic League. Steinhart 1997: 66–9 believes information for the sequence was provided by the Delphic Amphictyony. Neither theory has received much support: Yates 2019: 42.

product of commemorative practices. The Athenians focused their efforts on the commemoration of the Battle of Marathon, for which they could bask in the glory by themselves without having to share it with a welter of other poleis, particularly, the Spartans.²⁸ The effort to monopolise leadership vis-à-vis the Spartans became stronger after 462/1 when the Thessalians and Argives took the place of the Spartans as allies.²⁹ Both had a troubled role during the Persian Wars. The desire to emphasise the Battle of Marathon where no other Greeks besides the Plataians were present might therefore have had a political reason. Moving away from a focus on the wars of 480/79 and focusing on Marathon killed two birds with one stone: it allowed the Athenians to plausibly claim prominence in the leadership against the Persians, while conveniently leaving out the troublesome relationship some Greeks had with the memory of the later Persian invasion.

In most of these recollections, the Plataians' share in the Battle of Marathon was forgotten, in both Athens and the Panhellenic shrines. It was more a matter of convenient amnesia than spite towards the Plataians.³⁰ Similarly, the omission of the medizers in these recollections of the Battle of Marathon were an expedient result of the focus on a battle in which there were *no* mainland medizers. Athenian efforts at Panhellenic shrines were aimed at promulgating their righteous place as the leader of the Greek fight against the Persians, rather than stigmatising the Thebans and others.³¹

The surviving monuments commemorating the events of 480/79, or 490 for the Athenians, understated the notion of medism. In addition, the Spartans were the agents behind these subtly implicating monuments, not the Athenians. These monuments thus cannot be viewed as Athenian condemnations of the Thebans or other medizing Boiotian poleis. Does that exculpate the Athenians from involvement or from holding similar stigmatising views as the Spartans? As far as our sources can indicate, it

²⁸ Yates 2019: 119–22. The Athenians erected two monuments to Marathon at Delphi: a treasury and adjacent group and a statue group. Additional expressions were found in Attica, as in the Stoa Poikile and at the battle site, where they replaced the original trophy with a marble column: Shear 2016: 13–14; *SEG* 55.14 for a possible re-inscription of the trophy after the original dedication of the 460s. For other examples: Castriota 1992: 76. The Thebans may have tied in with the commemoration of Marathon: Chapter 3.5.

²⁹ Thuc. 1.102.4. This played itself out along the Sacred Way, with the Argives dedicating images of the Seven against Thebes next to the Athenian Marathon monument: Yates 2019: 122–5.

³⁰ The Plataians were blessed by the Athenians publicly at the celebration of Great Panathenaea: Hdt. 6.111.

³¹ The case of the Golden Shields taken from Plataia will be treated in Chapter 5.1.3.

does not. Ultimately, the Spartans as leaders of the Hellenic League provided the impetus for the dedications remembering the Battles of Plataia and Salamis.³² Moreover, the monuments' implication of the medizers was subtle enough that it was not obviously related to any Atheno-Boiotian hostilities.³³

Interestingly, the next seventy-five years witnessed little activity of a neighbourly nature at the Panhellenic shrines, despite the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi being transformed into what Michael Scott termed 'a living memorial to Athenian supremacy'.³⁴ The period in question witnessed enough hostility, even resulting in Athenian domination of their northern neighbours, yet that enmity was not translated into dedications at the Panhellenic sanctuaries. Only with the birth of a conflict that tore the Greek world apart in various factions, the Peloponnesian War, is the Atheno-Boiotian conflict attested in a Panhellenic sanctuary. It was the echoes of the Persian Wars and Athenian claims to supremacy that were contested by the victorious Spartans and their Boiotian allies.

5.1.2 Defeating the New Persians: The Aegospotami Monument

The Persian Wars were an era-defining event in Greek history, mostly because of their effects on the self-perception of many poleis, their history and that of their neighbours. The echoes of the Persian Wars rang loudest during the Peloponnesian War, which pitted large swaths of the Greek world against each other. These echoes reverberated the strongest in the ideological battleground. The Athenians had used the notion of Greek freedom (*eleutheria*) as a building block for the empire that emerged out

³² It is interesting the Athenians chose to dedicate a permanent trophy for the victory at Salamis on Salamis itself, similar to their monumentalising of the original trophy at Marathon: Shear 2016: 13–14.

³³ The Thebans appear to have bounced back relatively quickly after the Persian Wars (Schachter 2016a: 69–70). There were individual offerings from Boiotians at Delphi in this period. These were located near a possible sixth-century Boiotian treasury and probably aimed at Boiotian visitors. One was Epididalos' dedication: Ἐπιδιδάλως τόπιό[λλον] Βοιότιος : ἔχς Ἐρχ[ομενῶ] [ἡ]υπατόδορος : Ἀρισστ[ογείτων] ἔποεσάταν : Θεβαίο. (Epididalos a Boiotian (to Apollo?) from Orchomenos; Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton made this, from Thebes). *FD III 1.574* dates it to 475–450 but see *SEG 48.596*. The date relies on letter forms and the sculptors' *floruit*: Daumas 1992: 259–62. Another Theban dedication (ἀνέθεκε : Θεβαῖος, *FD III 1: 499*) Amandry 1987: 121–4 dates to c. 500. The sixth-century 'Boiotian' treasury is located across from the later Theban treasury: *FD III 1 219–20*; Bommelaer 1991: 128; Partida 2000a: 19; 2000b. The older structure's Boiotian origin is doubted, as is its function: van Effenterre 1997; Jacquemin 1999: 145; Neer 2001: 276.

³⁴ Scott 2010: 106.

of the vestiges of the Hellenic League. Yet the Spartans and their allies now flipped the narrative by employing that slogan against the Athenians. The idea of *eleutheria* became a unifying war cry for those Greeks who felt oppressed by the Athenians. In anti-Athenian eyes, they had overstepped the old threshold between Greek and barbarian and had started to act as the *new Persians* by enslaving their fellow Greeks, a hubristic act made worse by the fact that the Athenians *were* Greeks.³⁵

The defeat of these oppressors was a cause for celebration in various places across Greece. In these celebrations the notion of *eleutheria* repeatedly found its way into the discourse. Xenophon writes about the end of the conflict, with a heavy dose of irony:³⁶ ‘the Peloponnesians with great enthusiasm began to tear down the walls [of Athens] to the music of flute-girls, thinking that day was the beginning of freedom for Greece’.³⁷

The reference to *eleutheria* reflects the attitude of the victors and their allies. In a similar fashion, the victors officially disbanded the Delian League by granting the Delians their independence. Their independence effectively ended the Athenians’ foundation for empire that had centred around Delos as the religious heart of an Ionian alliance forged to fight for Greek *eleutheria*.³⁸

The Aegospotami monument at Delphi should be viewed in this context. The Battle of Aegospotami in 405 decided the Peloponnesian War in the Spartans’ favour.³⁹ To commemorate the victory at Aegospotami, a magnificent monument was set up at Delphi at the left of the Sacred Way, right next to the Athenians’ Marathon monument near the entrance.⁴⁰ This was a deliberate placement. The Marathon monument aimed to promulgate Athens’ claim to hegemony and was the first monument one encountered entering the Sacred Way. In front of the monument there were thirteen figures: Apollo, Athena, the general Miltiades and ten Athenian heroes.⁴¹ The Aegospotami memorial now blocked that view and outdid its competitor.⁴² Its placement was aimed at ‘correcting’ the Athenian claim by

³⁵ Thuc. 1.139.3; Dimitriev 2011: 16–25; Raaflaub 2004: 193–202. This call for *eleutheria* against the Athenians returns in an example of local commemoration, the Battle of Delion (Chapter 5.2.6).

³⁶ Krentz 1989: 189. ³⁷ Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.23; Plut. *Lys.* 15.

³⁸ RO 3; Smarczyk 1990; Constantokopoulou 2007: 70. ³⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.1; Diod. 13.106.1.

⁴⁰ Paus. 10.9.7–10; OR 192. Pausanias’ assertions about the monument’s location were initially doubted, but see Habicht 1985: 71–5.

⁴¹ Paus. 10.10.1. For the Athenian claim: Ioakimidou 1997: 18–27; Miller 1997: 32; Zahrnt 2010: 119–20.

⁴² Bommelaer 1981: 16; Hölscher 1974: 77–9; Ioakimidou 1997: 283; Krumeich 1997: 101.

diverting attention away from it at a prominent location within the Delphic sanctuary.

The Aegospotami memorial overshadowed its illustrious Athenian counterpart in every aspect. Thanks to its dimensions (18 metres long by 4.5 metres wide), it towered over its competitor. The possible addition of a stoa across from the statues would have amplified the competition between the Spartan monument and the Athenian Marathon monument.⁴³ Its sculptural programme established a visual link between Aegospotami and the naval victory over the Persians at Salamis.⁴⁴ In terms of statues, the thirty-eight to forty in the Aegospotami monument outdid those of the Marathon counterpart, which numbered only thirteen. The winning admiral, Lysander, was flanked by more gods and heroes than his Athenian opposite Miltiades, emphasising the divine support the Spartans received. Lysander was accompanied by numerous statues of his allies, emphasising the broadness of the anti-Athenian alliance, like that of the Serpent Column.⁴⁵ Whatever the Athenians had done for the freedom of the Greeks, the Spartans boasted to have done more by defeating the contemporary threat to Greek *eleutheria*.

What brings this monument into the scope of the current investigation is the inclusion of a Boiotian admiral among Lysander's partners.⁴⁶ Some Boiotians thus intended to propagate their contribution to the Athenians' downfall, perhaps similar to how poleis vied to be included on the Serpent Column. The focus on one general, rather than a communal dedication, should not necessarily detract from that. Jean-François Bommelaer believes the placement of the Boiotian admiral is significant.⁴⁷ The monument starts with the Boiotian statue sharing the limelight with a Spartan, and finishes with two statues of Spartans, emphasising the importance of Athens' two most powerful enemies.

An interesting distinction between the Boiotian statue and the others is in the ethnics attached to the names. Whereas the other admirals are identified as members of a single polis, Erianthes or Arianthios, the

⁴³ Vatin 1981 doubts the stoa's date and connection to Lysander.

⁴⁴ There were subtle references in the Aegospotami monument to the dedications made by the Aeginetans at Delphi to commemorate their role at the Battle of Salamis, such as the Dioskourai and stars: Yates 2019: 130.

⁴⁵ Nafissi 2004: 74 compares Lysander's willingness to integrate allies in the victory, as opposed to Pausanias' unacceptable epigram. Bommelaer 1991: 108–10 provides a reconstruction of the monument.

⁴⁶ Paus. 10.9.9. ⁴⁷ Bommelaer 1971: 54.

Boiotian admiral, is referenced as being ‘of the Boiotians’.⁴⁸ Was this admiral perceived as a representative of the entire *koinon*, by omitting his city ethnic, or did he follow established conventions? Did eschewing polis identities in this case reflect an increased centralisation of the *koinon*? At Delphi, there was a habit of Boiotians presenting themselves in this way to the outside world, but there were exceptions.⁴⁹ It seems the reference to ‘the Boiotians’ reflects dedicatory conventions, rather than a representation of the *koinon*’s involvement in the monument.

Perhaps we can push the argument further. The Spartans were behind the dedication and oversaw possible additions, just as they did with the Serpent Column. Pausanias’ account supports Spartan agency. He mentions that the monument was paid for by the spoils from the battle of Aegospotami. Plutarch adjusts that view, stating that some of the individual pieces were dedicated by Lysander personally.⁵⁰ A combination of their accounts is acceptable and provides an insight into the process behind this impressive dedication. Most of the monuments and statues would then have been built by the Spartans, with some of the statues paid for by Lysander and individual admirals.⁵¹ Lysander was after all a prolific dedicator at Delphi and other sites such as Delos and the Athenian Akropolis.⁵² The inclusion of the Boiotian admiral may then have been a personal investment to stress his own contributions in a battle against the Athenians, the new Persians, who wreaked so much havoc on Boiotia during the war. The admiral was made responsible for the proposed eradication of Athens after the Peloponnesian

⁴⁸ OR 192 fr. D, l.3: [...]θιος [Λυσσι]μαχιδαο [Βοιω]τῶν. *ML* 95 add ν[αύαρχος].

⁴⁹ Schachter 2016a: 58–9 but see n. 1279. ⁵⁰ Paus. 10.9.7; Plut. *Lys.* 18.1.

⁵¹ The epigram found in Delphi emphasises Lysander as the dedicant (OR 192 fr. C.) but there is a strong possibility this entailed a later (mid-)fourth century addition: Jacquemin, Mulliez and Rougemont 2012: 51–2; Pouilloux and Roux 1963: 59. Day 2018: 90–4 views the epigram as directly responding to the Arcadian monument set up after 369. OR 192 omits the possibility of the later addition. The epigram runs as follows:

Lysander set up this statue on this monument when, victorious
 With swift ships he destroyed the power of the children of Kekrops
 Crowning Sparta, the never-sacked Akropolis of
 Greece, fatherland of fine dancing
 Ion from sea-girt Samos constructed the verse. (trans. OR 192)

The emphasis on the individual is quite un-Spartan for the fifth century. In the dedication after the Battle of Tanagra and another early classical era dedication at Olympia, the emphasis is on the collective: Paus. 5.10.4 (‘The temple has a golden shield; from Tanagra. The Spartans and their allies dedicated it’); *ML* 22 (... with a heart favourable to the Spartans); Schröder 2019: 68–70. The emphasis on the individual fits with fourth-century practices: Brown-Ferrario 2014: 234–59.

⁵² Bommelaer 1981: 1–22.

War and was part of a vehemently anti-Athenian clique in Thebes, making his personal involvement in the monument more likely.⁵³

The inclusion of a Boiotian admiral on the monument was a firm statement, meant to demonstrate to the Greek world that the victory over the Athenians was not a singular Spartan achievement. Michael Scott views Erianthes' inclusion as part of a Boiotian 'renaissance' in Apollo's sanctuary at the end of the fifth century.⁵⁴ The *koinon's* renewed presence at the shrine constituted a deliberate attempt by the Spartans and their allies to expand their profile to reflect the new political reality: 'from a living memorial to Athenian supremacy, it had become a memorial of her defeat'.⁵⁵ There are two expressions of this change. One is a possible niche that replaced the older Boiotian treasury in the south-western corner of the sanctuary. Another is the dedication made by the Boiotians to Athena Tritogeneia, which was found east of the temple terrace, suggesting it could have been placed on the terrace, a premium location within the sanctuary.⁵⁶

While the Aegospotami monument certainly fits in the trend of contesting Athenian claims and redesigning the Delphi sanctuary as a testimony to Spartan prowess, the other examples put forward by Scott are more problematic. The dedication to Athena Tritogeneia has been re-dated to the late sixth century, excluding it from a possible burgeoning Boiotian dedicatory programme.⁵⁷ Doubts can similarly be raised over the activity in the south-western corner of the sanctuary. The older treasury was not necessarily the result of communal agency: the inscriptions were inscribed on the foundation blocks, rendering them less visible to the visitors and a less likely political statement. There are reservations about whether the building functioned as a treasury, making any possible connection dubious. Additionally, the placement of the niche dedication is uncertain, as it is unclear whether it replaced the older Boiotian building. These refutations cast doubt on the alleged competition with the Athenian treasury for the attention of the visitors, as Scott holds.⁵⁸

⁵³ Plut. *Lys.* 15; Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.19. The Thebans' disavowal is problematic. It occurred in 395, when they were trying to obtain an alliance with Athens: Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.8.

⁵⁴ Scott 2010: 106–8. ⁵⁵ Scott 2010: 107.

⁵⁶ Bommelaer 1991: no. 230, p. 128; Jacquemin 1999: no. 100; p. 652. ⁵⁷ Larson 2007b.

⁵⁸ Bommelaer 1991: 128: 'D'après les niveaux relatifs, on serait tenté de dire que le Trésor disparut avant la construction de la niche *230, mais l'étude reste à faire.' Other dedications adduced by Scott can equally be criticised since they were unrelated to Athenian defeats. The possible Megarian offering in place of their treasury is dated to either 450–400 (Bommelaer 1991: 217) or pre-325 (Jacquemin 1999: 659). Other dedications include Scott 2010: nos. 173, 181 and 184. These have varying dates (Scott 2010: 330–1) and in some cases, unknown dedicators. Therefore, I am disinclined to accept the Boiotians' dedications aimed to overshadow the Athenians.

Where does that leave the Aegospotami monument? In my opinion, it stands alone in the Boiotian commemorative landscape at Delphi. It undoubtedly celebrated the victory over the new common foe but did not form part of a deliberate Boiotian attempt to contest the Athenians throughout the Apollo sanctuary. Rather, the monument should be regarded in a similar vein to the Serpent Column, set up after the Persian Wars under Spartan aegis. The monument celebrates the breadth of the alliance that brought Athens to its knees. The Boiotian participation in the monument is restricted to one statue and could reflect personal ties and connections to Lysander, rather than the *koinon's* insistence on its inclusion.

The Aegospotami monument was erected to express a Spartan victory over a common enemy as part of an allied effort. The inclusion of the Boiotians, if the *koinon* was behind it, could have been an attempt to accrue symbolic capital from the victory. The choice for a Panhellenic sanctuary probably reflects Spartan practices of proclaiming their hegemonial position to a broader Greek audience. The lack of any local Boiotian memorials suggests the battle was deemed less important for the expression of neighbourly rivalry, in contrast to other clashes, such as the battle of Delion (Chapter 5.2.6).

5.1.3 *The Athenian Golden Shields at Delphi*

The Aegospotami monument is not the last attestation of the Atheno-Boiotian rivalry at a Panhellenic shrine. That honour belongs to the golden shields dedicated on the architraves of the new Apollo temple in Delphi in 340/39. The running thread was the competing claims of hegemony and the memory of the Persian Wars. Unlike the Serpent Column and the Aegospotami monument, however, there appear to be more caveats with these golden shields. First, these shields were ostensibly a replacement of the original dedication after the Battle of Plataia in 479.⁵⁹ On closer investigation, they were more likely a later alteration. Second, this dedication was made to recollect a past victory, rather than a recent one. This contrasts sharply with the examples above.

In 340/39 the orator Aeschines travelled to Delphi to act as the Athenian representative in the Delphic Amphictyony. The situation was precarious. Tensions were running high between members of the Amphictyony over

⁵⁹ Bommelaer and Bommelaer 1983.

various issues, including the use of sacred lands (Chapter 2.7).⁶⁰ The Athenians certainly did not help matters by decorating the architraves of the new Apollo temple with golden shields. The objects themselves were hardly a matter of dispute. Decorating the refurbished temple after the calamitous earthquake in 373/2 was an unassuming action, as various monuments were re-erected in the wake of this natural disaster.⁶¹ It was the accompanying inscription that caused the issue: ‘The Athenians took this from the Persians and Thebans (Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων) when they were fighting against the Hellenes.’⁶² According to Aeschines, these shields and the inscription were copies of the originals dedicated after the Battle of Plataia in 479 at the Apollo sanctuary. He mentions that the Boiotians were unimpressed by this ghost from wars past. Instead, they convinced the Amphictyony, through their Amphissan allies, to fine the Athenians fifty talents for the dedication of these shields since the new temple had not been properly consecrated yet.⁶³

The Athenians arguably attempted to tarnish the Theban reputation by openly rekindling the memory of their medism, in contrast to earlier dedications commemorating the Persian Wars that only implied their role (Chapters 5.1.1, 5.2.3). This inscription conveniently leaves out any other medizers and instead juxtaposes the Thebans with the Persians. David Yates argues that the placement of the Thebans alongside the Persians in the dedicatory inscription implies the Thebans were not Greeks but barbarians, like the vanquished enemies from which these shields were taken.⁶⁴ The onus for medism, therefore, was fully placed on the Thebans’ shoulders, as if other poleis had not taken part on the Persians’ side. This fits with the consistency bias Bernd Steinbock describes: poleis could be singled out or omitted in the recollection of the Athenians if that suited the situation.⁶⁵

Aeschines presents the inscription as part of the original dedication from the 470s. Some scholars accept this testimony *prima facie*, believing the dedication remained unchanged since the Persian Wars or at least reflects that era’s sentiment.⁶⁶ Yet an overview of (Athenian) memorials

⁶⁰ Aeschin. 3.116.

⁶¹ Partida 2017. For the funding of the rebuilding of the sanctuary and the funds acquired for it: RO 45.

⁶² Aeschin. 3.116. ⁶³ Bommelaer and Bommelaer 1983. ⁶⁴ Yates 2013: 337.

⁶⁵ Steinbock 2013: 127–42 offers a careful explanation why the Athenians omitted the Plataians and Thespians without negative intent.

⁶⁶ Barringer 2021: 145; Croissant 1996: 133; Habicht 2006: 109; Roux 1978: 30; Scott 2010: 132–3, contra Yates 2019.

commemorating the Persian Wars reveals the omission therein of medizing Greeks, making it unlikely the Thebans would have been singled out originally. An uncritical acceptance of Aeschines' testimony also ignores that the temple of Apollo was destroyed by an earthquake in 373. The time-lapse of some thirty years left ample time to change or alter the dedication and the message it was supposed to convey.⁶⁷ The language employed by Aeschines implies a *new* dedication, rather than a re-dedication. He uses ἀνέθεμεν' (dedicate) rather than the expected ἀποκατάστασις' (restore) as a later source does concerning the re-dedication of these shields.⁶⁸

This adjustment of dedications and reinvention of the Persian Wars meshes with contemporary practices. In the mid-fourth century the Athenians reinvented their relationships with other poleis through forging documents related to the Persian Wars.⁶⁹ This was not necessarily done with foul intent. These documents offer insights into the public memory of the fourth century and how they acted as fourth-century perceptions of the fifth-century past. This probably rings truer in the case of orators and thus Aeschines and the shields. The most famous example of this practice is the Themistocles decree, but one could add the Oath of Plataia from Acharnai (Chapter 5.2.8).⁷⁰ It fits with a Persian Wars-obsessed Athenian populace, which reached its peak around the mid-fourth century.⁷¹

This development coincided with a time when Atheno-Boiotian relations reached a nadir, which allowed Theban medism to occupy a central place in Athenian discourse. The renewed Spartan-Athenian alliance against the Boiotians in 369 fomented this attitude. The rekindling of the 'old alliance' against a familiar foe created the ideal breeding ground for a more antagonistic attitude (Chapters 2.6, 3.1.3). At this time, the Thebans were framed as the prototypical traitor.⁷² It was in their nature to betray justice and freedom, and to nestle themselves under the wings of a barbarian protector intent on enslaving Greece.

The alliance between the *koinon* and Philip accelerated this process. This conformed to the Athenian image of treacherous Thebans, as Philip became the new barbarian nemesis in the 350s, replacing the King of

⁶⁷ Mackil 2013: 85. ⁶⁸ Plut. *Demetr.* 13.2; Bommelaer and Bommelaer 1983.

⁶⁹ Liddel 2020: II 221–3.

⁷⁰ The Themistocles decree was initially thought to be the original copy of the decree moved by him on the eve of the Battle of Salamis in 480, but soon after it was seen as a later adaptation, fitted to purpose. Rather than describe the original decree, it was an attempt to strengthen Athenian-Troizenian ties in the mid-fourth century, if not later. Its current form dates to the early third century: *ML* 23; Davies 1994; Habicht 1961. A consensus continues to be elusive.

⁷¹ Hornblower 2010: 308–10. ⁷² Steinbock 2013: 143–50.

Persia. Demosthenes was particularly keen to envision the Macedonians as the new Persians.⁷³ It was in the aftermath of the Third Sacred War (357–346) against combined Boiotian and Macedonian forces that the Athenians decided to rededicate the golden shields from Plataia.⁷⁴

It came at a time when the *koinon* reached the peak of their Panhellenic prestige. They had just defended the Delphic Amphictyony against the sacrilegious Phocian trespassers, who were Athenian allies. The victory granted them the credentials to boost their profile as leaders of Greece, despite Philip's larger role in finishing the war (Chapters 2.6, 2.7).⁷⁵ The victory was celebrated in a lavish way at Delphi by dedicating a large statue of Herakles in a unique location along the Sacred Way that was destined to attract attention.⁷⁶ The accompanying inscription unrepentantly described the occasion for its dedication: 'The Boiotians dedicated this after the war which they fought against those who had defiled the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios.'⁷⁷ The main perpetrators in this war were the Phocians, who were supported by the Athenians. The Boiotians probably inferred the Athenians through association with the defilers of the Apollo sanctuary, without explicitly mentioning them. The Athenians wished to override this narrative at the Apollo sanctuary by dedicating the golden shields. They were tarnished only through association but made no qualms about associating the Thebans with the enemy par excellence, the Persians, at a time when they celebrated their victory over other Greeks obtained with the help of another 'barbarian'.

The Athenians demonstrated awareness of the right space and time for the dedication. By affronting the Boiotians at the Apollo temple in Delphi, the Athenians not only aimed to contradict their neighbours at a Panhellenic shrine, but at the same time reminded the Greek audience of their 'dubious' credentials at a place where various poleis strived for

⁷³ Dem. 9.31; 3.23–4; 3.65 for the Macedonians as the new Persians. On the ambiguity of the Macedonians' Greekness and its exploitation by the Athenians: Asirvatham 2009: 235–55; Squillace 2004.

⁷⁴ Liddel 2020: II 124–5 for the choice for enduring statements to be inscribed, a category the golden shields and the interstate repercussions belonged to.

⁷⁵ The Amphictyony honoured Philip with a statue at Delphi: Ath. 13. 591b.

⁷⁶ Paus. 10.3.6; Jacquemin 1999: 185 n. 225; Scott 2010: 127, no. 225. For the placement of the statue and its interactions with surrounding statues (mostly the Phocian counter-reaction and a Thessalian-Macedonian dedication from the late sixth century): Franchi 2016: 254–67.

⁷⁷ Trans. A. Schachter. *FD* III.3.77 [Βοιωτοὶ ἀνέθιαν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ὃν ἔπο]λέμισαν | πὸτ τὼς τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Ἀπολλωνος τῷ Πουθίῳ ἀσ]βεῖσαντας. The place of the dedication was perhaps the Base des Béotiens: Roesch 1984a: 447–62. Scott 2016: 114 views the statue of Herakles and this dedication as two separate monuments, which would amplify the Boiotian presence at the sanctuary.

attention in the dedicatory landscape. Delphi was where the Boiotians articulated their dominant position in the Greek world through the erection of their treasury and other dedications to commemorate the victory at Leuktra (371).⁷⁸ Perhaps the shields were dedicated shortly after the Third Sacred War, and the Athenians aimed to strike at the Boiotians' ideological message of competent leadership. Alternatively, the shields could have been dedicated shortly before the indictment in spring 339 to form part of an Athenian attempt to advertise their credentials to lead a grand alliance against a new barbarian invasion, while at the same time downplaying the Boiotians' standing among the Greeks. In both cases, the Athenians fully utilised the tainted past of the Boiotians to their advantage by reflecting upon their collaborations with a foreign invader on the grand stage of Greek interaction, Delphi, which had been the locus for advertising the localised and epichoric view of the Persian Wars.

The commemoration of the Persian Wars could be moulded (within limits) according to political expediency. This is demonstrated by the changes in emphasis in Athenian dedicatory practices vis-à-vis the Boiotians and their role during the Persian Wars. The return of a new barbarian threat in the form of Philip, a Boiotian ally, provided a perfect opportunity for the Athenians to boost their credentials as the leaders of Greece, just when the Boiotians were busy carving out their own legacy as the *prostates* of Greek *eleutheria*. The desire to wage this propagandistic war at Delphi had as much to do with the increased importance of the right Panhellenist credentials as it had with contemporary events, considering the long, bloody war that had been fought over the Apollo sanctuary.

5.1.4 Summary of Panhellenic Sanctuaries

The examples above demonstrate some key tenets of neighbourly commemorative practices at Panhellenic shrines. These threads can be summarised as follows. First, monuments dedicated to victories over the

⁷⁸ Scott 2016. I disagree with viewing the shields of Asopichios, Epameinondas' *eromenos*, in the Athenian stoa at Delphi as related to Leuktra. If Walsh 1986 correctly dates the stoa as a victory monument of the Athenians after 458 over the Spartans and their allies, a Boiotian dedication therein would be a strong condemnation of the Athenian lack of help at Leuktra, reinforcing the victory's reputation. But other dates have been put forward. Following Ath. 13.604f the shields were dedicated in the 'stoa' (ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ). Is this the Athenian stoa? Amandry 1953: 120 n. 1 points out that Delphic or Phocian Greek is not the same as Athenian Greek. The common word for stoa in Phocian is πσστᾶς. He admits the dedication of the shields could explain Paus. 1.23.12 and his erroneous ascription of the stoa to Phormion, but that is not conclusive. Therefore it is not certain the Athenian stoa was meant.

neighbours appear uncommon. Whenever the defeat of Boiotians or Athenians is recollected in a Panhellenic sanctuary, it concerns a collective effort, with the dedication afterwards made by the allied poleis. We observe this tendency in the Zeus statue at Olympia, the Serpent Column and the Aegospotami monument at Delphi. Another noticeable feature is the omission of the vanquished foe: it is through the pictorial aspects of the dedications that the other's hegemonic claims are contested. The Aegospotami monument contests the Athenian Panhellenic credentials for leadership of the Greeks by literally overshadowing it, but it is only in the later fourth century an inscription accompanies it to emphasise the defeat of the Athenians in writing. Second, all dedications are somehow connected to the Persian Wars and the Panhellenic prestige derived from them. Participation on the 'right' side during this seminal conflict allowed the Athenians and Spartans to promulgate their leadership ambitions. It is these aspirations for leadership that are directly contested by the dedications after the Peloponnesian War or the Battle of Leuktra. Any monuments related to the Atheno-Boiotian relations at Panhellenic sanctuaries thus aimed to interact with the earlier dedicatory landscape and to promote a story that inaugurated a new dawn in Greece.

There is nevertheless an obvious lack of monuments detailing direct neighbourly relations. That discrepancy is all the more striking considering the willingness of both parties to dedicate at Panhellenic sanctuaries after defeating the Spartans. The Athenian stoa at Delphi, if John Walsh's date for the monument (after 458) is correct, would be an impressive reminder of their victory over the Spartans (and their allies).⁷⁹ Similarly, the *koinon* erected a treasury in the south-western corner of the sanctuary in Delphi to commemorate their victory over the Spartans at Leuktra for posterity.⁸⁰ These expressions of dominance could have been the result of a desire to topple the previous hegemon and their presence in Delphi by forging a lasting memory in the sanctuary. In that case, the dearth of evidence for Atheno-Boiotian relations at Panhellenic sanctuaries can be the consequence of coincidence. Yet the evidence from local and civic spaces

⁷⁹ Those allies ostensibly included the Boiotians, but they go unmentioned in the dedicatory inscription: *ML* 25: 'The Athenians dedicated the portico and the armaments and the figure heads of the ships that they seized from their enemies.' The contemporary Tegean stoa mentions the enemy (the Spartans); Vatin 1981: 455. The defeat of the Boiotians was celebrated separately by re-dedicating the *quadriga* on the Akropolis: Chapter 5.2.4.

⁸⁰ Jacquemin 1999: 145; Jacquemin and Laroche 2010; Michaud 1973; Partida 2000a: 192. That did not prohibit local celebrations of the victory, like the trophy at the battlefield (Stringer 2019; Tufano 2019b) and the inauguration of the Basileia in Lebadeia (Bonnetière 2003: 27–8).

suggests otherwise: there we find the declarations of neighbourly rivalry in its clearest form and at its highest frequency.

5.2 Home Is Where The Heart Is: Commemorations in Local Civic and Sacred Spaces

In contrast to the relative dearth of evidence from Panhellenic sanctuaries, the local civic and sacred spaces in Athens and Boiotia provide a cornucopia of neighbourly commemorative interaction. When considering the importance of fostering memorial communities and the central place occupied by the local in the Greek mindset, this preference is less surprising.⁸¹ The importance of the local flows forth from other aspects of community building. Conflict is ingrained in the stories communities tell themselves. To reinforce the common identity, it is imperative to embrace the heroic past and its stories of incredible exploits. Much of this historical memory relies on stories of war. To foster the cohesion of their communities, the Athenians and Boiotians depended on these stories of conflict that signified perseverance, and tales of struggle were more conducive to the creation of a common identity and strengthening of internal bonds than stories of peaceful co-existence.⁸² The ideal place for cementing feelings of unity was the local.

The local venues did not have to compete for the minds and hearts of the audience, as at Panhellenic sanctuaries. That did not prevent outsiders from viewing the dedicated monuments. Yet these mementos were aimed at the inner circle of the polis and its audience, not the visitors from afar.⁸³ The proximity of Athenian or Boiotian sanctuaries made them the prime loci for expressing collaboration. The message of friendship was thus framed so it appealed to the local populations. Recollections of conflict equally permeated the local. These memories were aimed at remembering vicissitudes or joyous occasions, rather than contesting claims, as at Delphi. The local was ideally suited for such purposes, allowing for 'naming and shaming' the opponents, since the goal was to foment hostility towards the other by strengthening the feeling of cohesion among the population.

⁸¹ For memorial communities: Yates 2019: 1–29. For the local in Greek thinking and discourse: Beck 2020.

⁸² The emphasis changes from community to individuals as historical agents from the fifth to the fourth century: Brown-Ferrario 2014.

⁸³ Liddel 2020: II 159–88 on the non-Athenian audiences of decrees.

Exemplifying this behaviour is the recollection of Theban or Boiotian medism in the Athenian *imaginaire*. It was continuously adapted to contemporary political needs, shifting from a subdued indifference shortly after the Persian Wars in speech and local spaces to an open condemnation in writing and commemorative practices from the fourth century onwards.⁸⁴ The condemnation of the Boiotians found its way into the historiography of the later fifth century, as seen in Herodotus' *Histories*. This disallowed complexity and created a more myopic viewing of these events.⁸⁵ Similarly, renewed hostilities made flagrant accusations towards the Thebans for their medism more acceptable. Therefore, we observe more references, both negatively or positively, in these places than in the Panhellenic sanctuaries.

In contrast to the Panhellenic dedications that aimed at contesting hegemonial claims, the local dedications aim at castigating the neighbour or recollecting a successful collaboration. The lack of hegemonic claims in these dedications and the articulation of the neighbour as a defeated or cooperative party sets the local perspective apart from the Panhellenic.⁸⁶

5.2.1 *A Friend among Peers: Alcmeonides and Hipparchos at the Ptoion*

The earliest attestation of interregional interactions in the memorial landscape comes from the temple of Apollo Ptoios in Akraiphnia. The sanctuary was frequented by visitors from all over Greece. Many left impressive *kouroi* to commemorate their visit and to display piety towards the deity.⁸⁷ The sanctuary was also known for a wealth of tripods (bases). The excavations of the sanctuary illuminated that the entry hall towards the innermost part of the shrine was flanked by numerous statues and tripods meant to impress visitors.⁸⁸ Among these offerings two dedications are of particular interest for the current investigation. They demonstrate how

⁸⁴ Steinbock 2013: 100–54. The examples he adduces for Theban medism in fifth-century Athenian social memory can all be differently interpreted: the Serpent Column at Delphi, the golden shields dedicated by the Athenians and oblique references in Simonides' poems. The latter solely relies on conjecture and finds no comparison in contemporary sources. The other two examples are treated in Chapters 5.1.1, 5.1.3.

⁸⁵ Thucydides was less interested in medism: Hornblower 2010: 138, 287–322.

⁸⁶ One example is left out: Pausanias speaks of a painting in the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa in the Athenian Agora, depicting the Athenians at the Battle of Mantinea in 362. They fought the Thebans there, but Pausanias provides no further information and the Athenians aided the Spartans (Paus. 1.3.3–4).

⁸⁷ Ducat 1971; *COB* I 52–73. ⁸⁸ Papalexandrou 2008.



Figure 5.4 Dedication of Alcmeonides at the Ptoion (IG I³ 1469).
 (Courtesy Ministry of Culture and Sports. Archaeological Resources Fund.
 Archaeological Museum of Thebes; photo by author)

Boiotian sanctuaries could be deployed for expressing neighbourly relations. In these cases the impetus came from befriended aristocrats, rather than poleis, but these dedications demonstrate how friendly interactions could be on show in the second half of the sixth century before hostilities commenced (Chapters 2.1, 3.1.1).

The first example is a dedication by a member of the Alcmeonid clan, Alcmeonides, dated to the mid-sixth century (see Figure 5.4):⁸⁹

I am a fair gift for Phoibos son of Leto:
 Alcmeonides, the son of Alcmeon,
 Dedicated me after the victory of his swift mares
 Which Knopiadas, the –, drove
 When there was a festive gathering for Pallas
 at Athens (*ὅτ' ἐν Ἀθάναις Παλλ(λ)άδος πανέ[γυρις]*).
 (trans. A. Schachter)

The text was inscribed on the capital of a column on which stood an unidentified object. The occasion was a victory in the Panathenaic games. Because of the family ties of the dedicant, scholars related this dedication to disputes in Athens. The Alcmeonids either hoped to garner political support in Boiotia against the Peisistratids or used it for propagandistic

⁸⁹ IG I³ 1469. Alcmeonides dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis for perhaps a similar victory: Raubitschek 1949: no. 317.

purposes to gain prominence, but Albert Schachter has convincingly showed this was not the case.⁹⁰

The decision to dedicate at the Ptoion was motivated by the destruction of the Apollo temple in Delphi, with much of the inter-regional traffic directed towards other Apollo sanctuaries such as the one at Akraiphnia. The Ptoion in particular benefitted from that misfortune. This Boiotian sanctuary reached its apogee in Panhellenic attraction, receiving a large share of the redirected traffic from Delphi. Because of the symbolic capital of the Alcmeonid clan in Central Greece, particularly at Delphi, their desire to propagate their victories at another famous Apollo sanctuary is less surprising.⁹¹

The Ptoion was a place where visitors from all over Greece performed cultic celebrations together. Alcmeonides was no exception. His dedication was meant to demonstrate his prowess in horse-racing to his peers and advertise his fame beyond the borders of Athens. It was here, among his fellows, that Alcmeonides' glory shone brightest. The choice for Boiotia was a logical one. Cultivating good neighbourly relations was common among aristocrats.⁹² For the Alcmeonids, the situation was no different. The right relations could prove fruitful in the future, and perhaps the early contours of their interaction with Boiotian peers in the Skourta Plain can be detected here (Chapters 3.2.1, 4.1.1). The name of the charioteer, Knopiadas, may be of interest. His origins were not necessarily Boiotian, as Schachter points out, but if the name does reflect such a provenance, his inclusion on the monument demonstrates the aristocratic friendship ties between the Alcmeonids and Boiotian families.⁹³ The choice for the Apollo shrine was not just dictated by matters of convenience; the friendly relations the Alcmeonids enjoyed in the region helped to increase efforts to dedicate at the Ptoion. Alcmeonides chose a local sanctuary with Panhellenic appeal to cultivate these ties in obedience to the norms of aristocratic competition.

Whereas Alcmeonides chose to dedicate at the Ptoion partially out of necessity, the same cannot be said about the second example: a statue base dedicated by Hipparchos, one of Peisistratus' sons. Based on its lettering, the dedication is dated to circa 520–514, with the *terminus ante quem* provided by Hipparchos' death.⁹⁴ In comparison to Alcmeonides' offering, Hipparchos' dedication was lapidary: 'set up by Hipparchos son of Peisistratus'.

⁹⁰ Schachter 2016a: 151–67.

⁹¹ For connections between Delphi and the Alcmeonid clan: Anderson 2003: 29–30.

⁹² Herman 1987. ⁹³ Schachter 2016a: 152, 160.

⁹⁴ IG I³ 1470 (520–514); SEG 50.92. The name Ptoiodoros is attested in Athens (520–510): Marchand 2011.

Most scholars ascribe a political motivation to Hipparchos' dedication.⁹⁵ In their view, the dedication reflects friendly co-existence between the Peisistratids and Thebans. Therefore, Hipparchos must have made the offering before 519, when friendly relations were severed because of the Plataian-Athenian alliance. Though I also view the dedication as politically motivated, I disagree on the date (Chapter 3.1.1). If the earlier inception date of hostilities can be ignored, we can follow Jean Ducat's assessment to date the dedication to the end of Hipparchos' life, based on his comparison of the letter forms on offerings at the Ptoion.⁹⁶

If we take the venue into consideration, the contours of political motivations become clearer. At this time, the Ptoion had passed its zenith in Panhellenic popularity. Aristocratic agonistic values therefore do not sufficiently explain Hipparchos' choice. His dedication, relatively subdued in size in comparison to all the life-sized *kouroi* and other elaborate gifts to the god, made for a less imposing statement if he meant to exhibit his wealth to a larger audience. Instead, the Ptoion was chosen because of its long-standing ties to the Peisistratid family – insofar as we can push the evidence of roof tiles at an earlier phase of the sanctuary and the role of itinerant craftsmen – and the interest of the Peisistratids to promote Apollo cults competing with the Delphic sanctuary.⁹⁷ Coinciding with the sustained friendly relations between the Theban leadership and the Peisistratids was the Theban takeover of the Ptoion, transforming the sanctuary into an ideal locus for articulating a continued friendship.⁹⁸ By dedicating at the Ptoion, Hipparchos demonstrated not only this relationship, but perhaps – and this is very conjectural – also his approval of the Theban attempts to build a common polity. If the original excavator, Léon Bizard, was correct in believing a statue of the goddess Athena graced the statue base, the message of Athenian approval for Boiotian political ethnogenesis under Theban aegis could have resonated more.⁹⁹ It would have worked both ways: Athena Itonia was an important figure in Boiotian ethnogenesis, whereas the goddess could personify the Athenian interests at the same time. Shortly after Hipparchos' dedication, we find the Thebans promulgating the notion of a common identity at the Ptoion.¹⁰⁰ Representatives of other Boiotian communities visiting the shrine would

⁹⁵ Schachter 2016a: 151–67. ⁹⁶ Ducat 1973: 66: 'vers 515'.

⁹⁷ Larson 2013. For itinerant craftsmen: Hochscheid 2015: 212; Shear 2016: 9–11.

⁹⁸ Schachter 2016a: 183. ⁹⁹ Bizard 1920.

¹⁰⁰ Ganter 2013 rightly warns against over-interpreting the existing evidence for the promulgation of the Boiotian identity at the shrine.

be aware of the continued friendship between the Athenian tyrants and the Thebans and realise the southern neighbours might approve of Theban plans.

What can be plausibly said about the dedications by Alcmeonides and Hipparchos? A minimalist interpretation would hold that Athenian elites sought out Boiotian sanctuaries to forge good relations with their peers in the neighbouring region. The evidence can probably not be stretched much further. Alcmeonides' dedication was instigated by the destruction of the Delphic temple to Apollo, re-directing much of the aristocratic traffic to the Ptoion. Hipparchos' dedication reveals the continued friendship between the Peisistratids and the Thebans. It is more in line with other dedications detailing neighbourly relations at local sanctuaries, which were preferred over the Panhellenic sanctuaries in Delphi or elsewhere. In each case, the audience was the Boiotian elites and pilgrims frequenting the sanctuary, demonstrating that Athenian elites were aware of the Ptoion's allure for reaching the largest regional or local audience. If Catherine Keesling's hypothesis of the alignment of *kouroi* in the Ptoion is correct – with the statues being rearranged in the fourth century when the temple was rebuilt, similar to what occurred at the Heraion on Samos and at Didyma – the rehabilitation of archaic statues at the end of the fourth century could have led to a renewed interest in these Athenian dedications.¹⁰¹

5.2.2 *The Earliest Conflict: The Theban kioniskos and the Athenian quadriga from the Late Sixth Century*

The overthrow of the Peisistratids in Athens inaugurated a re-organisation of loyalties and relations in Central Greece. Instead of the warm ties between the leading families in Thebes and Athens, there was a new democratic regime hoping to forge a common identity throughout Attica (Chapters 2.1, 2.2). Conflict came in the wake of the political shake-up. The first attestation of hostilities in the memorial landscape was after the attack in 507/6. It is unique among most examples, since the same event can be analysed from both perspectives. Previously, our sources were Athenocentric: Herodotus' account and the *quadriga* dedicated by the Athenians on the Akropolis, financed by the ransom of the Boiotian and

¹⁰¹ Keesling 2003: 107. If the Ptoion suffered in the wake of the destruction of Thebes in 335, the restoration of these dedications would be even stronger examples of a rekindling of old ties and friendships (Chapter 2.7). For a possible destruction of the temple: Kanellopoulous and Petrakis 2018: 185.

Chalkidian prisoners. The discovery of a *kioniskos* from Thebes changed that (see Figure 5.5).¹⁰²

This *kioniskos* was kept in a cist buried at the end of the fifth century in a suburb of Thebes, Pyri. The stone is broken off and, accordingly, the inscription is incomplete:

[-----]ος φοινώας καὶ Φυλᾶς
 [-----] ἠελόντες κέλευσῖνα
 [-----]αι Χαλκίδα λυσάμενοι
 [-----]μῶδι ἀνέθειαν

... of Oinoe and Phyle
 ... having taken also Eleusis
 ... Chalkis ... having freed
 ... dedicated to ...¹⁰³

Part of the dedication's inscription has been lost, but the remaining text refers to the capture of lands in the borderlands (Chapter 4.1.1). It is uncertain whether the Athenians were mentioned in the lost fragments of the stone. They may have been, but the origins of the opponents were probably subservient to the main purpose of the dedication, such as the ritual transfer of the territory to a god.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps these areas, while contested, were not yet perceived as belonging to Athens, and their capture need not have invoked the neighbours' name.

The omission can also be the result of putting a brave face on an abysmal defeat. Yet that betrays a distinct Athenian perspective. For the Boiotians the capture of these lands meant a measure of success. The recipient of the offering has been lost, but if it concerned the ritual transfer of territory, we may surmise the intended target was either a god or the Theban demos.¹⁰⁵ The possibility of a ritual transfer of these lands is supported by the shape of the dedication. Only the base survives, but the shape of the column resembles other Boiotian dedications reflecting similar practices, where a *kioniskos* formed the base for a statuette or tripod. The prolific usage of

¹⁰² IG I³ 501A; ML 15; Hdt. 5.77–8. For the *kioniskos*: Aravantinos 2006. Figueira 2010; Krentz 2007: 738 offered later dates for the dedication, but see BE 2008 no. 236.

¹⁰³ SEG 56.521; the translation is from Berti 2010a.

¹⁰⁴ Mackil 2023: 412–14 for the ritual transfer. Aravantinos 2006: 375 presents the following conjectural restoration of line 1: [Ἀθαναίων δάμ]ος φοινώας καὶ Φυλᾶς.

¹⁰⁵ Several restorations have been offered for line 4: BE 2006.203 suggested [Dionusvsioi Kad]moi. For a criticism of this Dionysian epithet: COB I 187 n. 2; 189 n. 2. Aravantinos 2006: 376 mentions other suggestions, including [τῶι δά]μοι.

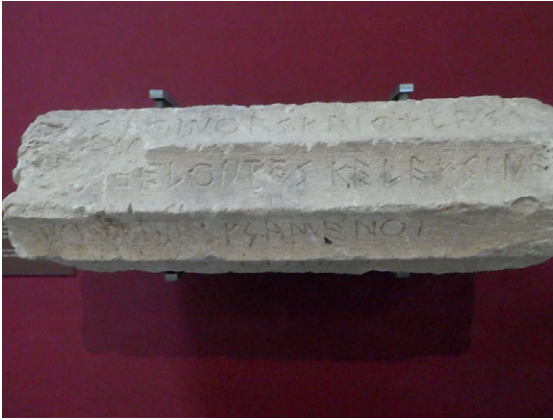


Figure 5.5 *Kioniskos* from Thebes detailing events of 507/6.
(Courtesy Ministry of Culture and Sports. Archaeological Resources Fund.
Archaeological Museum of Thebes; photo by author)

tripods in the Boiotian landscape for the articulation of territorial gains suggests the latter is more likely.¹⁰⁶

What more can be garnered from the *kioniskos*? The Boiotians or the Thebans were the likely dedicants. The ransomed prisoners demonstrating their gratitude towards their liberators is another possibility, but that makes the mention of captured territories rather irrelevant. The outcome of the quadripartite invasion warranted no grand celebrations, which is reflected in the minimal dimensions of the dedication.¹⁰⁷ The term *kioniskos* deceives the reader, however, as only part of the monumental base has survived. The actual dedication would have been substantially bigger. Unfortunately, the archaeological context provides no further clues. If the find spot was indeed near the location of the dedication, the *kioniskos* was probably erected at an athletic/military complex outside Thebes on the road to Akraiphnia, making the likelihood of foreign visitors viewing the dedication limited, thus emphasising its local focus.

This monument put a positive spin on the failed campaign by stressing the help in releasing the prisoners and the lands captured.¹⁰⁸ If it was

¹⁰⁶ Papalexandrou 2005; 2008.

¹⁰⁷ The column is 0.5702 m high, has a diameter of 0.198 m at the base level and 0.193 m at the top. The flutes around the column measure between 0.05 and 0.061 m; the letters are 0.021–0.033 m high.

¹⁰⁸ Perhaps the dedicants paid for the Chalkidian prisoners. There is a tombstone from Thisbe possibly commemorating the loss in a more private capacity: *IG VII 2247 = CEG 1.112*. The published epigram by Papazarkadas 2014: 224–32 for fallen Thebans might date to this episode, but the editor prefers a date c. 480–479.

displayed at a complex just outside Thebes, the intended audience was the inhabitants of the city and other Boiotians. This audience could have reinforced the need to emphasise the early successes of the campaign and the care taken for the prisoners. If the monument was of a more private character by the ransomed men, their message contested an Athenian narrative that viewed the campaign as a failure, by stressing early successes and demonstrating the god's good fortunes that allowed for their release.

The dedicants seem to stress the centrality of the border towns and their capture while downplaying the identity of the opponents. The places captured – except Eleusis – were in the τὰ μεθόρια whose loyalties had not been (forcibly) confirmed by the Athenians or the Boiotians. While the Athenians as an ethnic group existed at this time, we can conjecture that for the dedicants, 'the Athenians' as such were not the unified enemy of the fifth or fourth centuries. Nor did they occupy these borderlands. The common Athenian identity probably arose around this time or in the aftermath of the battle. The towns of Oinoe and Phyle existed before they officially became Athenian and were probably identified by their topographical name by the Boiotians. From their perspective, the *kioniskos* records the capture of these towns, as if it concerned a neighbourly victory, similar to dedications at Olympia that reflect the internecine rivalries in the region in decades prior.¹⁰⁹ Arguably, they viewed the new democratic regime in a similar mould to previous leadership as representing the interests of that group rather than an entire peninsula.¹¹⁰ The wars of the late sixth century were framed as a conventional conflict, a dispute over borderlands that this time ended in defeat, but did not shape views on the Athenians for the foreseeable future. Nor did it mark the start of a perpetual neighbourly struggle. Reflecting that chronic insignificance are the modest dimensions of the dedication, its inconspicuous location and its resting place, exemplified by the burial of the *kioniskos*. No exact date for its destruction is known, which prevents further speculation.

Whereas the *kioniskos* emphasises restraint through its minimal size and standardised formulaic inscription, the Athenian dedication, paid from a tithe of the ransom for the Boiotian and Chalkidian prisoners, outshone its counterpart in all facets.¹¹¹ It consisted of a life-sized bronze statue of a

¹⁰⁹ *NIO* 121; 122; 127; 128.

¹¹⁰ The political career of Cleisthenes started under the Peisistratid tyranny – he was an archon in 525/4 (*IG* I³ 1031 fr. c; Pebarthe 2005) – so viewing his leadership of Athens as a new faction taking over is possible.

¹¹¹ *Hdt.* 5.77–8; *IG* I³ 501.

quadriga, perhaps with driver, on top of a three-metre base to support the monument.¹¹² In addition, the base was adorned with an epigram commemorating the exploits of the Athenians:

[δεσμοῖ ἐν ἄχνύεντι(?) σιδερέοι ἔσβεσαν *húβ*]ριν·
 παῖδε[ς Ἀθηναίων ἐργασίην ἐμ πολέμο]
 [ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες]·
 τῶν *hίππος* δ[εκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν

In a painful bond of iron the sons of the Athenians quenched their *hybris*, having overpowered the hosts of the Boiotians and Chalkidians in deeds of war; as a tithe therefrom they dedicated this four-horse chariot to Pallas.¹¹³

The size and magnificence of the *quadriga* are a profuse testament to the Athenians' confidence. The chains on the Mycenaean walls behind the dedication amplified the message. At the time, the dedication would have stood out because of its location north of the later Propylaea and at the entrance of the Akropolis proper, where the sanctuaries were located.¹¹⁴ Any visitor to the holy rock would be confronted with a life-sized monument commemorating the Athenians' heroic exploits. The magnitude of the victory was strengthened by the traces of epic poetry in the epigram accompanying the dedication.¹¹⁵

With this dedication, the young democracy nestled the events of 507/6 into the Athenian collective memory. In the decades after, this space would be further transformed into a testimony of perseverance against foreign invasion.¹¹⁶ At the same time, the monument formed part of an extensive

¹¹² Schollmeyer 2001: 58 n. 39 mentions 6 m and is followed by Kluwe 2004: 274, but it probably rests on a misunderstanding. Stevens 1936: 505 deduces the life-size dimensions of the *quadriga* from the length of the inscription. Some scholars add a charioteer to the statue, based on the known instances of chariot dedications at Delphi. This cannot be certified: Kluwe 2004.

¹¹³ The text rests on a reconstruction that combined pieces of the original dedication with the (later) inscription seen by Herodotus and Pausanias: Kazcko 2016: 2. For the translation I employ Anderson's translation of 'hosts' rather than peoples: Anderson 2003: 156 contra Kazcko 2016: 2.

¹¹⁴ Hurwit 1999: 63; Monaco 2009. The location of the original dedication is debated: Paga 2017: 162–4.

¹¹⁵ Kazcko 2016: 13. The use of ἐργασίην rather than the conventional ἔργα or ἔργον is another example. The same could be said of ἔθνεα. Homer sometimes uses ἔθνεα as a simile to compare the opposing armies to 'swarms' of bees (Hom. *Il.* 2.551). Another example is the term 'sons of the Athenians' (παῖδε[ς Ἀθηναίων]), instead of the more common 'Athenians': Anderson 2003: 156–7.

¹¹⁶ Paga 2017.

refurbishment of the Akropolis' sacred landscape, meant to celebrate the new democracy.¹¹⁷ It etched the importance of the democracy and its benefits as opposed to the oligarchs and their foreign supporters into Athenian minds. The *quadriga* stood out as the first communal dedication on the Akropolis, emphasising the collective over the aristocratic, individual dedications.¹¹⁸ The sculptural programme is another indication of democratic appropriation of oligarchic symbolism. Horses and chariots were typically associated with oligarchs, while *quadrigas* were reserved to commemorate aristocratic athletic victories. The Athenian dedication is the only local instance in which it was used to commemorate a military victory.¹¹⁹ The memory of democratic virtues over oligarchy survived throughout the fifth century: Herodotus describes the dedication in terms of democracy's benefits over oligarchies in warfare.¹²⁰

If the dedication served to promulgate the virtues of the democracy, what does it say about the Athenians' perception of the Boiotians? The Athenians identify them as a group acting in unison: the boast of defeating throngs of them in battle testifies to that.¹²¹ The juxtaposition of Boiotians with the inhabitants of a polis (Chalkis) is remarkable, and the invocation of the *ethnos* is probably to emphasise the number of defeated enemies. Or it specified the *foreignness* of the defeated foe, differing from the Athenians, but that does not account for the invocation of the Chalkidians. Unlike the Theban dedication, the identity of the vanquished was not subsidiary, even if the monument was enmeshed in the encomium for the democracy. The *quadriga* and its connotations were not intrinsically democratic, and the victory monument appears to have been a military monument celebrating a victory over foes.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Paga 2021: 62–75.

¹¹⁸ Another novelty was the *plinthedon* style: Keesling 2008: 50–5. The epigram stood out as only five of 330 dedicatory inscriptions on the Akropolis that reference the type of statue offered; Keesling 2003: 111.

¹¹⁹ Keesling 2010: 124 interprets the *quadriga* as appropriating athletic imagery.

¹²⁰ Hdt. 5.78. Herodotus may have retrospectively added brashness to the exploits of the democracy and its ideology: Forsdyke 2001.

¹²¹ Bakhuizen 1989: 67 viewed ἔθνεα as a cohesive union, perhaps even a political organisation. Larson 2007a: 151 regards it as a regional identity. Mackil 2013: 28, 411–12 views the *Boiotoi* as a military collective.

¹²² There are other examples of military victories celebrated in a similar form. The Rhodians dedicated a golden chariot at Delphi (Jacquemin and Laroche 1986) and one on Rhodes to celebrate their victory over Demetrios Poliorketes (Pl. *NH* 34.63). Schröder 2019: 77–8 speculates that the known prowess of the Boiotians as horsemen led to the *quadriga*. While not implausible, a focus on aristocratic credentials rather than an identification with the Boiotians is more effective in my opinion.

The desire to underline the identity of the vanquished invaders did not express an established enmity, as this constitutes the first documented clash between the neighbours (Chapters 2.1, 3.1.1). The dispute of 507/6 was not the result of a cyclical experience, but the inception of hostilities. The contents of the epigram confirm this reading. The invocation of the Boiotians' hubris in combination with the verb ἔσβεσαν (quenching) implies a sense of divine justice, validating the Athenian victory as a rightful course of fate.¹²³ Hubris in the context of interstate war was perceived as an act of aggression that contravened the codes of war.¹²⁴ The invasion was perceived as an unprovoked attack that broke the peaceful status quo. Perhaps the Boiotians had not officially announced their intentions to the Athenians, but they certainly did not withdraw from the war like the Peloponnesians. The location of the dedication, the Athenian Akropolis, ties into this notion. The intended audience was the Athenian citizenry. The *quadriga* acted as a memento of their resilience in the wake of foreign aggression. The association with Boiotian hostilities seems to be confirmed by the *quadriga*'s long absence from the Akropolis after its destruction during the Persian Wars.¹²⁵

The events of 507/6 were perceived differently in both regions, as reflected in their dedications. The *kioniskos* in Thebes exudes understatement, fitting of a local border conflict without profound ramifications for the community and their identity. The *quadriga* in Athens glorified their victory over the neighbours and was part of the democracy's proficiency over tyranny and oligarchy. The extravagance of the grandiose Athenian monument was more related to celebrating the benefits of the newly established democracy than to an inveterate dislike of the defeated foes. These were the useful pawns in an internal Athenian game of memorialising the virtues of the democracy and how it overcame the odds. That

¹²³ Kazcko 2016: 12. ¹²⁴ Whitley 2011.

¹²⁵ The deliberate 'destitute' state of the Akropolis after the Persian Wars to act as a memorial landscape of Athenian vicissitudes could have prevented an earlier re-dedication (Kousser 2009). But that argument still held at the time of the *quadriga*'s re-dedication (458), when the 'ghost of the Persian Wars' had not been cast (unless the peace of Kallias can be accepted: Harris 2021). The purposeful neglect of the Akropolis is debated; whether it was sacked in a destructive fashion by the Persians is doubted: van Roohuizen 2017. Mattingly 1982 argued for a double re-dedication: one shortly after the Persian Wars and one during the Peloponnesian War. His arguments are tempting, but the deliberate neglect of the Akropolis makes a dedication just after the war unlikely. Nor was there an occasion to dedicate the *quadriga*. Harris 2018: 106 n. 39 follows Mattingly by pointing to the re-dedication of the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, yet that ignores these were presumably set up in the Agora, not the Akropolis. The first site was quickly re-built, but the Akropolis was not.

message would have shone even brighter if Nathan Arrington is right in arguing that the public burial of fallen Athenians had begun at this time, making the defenders of the democracy the first heroes to be so honoured as examples of courage for later generations to emulate.¹²⁶

What unites both monuments is the importance attached to local civic or religious spaces for demonstrating the protagonists' version of the story. In both cases, the preference for a local sanctuary indicates that the intended audiences were not the Greek world at large, but the inhabitants of Thebes and Athens, respectively. If the concern had been to promulgate a military victory over a neighbour as a statement of antagonistic prowess, the Athenians would have dedicated at a Panhellenic shrine, for instance, the Zeus sanctuary at Olympia, where the Thebans and other Boiotian communities had previously commemorated their military victories over neighbouring rivals.¹²⁷ This is what the Athenians did after defeating the Persians at Marathon in 490 and after capturing Lemnos in 498; on both occasions, Olympia and local Athenian shrines were embellished by commemorations of the victory.¹²⁸

5.2.3 *An Inescapable Shadow? The Neighbourly Recollection of the Persian Wars in Athens and Thebes*

The Persian Wars were a seminal event and their commemoration a localised affair. Shared dedications at Panhellenic sanctuaries do not alter that image. A salient feature of these dedications was the lack of naming the medizers. Their omission probably sufficed to evoke a memory of their collaboration. Explicit mentions of medizing behaviour were reproduced when the situation allowed it, but in the early period after the war the emphasis more often lay with defeating the quintessential other, rather than the role of other Greeks.

The memory of Boiotian medism was possibly kept alive in a stronger fashion in Plataia. The memory of the Greeks' sacrifice was sustained by the inception of a small-scale Zeus Eleutheria festival, if it was established at this early stage.¹²⁹ Other markers of the war remained intact in the Plataian landscape. Graves for the fallen around the town served as

¹²⁶ Arrington 2015: 39–49; see now Wienand 2023: 49–71. ¹²⁷ *NIO* 121; 122; 127; 128.

¹²⁸ *NIO* 144; Lemnos: Hdt. 6.137–40; IG I³ 518 (Akropolis); 522bis (Rhamnous); 1406 (Olympia).

¹²⁹ Plut. *Arist.* 21.1–2. Piérart and Etienne 1975; Rigsby 1996: 49–51; *COB* III 139 place the foundation at the turn of the fourth century. Wallace 2011: 148–9, 153 argues for 335. Boedeker 2001: 151 prefers an earlier date, based on prize vessels. She adds the Plataians purposely left the festival out in their dealing with the Spartans in 427, because of Athenian

permanent testimonies.¹³⁰ The theme of fraternal fighting formed the main thread of the Plataians' conception of the Persian Wars, in both their speeches during the trial of 427 and the decorative scheme of the Athena Areia temple built in the 460s.¹³¹ But these references reflect the Plataian view on the wars and not the Athenian attitudes of the first half of the fifth century.

In Athens medizers were overlooked until later in the fifth century. This omission is remarkable, considering the plethora of monuments related to the Persian Wars.¹³² Yet altruistic amnesia is not to blame. The Athenians made the battle of Marathon in 490 the primary focus of their monumental recollections of the struggle against the Persians.¹³³ This battle had the advantage that the fruits of victory did not need to be shared with competitors, such as the Spartans. The lack of competitors allowed the Athenians to augment their credentials for leading the Greek alliance against the Persians without having to stigmatise medizing Greeks. Ionians and islanders may have fought in this battle on the Persian side, but they were not mainland Greeks, nor had they made 'a voluntary decision' to join the Persians. This convenient forgetfulness permitted medizers to be integrated into the Athenian nexus of influence without having to sacrifice any prestige by hammering on about the Battles of Plataia or Salamis. That does not mean there was never room for employing the accusation of medism when necessary, but this was done only when it was politically expedient. That appears to not have been the case for the Athenians in the years following the Persian invasion of 480/79.

Nevertheless, one could postulate the Thebans and other Boiotians were an easy scapegoat for accusations of medism, due to the rivalrous relationship. That seems to be contradicted by the overall demeanour of the Athenian sources of the time. Aeschylus' play *Eleusinians* narrates the burial of the Seven against Thebes. Although the play is lost, its outline can be reconstructed through Plutarch's remarks. He juxtaposes Aeschylus' version of the myth with Euripides' more hostile version in *Suppliants*.¹³⁴ Plutarch mentions this peaceful agreement is a Theban version of the myth. The *Eleusinians* formed the Argive view of the event, whereas the *Septem* is

patronage of the festival, but see Raaflaub 2004: 103. Papazarkadas 2014: 229–30 associates these prize vessels with funerary games in Thebes.

¹³⁰ Hdt. 9.85. The fallen were buried in separate tombs, arranged city by city, providing further evidence against unified commemoration. The monuments in the Plataian landscape are referred to at Isoc. 14.59.

¹³¹ Yates 2013. ¹³² Gauer 1968. ¹³³ Yates 2019: 119–33.

¹³⁴ FGrH 328 F 112 = Plut. *Thes.* 29.4–5. Ganter 2020 on the changes in the *Septem* myths.

a Theban one.¹³⁵ According to Plutarch, the main difference is Theseus' recovery of the bodies of the fallen. Aeschylus opted for a diplomatic solution. His version has been interpreted as promoting an Athenian-Theban rapprochement because it puts the Thebans in a more favourable light, compared with other bellicose versions of the myth.¹³⁶ Some 140 years later, Isocrates would do the same in his *Panathenaicus*, contradicting the claims he made in his *Panegyricus* forty years prior.¹³⁷ Despite these similarities, Bernd Steinbock rejects this possibility because 'in light of the political circumstances, it was not his [Aeschylus'] intention to spare Thebes' honour or to promote an Athenian-Theban rapprochement'.¹³⁸ But that hinges on viewing the 470s as a period of neighbourly hostility, which is a tenuous assertion (Chapter 2.3). Thebes could arguably be singled out for abuse, but the lack of any accusations in Athenian discourse diminishes that likelihood. There was no need to attack the Thebans just after the war, even in the local discourse, since this had repercussions for the stability of the Delian League (Chapters 2.3, 3.2.1). These considerations would have stymied accusations of medism.

This finds some confirmation in Aeschylus' *Persai* from 472. Steeped in Panhellenic themes like freedom and Persian hubris, the play mentions no medizers, despite referring to the Battle of Salamis where so many Ionians participated on the Persian side.¹³⁹ The play is set in Persia, making it easier to disentangle the fuzzy lines of loyalty in the Persian Wars and omitting any medizing action. The struggle between Greeks and Persians is nevertheless an emblematic piece of the play. In Persian eyes, as perceived

¹³⁵ Zimmermann 1993: 85, 96. Anderson 2015 views the tradition as an Aeschylean invention. Kühr 2006: 145 doubts whether it is a Theban version. At p. 187 she also adduces the increased 'Mad Herakles' motif in Athenian vase-painting between the 480s and 450s as perhaps reflecting a hostile neighbourly relationship. Wright 2019: 35–6 views it as reflecting contemporary political developments.

¹³⁶ Roth 2003: 198 n. 465.

¹³⁷ Isoc. 12.172–3 (diplomatic) versus Isoc. 4.55–8. This change is problematic since it concerns private pamphlets, rather than public orations. The political interpretation of Isocrates' change of heart in depicting the myth has been doubted, as the Thebans are unflatteringly depicted: Gray 1994: 96–100.

¹³⁸ Steinbock 2013: 179. Pindar represents the Theban tradition by mentioning the graves to the Seven at Thebes, implying they were buried there without dispute (Pind. *Ol.* 6.15–17; *Nem.* 9.22–4, dated to 474 and 468). But to view this as a direct rebuttal of the Athenian myth, as Steinbock 2013: 165–6 does, rather than as the epichoric Theban view of the myth, goes too far in my opinion. Many poleis claimed prominence in the myth throughout the sixth and fifth centuries: Forsdyke 2011; Tufano 2019a: 156.

¹³⁹ Garvie 2009: 63 explains how *Persai* ll. 42–3 'οἱτ' ἐπίπταν ἠπειρογενὲς κατέχουσιν ἔθνος' does not entail the Ionians, contrary to earlier translators. For Ionians at Salamis: Hdt. 8.85; Proietti 2021: 257–66.

through Aeschylus, the Greeks were more of a homogenous group, contrasting with their own epichoric outlook. It is framed as a battle between the Greeks and the Persian Empire, without any Greeks mentioned by name. Differentiating between medizers and ‘patriots’ would have been less problematic, since the initial audience was Athenian. The lack of any great alterations to the play for a possible performance in Sicily early on, and the (re)performance in Athens during the latter stages of the fifth century, demonstrates that artistic integrity was respected, but omission of medism was deemed acceptable as well.¹⁴⁰

The play was a *historical tragedy* and thus avoids the need for a strict observation of a mythological standard version. This allowed for plentiful discussion of dubious behaviour in the *Persai*.¹⁴¹ Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes* from 467 is a good example. Geoff Bakewell recently argued that the play is not a city lament per se, but rather avoids awakening memories of the destruction of Athens in 480. Instead, the play revolves around Thebes’ narrow escape, in part due to its impressive fortifications, through ‘the wisdom of its commander and valor of its men’.¹⁴² The key here is that while Thebes came out of the Persian Wars relatively unscathed, personified by the unsacked city in the play, the piece ultimately views the events through an Athenian lens. Aeschylus follows the Athenian tendency to paint vices and virtues onto the mythological map that was Thebes, but there exists no explicit condemnation of Theban medism throughout the *Seven against Thebes*.¹⁴³ In fact, while Eteocles failed as a king, according to Lowell Edmunds, he succeeded as a military leader.¹⁴⁴ Viewed from that perspective, Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes* may have offered a more nuanced evaluation of Theban conduct during the Persian Wars. This came at a time of increasing Theban rehabilitation in the Greek world and the transformation in Athenian thinking about the Persian Wars as a legendary conflict, rather than a recent trauma.¹⁴⁵

Not until renewed conflict occurred in the later fifth century – best expressed in Herodotus’ irate account – were the Boiotians, and the Thebans in particular, singled out for condemnation (Chapter 2.4). It becomes more pronounced during the Peloponnesian War. Euripides’ *Bacchae*, from the final years of the Peloponnesian War, dismisses any

¹⁴⁰ Broggiato 2014 for these various performances. ¹⁴¹ Garvie 2009: ix–xvi.

¹⁴² Bakewell 2016: 125. On the Theban walls: Berman 2015: 75–121, 162–75.

¹⁴³ Zeitlin 1990 for Thebes as an *exemplum mallum* for Athens. ¹⁴⁴ Edmunds 2017.

¹⁴⁵ Theban rehabilitation: Schachter 2016a: 69–70. Increased mystification of the war: Boedeker 2001.

Theban claims to autochthony. Instead, autochthony becomes an Athenian prerogative, whereas the intervention of the Persian King to support the Spartans and Boiotians at the end of the Peloponnesian War is hinted at by stressing Cadmus' eastern connection.¹⁴⁶ Yet even during heightening tensions there were exceptions. The first memories Athenian commanders recollected when engaging in battle with them was not the Persian Wars, but the conflicts of the 450s, as Hippocrates' speech on the eve of battle of Delion in 424 shows: 'Advance to meet them then like citizens of a country in which you all glory as the first in Hellas, and like sons of the fathers who beat them at Oinophyta with Myronides and thus gained possession of Boiotia.'¹⁴⁷

Though Hippocrates was interrupted by the approach of the Boiotian army, there is no reason to assume he would have followed with an invocation of Plataia or the Persian Wars.¹⁴⁸ Medism is evoked by the Plataians only during their trial in 427, which reflects their epic choric outlook more than it does the Athenian perspective.¹⁴⁹ Most of the reluctance to avoid open condemnations of medizers stems from the Athenian desire to focus on Marathon and the glory garnered from it, which allowed the omission of medizers; this behaviour was therefore more the result of conscious choices rather than a deliberate attempt to avoid hurting the northern neighbours' feelings. Eschewing medism was nevertheless practical and fitted in with the reconciliatory tone the Athenians struck in the first half of the fifth century, when there was a need to reintegrate and rehabilitate various medizers into their midst.

Nor does it seem to have been an unbearable presence in Thebes itself. Young Theban athletes participated in the Panhellenic games in the decade after the war, even winning events on several occasions. Thus we find Pindar with his Panhellenic fame composing epinician poetry for various Theban young athletes, as well as other Boiotians. Pindar had few qualms about praising Theban youths whose families had certainly medized. Perhaps their youthfulness exculpated them, like Dexileos in Athens was exculpated from his forbears' sins.¹⁵⁰ Nor does his provenance prevent him

¹⁴⁶ Castiglioni 2020. ¹⁴⁷ Thuc. 4.95.3.

¹⁴⁸ Steinbock 2013: 114–15, 191 believes the Athenian generals before Oinophyta would have evoked the Battle of Plataia rather than those of 507/6, but see below.

¹⁴⁹ Yates 2013. It is the only time Thucydides mentions medism: Hornblower 2010: 138, 287–322.

¹⁵⁰ Pind. *O.* 14; *I.* 3 and 4; possibly *P.* 11. Gartland 2020 makes the comparison with Dexileos (*RO* 7b). There is a Polybian tradition that Pindar supported the action taken by the Thebans in 480–479 (*Poly.* 4.31.5–6) but see Hornblower 2004: 60–3. Finley 1958 cannot decidedly prove Pindar's political proclivities.

from being rhapsodic about an Athenian victor.¹⁵¹ Part of that stems from Pindar's renown, but if medism was encumbering the *entire Theban community*, as Herodotus makes it out to be, then the athletes' swift integration into the Panhellenic community is remarkable. Pindar never lost sight of his local horizon, nor did he feel shame in his origins.¹⁵² Samuel Gartland recently argued that Thebes was simply too interwoven into the fabric of 'Greekness' for it to be ignored or castigated, as reflected in Pindar's Panhellenic fame as a Theban.¹⁵³

This does not diminish the fact that Theban society had to come to terms with recent events. Staunch medizers had been executed or had fled into exile, but a majority of the ruling classes continued to participate in civic life, for instance, Asopodorus, leader of the Theban cavalry at the Battle of Plataia, whose son Herodotus was praised by Pindar in *Isthmian* 1 (pre-458). Lines 34–8 recount how Asopodorus suffered shipwreck and ended up ashore at Orchomenos, undoubtedly as a result of his choices.¹⁵⁴ A discussion about what happened was imperative to commence the healing process. The first contours of that attitude appear in *Isthmian* 8, for Kleandros of Aigina, composed around 477. It celebrates a victor from a city that had mythological ties to Thebes, yet fought the Persian War on the Hellenic League's side. In his composition, Pindar lifts the veil a little, uncovering 'a mingled feeling of sorrow for the role of Thebes in the Persian Wars and of joy at the liberation of Greece', as Hans Beck puts it.¹⁵⁵ The poem relates how 'from above our heads some god has turned aside that stone of Tantalus, an unbearable weight for Hellas. Now the terror has gone by'.¹⁵⁶ Pindar praises the healing powers of freedom that had corrected the crooked way of life.¹⁵⁷ As Beck notes, there are various other inferences of pain and toil that air a sense of disappointment with recent Theban politics. *Isthmian* 8 therefore seems to be a first attempt by the Thebans to assess what happened during the war and what *their* story of the event was.¹⁵⁸

This appears to be reflected in Pindar's *Isthmian* 4. The poet sings the praises of Melissos of Thebes, member of a prominent Theban family.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ Pind. *P.* 7; Demand 1982: 27–31. ¹⁵² Olivieri 2011. ¹⁵³ Gartland 2020.

¹⁵⁴ The Hellenistic grammarian Didymos sees it as a metaphor for Asopodorus' exile from Thebes after the Persian Wars: *Schol. Isthm.* 1.52a–b followed by Sevieri 1999; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922: 330–1.

¹⁵⁵ Beck 2020: 192–3. ¹⁵⁶ Pind. *I.* 8 ll. 9–12.

¹⁵⁷ Pind. *I.* 8 ll. 14–15: ἐλίσσω βίου πόρον: ἰατὰ δ' ἔστι βροτοῖς σὺν γ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ τά.

¹⁵⁸ Beck 2020: 192–3.

¹⁵⁹ Pind. *I.* 4 ll. 6–8: 'These men truly are spoken of as honoured in Thebes from the beginning; they have good relations with the neighbouring towns, and are bereft of loud arrogance.'

Their hearth had been robbed of four members in a single day, possibly a reference to the Battle of Plataia where the Thebans fought on the Persian side: ‘Yet in a single day / severe snow-storm of war / deprived the blessed house of four men.’¹⁶⁰

Pindar’s evasiveness in referring to the battle could be viewed as a discreet effort to avoid recollecting a dishonourable past. Elsewhere, however, Pindar glosses over a battle in an even vaguer fashion:

and he has given a share in his flowering garland to his uncle and namesake, for whom Ares of the bronze shield mixed the cup of destiny; but honour is laid up as recompense for good men. For let him know clearly, whoever, in this cloud of war, wards off the hailstorm of blood in defence of his dear fatherland by bringing destruction to the enemy host, that he is causing the greatest glory to grow for the race of his fellow-citizens, in both his life and his death.¹⁶¹

If the memory of the battle encumbered the family, we may wonder why Pindar did not pass over the incident in silence. To simply term the poet’s vagueness as a badge of shame over the Battle of Plataia is in my opinion not the solution to understanding the poem.

Nor can we be sure where it was performed. It may have been at a public event, where the victor was honoured by the polis and showered with blessings and gifts.¹⁶² One such event was proposed by Eveline Krummen: the Herakleia festival, where it would attract a non-Theban crowd, perhaps explaining why the battle was only vaguely referred to.¹⁶³ At the same time, numerous epinician poems were performed at private symposia.¹⁶⁴ Chris Carey doubts whether *Isthmian* 4 was performed at a civic festival and goes further by stating that ‘the absence of mention of civic space in most victory odes strongly suggests that state involvement

¹⁶⁰ Pind. *I.* 4.16–17. Possible ascription to Plataia: Bowra 1964: 408.

¹⁶¹ Pind. *I.* 7.24–30. Even 1958: 46: ‘L’absence d’indication précise permet de supposer que Pindare ne tient nullement à dévoiler un nom qui flétrit la réputation de Thèbes et évoque pour elle un passé chargé.’

¹⁶² Currie 2005: 139–4; Slater 1984: 241–64 argue some of Pindar’s poems must have been celebrated in this context. There appears little to suggest it was performed at a Panhellenic festival: Eckerman 2012.

¹⁶³ Krummen 1990: 33–97. She is followed by Olivieri 2011: 89–118. The extensive space the poem (Pind. *I.* 7) alludes to, ranging from Onchestos (l. 19) to Sicyon (26), from the Pillars of Herakles (l. 12) to Libya (ll. 53b–54b), perhaps demonstrates the Panhellenic appeal of the poem and family: Kurke and Neer 2019: 41–7.

¹⁶⁴ Radt 1958: 89 goes so far to state *all* epinician odes were performed at the banquet/symposium.

was intermittent at most and that most celebrations took place at a private house'.¹⁶⁵ If that was the case, it was less shameful to explicitly mention Plataia, as Melissos' family was not the only family involved with the Persians. In my opinion, there was likely no need to mention the battle in question: the death of four family members in one battle hardly requires specification, since the options would be limited. If it was Plataia, there was no need to conjure up the loss of family members who fell in a battle leading to the siege of the city. That siege was probably what burdened the Theban families the most.¹⁶⁶ The death of four members suggests they formed part of the Theban hoplite class, not the cavalry, as they escaped from the battle relatively unscathed.¹⁶⁷ The loss of these men, more than anything, played a role in Pindar's odes, but only subtly hints at participating 'on the wrong side of the divide', rather than open admittance or exculpation for the community's sins.

In other poems Pindar obliquely aims to rehabilitate the reputation of Thebes by reminding his audiences of its indelible place in Greek history. This was shown by André Hurst, who compared the references to Thebes in the Pindaric oeuvre before and after the Persian Wars.¹⁶⁸ One example is Pindar's *Olympian* 10, where he writes about Augias' defeat by Herakles: 'A fight with a stronger man is impossible to push away,' suggesting collaboration was unavoidable as the Persian military might was too potent to resist.¹⁶⁹ Pindar's works suggest the varied experiences of the Thebans in the war: from possibly confronting the Persians to ending with subjugation and collaboration through force.

This ambivalent attitude is reflected in the memorial landscape of Thebes.¹⁷⁰ Nikolaos Papazarkadas published a funerary stele from Thebes that possibly illuminates the town's relationship with its Persian War past. The original stele (Text A) was inscribed in the first half of the fifth century – though a late sixth-century date cannot be excluded – and was re-inscribed in the Ionian script during the 360s (Text B).¹⁷¹ The text runs as follows:

¹⁶⁵ Carey 2007: 203. This ties in with the notion that symposia were often the locus for reperformance of epinician poetry: Currie 2004; Grethlein 2010: 41 contra Budelmann 2012. For the performance of Pindar's works in general: Neumann-Hartmann 2009.

¹⁶⁶ The burden of medism was not seen as detrimental. Sometimes it was even employed by the Thebans when interacting with the Persians: Lenfant 2011.

¹⁶⁷ Hdt. 9.69 records that the Thebans lost 300 men at Plataia: 'πρῶτοι καὶ ὄριστοι'.

¹⁶⁸ Hurst 2018. ¹⁶⁹ Hurst 2018; Pind. *O.* 10.39–40: νεῖκος δὲ κρεσσόνων ἀποθέσθ' ἄπορον.

¹⁷⁰ In Kopai, a town on the northern shores of Lake Copais, an epitaph commemorates the death of a man near the Asopos river, possibly the Battle of Plataia: Knoepfler 1992: 500 no. 178 (Ἀσοποῖ δὲ δαμασθῆς).

¹⁷¹ Papazarkadas 2014. Stöhr 2020: 116–20 for the possible occasions for the inscription.

Text A

[-----]EPETON[.]T[.]
 [-∞ |-∞ |- | ἐν? π]ολέμῳ [θ]ανέμεν
 [-∞ |-∞ |- ∞ |-]πατριδος πέρι Θέβας
 4 [-∞ |-]εντο ἄθλα κράτιστ' ἄρετᾶς

Text B

[-----]ΛΥ. . ἘΡΕΤΟΝ[.]ΥΤΟ
 [-∞ |-∞ |- | ἐν π]ολέμοι θανέμεν
 [-∞ |-∞ |-∞ |-]πατριδος πέρι Θείβα[ς]
 8 [.]NA[- - -]εντο ἄθλα κράτιστ' ἄρετᾶς¹⁷²

Unfortunately, the surface of the stone is heavily worn, making it hard to reconstruct anything more than already (impressively) done by Papazarkadas. The epigram is in honour of two fallen friends or brothers and beautifully details how they fell in defence of the fatherland ('...[θ]ανέμεν...πατριδος πέρι Θέβας'), quite possibly during the defence of the city against the Hellenic League, or earlier on the fields of Plataia, while another contemporary possibility would be Thermopylai.¹⁷³ The inscription on the stone does not allow for more precision, but Papazarkadas carefully suggested the epigram was part of a public ritual or games in Thebes for the fallen in the war. It was set up in Theban territory and at first may have been invisible to outsiders, or did not aim at a wider audience. At least it refers to the Thebans' self-image, who may have regarded the shroud of *medism* less burdensome than assumed by scholars.¹⁷⁴ What its effects were on a wider audience thus remains to be seen. In light of the Pindaric works and the wider Panhellenic commemoration, we can at least speculate that the Thebans, and perhaps other Boiotians, were not the target of widespread stigmatisation by the Athenians.

If these men indeed fought against the Hellenic League, either at Plataia or at Thebes, the honours granted by the polis demonstrate that the

¹⁷² SEG 64.405.

¹⁷³ Papazarkadas 2014: 232–3 prefers Plataia, but does not exclude a possibility in 507/6 or the Battle of Tanagra (458). Tentori Montalto 2017b: 128 places it 'dopo le Guerre persiane'. My preference is Thermopylai: Chapter 5.2.8 *pace* Proietti 2021: 186.

¹⁷⁴ Giroux 2020 detects a hint of a Theban freedom narrative in Diodorus' recollection (4.10.2–4) of a mythical Theban–Orchomenian war, perhaps demonstrating how the Thebans integrated themselves into this narrative.

epichoric view saw these men as protectors of the native land, despite their medism. If it was Thermopylai, the epigram testifies to the local outlook that the Thebans *did* participate in the defence of Greece and deserved more merit from other Greek poleis, which in light of the Serpent Column would not be unsurprising. But even if the epigram was a private monument, this does not diminish its importance for reconstructing the Thebans' own view of the wars. Dying in the defence of one's land was an honourable act, and from the examples mentioned above the Thebans seemed (less) unrepentant in bringing their views of the war across within their own midst. What their story was outside of Thebes is harder to retrace. Nevertheless, each polis had its own story to tell of this period, and Thebes was no exception. Only when faced with Plataian accusations hurled at them during the trial of 427 do the Thebans offer some form of excuse for the actions during the Persian Wars.¹⁷⁵ Again, this concerned an internecine affair and was done in front of the Spartan jury, at a time when the credentials in the Persian Wars became increasingly important.¹⁷⁶

Shortly after the Persian Wars, there appears to have been little overt mutual hostility within the memorial landscape in both Athens or Thebes. Even in local civic and sacred spaces, the need to castigate each other appears limited. That aligns with the overall outlook of both polities at this time: the Athenians were hoping to integrate a large group of medizers into their empire; the Thebans survived the war and prospered relatively quickly afterwards with hopes of regaining its local and regional prominence accordingly. The one exception was Plataia, where hostile emotions continued to rage on, as vividly expressed in the construction of the Athena Areia temple that depicted the Persian Wars as an internecine conflict, spurred on by their continued rivalry with their Theban neighbours.¹⁷⁷

5.2.4 A Familiar Foe? Oinophyta and Its Recollection

The re-dedication of the late sixth-century *quadriga* after the Athenian victory at Oinophyta (458) is illustrative in three ways: first, the reuse of a familiar monument to re-evaluate a previous engagement and reignite a rivalry; second, because it vindicates the lack of Athenian concern for medizers in the context of the 450s; and third, it reveals the importance of the 'local' over the Panhellenic in recollecting neighbourly interactions.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Thuc. 3.64. ¹⁷⁶ Osmers 2013: 190–288; Raaflaub 2004: 195. ¹⁷⁷ Yates 2013.

¹⁷⁸ Berti 2010b; 2012 argues for a re-dedication after Oinophyta (458) contra other dates such as 446.

The monument perished in the flames on the Akropolis in 480, and the charred iron chains on the Mycenaean wall were the only memento to remind the Athenians of the statue that once adorned the entrance. To mesh the ‘new’ *quadriga* with the right context, the original epigram was rearranged. This new version was the one seen by Herodotus and Pausanias:¹⁷⁹

Of the Boiotians and Chalkidians in deeds of war; as a tithe therefrom
they dedicated this four-horse chariot to Pallas.

In a painful bond of iron the sons of the Athenians quenched their
hybris, having overpowered the hosts.¹⁸⁰

The rearrangement of the epigram was probably the result of a change in the dedication base and the detachment of the *quadriga* from the chains. In the original dedication, the first words were about the chains attached to the Akropolis wall. The discontinuity between the chains and the *quadriga* meant the words required rearranging.¹⁸¹ Working in tandem with that suggestion is Keesling’s proposal to view the changes in the epigram as a deliberate action to make the *quadriga* more identifiable to visitors of the Akropolis.¹⁸² It helped readers pick out the key words to identify this important dedication, now that it was no longer connected to the chains. What does this mean for our interpretation of the monument?

If the *quadriga* was re-dedicated in 458, some Athenians must have made a deliberate connection between that victory and the exploits of the late sixth century, and proposed to visibly recreate that memory by re-erecting the *quadriga*.¹⁸³ Although the rearrangement of the epigram was partially due to the changes in the dedicatory landscape, the emphasis on the Boiotians means the original dedication was associated with the victory of the young democracy in the minds of some Athenians.¹⁸⁴

The similarities between the two battles perhaps do not end there. If my reconstruction of events prior to Oinophyta is correct – of a friendly Boiotia before their *volte-face* prior to the battle – it would add another

¹⁷⁹ For the discussion over a possible re-location of the statue: *ML* 15; *AIO ad loc.*

¹⁸⁰ *IG I³* 501B. The text rests on a reconstruction that combined pieces of the original dedication with the (later) inscription seen by Herodotus and Pausanias: Kazcko 2016: 2. For the translation: Chapter 5.2.2.

¹⁸¹ Stevens 1936: 504–6; contra *ML* p. 29. ¹⁸² Keesling 2003: 51 n. 22.

¹⁸³ Contra Steinbock 2013: 114–15 that the Battle of Plataia would have been invoked by the Athenian generals before Oinophyta, rather than those of 507/6.

¹⁸⁴ Low 2020 on the re-erection of monuments or decrees. There must have been an impetus to re-erect the *quadriga*, after which it became part of the Athenian monumental landscape and part of the polis’ history.

layer to the commemoration. Just as before, the Athenians came out victorious from a precarious situation, since they had suffered a (disputed) defeat at Tanagra against the Spartans only two months prior (Chapters 2.4, 3.2.3). The Boiotians' change in alignment rendered the previous ties between the neighbours obsolete, and their insolence in betraying the Athenians at a moment of weakness – after the Battle of Tanagra – was rightfully deserving of divine punishment. The re-dedication of the *quadriga* was in that sense a divine vindication of the Athenian victory.

But perhaps the similarities between the situations of 507/6 and 458 goes further than a recurrence of dyadic conflict. Anthony Raubitschek identified another similarity: the combination of internal enemies of the democracy colluding with external threats.¹⁸⁵ According to Thucydides, the Spartans plotted with Athenian oligarchs to overthrow the democracy.¹⁸⁶ The element of the democracy overcoming both internal and external enemies is seconded by Herodotus. In his encomium of the origins of the Athenian democracy, written at the height of Athenian-Boiotian hostility, he frames the *quadriga* as a testimony to the benefits of democracy, not as an antagonistic monument to Boiotian insolence.¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, Herodotus regards the monument he saw as the original dedication. While it could be a matter of semantics, his observation strengthens the case for associating the *quadriga* with the democracy's early history rather than a memory of Boiotian hubris, despite the changes in the epigram.

Moreover, the ramifications of this victory went much further this time. Whereas the events of 507/6 preserved the democracy, the Battle of Oinophyta resulted in Athenian control over Boiotia. Hence, the victory was commemorated as a grandiose achievement by future generations and was invoked by the general Hippocrates before the Battle of Delion in 424 as an example to emulate.¹⁸⁸ Diodorus reveres the victory as unsurpassed by any other, even those monumental wins at Marathon or Plataia. These concerned battles against barbarians with the help of allies, whereas at Oinophyta the Athenians *single-handedly* overcame the bravest warriors of Greece.¹⁸⁹ Diodorus undoubtedly retrojects attitudes of Boiotian military prowess after Leuktra, but his ascription of importance to this battle within

¹⁸⁵ Bearzot 1985; Raubitschek 1949: 203–4. ¹⁸⁶ Thuc. 1.107.6. ¹⁸⁷ Hdt. 5.77–8.

¹⁸⁸ Thuc. 4.95.3. Myronides, the general at Oinophyta, was used as an example of bravery by the men of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* of 411 (Ar. *Lys.* 801) but the battle is not specifically mentioned. The scholiast clarifies it concerned the Myronides who won at Oinophyta: καὶ Μυρωνίδης γὰρ ἦν; Δύο Μυρωνίδας ἦσαν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησιαζούσαις δεδήλωται. ἐνθάδε τοῖνυν μέμνηται τοῦ ἐν Οἰνοφύτας νικήσαντος.

¹⁸⁹ Diod. 11.82.2–3.

the context of Atheno-Boiotian relations and Athenian military exploits is striking.

Again, the internal and external consequences of the event were celebrated in a local setting. The re-dedication of the *quadriga* testifies to the potency of such evocative memorials and shows a shift in the commemorative practice. Previously, the victory's internal aspects were emphasised – democracy over oligarchy – but now the identity of the defeated was emphasised. This rearrangement implies the perception of the Boiotians had changed: they were now seen as a rivalrous neighbour. Yet the emphasis on the Boiotians should not cloud the fact that the *quadriga* was meant to celebrate an Athenian victory and aimed to strengthen the bonds among the citizenry, recovering from a possible oligarchic coup supported by external enemies. That the *quadriga* remained on show for centuries is a further testimony to the victory's place in Athenian lore and its continued relevance.¹⁹⁰

In my opinion, this continued focus on the similarities between the battles of 507/6 and 458 demonstrates that the main memory of Boiotian antagonism in Athenian minds in the first half of the fifth century – and perhaps even thereafter – was not the Persian Wars but the original conflict at the dawn of democracy. Only when Panhellenic prestige and glory were at stake – for instance, during the Peloponnesian War or the Theban hegemony – did the memory of the Persian Wars re-emerge.

Conversely, the Battle of Oinophyta was steeped in tragedy for the Boiotians. The short-lived revival of pro-Spartan rule made way for Athenian domination, robbing the poleis of their *autonomia* (Chapters 2.4, 3.2.3). The battle was framed as a defence of the fatherland, akin to the Persian Wars. In Pindar's *Isthmian 7* for Strepsiades of Thebes, Strepsiades' uncle and namesake is referred to. This uncle presumably perished at Oinophyta, as one who 'defends his dear country from the hailstorm of blood' for which he received the utmost respect and glory from his fellow citizens.¹⁹¹

A Thespian epitaph conveys a similar message.¹⁹² Dated to the mid-fourth century, the epitaph is inscribed with the names of members of a single family who fell in battles fought in Boiotia in the course of half a

¹⁹⁰ Paus. 1.28.2.

¹⁹¹ Pind. *Isthm.* 7.27. Bowra 1964: 412 connects the poem to the Battle of Oinophyta, but Young 1971: 3–6 doubts this connection.

¹⁹² *IThesp* 488; Schachter 2016a: 111. In line 1 only the name of the deceased has survived, but not the battle in which he perished. Considering its position atop of the list, one could postulate the battle of Oinophyta, or perhaps an earlier battle such as Thermopylai or Plataia.

century. These battles read as a summary of pivotal battles in the region's history: Oinophyta (ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις) (l. 2); Delion, identified as Oropos (ἐν Ὀρωποῖ) (ll. 3–4); and Koroneia (Κορωνεῖη) (l. 5). It is tempting to view this epitaph as emphasising the family's contributions to the *koinon* when it reached the zenith of its power, perhaps relating how the family staunchly supported pro-unionist policies. A more minimalist interpretation views it as a testimony to the struggle of the Boiotian people to keep invaders from their doors, since every battle concerned an invasion of their soil by an attacker intent on conquering them.

This recollection may have occurred on a public level as well, if the Thespians erected a public memorial in honour of the fallen at Oinophyta. A white limestone column of c. ninety centimetres high, with a flat surface cut and polished in the centre of the column, was found. On this flat surface are inscribed the names of sixteen men. Atop this list it is clarified that these Thespian men died in battle, suggesting the column formed part of a *polyandreion*.¹⁹³ Based on the letters, the monument should be dated to the fifth century. Considering the magnificent *polyandreion* consecrated by the Thespians after Delion, that battle can reasonably be excluded (Chapter 5.2.6). This leaves us with Plataia (479), Koroneia (446) and Oinophyta. If the monument is dated to 458, it is the first attestation of a Thespian public memorial for the war dead. Although future finds may alter the picture, that possible inception date underlines the importance of the Battle of Oinophyta for Boiotian history. These men were then immortalised as heroes for the polis, who gave their life to defend Boiotia's soil against the Athenian attackers.¹⁹⁴ These memorials equally impacted the Boiotian perception of the Athenians. Locals and patriots alike could point to the sacrifices made by these men, a reference point for their heroic struggle to preserve their freedom against the neighbours.

The Athenians chose to harken back to the past by re-dedicating the *quadriga* that was permeated with democratic ideology and commemorated the first victory of the democracy over the Boiotians. For the Boiotians, the loss at Oinophyta was the start of a tradition of commemorating the dyadic relationship with their neighbour in a more antagonistic way, laying the foundations for the commemoration of their struggle for

¹⁹³ *IThesp* 484. ll. 1–3: Θ[ε]σ[π]ι[α]ν[ῶ]ν ἄνδ[ρ]ων ἑξήκ[α]τ[ε]ς ἄν[ε]θεν.

¹⁹⁴ That can be gathered from the references to the Battle of Koroneia (446), where it is claimed the Boiotians regained their freedom from the Athenians. One can imagine the loss at Oinophyta was remembered as the 'opposite' of Koroneia. During the Plataian trial in 427, the Thebans implicitly refer to the Battle of Oinophyta as the time of Athenian aggression and subjugation of Boiotia: Thuc. 3.62.5.

freedom against abrasive neighbours, eloquently alluded to by Pagondas in his speech before the Battle of Delion in 424 (Chapter 5.2.6). The construction of a *polyandreion* in Thespias testifies to the intention to commemorate that fatal loss against the Athenians. In both cases, the local was the locus for commemorating these events. It demonstrates the Persian Wars were not a deterministic memory for recollecting the neighbourly relationship at this time. Rather, the Athenians' and Boiotian's local rivalry set the tone, which was reflected in the desire to dedicate in local civic and sacred spaces.¹⁹⁵

5.2.5 A New Dawn for Boiotia: The Battle of Koroneia

Oinophyta inaugurated a singular period of neighbourly history, but the sun quickly set upon it. Twelve years after Oinophyta, a group of exiles from Boiotia, Euboia and Locris endeavoured to overthrow Athenian rule and succeeded in that plot by ambushing an Athenian army near Koroneia in 446 (Chapter 2.4).¹⁹⁶ Fortune smiled on Boiotia, now free of foreign occupation. The return of the *koinon* inaugurated a new dawn for the region, carrying with it the memory of subjugation. It was certainly celebrated as such.

Near the battle site of Koroneia stood the famous temple of Athena Itonia, a focal point for the articulation of the Boiotian ethnos through its foundational *aition* closely linked to the arrival of the Boiotoi from Thessaly (see Figure 5.6).¹⁹⁷ According to Plutarch, who describes the later battle of Koroneia of 395, the victorious rebels in 446 dedicated the trophy in front of this sanctuary.¹⁹⁸ Trophies were habitually placed at the battle site itself; hence, the battle must have taken place near the temple.¹⁹⁹ That the marker apparently stood for fifty years and perhaps even longer for Plutarch to describe it in his *Life of Agesilaos* suggests the initial trophy was immortalised in a more permanent form after the event. Considering the perishable material of trophies, this was a permanent marker of victory,

¹⁹⁵ Even if the Athenian stoa at Delphi was erected shortly after 458 (Walsh 1986) the lack of any conclusive evidence linking it to the victory at Oinophyta means it cannot be considered here.

¹⁹⁶ Thuc. 1.113.

¹⁹⁷ Thuc. 1.12.3; Lalonde 2019: 87–165. The exact location of the sanctuary is hard to determine, but a consensus has been reached: Moggi and Osanna 2010: 408–9; Olivieri 2010–11.

¹⁹⁸ Plut. *Ages.* 19.2. 'For the temple of Athena Itonia was near at hand, and a trophy stood in front of it, which the Boiotians had long ago erected, when, under the command of Sparta, they had defeated the Athenians there and slain Tolmides their general.'

¹⁹⁹ Rabe 2008: 1–8.

rather than a *tropaion*. The conflation of these forms of commemoration in the imperial era explains why Plutarch uses the term, which would be remarkable since the original trophy would have hardly survived for half a century.²⁰⁰ Setting it further apart is its unique place in Boiotian history as only one of three monuments marking military battles that were erected on the site of battle. On account of the symbolic significance of both the sanctuary and the victory, and the way the victory was framed afterwards by the Boiotians, the erection of a permanent trophy is plausible.²⁰¹ One can surmise that the initial perishable trophy, set up by the victorious insurgents, was made permanent afterwards by the leaders of the *koinon* to celebrate one of the seminal events in Boiotian history in a display of historical appropriation.

Koroneia solidified the *koinon*'s cohesion after the Athenians exploited its fragility. One example of this attitude comes from the Plataian trial in 427. After the Plataians made a case for themselves by referring to the Theban medism during the Persian Wars, the Thebans retorted by juxtaposing their behaviour with the Plataians' *attikismos*, which led to the enslavement of Boiotia and other Greeks. Thanks to the Thebans – a grand exaggeration considering their limited involvement at Koroneia – the Boiotians regained their liberty from the Athenian oppressors.²⁰² Three years later (424), before the Battle of Delion, the Theban *boiotarch* Pagondas invokes a similar sentiment when encouraging his fellows to engage the Athenians in battle. The general reminds them how the victory at Koroneia had granted Boiotia great security from Athenian intermingling after a period of internal discord.²⁰³ If prominent Thebans could evoke such memories a generation later, the desire to immortalise the victory in the form of a permanent marker at a religiously important communal site is understandable.

Odes formed another layer of the celebrations. The *Daphnephorikon* by Pindar speaks of victories celebrated by the famous family of Aioladas, which furnished the *boiotarch* Pagondas. The victories of swift-footed

²⁰⁰ Schröder 2019: 195–9 explains the usage of the term *tropaion* in the Imperial age. It is a convincing case, though I disagree with her that Plutarch's remark should therefore be rejected. He was a trusted reporter and his credentials regarding Boiotian affairs should not undermine his statement.

²⁰¹ Larson 2007a: 187–8. The others were Leuktra and the Lion from Chaironeia. Marathon's permanent trophy makes for an alluring comparison: Shear 2016: 13–14.

²⁰² Thuc. 3.62.4–5.

²⁰³ Thuc. 4.92.6: νικῆσαντες γὰρ ἐν Κορωνείᾳ αὐτούς, ὅτε τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν **στασιαζόντων** κατέσχον, πολλὴν ἄδειαν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ μέχρι τοῦδε κατεστήσαμεν.

horses, as Pindar proclaims, commemorates the recent victory over the Athenians, in which the family could have played a role. Similarly, there might be an allusion to the victory over the Athenians in *Pythian* 8 in honour of Aristomenes of Aegina, dating from 446. The Aeginetans were mythologically entwined with the Thebans, and there is a reference to Porphyryon, king of the Attic deme of Athmonon, who is struck dead by an arrow from Apollo's bow.²⁰⁴ If these are subtle references to the recent Boiotian victory, Pindar certainly struck a local chord to celebrate the new freedom from foreign rule in any way that he could.

To solidify this new-found freedom, 'the local elites from both sides of Lake Kopais' came together to establish a novel *koinon*.²⁰⁵ It was imperative to create a new structure that could unite the different factions and poleis within Boiotia to prevent a renewed foreign exploitation of stasis. One successful way to convey social cohesion and bind various communities together was through ritual action. And what better way than to utilise the cult at the site of victory, which was already woven into the mythological fabric of the Boiotians?

We know from later sources that the Itonia was home to a festival called the Pamboiotia. As the name suggests, this festival celebrated the cohesion of Boiotia. A pan-Boiotian appeal is certain from the third century onwards, when the Itonia became a federal sanctuary and the festival is epigraphically attested.²⁰⁶ The lack of concrete evidence for an earlier inception makes it difficult to accept a common festival at the site prior to the third century.

There are, however, snippets of information that point in that direction. From the fragments of Pindar's *Daphnephorikon*, performed sometime between 445 and 440, a celebration involving a wider Boiotian audience may be inferred. The occasion for the creation of the poem was the Theban Daphnephoria, a festival in which a boy from a prominent family was elected priest of Apollo Ismenios for a year.²⁰⁷ In this case it concerned Agasikles, from the prominent family of Aioladas.²⁰⁸ The poem runs as follows:

²⁰⁴ Beck 2020: 204. For the connection between Thebes and Aegina: Hdt. 5.79.2.

²⁰⁵ Beck and Ganter 2015: 141.

²⁰⁶ COB I 117–27. Beck and Ganter 2015: 135 argue the festival at the sanctuary commemorated the arrival of the Boiotoi as early as the sixth century, for which there is no epigraphic evidence. Lalonde 2019: 92 occupies a middle ground by claiming the Thebans were invested in the cult by the mid-fifth century and it probably attracted people from other Boiotian poleis.

²⁰⁷ Pausanias is the earliest source to describe the rituals, making a reconstruction difficult: Kurke 2007.

²⁰⁸ For the genealogical ties in this poem: Hornblower and Morgan 2007: 37. For a recent Theban inscription about the family of Aioladas and Pagondas: Papazarkadas 2018.



Figure 5.6 View from Koroneia Akropolis towards Petra, likely home to the Athena Itonia sanctuary. (Photo by P. Grigsby)

As a faithful witness for Agasikles
 I have come to the dance
 and for his noble parents
 because of their hospitality (προξενίασι), for both of old
 and still today they have been honoured
 by their neighbours (ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν)
 for their celebrated victories
 with swift-footed horses,
 for which on the shores of famous Onchestos
 and also by the glorious temple of Itonia
 they adorned their hair with garlands
 and at Pisa. (trans. E. Mackil)²⁰⁹

As Emily Mackil notes, the poem post-dates the battle at Koroneia but appears to refer to older practices and provides no information on specific cultic innovations.²¹⁰ Other aspects of the poem suggest an integration of

²⁰⁹ Pind. Fr. 94b = 41–9 (Snell-Maehler).

²¹⁰ Mackil 2013: 193. In the aftermath of the battle, we find the first attestations for Athena Itonia's (cultic) association with the migration of the Boiotoi, from writers such as Thucydides, Hekataios and Armenidas. It would have been a powerful tool to promote the unified mythical efforts of the Boiotoi: Tufano 2019a: 32–49.

these games into the fabric of the *koinon*. The Theban honourees are respected by their neighbours (ἀμφικτιόνεσσι) for their hospitality towards them as *proxenos* (προξενίαισι). In one of his odes, Pindar refers to the good standing of the Theban victor Melissos among his neighbours, which reflects both Agasikles' and Melissos' families representing the interests of neighbouring communities in Thebes.²¹¹ These terms show the importance of well-maintained relations with the neighbouring elites for one's standing in Thebes or, in other words, the pan-Boiotian credentials of a person. Leslie Kurke went a step further by claiming these *amphiktiones* could refer to those people participating in the same cult, rather than geographical neighbours.²¹²

If Kurke is right, the cult of Athena Itonia had achieved pan-Boiotian fame, or at least expanded its appeal shortly after the Battle of Koroneia. The cult's followers constituted a religious network of like-minded Boiotians, responsible for the re-emergence of the *koinon*. These games were vital for maintaining the ties between those of a 'pan-Boiotian' persuasion, as revealed by their proud proclamations of importance after the battle.²¹³ Sometime after the battle the goddess received a new bronze cult statue, made by the sculptor Agorakritos.²¹⁴ Combined with the erection of a permanent trophy, these efforts illustrate the importance of the Itonion as a sanctuary for the *koinon*.

We might go a step further. The Pamboiotia may have been celebrated in the first half of the fifth century. Prior to the *Daphnephorikon*, Pindar mentioned 'the games of the Boiotians' in his *Olympian* ode dedicated to Diagoras of Rhodes: 'The bronze in Argos came to know him, as did the works of art in Arcadia and Thebes, and the duly ordered games of the Boiotians and Pellana; and Aegina knew him victorious six times.'²¹⁵

On account of Diagoras' origin, these Boiotian games had attained widespread fame by the time of the poem's delivery in 464. Given the later fame of the *Pamboiotia*, Stephanie Larson identified these Boiotian games as the *Pamboiotia*.²¹⁶ Yet the later festival excluded non-Boiotian

²¹¹ Pind. *Isth.* 4.7–9; Mackil 2013: 162. ²¹² Kurke 2007: 90, 385.

²¹³ That the poem was written for the Theban *Daphnephoria* strengthens the message of cohesion. According to Kurke 2007: 81, the cult of Apollo Ismenios incorporated various elements of other Boiotian cults to suture the divides across the physical landscape of Boiotia, whereas Kowalzig 2007: 378–81 perceives the cult as an acquisition from the communities around Lake Kopais.

²¹⁴ Paus. 9.34.1. The cult statue may have appeared on a series of rare Koroneian obols in the early fourth century: Head 1881: 45 pl. IV. 2; Lagos 2001: 6.

²¹⁵ Pind. *Olymp.* 7.84–6.

²¹⁶ Larson 2007a: 143–4. Roesch 1982: 216–44 views the Boiotian games as the *Herakleia* of Thebes. Yet this overlooks Pindar's local outlook and leaves room for doubt. Why would the *Herakleia* be referred to as the Boiotian games, while it was never equated with the Boiotian games?

participants.²¹⁷ On first glance, Larson's identification seems wrong, but there is one option to solve this conundrum. Perhaps the festival was 'transformed' into a closed Boiotian affair after the Battle of Koroneia, explaining the emphasis on the intra-Boiotian connections prominently on display in Pindar's *Daphnephorikon*.²¹⁸ If this reconstruction is correct, the change served to strengthen the cohesion of the *koinon* by excluding other groups and offers a fresh insight into the changes of the sacred landscape after Koroneia and the victory's commemoration. This narrowing of the cult's audience served to promulgate the *koinon*'s cohesion through the exclusion of foreigners and the transformation of the Itonia cult site into the place for the celebration of the *koinon*'s military prowess. For the Boiotians, the battle was a defining moment in their history, as reflected in the changed ritual practices and the erection of an enduring monument at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia. The *koinon* thereby created a new tradition of united resistance against foreign invasion and inaugurated changes to an existent cult to mirror that unity.²¹⁹

The battle also marked a turning point in the Athenian perception of their Boiotian neighbours. It was the first significant loss after a string of military successes against them. The earliest reference to the battle after Thucydides is in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, dating to the 360s.²²⁰ In the dialogue, Socrates converses with Pericles and refers to the differences between the Athenians and Boiotians, including the developments in the neighbourly dynamics. Pericles invokes the loss at Lebadeia – by which he means Koroneia – as a defining moment in the neighbourly relationship. Instead of a submissive, weak neighbour, the Athenians were confronted with an assertive *koinon*, planning to invade Attica rather than retreat into the confines of their own lands.²²¹

One salient aspect of this recollection is the way in which the Battle at Koroneia is referred to. Socrates describes the disaster as sustained by 'Tolmides and the Thousand'.²²² This juxtaposition suggests the Battle of Koroneia found its way into lore. The fateful ending of Tolmides and his men was recollected by the Athenians, possibly through the statue of the general on the Akropolis, as well as the *polyandreion* for

²¹⁷ Roesch 1982: 217–44; Schachter 2016a: 187. ²¹⁸ Grigsby 2017.

²¹⁹ As Hobsbawm established in his seminal *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), 'invented traditions' appear in times of great change and are intended to establish cohesion, legitimate institutions and inculcate beliefs.

²²⁰ Bandini and Dorion 2000: CCXL–CCLII; Bevilacqua 2010: 25–34 offer a date after Leuktra.

²²¹ Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4. ²²² Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4: Τολμίδη τῶν χιλίων ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ.

the victims.²²³ The general's statue may have been erected in the fourth century. In that period, Athenian interest in the *Pentacontaetia* and its generals grew.²²⁴ Xenophon was writing at a time of heightened neighbourly tensions, and the fact that he calls into memory the Battle of Koroneia seems to confirm the lasting image of defeat it had incurred on the Athenian mind-set.

In sum, the effects of the battle were mostly psychological for the Athenians. The battle was remembered as the first sign of growing Boiotian assertiveness towards them, and perhaps sowed the seeds for their eventual dominance, if Xenophon's account is anything to go by. The Boiotians, however, revelled in the glory. Although the victory was the accomplishment of a small group of men, it was appropriated by the *koinon* shortly after. Changes at the Athena Itonia temple, and possibly its cult, helped to cement the new-found liberty of the Boiotians. The erection of a permanent victory marker placed the Battle of Koroneia in select company and was the first of its kind, firmly fixing the battle's place in Boiotian lore as a reference point, especially in relation to the Athenians.

The *koinon* focused their efforts on reproducing lasting mementos to the reclamation of liberty vis-à-vis the hated oppressor. It fostered a notion of pride and cohesion, which would find its culmination in a battle fought out during the Peloponnesian War that truly propelled the Boiotians to 'stardom'. Again the local was preferred to the Panhellenic arena to propagate the victory.²²⁵ It was a salient decision, considering the Persian War overtones permeating the ideological battleground of the Peloponnesian War.

5.2.6 A Most Momentous Victory: The Battle of Delion

The Battle of Delion (424) was fought between the Athenians and Boiotians. The latter were victorious and the battle proved a turning point

²²³ Paus. 1.27.5. Arrington 2015: 186 suggests this statue was set up by family members to commemorate Tolmides' *ethos* and character. Pausanias includes the *polyandreion* in a list of graves for great Athenian losses, but it is unattested archaeologically: Paus. 1.29.14. The funerary stele IG I³ 1163, usually associated with the fallen of the battle of Koroneia, is now connected to the Battle of Delion: Arrington 2012.

²²⁴ Ioakimidou 1997: 262–73; Krumeich 1997: 109–11 view the statues as fifth-century creations, erected during Tolmides' lifetime, but see the fourth-century attention for the *Pentecontaetia*, possibly linking Aeschines' remark on Tolmides (Aeschin. 2.75): Hintzen-Bohlen 1996: 100–2; Nouhaud 1986: 342–6.

²²⁵ This pride was externally expressed in the form of Boiotian historiography: Tufano 2019a: 29–39. It found its strongest proponents and exponents in the fourth century, but the seeds were sown after Koroneia.

in the first decade of the Peloponnesian War. It provided a boost to the Boiotians' self-image and a severe blow to the Athenian morale, as reflected in their commemorative practices.

In contrast to the foundational victory of Koroneia (446), the Battle at Delion had a more 'official' character. Unlike the guerrilla tactics of a small band of men at Koroneia, Delion involved the entire army of the *koinon* and was fought against the full weight of the Athenian army. The unified effort signified the cohesion of the *koinon* by repelling an invasion of a foreign foe that so cleverly exploited the region's divided loyalties during the 450s. The importance of a unified front against Athenian aggression was certainly not lost on the *boiotarch* Pagondas, as reflected in his pre-battle speech. He evokes the memory of Koroneia, the battle that granted the Boiotians great security by expelling the Athenians, 'at a time when our quarrels had allowed them [the Athenians] to occupy the country.'²²⁶ He describes the neighbours as foreign (*ἀλλόφυλον*) invaders of Boiotian soil, creating a semantic link between the Athenians and Persians, thereby portraying the Boiotians as defenders of *eleutheria*.²²⁷ These were recurring themes throughout the Peloponnesian War. *Eleutheria*, with its echoes of the Persian Wars era, formed one of the rallying cries of the anti-Athenian alliance and was often paired with the demonization of the Athenians as the new Persians, intent on enslaving the Greeks.²²⁸

If Diodorus is to be believed, the centrality of this victory to Boiotian identity was reflected in its aftermath. The battle's booty – a significant cache considering the number of Athenian deaths – was used to embellish Thebes. The most impressive embellishment was the construction of a grand stoa in the Theban agora, afterwards decorated with bronze statues.²²⁹ Although the stoa is unattested archaeologically, the decision to construct a large public building at the heart of the city reflects the importance of the victory. The stoa would have dominated the civic

²²⁶ Thuc. 4.92.7. Whether this *στόσις* occurred inside the cities (Gehrke 1985: 166 n. 16) or among Boiotian cities (Lewis 1992b: 116) is unclear, although the Boiotian focus in the whole speech suggests the second hypothesis.

²²⁷ Price 2001: 294–5.

²²⁸ Thuc. 1.139.3; Raaflaub 2004: 195. This juxtaposition of the Persian and Peloponnesian War returns in the Plataian trial of 427: Thuc. 3.64; *CT ad loc.* The tearing down of the Athenian Long Walls at the end of the war signalled the beginning of freedom for Greece (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.23; Plut. *Lys.* 15).

²²⁹ Symeonoglou 1985: 138. He connects it to the porticos mentioned by Plut. *de Gen. Soc.* 33–4. There are mentions of spoils taken from the Agora during the uprising in Thebes in 379 (Plut. *Pel.* 12.1), which some connect to Delion. Yet that must remain speculation: Georgiadou 1997: 123.

landscape, and the attachment of bronze statues amplified its presence. The central place, combined with the lavish dedications and the size of the memorial, ensured that the Thebans would constantly be reminded of the *koinon*'s victory at Delion over the Athenian neighbours whenever they visited the agora. Other sanctuaries and stoas in the agora were embellished with the bronze from the Athenians' armour, transforming the entire city centre into a great testimony of the victory over the Athenian neighbours.²³⁰ While these endeavours all focused on Thebes and its civic centre, the *pièce de résistance* was the inauguration of the Delia festival, to be celebrated at the Apollo shrine in Delion.²³¹

Diodorus' aetiological explanation runs into one problem: there is no (epigraphic) attestation of the celebration of the cult before the second century. The earliest evidence is an inscription found in modern Dilesi, detailing the organisation and payment for the festival.²³² There are traces of an earlier cult at Delion. A large Doric temple was constructed, dated to the second half of the fifth century.²³³ Little can be said about the period between the construction of the temple and the battle in 424. In his account of the battle, Thucydides describes a temple and sacred spring, together with a ruined stoa. He adds the Athenians erected wooden towers in places where no part of the temple buildings was left standing. It is tempting to connect this decrepit state to prolonged disuse, but the earthquakes of 426 may have been the culprit. The lack of repairs within the two years after these earthquakes suggests the sanctuary received little attention, although the threat of invasion – for instance, Nicias' campaigns in the Oropia – could have been a reason (Chapters 2.4, 4.3).²³⁴

This dearth of attention can perhaps be related to the cult's connection to the Apollo cult from Delos.²³⁵ The links between these two cults was long established. If the Doric temple at Delion is dated to 475–450, its

²³⁰ Diodorus' description of the battle and festival perhaps reflects a Boiotian tradition. Sordi 1995: 'origine tebana o beotica o, almeno, l'ottima informazione di soe beotiche risaliva dunque a tradizioni contemporanee'.

²³¹ Diod. 12.70.5.

²³² Brélaz et al. 2007. The lack of a federal archon places the Dilesi inscription after 171. There is a possible earlier attestation of the festival from an Eleusinian decree (*IEleusis* 195 = *IG* II³ 4 281 (285–280) that honours the son of Demetrios of Phaleron, but the association with Boiotia is tenuous: *COB* I 47 n. 2; Nilsson 1906: 354 associate it with Delos. Brélaz et al. 2007: 285 n. 138 remain undecided.

²³³ Pitteros 2000: 603. However, the temple's stylistic similarities to the Great Temple at Delos, dated to 475–450, could push back the date of construction. For this temple: Shear 2016: 83 n. 16.

²³⁴ Thuc. 3.87.4; 4.90.1.2. ²³⁵ Chankowski 2008: 66; Kowalzig 2007: 108 n. 158; *COB* I 45.

construction would correspond with the re-dedication of an Apollo statue from Delos in 470, as described by Herodotus. This formed an intricate connection between the Athenians and Boiotians, possibly involving the latter's integration into the Delian League (Chapter 3.5).²³⁶ Could it be the cult at Delion became increasingly associated with the Delian League, and its popularity waned after the Battle of Koroneia (446)? We can at least be certain a cult for Apollo existed at Delion prior to 424. So how are we to interpret Diodorus' reference to the inauguration of a new festival?

There are two options. Either there was a festival for Apollo at Delion, which was changed by the *koinon* after the battle in 424 to suit political propaganda, or a new festival was inaugurated to celebrate the victory.²³⁷ Judging from Diodorus' language (ἐνεστήσαντο), the latter seems more likely. A new cultic foundation would certainly have augmented the message of victory the *koinon* wanted to emit. Could we venture further, and ascribe a pan-Boiotian character to the festivities, similar to the situation in the second century?²³⁸

Considering the importance of the victory for Boiotian cohesion in the face of Athenian aggression, the idea might not seem too far-fetched. A comparison with the Basileia festival, established after the victory at Leuktra in 371, is useful. This new pan-Boiotian festival 'fully captured the spirit of victory and unity under the aegis of Thebes' and quickly grew into a symbol of Boiotian power and prestige.²³⁹ Could something similar have occurred after Delion? This victory demonstrated the military might of the *koinon* against an opponent that had repeatedly beat them and was the strongest power at the time. Defeating the Athenians, the *koinon*'s greatest (contemporary) enemy, was a grand accomplishment. What better way to celebrate this unity than to establish a festival that involved all the Boiotian poleis?

That message would be amplified by the Delia's juxtaposition with that other famous Delia festival, celebrated in Delos. The Apollo cult in Delos was the religious epicentre of the Athenian alliance, even after the Delian League's treasure moved to Athens.²⁴⁰ Establishing a new festival at Delion was an especially significant propagandistic tool in light of the Athenians' recent actions on Delos. In 426 they had invested considerable resources to

²³⁶ Hdt. 6.118.

²³⁷ For Diodorus and Thucydides and their differing descriptions of the battle and its aftermath: Tufano 2021.

²³⁸ SEG 57.452; 61.354; Müller 2014: 132.

²³⁹ Beck and Ganter 2015: 149. Theban sponsorship of this festival: COB III 117.

²⁴⁰ Constantakopoulou 2007: 70.

purify the island.²⁴¹ It was a conspicuous move, meant to demonstrate they were in charge of the Delian League, which was set up in the name of *eleutheria* of the Greeks and the liberation of Greeks under Persian rule in Asia Minor.²⁴² The establishment of a rival Delia festival at Delion was therefore a conscious move to broadcast the victory's impact beyond Boiotia's borders. It undermined the Athenian claim to hegemony, especially considering the context of the propagandistic war over *eleutheria* during the Peloponnesian War. What's interesting is that the *koinon* employed local venues for the dissemination of that message, rather than a Panhellenic sanctuary.

The reverberations of the battle were also felt in other Boiotian cities. The Tanagraians erected a monument to the fallen, and insofar as evidence allows, it was a singular *polyandreion*, underlining the impact of the battle on their society.²⁴³ Inscribed on the local black stone with the epic choric dialect and script, it consists of four columns with the names of the fallen inscribed without patronymics. No heading remains, making the dating more tenuous, but the ascription to Delion has been generally accepted.²⁴⁴ It is possible the deceased were honoured as heroes in the polis, considering there is a small hollow at the head of the inscribed stone, where libations may have been poured in.²⁴⁵ Janett Schröder, however, argued that the hole in the stone was meant to insert a statue or to act as the base for one.²⁴⁶ This would explain the flat block on which the list is inscribed. If the fallen were part of some form of hero cult, it is a testimony to the continued importance of the battle in the local discourse, especially because the battle occurred in Tanagraian territory.²⁴⁷ Alternatively, if a statue adorned the casualty list, this separated it from other monuments or grave markers in the cemetery.

In Thespiai a magnificent *polyandreion* was constructed. In this case more can be said about the battle's impact on the city and its citizens. The Thespians lost the largest contingent of all Boiotian poleis. The extent of

²⁴¹ Thuc. 3.104. Mackil 2013: 207.

²⁴² The Athenians justified their suppression as a reward for their valorous deeds during the Persian Wars: Raaflaub 2004: 178–81; *CT* III 501–3.

²⁴³ Considering the relatively well-excavated necropoleis of Tanagra, this takes on added importance (Stöhr 2020: 114), although many of the monuments still await commentary and publication (Higgins 1986: 41).

²⁴⁴ *IG* VII 585; Venencie 1960.

²⁴⁵ Low 2003: 103–4. There are private Tanagraian monuments: Schild-Xenidou 2008: 291.57, 294.63, 289.56.

²⁴⁶ Schröder 2019: 224. ²⁴⁷ Schachter 2016a: 85.

the losses is reflected in the monument set up for the fallen.²⁴⁸ Excavations in the 1880s CE showed the monument consisted of a large wall of steles bearing the names of the deceased.²⁴⁹ Behind it was a large burial mound, the *polyandreion*, and the entire monument was crowned by the statue of a lion, guarding the fallen. The Thespian *polyandreion* deviated from ‘common practice’ by burying the (cremated) bodies at home, rather than on the battlefield itself. This feature is more familiar from Athens and the practice could stem from there.²⁵⁰

Whether it was a deliberate departure from practice is hard to determine. An earlier casualty list was found in Thespiiai that suggests a return of the bodies from the battlefield was an established local norm.²⁵¹ The men in the Delion *polyandreion* were buried about a kilometre east of Thespiiai, beside the road leading to Thebes. Its placement along a main axis of the region significantly enlarged its exposure to visitors. It differed from the other cemeteries in Thespiiai, which were commonly smaller and family-oriented, as findings from the survey suggest.²⁵² The *polyandreion* was thus a grand testimony to the sacrifice of these men for the polis, and for Boiotia as a whole.

Perhaps one could push the monument’s resonance a bit further. The motif of the lion as a guardian statue of the deceased or fallen warriors has been used since the seventh century, and the Thespian *polyandreion* forms no exception to that practice.²⁵³ Judging from the size and monumentality of the burial in comparison to other *polyandreia* in Thespiiai, the Battle of Delion profoundly impacted Thespian society and was remembered as a pivotal point in its history. Combining this monumentality with the propagandistic aspects of the Peloponnesian War – the struggle for *eleutheria* and the depiction of the Athenians as the new Persians and

²⁴⁸ The Thespians lost 300 men or at least 109, out of a total of 500 Boiotian losses: Thuc. 4.96.3; 101.2. The number of 109 can be gleaned from the casualty lists: *IThesp* 485. The impact of the losses is best conveyed by Thucydides’ emphatic description: ‘flower of their youth’ (ὄ τι ἦν αὐτῶν ἄνθος ἀπωλώλει) (Thuc. 4.133.1).

²⁴⁹ Schilardi 1977.

²⁵⁰ Clairmont 1983; Arrington 2015. However, casualty lists and burials in or near the city of origin were not exclusive Athenian practices: Low 2003; Pritchett 1974–1991: IV 140–5. The Athenian influence on epigraphic practices can be detected in Thespiiai and Megara: Liddel 2009; Schachter and Marchand 2012.

²⁵¹ *IThesp* 484; *IG VII* 1889. It was found somewhere between Thisbe and Thespiiai.

²⁵² Low 2003. Bintliff et al. 2017: 56, 58 for its uniqueness compared with other Thespian burial sites.

²⁵³ Moggi and Osanna 2010: 311; Papazarkadas 2022.

foreign invaders in Boiotian discourse – could it be possible the lion was a reflection of its illustrious predecessor at Thermopylai?²⁵⁴

The lion memorial of Thermopylai was set up by the Delphic Amphictyony for the Peloponnesian warriors who fell there, which was a snub towards the 700 Thespian casualties.²⁵⁵ Could this lion for Delion purposely harken back to that great sacrifice and place the Battle of Delion on par with the Battle at Thermopylai?²⁵⁶ Other *polyandreia* in Thespias were not of the same scale, as can be gleaned from the size of the casualty lists.²⁵⁷ Nor were the ornaments of similar monumental grandeur. This difference could be due to chance, with no other sites preserved for posterity. Another argument against this connection is that the men at Thermopylai were buried on site without the large enclosure and the casualty lists.

Yet the sculptural link with Thermopylai is hard to ignore. Another lion statue has been unearthed in Thespias, but this was much smaller and presumably not related to a *polyandreion* or a mass grave, serving instead as a marker for an individual grave.²⁵⁸ More commonly, these lions were markers for individual graves, but were not dedicated to the memory of entire groups, as is the case here and at Thermopylai. There are no traces of similar monumental *polyandreia* adorned by a lion statue in Thespias. Nor are there in Boiotia, save for the infamous Chaironeia lion.²⁵⁹ Its construction for the fallen of Delion could therefore have been an intentional demonstration to put the sacrifices by these Thespians on par with the sacrifices of their predecessors at Thermopylai, adding to the grandeur of their achievements: a victory over the new oppressor of the Greeks, the Athenians.

The care and attention with which these casualty lists were inscribed, the sculpting of the lion and the construction of the enclosure suggests some time elapsed before the *polyandreion* was erected.²⁶⁰ It must have occurred sometime after the battle, as the retrieval of the bodies and the funeral

²⁵⁴ Van Wijk 2021b. ²⁵⁵ Hdt. 7.202; 7.222, 225–6; 7.228.

²⁵⁶ Ma 2008 made a similar argument for the lion of Chaironeia.

²⁵⁷ *IThesp* 484 (first half fifth century); 486 (Corinthian War?); 487 (third century). Although the *polyandreia* belonging to these casualty lists were not excavated, the number of names inscribed on these lists suggest they were substantially smaller than the Delion *polyandron*.

²⁵⁸ De Ridder 1922: 253–5. Schilardi 1977 places them in the same tradition.

²⁵⁹ Other *polyandreia* adorned by a lion statue at Chaironeia and Amphipolis post-date Delion and cannot act as reference points for the Thespian *polyandreion*: Broneer 1941; 1961; Miller and Miller 1972; Roger 1939. Earlier dates, such as ca. 360 BCE, were posited by Balakales 1970: 291; Willemsen 1959: 56, 130.

²⁶⁰ Jeffery 1990: 94: 'a good example of the fine, sophisticated work that could be produced for a public monument by a mason with an individual style'. There is, for instance, no trace of the hasty additions found on the bottom or edges of Athenian lists: Bradeen 1969: 146–7.

ceremony would not have left enough time for the completion of the monument. The careful consideration demonstrates that Thespian leadership wished to elevate the commemoration of the battle to a higher, Panhellenic level. By placing the fallen on a pedestal and through allusion to the rallying cry of the *koinon* – the Athenians were the new Persians – the Thespians could cater to the message the anti-Athenian alliance wished to convey after the Battle of Delion.²⁶¹

Taken together with the festivities at Delion and the embellishments in Thebes, the *polyandreion* at Thespias offers an insight into the Boiotian psyche and their perception of the Athenians after the victory of 424. All these festivities and dedications served to promulgate the image of Boiotian unity in the face of foreign aggression. In this case this threat came from the Athenians, branded as the oppressors of the Greeks during the Peloponnesian War. This propaganda rang especially true for the Boiotians. Having endured a decade of Athenian dominion, they viscerally experienced that role. These local recollections of the battle were meant to strengthen regional cohesion, placing the exploits of these men on the same quasi-heroic level as those who fought the Persian Wars, in turn transforming the greatest Boiotian military victory into an achievement equivalent to the defence of Thermopylai. In this case, however, the Boiotians were solely responsible for defeating the common foe and celebrated it as such by ignoring Panhellenic shrines, instead preferring to celebrate these feats locally. The celebrations were thus aimed at boosting local pride, rather than an aspiration towards dominance in Greek politics.

Whereas the Battle of Delion constituted a source of pride and heroic admiration in Boiotia, the Athenians regarded this loss as a national trauma that left deep imprints. In accordance with tradition, the men were buried in a *polyandreion*. The sheer size of its casualty lists distinguished it from other *polyandreia*.²⁶² That notion of severe loss and admiration for the struggle is conveyed by the epigram inscribed on the casualty lists:

²⁶¹ Papazarkadas 2016 argues fourth-century Thespias followed Thebes in its epigraphic habits, voluntarily or not, contra Osborne 2017, who views the city as copying its neighbours in Boiotia and Attica.

²⁶² *IG I³* 1163. Arrington 2012 disassociates the ascribed fragment *SEG* 52.60 from the monument and offers a convincing reconstruction of the monument. His minute and technical analysis of the form and shapes of the stones reveals the inscription is more at place as a monument for Delion. He analyses how Pausanias traversed the *demosion sema* (Paus. 1.29.4–16). The *polyandreia* mentioned by the Periegete are all related to larger defeats, demonstrating how ancient visitors were impacted by the sight of these war memorials.

Steadfast men! What a struggle did you accomplish in a battle unforeseen when you destroyed your lives so marvellously in war, not in consequence of the strength of the enemy men, but it was one of the demi-gods who stood against you in godly strife and did you deliberate harm: but [...] a quarry hard to fight having hunted for [his? your?] enemies [...] together with your misfortune he brought to completion, and for all mortals for the future made the fulfilment of oracles credible to observe. (trans. E. Bowie)²⁶³

The epigram does not hide the destruction of Athenian lives, but paints a vivid, almost horrifying picture. The unusual length of the epigram would draw viewers to it. They would read of an unforeseen battle, perhaps hinting at the course the campaign of 424 took as the invasion went awry.²⁶⁴ The haunting scenes described in the epigram paint a gruesome death for these men. But the battle's outcome is somewhat softened by the invocation of divine intervention, offering solace to mourners about the fate of the fallen. It casts the opponent as a worthy and redoubtable foe: the demigod. Far from undermining the Boiotians' achievements, they benefited from divine assistance, granting a remarkable aura to their victory and the Athenian defeat, portraying it as an epic struggle that was impossible to win.²⁶⁵ The oracles mentioned could have been the pre-battle sacrifices and omens, as Pritchett argued, and perhaps an oracle had warned of the disastrous outcome of the battle.²⁶⁶ Could the reference to godly strife be a subtle reference to the most egregious aspect of the Battle at Delion, the dispute over the retrieval of the bodies after the fighting had finished?

The unedifying image of rotting bodies on the battlefield, contrary to the 'conventions of the Greeks', continued to haunt the Athenian *imaginaire* in the following decades.²⁶⁷ Euripides, in his *Suppliants*, transformed the more convivial Aeschylean version of the burial in the *Eleusinians* into a hostile affair that portrayed the Thebans as pernicious violators of Greek

²⁶³ Bowie 2010: 369–70.

²⁶⁴ The epigram is the only epigraphically attested eight-line epigram before 400: Bowie 2010: 369–70.

²⁶⁵ Arrington 2012.

²⁶⁶ Pritchett 1974–91: III 89–90. Mattingly 1996: 124–5 argues the oracle could be Amphiaraos, who remained on the Theban side rather than the Athenian. Considering the proximity of the Amphiareion and the disputed location of the battle (Schachter 2016a: 84–8) the suggestion is merited, although it must remain conjecture.

²⁶⁷ Any correlation between the battle and the pictorial scheme of the Athena Nike temple has to be refuted (Arrington 2015: 176; Steinbock 2013: 193–6), since the temple was completed before the battle: Schultz 2009. The Boiotians possibly started the tradition of carrying tripods to Dodona as a counter-measure against Athenian accusations of *miasma*: Castelnovo 2017.

norms by denying the fallen heroes a proper burial. Despite the possibility of different versions of the epic circulating, the tenor of contemporary events could have been distinguishable in Euripides' version.²⁶⁸ There is a possible hint of the dubious and cowardly behaviour of prominent Athenian people in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, performed a few months after the battle.²⁶⁹ The outcome of the battle distinctively altered the perception of the neighbours in the Athenian mind. On stage, the Thebans became devious violators of customs. Politically, the Boiotians were again regarded as equal to the Athenians in battle. They were no longer easy prey for exploitation, but neighbours worthy of consideration, unwilling to bow down to the Athenian will.²⁷⁰

For both sides the Battle of Delion (424) was a turning point. For the Boiotians the victory was shaped around notions of internal cohesion and stability in the face of external pressure, with the invaders portrayed in a similar light as the barbarous Persian armies. In Athens the loss left a profound impact on society, not least of all in their perception of the neighbours. Supported by divine favour, the relationship between the neighbours was permanently changed. Far from the riven *koinon* 'holm oaks' of the 450s, the Boiotians were now capable of independently withstanding the full force of the Athenians.

The remainder of the Peloponnesian War witnessed few direct neighbourly conflicts that could be celebrated or mourned. The Aegospotami monument, as explained above, reflected Spartan ambitions to thwart Athenian claims for hegemony. The end of the conflict inaugurated a rapprochement between the neighbours (Chapters 2.5, 3.2.2), proving that dualistic views of the neighbour co-existed and flourished throughout the Classical period, as the next example demonstrates.

5.2.7 *Herakles Resurgent? Theban Help for the Athenian Democrats after the Peloponnesian War*

After the successful return of Thrasybulus and his followers from Thebes and the re-establishment of the democracy, they dedicated statues of

²⁶⁸ Goossens 1962: 416–522; Zuntz 1955. For the politics in the play: Vickers 2015. Whether the play directly ties in to the Battle of Delion is doubted, depending on the date of its performance: Collard 1975; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1875. Tufano 2021 shows Euripides does project or integrate Delion in the *Suppliant Women*.

²⁶⁹ Sfyroeras 2020: 73–4.

²⁷⁰ The loss was remembered as one of the battles that changed the relations between Athenians and Boiotians in the latter's favour (Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4).

Athena and Herakles at the Theban Herakleion (Chapters 2.5, 3.2.2) (see Figure 5.7).²⁷¹ Pausanias recounts seeing the statue himself during his visit to Thebes:

The carvings on the gables at Thebes are by Praxiteles, and include most of what are called the twelve labours. The slaughter of the Stymphalian birds and the cleansing of the land of Elis by Herakles are omitted; in their place is represented the wrestling with Antaios. Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, and the Athenians who with him put down the tyranny of the Thirty, set out from Thebes when they returned to Athens, and therefore they dedicated in the sanctuary of Herakles colossal figures (κολοσσούς) of Athena and Herakles, carved by Alkamenes in relief out of Pentelic marble.²⁷²

The adjacent placement of the patron deities Athena and Herakles in the Herakleion embodied the recent Atheno-Theban collaboration. Similar invocations of polis' deities and their personification atop decrees or treaties reflect friendly relations between polities.²⁷³ The dedicants chose a familiar *topos* with roots in the mythological past. Herakles was accompanied by Athena on numerous occasions during his labours. Combined with the sculptural programme of the Herakleion – the pediments of the sanctuary covered the Herculean deeds – the dedication and shrine together formed a mental stimulus for recollecting the long-standing close (mythological) relationship between the neighbours.²⁷⁴ The subtle reference to the mythological exploits of the two deities suggests recent events were not a novelty but rather a natural extension of an enduring friendly co-existence.

In addition to the sculptural programme of the Herakleion, the decision to dedicate at this particular sanctuary was dictated by its location and intended audience. Recent excavations locate the sanctuary just outside of the Elektra gate and on the road to Athens.²⁷⁵ The temple formed the religious core of Theban military power, reflected in its possible role as the venue for displaying interstate treaties that embodied Theban political

²⁷¹ Maybe the *kioniskos* commemorating the events of 507/6 was destroyed at this time because it was no longer fashionable to be openly anti-Athenian in Thebes: Aravantinos 2006. However, it could have happened during the siege of Thebes in 479.

²⁷² Paus. 9.11.6. *COBI* 133 mentions the text is corrupt here without undermining the value of the reference.

²⁷³ A famous example is Hera and Athena embodying the Athenian-Samian relationship at the end of the Peloponnesian War: *RO* 2 pl. 1; Lawton 1995: 30, 36.

²⁷⁴ Moggi and Osanna 2010: 285; Steinbock 2013: 233–5. Athena's help was known throughout the Greek world, as the pediments on the temple at Olympia show: Barringer 2021: 129.

²⁷⁵ Aravantinos 2014: 50; Symeonoglou 1985: 133; 184.

power and military might.²⁷⁶ It is therefore tempting to imagine the Theban decree for the protection of the Athenian fugitives being erected here, which would strengthen the statues' message by visually linking the dedication to the same decrees that had guaranteed the Athenians' safety and ensured that future Athenian visitors to Thebes would be reminded of the support their ancestors received.²⁷⁷

The dedication of these statues thus served a double purpose. First, the visitors to the sanctuary would be reminded of the Athenian gratitude for the Theban support in their hour of need. Second, the statues added to the Theban prestige by acknowledging their role in the restoration of the democracy. They indirectly allude to the standing of the Thebans in the Greek world. The Athenian leadership chose the Herakleion because of its location and the mythological connections between Herakles and Athena, but it equally appealed to Theban military power, embodied in their guarantee to act as a safe haven for the Athenian refugees.

Thrasybulus' dedication acknowledged Herakles' centrality in Theban lore. Later sources speak of a discussion in the Theban assembly where the decision to support the refugee democrats was partially inspired by the polis' self-image, based on the worthy precedents set by the hero's exploits (Chapter 3.4.1).²⁷⁸ The dedicants understood how to express their gratitude by directly linking their statues to the same deity their hosts invoked to guarantee the safety of the refugees. These statues were embedded in the local culture, and the dedication demonstrates Thrasybulus' appreciation of the local topography and history.

The statues' size – colossal, in Pausanias' words – suggests they dominated the sacred landscape of the Herakleion.²⁷⁹ The word 'κόλοσσός' rarely occurs in our extant sources, so the statues must have been sizeable for Pausanias to employ such terms.²⁸⁰ The statues of Athena and Herakles stood out, even at a popular sanctuary like the Herakleion where numerous pots, statuettes and other offerings would have cluttered around the

²⁷⁶ Aravantinos and Papazarkadas 2012; Papazarkadas 2016 suggest the Herakleion could have acted as the location to celebrate Theban military might.

²⁷⁷ Plut. *Lys.* 27.3; *Pel.* 6.5; Diod. 14.6.1; Din. 1.25. For the decrees' historical plausibility: Chapter 3.4.1.

²⁷⁸ Plut. *Lys.* 27.3.

²⁷⁹ Since the Perieget is a trustworthy reporter of monuments (Habicht 1985: 28–63, 149; Keesling 2003: 27–30), I have no qualms accepting his account regarding the size of the statues.

²⁸⁰ A search in the database *Logeion* revealed it occurs fewer than fifty times. In some sources it is used to simply denote a statue, but Pausanias uses it only four times in his entire work: Paus. 1.18.6; 1.42.3; 2.35.3; 9.11.6.

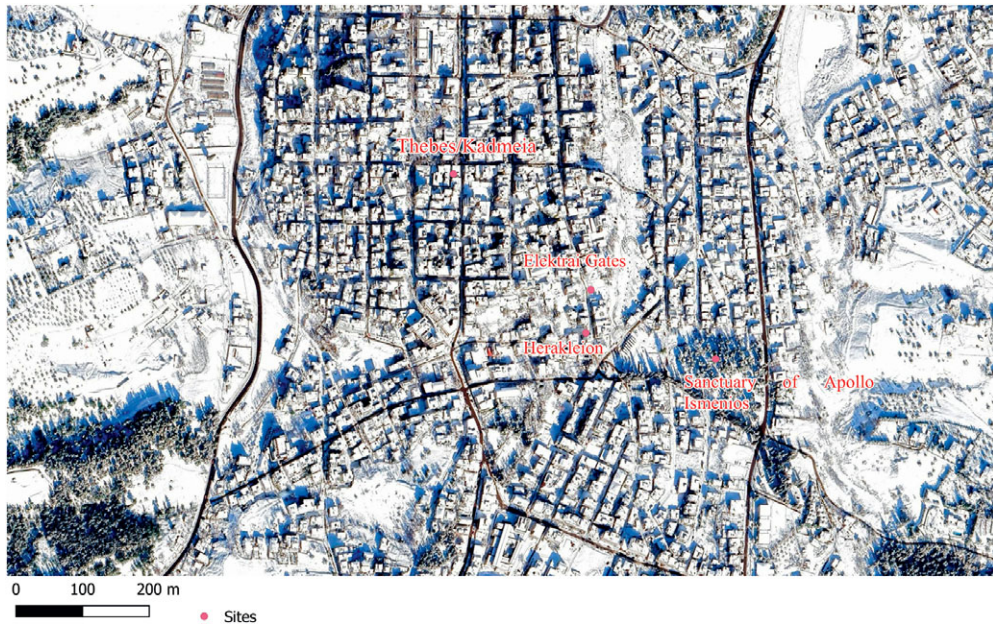


Figure 5.7 Map of modern Thebes with ancient sites marked.

(Source: Google Earth 2022, accessed 28 October 2022. Map created by author)

altar.²⁸¹ The Pentelic marble identified the Athenian provenance to visitors. The statues were arguably meant to overshadow other dedications at the shrine, perhaps reflecting the gratitude and debt the Athenians owed to the Thebans for helping realise the return of the democracy. Their commanding presence in the Herakleion served as a perpetual recollection of Theban-Athenian synergy, a positive reinforcement of their efforts to overthrow a Spartan-backed tyranny.

The permanence of this memory takes on added potency by considering *when* Pausanias viewed this statue. Thebes was destroyed in 335 after revolting against Alexander. In its wake the city was burnt to the ground, save for Pindar's house and sanctuaries.²⁸² The statues plausibly survived this upheaval, but it demonstrates that the memory of Atheno-Theban collaboration survived even the worst of calamities. The Athenian help in rebuilding the city would have provided an impetus for re-creating the dedication.²⁸³ Or, if it did survive, it remained a testimony to the long-standing relationship.

In Thebes, there was thus a literary and a sculptural tradition that kept this memory of collaboration alive. Pausanias must have obtained his

²⁸¹ Aravantinos 2014. ²⁸² Plut. *Alex.* 11.9–12; Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10; Diod. 17.14.1–4.

²⁸³ Kalliontzis and Paparzakadas 2019.

information through local historians in whose works the epicchoric perspective on the collaboration survived. The Athenians contributed to this survival by dedicating an impressive monument that aimed to stir Theban, Boiotian and Athenian audiences alike when visiting the Herakleion. The embeddedness of the statues in the local culture and historiography ensured its survival until Pausanias' time.

The memory of this cooperative exploit remained extant in Athenian local spheres as well. Here, the fabric of commemoration focused more on the heroic exploits of the exiled democrats. The victory at Phyle was perceived as a defining moment in Athenian history, on par with the daring exploits of the *Marathonomachoi* or the heroics for *eleutheria* at Salamis. In his *Against Ctesiphon*, Aeschines places these events on the same level as examples to be emulated by the current generation.²⁸⁴ Thrasybulus' return from exile became so ingrained in Athenian social memory that the overthrow of the Thirty could be referred to by colloquial remarks such as 'returning from Phyle' or 'leading the demos back from Phyle' by orators such as Lysias, Andocides, Aeschines and Demosthenes.²⁸⁵ The proverbial phrase also found its way into comedy, with Aristophanes alluding to it in his *Ploutos* from 388.²⁸⁶

Helping to establish and perpetuate these memories for the citizens were physical mementos located in the Athenian civic and sacred spaces, acting as constant reminders of the works undertaken by Thrasybulus and his compatriots. One example comes from Aeschines. He mentions an honorary decree and epigram set up to commemorate the exploits of these heroes.²⁸⁷ This fits with the tendency to hold up decrees of bygone eras as a paradigm of the moral standards offered by previous generations and how these should be maintained by the newer generations.²⁸⁸ The orator's account suggests that these two texts were inscribed on the same stone,

²⁸⁴ Aeschin. 3.181: 'How true this is, I wish to teach you a little more explicitly. Does it seem to you that Themistocles, who was general when you conquered the Persian in the battle of Salamis, was the better man, or Demosthenes, who the other day deserted his post? Miltiades, who won the battle of Marathon, or yonder man? Further – the men who brought back the exiled democracy from Phyle?'

²⁸⁵ Aeschin. 3.181, 187, 190, 208; And. 1.89; Dem. 19.280, 24.135.

²⁸⁶ Steinbock 2013: 240; Wolpert 2002: 75–99; Ar. *Plut.* 1146: 'Forget past injuries, now you have taken Phyle. Ah! how I should like to live with you! Take pity and receive me.'

²⁸⁷ Aeschin. 3.187–90.

²⁸⁸ Liddel 2020: II 242: 'However, decrees that were associated with bygone eras, preserved in collective memory and then instantiated in inscribed versions (or accounts of inscribed versions), such as the decree against Arthemios or that associated with Demophantos, appear to have acquired a more resilient status by being deployed as paradigms of the moral standards put in front of Athenian audiences at the assembly and lawcourts.'

which appears to be confirmed by the fragments of a decree that enumerates the names of the participants in the capture of Phyle.²⁸⁹ The decision to engrave this decision and immortalise it demonstrates the relevance of these helpers for the Athenians.²⁹⁰ New studies of the stones showed only a select group of heroes was chosen, who were subsequently honoured with rewards and a statue to commemorate their exploits. The stone with the epigrams served as a base for a possible statue of a personification of democracy or the Athenian demos.²⁹¹ Other ways of keeping the memory of Phyle alive were annual festivals, sacrifices and the erection of victory trophies, if Plutarch's account is valid.²⁹² Plutarch describes how the memory of Thrasybulus was on Theban minds in 379 when Theban exiles wished to return to their native city to topple the Spartan junta. Pelopidas implored his fellows to follow Thrasybulus' example in boldness to liberate Thebes.²⁹³

The focus on the Athenian democrats' exploits did not impinge on the memory of Theban help. One possible stimulus for recollecting the help was a decree in the Athenian Agora. The decree awards citizenship to the *xenoi* at Phyle in recognition of their sacrifice and support for the democracy. The recipients may have included Thebans and Boiotians.²⁹⁴ The decree stipulates that these *xenoi* were to be distributed among the ten tribes of Athens, where they could act as living reminders of the help provided to the Athenians. Even those supporters who joined the cause after Phyle were rewarded, albeit with honours other than citizenship. The decree helped to anchor the commemoration of Theban and Boiotian help in the minds of the Athenians and was probably a memento that orators could refer to when dealing with the memory of this event. It also helped these recipients that their rights were ensured, as it allowed them to point it out to other citizens or during trials.²⁹⁵

The memorials proved their worth in subsequent years, when an unnamed Theban ambassador referred to the memory of the help for the

²⁸⁹ SEG 28.45; Raubitschek 1941; Taylor 2002. The identification of the fragments is based on the similarity of the two beginnings of elegiac couplets (ll. 73–6) with the epigram quoted by Aeschines. Additional evidence is that five of the men honoured came from the deme of Phyle (ll. 43–7). Although little of the decree survives to warrant reconstructing it with Aeschines' speech, another decree that grants citizenship to the *xenoi* of Phyle appears to confirm Raubitschek's reconstruction: RO 4.

²⁹⁰ Lambert 2018: 47–68. ²⁹¹ Malouchou 2014; 2015.

²⁹² Plut. *de Glor. Ath.* 7 (*Mor.* 349f). ²⁹³ Plut. *Pel.* 7.1–2.

²⁹⁴ RO 4. Some scholars limit these honours to the Athenian followers of Thrasybulus, but see Taylor 2002. Some Thebans and Boiotians joined the early stages of the democratic revolt: Plut. *Lys.* 27.4; Diod. 14.32.1; Justin 5.9.8.

²⁹⁵ Liddel 2020: 139–47.

Athenian exiles to procure an alliance with the Athenians at a time when war with the Spartans was inevitable. Despite the trepidations of some of his countrymen, Thrasybulus replied to the ambassador that the Athenians would aid their neighbours – and eclipse their help of 403 – by agreeing to an alliance and defending their country from Spartan aggression (Chapter 3.2.2).²⁹⁶ Similarly, the presence of Theban exiles in Athens after the Spartan takeover of the Cadmeia in 382 buttressed the memory of their common exploits against the Spartan aggressor, as evidenced by the comments of an Athenian client of Lysias acting on behalf of his Theban guest-friend. In the trial, he recollects the help he received from his guest-friends and suggests the Athenians should do the same for the Thebans (Chapters 2.5, 3.2.3, 3.3).²⁹⁷ The appearance of these references in court suggests the neighbour's help was not suppressed. In this case it concerned a private relationship between two *xenoi*, but the award of public benefits tellingly reveals a grander investment of the entire polis in the exiles' well-being.

The memory was still present in the later fourth century. Dinarchus evoked the Theban help during the Harpalus affair in 323 in his *Against Demosthenes*.²⁹⁸ Recent events, like the alliance against Philip in 338 and Thebes' destruction in 335, must have rekindled the memory of this previous collaboration (Chapters 2.7, 3.3, 3.4.4). He recounts how Demosthenes' behaviour warrants no praise as his involvement led to the destruction of Cadmus' city. Within that context Dinarchus recounts the Theban help in 403 and reminds his audience that the decree to help them had been read aloud on numerous occasions:

The Thebans, so our elders tell us, when the democracy in our city had been overthrown and Thrasybulus was assembling the exiles in Thebes ready for the seizure of Phyle, although the Spartans were strong and forbade them to admit or let out any Athenian, helped the democrats to return and passed that decree which has so often been read before you, stating that they would turn a blind eye if any Athenian marched through their territory bearing arms.²⁹⁹

This acts as a moral standard from bygone eras that needed to be maintained, in which decrees played a vital role in forming a socially shared memory.³⁰⁰ At various stages after the original Theban support, the Athenians recollected their neighbours' help in overthrowing the Spartan-installed tyranny in 403. That becomes clear from Pausanias'

²⁹⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.16. ²⁹⁷ Lys. 286.3 Carey.

²⁹⁸ MacDowell 2009: 409–14; Worthington 1992: 41–77. ²⁹⁹ Din. 1.25.

³⁰⁰ Liddel 2020: II 242.

account of the Athenian *demosion sema*. He visits the tomb of Thrasybulus, the sight of which inspired Pausanias to anoint him ‘the greatest of all famous Athenians’:

Such are their sanctuaries here, and of the graves the first is that of Thrasybulus son of Lykos, in all respects the greatest of all famous Athenians, whether they lived before him or after him. The greater number of his achievements I shall pass by, but the following facts will suffice to bear out my assertion. He put down what is known as the tyranny of the Thirty, setting out from Thebes with a force amounting at first to sixty men; he also persuaded the Athenians, who were torn by factions, to be reconciled, and to abide by their compact.³⁰¹

Several aspects stand out about Pausanias’ account. First, the decision to bury Thrasybulus in the *demosion sema* – the public cemetery – reflects the desire of the Athenians to commemorate the overthrow of the Thirty not as the action of a factional leader but as a victory of democracy over oligarchy.³⁰² Second, that Pausanias writes about Thrasybulus so many centuries after shows the indelible mark left by the leader on Athenian social memory. The overthrow of the Thirty was arguably his greatest exploit, so for Pausanias to refer to this achievement is unsurprising. More pertinent to the current investigation is that Thrasybulus’ return is linked to his stay in Thebes. The city acts as the base for his actions, linking the Theban help to a physical place in the landscape, demonstrating that the recollection of their support had not vanished from Athenian memory. Undoubtedly, this was due in large part to the mementos and testimonies that could be found in local Theban and Athenian civic and sacred spaces.

5.2.8 *Once a Traitor, always a Traitor: Remembering Medism in the Mid-Fourth Century*

Friendly collaborations dominated the memorial and political landscape of the first decades of the fourth century, but the relationship between the Athenians and the Boiotians soured in subsequent decades. The Athenian-Spartan alliance in 369 at the expense of the Thebans (Chapter 3.1.3) allowed an old familiar trope to re-emerge: medism. A spike previously occurred during the Peloponnesian War, triggered by the animosity between the neighbours and the influx of Plataian refugees, which explains the renewed circulation of anti-Theban traditions.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Paus. 1.29.3. ³⁰² Wolpert 2002: 75–99.

³⁰³ Steinbock 2013: 115–18. For the Plataian tradition: Yates 2013. Fears over medism start to appear within the Athenian empire around this time, like the Decree for Erythrai (IG I³ 14). In

Most of these vituperations remained in the realm of words, however, with little changes in the commemorative practices.³⁰⁴ The invocations of the Persian Wars by the Spartan envoys in 369 appear to have been ineffective with the Athenian audience, perhaps reflecting that Theban medism was less *en vogue* in Athenian discourse at the time (Chapter 3.1.3).³⁰⁵ One could point to Isocrates' *Plataicus* of 373, but judging from the relative lack of impact on Athenian decision-making one may wonder how persuasive his references to medism were. That it was written from a Plataian perspective, in which Theban medism played an essential role, mitigates its representative value for Athenian discourse further.

That changed in 369. The rekindling of the 'Auld alliance' against a common foe created the ideal breeding ground for a more antagonistic attitude towards the Thebans and Boiotians. Perhaps it even triggered a general obsession with the Persian Wars.³⁰⁶ The ghost of medism re-emerged from the Athenian minds and found its way into the memorial landscape of the city and its countryside. This resurrection was not only a result of political shifts, but equally the response to the Boiotians' claim for hegemonial status, a prerogative previously reserved for the Athenians and Spartans.

This absorption with the Persian Wars had ramifications for the Atheno-Boiotian relations as the Boiotians were increasingly framed as the prototypical traitors.³⁰⁷ It was in their nature to betray justice and freedom and they preferred to nestle themselves under the wings of a barbarian protector intent on enslaving Greece. That image was 'confirmed' by their collaboration with Philip, a contemporary 'barbarian' nemesis of Athens. Demosthenes, in particular, was keen to envision the Macedonians as the new Persians, and it is during the Third Sacred War

line 26–8 a punishment for medism is stipulated (any single one of the exiles, nor [shall I be persuaded to take back?] any of those who have fled to the Medes, without the permission of the Council and the People of the Athenians; τὸν φ[υγά]δον [κατ]αδέχσομαι οὐδ[έ] μὲν α ΟΥΤΟΠΟΙΚΑΙΝΑ[... 5 ...] ΠΠΕΙΣ[.]Θ[.]Α[.] 1 – 2 τὸν ἐς Μέδος φευγόν[ν]τος]ν ἀνευ τῆ[ς] βολῆ[ς] τ[ῆ]ς Ἄθ[η]ν[ων] καὶ τοῦ δήμου). Conventionally it is dated to 454–450 but Moroo 2014 dates it to the 430s. The new date would support my point that medism was not central to Athenian discourse until the 430s.

³⁰⁴ Lysias, in his *Funeral Oration*, points out medizing Greeks at the Battle of Plataia (Lys. 2.46). He does not, however, name them, perhaps a reflection of the contemporary neighbourly cooperation. Todd 2007: 149–64 argues it was a show piece, not a performed oration.

³⁰⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.

³⁰⁶ Hornblower 2010: 308–10 identifies its peak around the mid-fourth century.

³⁰⁷ Steinbock 2013: 143–50.

that we find growing evidence of Athenian dedicatory practices intent on memorialising the Boiotians as medizers.³⁰⁸

This attitude is first exhibited in the famous inscription from Acharnai, detailing the ephebic oath and the ‘Oath of Plataia’ (see Figure 5.8).³⁰⁹ Tentatively dated to 350–325, it concerns a decree moved by Dio, priest of Ares in Acharnai. The ephebic oath deals with the defence of the countryside against invasion, especially pertinent among growing fears of a pending invasion of Attica. The Oath of Plataia is a supposedly historical oath taken by the Greek forces just before the Battle of Plataia (479). Its historicity is a highly controversial issue.³¹⁰ Whether there is a historical kernel of truth in the Oath is of secondary importance here. What matters is the apparent discrepancy between the earlier Athenian reluctance to identify medizers in their memorials commemorating the Persian Wars, and the stele in Acharnai: ‘And when I have been victorious fighting against the barbarians, I shall (totally destroy) and dedicate a tenth of the city of the Thebans, and I shall not raze Athens or Sparta or Plataia or any of the other cities that were allied.’³¹¹

The message reflects the contemporary situation. It evokes the Spartans and Plataians, as they could claim to have fought on the ‘good side’, unlike the medizing Thebans, who are singled out for punishment.³¹² In the context of renewed tensions and the imminent threat of an invasion of Attica, and all the destruction this would cause, the need to remember the heroic struggles of the Persian Wars and the role played by the Thebans would have become pertinent again. The place of the stele is equally important. As Danielle Kellogg pointed out, the entwining of these two oaths evokes the memory of the hinterland’s destruction during the

³⁰⁸ E.g., Dem. 9.31; 3.23–4.

³⁰⁹ RO 88. Traces of the oath can be found in Lyc. 1.80–1; Diod. 11.29.2–3.

³¹⁰ Siewert 1972 argues for its authenticity. Flower and Marincola 2002: 323–5; Habicht 1961 contend it. Krentz 2007 believes the oath refers to Marathon, rather than Plataia. Van Wees 2006 sees it as an ancient oath of the sworn bands in Archaic Sparta. See Theopompos’ (FGrH 115 F153) remarks regarding Athenian claims about the war. The Greek alliance swore an oath before Thermopylai according to Hdt. 7.132, avowing to tithe all medizing poleis. Monti 2012 dates the inscription of these oaths to Alexander’s reign after 335 to strengthen ties between the Athenians, Spartans and Plataians against the Persians, an ingenious suggestion. Yet the Athenian lamentations over Thebes post-335 make such an invocation to destroy the city somewhat remarkable.

³¹¹ RO 88 ll.31–6. Claims of ‘tithing Thebes’ (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.20) can be refuted: Steinbock 2013: 106–13, 310–19.

³¹² According to Baltrusch 1994: 30–48 they were singled out for tithing because they left the Hellenic League against the Persians, unlike other medizers. But that assumes the defence of Thermopylai was a concerted effort by the League, which it was not: Chapter 2.3.

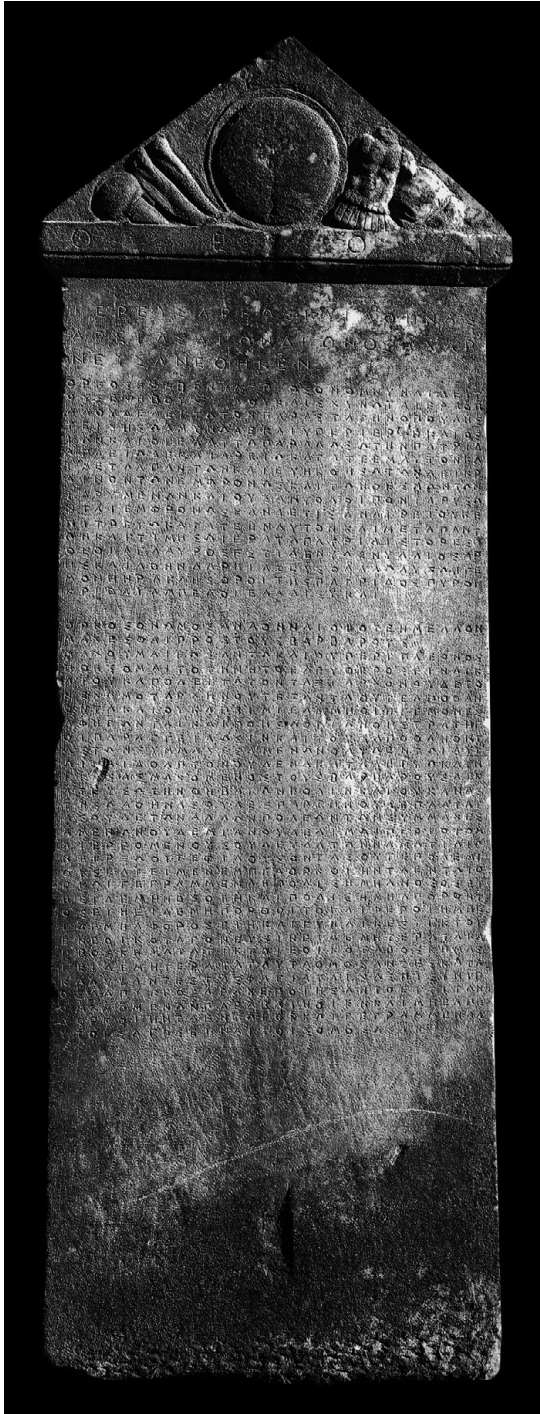


Figure 5.8 Fourth-century stele containing the Oath of Plataia and the Epeheic Oath from Acharnai.

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Persian Wars, for which the Boiotians and their barbarian allies were responsible.³¹³ In this local setting the erection of this stele perpetuated the image of a treacherous Thebes.

Athenians could take it a step further and even ignore *any* Theban contribution to the defence of Greece. This was in contrast to earlier recollections, when even Herodotus could not deny their help at Thermopylai. The passing of veterans and other contemporary witnesses, combined with the lack of memorials at the battle site commemorating Theban (and Thespian) contributions, further exacerbated the matter.³¹⁴ Little remained – in Athens at least – to counter the narrative that increasingly gained traction: that the Boiotians were arch-medizers and had *always* been treacherous towards Greece and its interests.

Demosthenes, in his *Second Philippic* (344/3), decries the Boiotians' past deeds. While his main purpose is to conceptualise the looming conflict with Philip as another Persian War, the orator creates a link to the past by reminding his audience of past Boiotian behaviour:

But as to the Thebans, he believed – and the event justified him – that in return for benefits received they would give him a free hand for the future and, so far from opposing or thwarting him, would even join forces with him, if he so ordered. Today, on the same assumption, he is doing the Messenians and the Argives a good turn. That, men of Athens, is the highest compliment he could pay you. For by these very acts you stand judged the one and only power in the world incapable of abandoning the common rights of the Greeks at any price, incapable of bartering your devotion to their cause for any favour or any profit. And it was natural that he should form this opinion of you and the contrary opinion of the Argives and Thebans, because he not merely looks to the present, but also draws a lesson from the past. . . . On the other hand, he learns that the ancestors of these Thebans and Argives either fought for the barbarians or did not fight against them. He knows, then, that they both will pursue their own (or local) interests, irrespective of the common advantage of the Greeks. (adapted from Loeb edition)³¹⁵

Demosthenes frames the Thebans as archetypal traitors, unable to look beyond their local horizon and own interests, to the detriment of the Greeks en masse. The accusation resonated more since the Thebans were reinforcing their Panhellenic credentials at the time. I would contend it was

³¹³ Kellogg 2008; 2013a.

³¹⁴ The battle site of Thermopylai was monopolised by Spartan memorials: van Wijk 2021b.

³¹⁵ Dem. 6.9–12.

not necessarily an indictment of the Thebans as medizers. It is their epichoric perspective, their ‘own (ἰδιῶν) interests’, that sets them apart from the Athenians, a strong condemnation of the recent claims to Panhellenic prestige. They essentially aimed only at promoting Boiotian interests, rather than serving *all of the Greeks*.

Another example comes from Apollodorus (c. 340). He goes a step further, mixing up various elements of the Persian Wars by claiming the Plataians were the only Boiotians who fought with Leonidas:

And again, when Xerxes came against Greece and the Thebans went over to the side of the Medes, the Plataians refused to withdraw from their alliance with us, but, unsupported by any others of the Boiotians, half of them arrayed themselves in Thermopylai against the advancing barbarian together with the Lacedaimonians and Leonidas, and perished with them.³¹⁶

Maybe the influx of Plataians after the town’s destruction by the Thebans helped to foment such an attitude (Chapter 4.1.3). Other, less negative views of the Boiotians continued to exist in Athens. The negative narrative was dominant, but others were not dormant. Memory is a multi-focal experience and polis ideology could not trump everything. The contemporary political situation, however, fostered a different version of the Persian Wars to weaken the *koinon*’s prestige and reinforce the Athenian-Spartan axis.

These efforts to stigmatise the Boiotians did not come about in isolation. In an effort to bolster their Panhellenic appeal, the *koinon* made various dedications at Delphi, such as the Theban treasury and a statue of Herakles after the Third Sacred War (Chapter 5.1.3).³¹⁷ In addition to these offerings the Boiotians revived, expanded and rebuilt older temples in their city.³¹⁸ A statue of Epameinondas, accompanied by an epigram seen by Pausanias, elaborated his deeds for the greater good of Hellas.³¹⁹ Another statue,

³¹⁶ [Dem.] 59.95. For the date: Kapparis 1999: 48; Trevett 1990.

³¹⁷ Scott 2016. The Thessalians dedicated a statue of Pelopidas celebrating his efforts as ‘a destroyer of Sparta’: Brown-Ferrario 2014: 272; *Harding* 49.

³¹⁸ Schachter 2016a: 113–32.

³¹⁹ Zizzi 2006: 344–9; Paus. 9.15.6:

‘By my counsels was Sparta shorn of her glory,
And holy Messene received at last her children.
By the arms of Thebe was Megalopolis encircled with walls,
And all Greece won independence and freedom.’

This statue was re-erected after the destruction of Thebes, so perhaps the Panhellenic message of the epigram is somewhat muddled, compared with the Pelopidas statue in Delphi and the

ostensibly for Pelopidas and which perhaps stood alongside the statue of Epameinondas, was set up in Thebes with the following words:

[Π]ατρίς ἀριστεύουσ' ἀλκῆι δορός Ἑλλά[δος ἀλλης]
 [ε]ἶλετο τόνδ' αὐτῆς ἡγεμόν' ἔμ πολέ[μωι]
 [ο]ς ποτε κινδύνοις πλείστοις Ἄρεως ἐ[ν ἀγώσιν]
 [τ]ᾶς ἀφοβους Θήβας μείσζονας ἠύκλέ[ισεν]
 Ἰππίας Ἐροτιώνιος Διί Σαώτη ἀνέθη[κε]
 Λύσιππος Σικυώνιος ἐπόησε

The fatherland, prevailing by the might of a spear over the rest of Hellas
 Has chosen this man as its leader in war
 Who, when there were many dangers in the contests of Ares,
 Brought greater honour to fearless Thebes
 Hippias son of Erotion dedicated it to Zeus Saotas
 Lysippus of Sicyon made it. (trans. E. Mackil)³²⁰

These monuments give the impression of a confident Thebes that proclaims its rightful place as leaders of Hellas. That message was strengthened by the adoption of the Ionic script in the 360s, following Nikolaos Papazarkadas, transforming the local, introspect perspective of Boiotia into a beacon of Panhellenic prestige.³²¹ It is in light of that later remark and the motivations behind the adaptation of the Ionic script that I would hesitantly ascribe the Theban epigram from the Persian Wars to the Battle of Thermopylai, based on the date of its re-inscription.³²²

Text A

[-----]EPETON[.]T[.]
 [-∞ | -∞ | - | ἐν? π]ολέμυ [θ]ανέμεν
 [-∞ | -∞ | - ∞ | -]πατρίδος πέρι Θέβας
 4 [-∞ | -]εντο ἄθλα κράτιστ' ἀρετᾶς

Text B

[-----]ΛΥ. . ἘPETON[.]ΥΤΟ
 [-∞ | -∞ | - | ἐν π]ολέμοι θανέμεν
 [-∞ | -∞ | -∞ | -]πατρίδος πέρι Θείβ[α][ς]
 [.]NA[- - -]εντο ἄθλα κράτιστ' ἀρετᾶς³²³

offering to Zeus Saotas. Both focus more on the individual and the defeat of Sparta: Gartland 2016a.

³²⁰ Ducrey and Calamé 2006; BE 2009, no. 259; Mackil 2013: 416–17. ³²¹ Papazarkadas 2016.

³²² Papazarkadas 2014. ³²³ Text B is the Ionic re-inscription of the original epigram.

The phrase ‘fallen for the native land of Thebes’ (θανέμεν . . . πατρίδος πέρι Θειβα[ς]) could also apply to the defence of Thermopylai. It was after the defeat of the forces at the Hot Gates that the Thebans went over to the Persian side, but the appearance of a troop of Thebans defending the pass was a shimmer of support for the Hellenic League and testifies to the conflicting loyalties in the polis.

Herodotus’ account – despite its flaws concerning the Theban commitment to the defence of the pass – does not contradict this.³²⁴ He concedes some Thebans perished before the Persian King accepted their surrender, meaning that these would have been buried by the survivors, who could have recognised the bodies of their fallen brethren.³²⁵ The fourth century witnessed the rise of Boiotian epichoric historians writing works that reflected the local perspective on these events.³²⁶ The retelling of exploits at Thermopylai could have meshed nicely with the re-inscription of the epigram. Invoking the Theban contributions to the defence of Thermopylai, a battle that became increasingly ingrained into the common Greek *imaginaire* in the fourth century, served to promote the Theban perspective. At a time of increasing appeals to Panhellenic prestige, it countered the increasingly narrow narrative of the Persian Wars that was propagated by the Athenians and, in the case of Thermopylai, the Spartans.³²⁷

We therefore witness an increased concern with the Persian Wars around the mid-fourth century in both the Athenian and Boiotian spheres. For the first time there is a ‘propagandistic battle’ raging in both the local and the Panhellenic spheres, as evidenced by the dedications vying for attention in Delphi (Chapter 5.1.3). This could be related to the Sacred War and the control over the Delphi sanctuary. Yet the purpose in both cases differed. The *koinon* used Delphi to advertise their credentials for leading the Greeks, but without evoking the Persian Wars. Instead, they preferred to appropriate an earlier epigram and the local sepulchral spaces to locate their Persian War credentials. These efforts were aimed at a local audience, but tied into a broader scheme of Panhellenic credentials. The Athenians employed their vault of Persian War memories to challenge the Boiotians

³²⁴ Hdt. 9.67: οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων (‘those of the Thebans that medized’). For this interpretation of the sentence: Flower and Marincola 2002: 224.

³²⁵ Hdt. 7.233: ‘They were not, however, completely lucky. When the barbarians took hold of them as they approached, they killed some of them even as they drew near.’ Plut. *de Hdt. Mal.* 31–2 equally contends the Thebans joined in a final attack against the Persians.

³²⁶ Tufano 2019a explores epichoric Boiotian historiography in the fourth century.

³²⁷ Brown 2013 for the battle’s *Nachleben* in antiquity.

head-on at Delphi through the golden shields from Plataia. This dedication, however, flowed from their increasing emphasis on medizers in the commemoration of the conflict, with a special place reserved for the Thebans. Their recollections of the Persian Wars still focused on the Athenian audience, as can be perceived from the speeches preserved in the orators or the Oath of Plataia found in Acharnai. That the latter was attached to the Ephebic Oath reinforces the epichoric importance of the monument. What we perceive here is a convergence of a Panhellenic theme – Theban medism – but employed at a local level to buttress inimical feelings, adding a layer of hostility atop the political climate in which the neighbours once again opposed each other.

That situation quickly changed, as the tides of fortune swept the Athenians into the hands of the Boiotians in an alliance against the new great threat: Philip of Macedon. The fateful outcome of that clash is the next and final example of the local commemorative practices, which repeats a confluence of Panhellenic and epichoric views. In this situation – the Panhellenic sanctuaries were controlled by the Macedonian king – the choice may have been less voluntary than in earlier times.

5.2.9 *The Embers of Freedom: Chaironeia and the Struggle against Macedon*

The effects of contemporary history on the neighbourly commemorative practices is best reflected in the lead-up to and aftermath of the battle of Chaironeia (338). Thirty years of hostilities and friction were reinterpreted in a last-minute attempt to form a united front against Philip. Yet flexibility of memory proved futile against Macedonian spears, and the Boiotian-Athenian-led coalition found its demise on the fields of Chaironeia (Chapters 2.7, 3.4.4).

In the lead-up to the formation of the anti-Macedonian pact we can detect positive changes in the Athenian commemorative sphere vis-à-vis the Boiotians. Isocrates is perhaps the best example. In his *Panegyricus* (380) he employed the antagonistic version of the *Seven against Thebes* myth, claiming the Thebans refused the burial of their fallen enemies in breach of *nomos* and were forced to surrender the bodies only after an Athenian attack on their city.³²⁸ In his *Panathenaicus* (339) Isocrates

³²⁸ Isoc. 4.55–8. This shows the multifocality of commemorative traditions. At this time there was a pro-Spartan junta in Thebes and its exiles were in Athens, demonstrating that multiple memory cultures could co-exist.

adheres to the version in Aeschylus' *Eleusinians*, which offers a diplomatic solution to the conflict. The orator openly admits that people would notice his difference in tone, demonstrating that the perception of the neighbours could be altered to fit the political climate.³²⁹

The perception of recent Boiotian behaviour could be altered too. The war against the Macedonians was steeped in the ideological tradition of the Persian Wars. The struggle with the new barbarian was already a topical discourse in Athens, where Demosthenes frequently referred to the king as the new Persian tyrant, and framed the oncoming war in similar tones. His premonition, expounded in the *On the Symmories* (353), that the Boiotians would happily erase the shame of their medism if the opportunity arose, came true in 339.³³⁰ Instead of the archetypical traitors to the cause, the Boiotians now became champions of freedom, standing up for the cherished independence of the Greeks against the barbarous tyrant from the north.

The commemorative traditions following the battle show this transformation. Demosthenes in his speech *On the Crown* (c. 330) refers to the burials of the fallen at Chaironeia and places them in a long list of feats of Athenian heroism and military valour against foreign oppressions by placing them alongside those who fought at Marathon and Salamis:

I swear it by our forefathers who bore the brunt of warfare at Marathon, who stood in the ranks of battle at Plataia, who fought in the sea-fights at Salamis and Artemisium, and by all the brave men who lie in our public memorials, buried there by a city that judged them all to be alike worthy of the same honour – all, I say, Aeschines, not the successful and victorious alone. (trans. P. Low)³³¹

Demosthenes here reframes the loss at Chaironeia as a victory and puts the exploits against the Macedonians on par with the legendary endeavours against the Persians. The outcome of the battle is less important. The key message was that these men had sacrificed their lives to protect the freedom of the Greeks against foreign oppression and had obtained the greatest honour by emulating their heroic ancestors.

It is a sentiment echoed in Demosthenes' *Funeral Oration*, delivered after the burial of the fallen.³³² Here he aimed to grab some form of victory

³²⁹ Isoc. 12.172–3. Steinbock 2013: 201–10 elaborates on the textual peculiarities that reveal Isocrates' changes in the text and reflects on the orator's own comments. The political interpretation of Isocrates' change of heart in depicting the myth has been doubted, as the depiction of the Thebans is still unflattering: Gray 1994: 96–100.

³³⁰ Dem. 14.33–4. ³³¹ Dem. 18.208; Low 2010: 353.

³³² Whether speech 60 preserved in the Demosthenic corpus reflects the original speech is doubted since antiquity: Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 44; MacDowell 2009: 7–8. These doubts were raised on

from the clutches of defeat.³³³ The orator places the exploits at Chaironeia in a long line of heroic Athenian efforts against foreign invaders, starting with the expulsion of the Amazons from Greece right down to the Persian Wars, reflecting the master narrative of the Funeral Oration.³³⁴ Like their predecessors, the Athenians at Chaironeia fought for Greek freedom (*eleutheria*) and dignity (*axioma*).³³⁵ Demosthenes even claims these men carried with them the 'freedom of the whole Greek world'.³³⁶ Their demise meant Greek *eleutheria* was buried with them. Demosthenes only refers to the Boiotians in a negative way by blaming their generals for the loss but exculpates the regular troops who thereby share in the *arete* of their Athenian brethren though the association with such a heroic exploit.³³⁷ He here follows the established norms of the Funeral Oration, where the idea of Athens was idealised and where no ambivalent or negative imagery could be distributed to the listeners.³³⁸

There is one caveat. Based on the manuscripts of the text, Max Pohlenz argued that two versions of Demosthenes' *Funeral Oration* were circulated.³³⁹ One version puts the onus on Boiotian leadership, which sent these brave men to their graves. If not for faulty generals, Philip would have been defeated and the fallen celebrated for their defence of freedom, rather than mired in misery over the last stand. Another version omits the blame altogether. The omission is rather striking, because it concerns a major aspect of Demosthenes' oration. It invites the question, why did two different versions survive?

According to Pohlenz, the answer is relatively straightforward. The first version, including the diatribe against the Boiotian generals, was the oration initially delivered at Athens. Demosthenes' farewell to the fallen took place shortly after the battle of Chaironeia, or no later than 337. It was meant for an Athenian audience only. Hence the orator was free to solely blame the generals, while exculpating the fallen Boiotians and Athenians. In that manner he honoured the fallen and simultaneously diverted blame from his own policy by insinuating that the battle would have been won

grounds of style, but judgements based on generalised stylistic values are rarely convincing: Hermann 2008.

³³³ The fact that the Macedonians did not invade Attica reflects the *arete* of the Athenian warriors, despite the defeat on the field of battle, according to Dem. 60.20.

³³⁴ Gehrke 2001: 301–4; Jung 2006: 128–65; Loraux 1986: 155–71; Parker 1996: 131–41; Proietti 2015.

³³⁵ Dem. 60.23–6. See Wienand 2023: 264–300. ³³⁶ Dem. 60.23.

³³⁷ Dem 60.22: 'nor could anyone rightly lay blame upon the rank and file of either the Thebans or ourselves'.

³³⁸ Barbato 2020: 58–65. ³³⁹ Pohlenz 1948; Clavaud 1974: 30–1.

had it been led by the Athenians. Demosthenes' words were less indicative of a dislike of the Boiotians, but were a way of boosting Athenian morale and underlining their prowess in war. The second version was released after the destruction of Thebes in 335 and tailored to a Panhellenic, rather than an exclusively Athenian crowd. In the wake of Alexander's wrath, it would have been imprudent for Demosthenes to revile Boiotian leadership. What was presented instead was a version acceptable to a larger audience, one that underlined the bravery of these fallen men, but without the accusation towards the generals. Pohlenz argues this was a reworking done by Demosthenes himself.³⁴⁰

The omission of Boiotian culpability for the failed endeavour reinforces the notion that the Athenian attitude towards the Thebans had changed, even if the generals were initially blamed. The destruction of the city transformed Thebes into a lamentable ally in the eyes of the Athenians in particular.

The epigram set up for the Athenian war dead after the battle could confirm this picture. There has been considerable debate about its contents. Various epigrams for the war dead of Chaironeia have survived in the literary tradition, most notably in the *Palatine Anthology* and Demosthenes' *On the Crown*.³⁴¹ The epigram recorded in the *Anthology* appears to have found its way into the epigraphic record, as an inscribed marble fragment containing parts of the first two lines has been found, but its archaeological context remains unclarified.³⁴² An in-depth discussion of the incongruencies between the two epigrams would venture too far for current purposes. What unites them is the reference to Greek *eleutheria* defended by the valorous Athenian men who gave their lives for it. In Demosthenes, it is stated: 'Here lie the brave, who for their country's right . . . fought and fell that Greece might still be free, nor crouch beneath the yoke of slavery.'³⁴³ In the *Palatine Anthology* and IG II² 5226 the men fell 'striving to save the sacred land of Greece, we died on the famed plains of the Boiotians' (ὡς ἱεραν σὼσιζεῖν πειρώμενοι Ἑλλάδα χῶραν)[Βοιωτῶν

³⁴⁰ That is the surviving version in the *On the Crown*. Dem. 18.216: 'And thereby, men of Athens, they showed a just appreciation of your character. After the entry of your soldiers no man ever laid even a groundless complaint against them, so soberly did you conduct yourselves. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with them in the two earliest engagements, – the battle by the river, and the winter battle, – you approved yourselves irreproachable fighters, admirable alike in discipline, in equipment, and in determination. Your conduct elicited the praises of other nations, and was acknowledged by yourselves in services of thanksgiving to the gods.' See further Dem. 18.41.

³⁴¹ Dem. 18.289; AP 7.245. ³⁴² IG II² 5226; Pritchett 1974–91: IV 222–6.

³⁴³ Dem. 18.289.

κλεινοῖς θνήσκομεν ἐν δαπέδοις]). The Boiotian sacrifices must have been appreciated and framed similarly by the Athenians, especially as it was their willingness to engage the Macedonians in Boiotia that prevented the invasion. The positive evaluation of Boiotia suggests its inhabitants received a fair share of positive publicity in Athens. By referring to it in an official capacity, the Athenians challenged the self-created narrative of treacherous Boiotians. In contemporary Athens, the neighbours could finally be revered for their heroic sacrifices for the preservation of Greece, which helped to wipe out their badge of medism in their minds.

That message is echoed more strongly in later Atheno-Macedonian conflicts. Hypereides, in his *Funeral Oration* for the war dead of the Hellenic War of 323, couches Thebes in the role of defender of Greek liberty against foreign oppression, exemplified by its ultimate sacrifice: its destruction at the hands of Alexander after they had revolted against Macedonian rule.³⁴⁴ The orator even ignores Plataia as a *topos* for Greek freedom, since the Plataians were now fighting on the Macedonians' side. The roles were thus reversed. The Thebans were the exemplary Greeks who had paid an incomparable price for their commitment to freedom, a role they shared with the Athenians, who were now doing the same. The Plataians, on the other hand, treacherously fought alongside the Macedonians.³⁴⁵ Through the Battle at Chaironeia in 338 and their subsequent struggle against Macedonian rule, the image of the Thebans in Athens morphed from the archetypical traitors to the Greek cause into the great ally that fought alongside the champions of Greek liberty against foreign tyrants.

That is also the message promulgated by the famous war memorial set up in Chaironeia for the fallen Boiotians (see Figure 5.9). The initial monument consisted of the cremated war dead, covered by a mound. One significant change came in 316 or later, as John Ma argued, with the addition of the monumental stone lion gracing the burial mound.³⁴⁶ The new date he offers for the lion statue is not just a matter of chronology. It adds a new layer of interpretation to its placement and the way it interacts with other monuments, the local topography and history. The lion's placement was a direct reference to the renowned final resting place of

³⁴⁴ Hyp. 6.17; Hermann 2009: 82; Wienand 2023: 280–300. The destruction of Thebes was lamented in other Athenian sources: Aesch. 3.128, 133, 156–7; Din. 1.18–26, 74; [Demad.] 16–17, 26, 28, 65.

³⁴⁵ Wallace 2011. Hypereides conveniently bypasses that the Athenians had neglected to join in the Theban struggle for *eleutheria* against Alexander.

³⁴⁶ Ma 2008. The *peribolos* around the burial mound was constructed at this time.



Figure 5.9 Lion of Chaironeia.
(Photo by author)

Leonidas and his men at Thermopylai, thereby placing the sacrifice of the Thebans at Chaironeia on par with that illustrious battle from the Persian Wars of 480–479. If the *peribolos* and lion statue were placed on top of the burial mound after the re-foundation of Thebes in 316, it strengthens the message the memorial was supposed to convey. The most glorious (recent) deed of the Thebans was performed at Chaironeia, when they made a final stand for Greek freedom, thus erasing the former taints of medism that hung over the city's head.

The grandiose monument indirectly reflects upon the neighbourly cooperation. The commemoration of the Battle of Chaironeia could reinforce the connotations of their common struggle against foreign tyrants wishing to subdue the freedom of the Greeks. As Ma notes, the absence of any epigram or casualty list made the lion the perfect memorial for a complex contemporary context. Boiotians of different persuasions could view it from their own perspective, while those wishing to emphasise the sacrifices made for Greek freedom could embrace the connotations to

Thermopylai and the Persian Wars and place the neighbourly collaboration in that same illustrious line of heroic deeds.³⁴⁷ In light of Athenian efforts in re-establishing Thebes in 316 and the rededication of statues that commemorated their past, that memory would be continually reinforced in the local memorial landscape of Boiotia.

5.2.10 *Summary of Local Commemorative Practices*

In contrast to the Panhellenic sanctuaries, there is a wealth of material from the local civic and sacred spaces detailing the views of the Athenians, Thebans and other Boiotians of one another. In most cases, these concern recollections of conflict. The uneven picture is partially the result of the characteristics of human nature and its chroniclers. Peaceful collaboration and friendship were simply less interesting to record. Conflict is intimately tied to the stories communities tell of their past to reinforce the common identity. Much of this historical memory relies on stories of war. To foster the cohesion of their respective communities, the Athenians and Boiotians depended on these stories of conflict, as they signified struggle or perseverance. Such tales were more conducive to the creation of a common identity and strengthening of internal bonds than stories of peaceful co-existence. At the same time, the co-existence of monuments and testimonies to bad and good times in Atheno-Boiotian relations embodies the duality of human experience. It is impossible to inculcate an entire population to believe only one aspect. The choice for the local was therefore a logical one. These spaces would be frequented by inhabitants of the respective communities, who were the intended audiences of these messages. Both inimical and friendly communications had to reach them. They were the ones who fostered images of themselves and the neighbours that were fuelled by, or founded on, the ideas and meanings captured by these monuments.

That leaves one more particular example: the Amphiareion in Oropos.³⁴⁸ This sanctuary was located in a contested territory between the two neighbours. It allows for a diachronic investigation of the ways the Boiotians and Athenians promulgated their dominance over this region,

³⁴⁷ Ma 2008: 86.

³⁴⁸ This sanctuary has been the subject of a recent exquisite, monograph-length investigation (Wilding 2021). Wilding's work focuses on the sanctuary itself, covers a longer period and also works on changes at the shrine in later times than my chapter will do. We frequently reach similar conclusions regarding Athenian-Boiotian interactions at the shrine. In what follows I will mostly refer to her work when there is a differing view from mine, or when she offers a remark that adds to my arguments.

knowing the audience was not limited to their own population, since the sanctuary attracted visitors from across the border. Most of the clientele originated from the immediate vicinity, meaning Attica, Boiotia and Euboia.³⁴⁹ The sanctuary is the perfect case study to reflect on the ways the shrine functioned as a mirror of neighbourly relations and how these were expressed at a locus where the audience encompassed both regions.

5.3 A Contested Sanctuary: The Amphiareion

The Amphiareion at Oropos was the famous home of the miraculous curer and warrior Amphiaraos. Originally a participant in the Seven against Thebes but having fled the scene at Thebes, he was swallowed up by the earth around Oropos. Other communities made similar claims to be the site of his final demise, but it was Oropos that emerged victorious from this ‘cultic struggle’.³⁵⁰ The Amphiareion was the locus for another struggle, in this case for control over the Oropia between the Athenians and Boiotians. Control over the region often fluctuated. Each party left their mark on the sanctuary to reflect their dominance over the Oropia. The Amphiareion offers the perfect example to investigate how the neighbours remembered changes in the political landscape, and how these were echoed in a local sacred topography. I will be peeling back the layers of ‘dominance’ in the sanctuary’s landscape and examine how these different layers interacted with preceding markers of dominance.

The sixth century, and most of the fifth, is problematic for the study of the Amphiaraos cult in Oropos as no architectural or archaeological traces were found at the site that date to these years.³⁵¹ The evidence is limited to a votive dedication to an unknown deity. The dedication is inscribed in Attic script and dated to c. 550. Another possible example is a herm with Attic lettering, thought to belong to the sixth century but habitually judged as a *pierre errante* that offers no further clues about the cult at

³⁴⁹ De Polignac 2011 argues the Amphiareion was a collaborative Atheno-Boiotian cultic foundation in the 420s.

³⁵⁰ Wilding 2021: chapter 2 for further remarks on the originality of the Oropian site. Oropos moved to its current position only at the end of the Archaic period: Mazarakis Ainian and Mouliou 2008: 24.

³⁵¹ The epigram mentioning the recovery of Croesus’ golden shield for Amphiaraos might be an exception: Chapter 4.1.2. But it’s irrelevant for expressing claims in the Oropian sanctuary as it was set up in Thebes.

Oropos.³⁵² The picture is somewhat clearer at the end of the fifth century. Remains of two small altars and an adjacent ‘theatre’ area have been found, all located in the west of the sanctuary. These were close to the later temple, which suggests interest in the cult was rising.³⁵³ Whether these constructions were built by the Athenians or the Oropians after 411 cannot be certified.

The first example that demonstrates the dynamics of control over the sanctuary is the famous law detailing the specifics of participation in the cult.³⁵⁴ An impressive tall stone, it was presumably erected during the brief period of Oropian independence after the King’s Peace of 387/6.³⁵⁵ The repeated inferences of ‘foreigners’ in the law suggests the sanctuary, and its caretakers, had to deal with an influx of visitors unacquainted with the stipulations of the cult.³⁵⁶ The distinction between foreigners and local visitors of the shrine not only indicates the growing popularity of the cult and its widespread appeal, but also emphasises the new-found independence of the polis by stressing the difference between Oropian and non-Oropian visitors. Utilising their most famed exponent – the cult of Amphiaraos – to advertise the change in political power, the Oropians understood the sanctuary was the best tool to announce their independence. Regulating the cult was one means of exercising control and demonstrating this power to the outside world.³⁵⁷ From the size of the stone we may surmise it was meant to impress and quite possibly stood near the temple for visitors to consult.³⁵⁸ The Oropians proudly pronounced their independence at a prime location in the sanctuary, with the aim of reaching the largest potential crowd to bring this message across.

³⁵² *IG I³* 1475, 1476; Petrakos 1968: 121, no. 15; Wilding 2021: 41–2. A votive dedication from Sykamino could be added: Petrakos 1997: 488–9. In the limited survey only one Archaic sherd was found: Cosmopoulos 2001: 65.

³⁵³ Petrakos 1968: 67–8. Some scholars view the altars as evidence for the foundation of the cult in this period. There was a late fifth-century stoa (Petrakos 1968: 68–9). A mid-fifth-century fountain has been found (Androvitsanea 2019: 105), perhaps indicating the cult existed prior to the rapid expansion in the later fifth century.

³⁵⁴ *RO 27 = IOropos 277*; Petropoulou 1981. Lines 39–43 contain hints of Athenian epigraphic habits: Papazarkadas 2016: 128. See also *IOropos 278, 279* with Lupu 2003.

³⁵⁵ Knoepfler 1986: 94–5; 1992: 452 proposed later dates for the law.

³⁵⁶ *RO 27 ll. 9–10*: ἄν δέ τις ἀδικεῖ ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ ἢ ξένος ἢ δημότης . . . ; ll. 14–15: . . . δὲ τον ἱερέα, ἄν τις ἰδῆι ἀδικηθεῖ ἢ τῶν ξένων ἢ δημοτέων ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ μέχρι τριῶν δραχμῶν.

³⁵⁷ It also procured funds. The sale of animal skins was a profitable endeavour, and the inference that these should be sacred and belong to the sanctuary is telling (*RO 27 ll. 29*). The erasures on the stone indicate payment for the cult was susceptible to inflation, with frequent updates to reflect these changes: Petropoulou 1981: 62–3, 54. The erasures imply the decree was meant to be read by visitors, considering the repeated adjustments to the text.

³⁵⁸ Petropoulou 1981.



Figure 5.10 Plan of Amphiareion at Oropos (north of river), showing Doric incubation stoa to the right, and temple and sacred spring to the left.

(Source: Google Earth 2021, accessed 2 October 2021. Map created by author)

From the contents of the law it follows that the sanctuary was embellished at the start of the fourth century. It now contained sleeping quarters – with furniture presumably made of wood as it has not survived – as well as a small temple and a fountain. These were located at the west end of the sanctuary – the current entry point to the archaeological site – where finds from the same period relating to the cult have been unearthed.³⁵⁹ Before the grandiose expansion of construction work at the site later in the century, the Amphiareion was limited to this core. At the beginning, the sanctuary comprised two smaller altars and an adjacent theatre for visitors to enjoy the spectacle of sacrifice.³⁶⁰ There was also a sacred spring from

³⁵⁹ *RO* 27 ll. 43–6: ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητήριοι καθεύδειν χωρὶς μὲν τὸς ἀνδρας χωρὶς δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρας ἐν τοῖ πρό ἡ[δ]ς τοῦ βωμοῦ. Petrakos 1968: 61–106; Wilding 2021: 65–7 for archaeological finds.

³⁶⁰ *RO* 27 ll. 27–8, 34–5 mentions public sacrifices, perhaps attracting larger crowds. Examples of late fifth- to early fourth-century reliefs depicting *apobates* may reflect the festival at the sanctuary: Petrakos 1968: 121–2, pls. 38–9. *I Oropos* 520, a victors' list of the Amphiareia that Petrakos dates to 'before 338 B.C.', is insufficient evidence. Knoepfler dates it to 329/8 or slightly later: *SEG* 51.585 bis(12). The current theatre dates from the Hellenistic and Roman

which Amphiaraos allegedly arose from the ground, with an adjacent fountain.³⁶¹

But changes were soon to come. Oropos' independence ended after 374 and was followed by an Athenian 'mainmise complète'.³⁶² Shortly after the takeover, the Athenians made their presence felt through Pandios' decree. Previously, this decree was dated to the 330s, but in a brilliant display of epigraphical acumen Denis Knoepfler showed it belonged to the year 369.³⁶³ The decree was set up in the Amphiareion and details the contract between the Athenian Council and the contractors for the repairs of the fountain and the baths within the sanctuary.³⁶⁴ The decree stood out in several ways. Unlike the Oropian regulations, Pandios' decree was made of Pentelic marble, a material closely associated with the Athenians, who used it for their decrees and buildings.³⁶⁵ For the initiated, the name Pandios also reflected a strong anti-Theban tendency. As Knoepfler remarked, Pandios was 'l'un des représentants les plus marquants de la tendance anti-Thébaine'.³⁶⁶ His argument relies on the 369/8 treaty between Dionysos of Syracuse and the Athenians that Pandios proposed.³⁶⁷ While the Syracusan tyrant was a Spartan ally and would enter the Athenian fold after the recent Atheno-Spartan alliance, Knoepfler views it as equally confronting the Boiotians, who recently awarded proxeny to a Carthaginian.³⁶⁸ Considering serious political capital could be accrued from successfully proposing decrees, as Peter Liddel has shown, Pandios aimed to establish himself as an influential citizen with an anti-Theban pedigree.³⁶⁹ To choose a locus that was frequented by Thebans on a regular basis would have augmented his reputation.

Although specifications for the placement of the decree are not more explicit than 'sanctuary of Amphiaraos', I would contend the decree was presumably set up near the altar, where people utilising the fountain and the (men's) baths could appreciate the physical link between the

period (Goette 1995; Sear 2006: 45, 402–3) but a wooden predecessor probably existed. This is inferred from fourth-century inscriptions that mention thymelic and athletic games at the festival; see below.

³⁶¹ Paus. 1.34.4; Androvitsanea 2019; Argoud 1985. ³⁶² Knoepfler 2016b: 234.

³⁶³ Knoepfler 1986.

³⁶⁴ *IOrupos* 290 ll. 8–9: στήλη λιθίνη καὶ καταθῆναι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ. Wilding 2021: 75 argues that Athenian demotics for the contractor and guarantor marked the sanctuary as an extension of Attica.

³⁶⁵ Petropoulou 1981: 42 n. 5 expresses doubt over the ascription of 'Pentelic' to the marble used in *RO* 27.

³⁶⁶ Knoepfler 1986: 95. ³⁶⁷ *RO* 33 l. 6; *AIO ad loc* for historical context and comments.

³⁶⁸ Knoepfler 2005: 86–7 with *IG* VII 2407; *BE* 2009.261. ³⁶⁹ Liddel 2020: 77–8.

refurbished works and the contract mentioning those responsible for its completion.³⁷⁰ We know from later (proxeny) decrees that they were to be set up in the best possible place within the sanctuary (καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου ὅπου ἂν δοκῆ[ι] ἐν καλλίστῳ εἶναι).³⁷¹ Imagining a location in a premium position, especially at a time when there was less epigraphic material deposited there, is not too far-fetched. Not only would this reflect well on those responsible for the sanctuary; it manifestly represented the new power in control over the Oropia and their proper care of the Amphiareion.

The inscription moreover obliquely evokes Athenian control (δεδοχθαι τῆι βολῆι).³⁷² This emphasises that the Oropia and the Amphiareion were now administrated like an Athenian sanctuary. The description of the priesthood was another display of Athenian control. In the Oropian decree mentioned above (*IOropos* 277), there is only mention of ‘the priest of Amphiaraos’ (τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου), with no further identification.³⁷³ In the decree proposed by Pandios the priest is mentioned in a formula reminiscent of Athenian formulations in the first half of the fourth century. Thereby it is made explicit that control of the sanctuary *in toto* now belongs to the Athenian *demos*.³⁷⁴ Another subtle indication of the changes in political alignment are found in line 22 of *IOropos* 277, where the drachm payment is replaced by obols, a hint of the Oropia’s separation from Boiotia.³⁷⁵ Alexandra Wilding remarks that the decree stipulates that the priest of Amphiaraos, appointed by the Athenians, was to procure funds from the sanctuary’s local shops to finance the decree within the sanctuary, further signalling their grasp over the Amphiareion.³⁷⁶ The Athenians thus made their presence at the sanctuary known in two different ways. One was the physical manifestation of their control, in the form of construction works in the sanctuary. Another manner was subtler, by setting up decrees demonstrating their control over the sanctuary.

The Athenian hold over the Oropia came to an abrupt end in 366 as the Boiotians regained control over the region (Chapter 4.1.2).³⁷⁷ It has been

³⁷⁰ For the men’s baths: Petrakos 1968: 109–10; Wilding 2021: 77 on the possible placement of this decree.

³⁷¹ *IOropos* 24 (mid-third century) ll. 12–14. Similarly, *IOropos* 52 (240–180) ll. 16–18; 294 (150–100) ll. 30–1 although the same phrase is mostly restored on the basis of *IOropos* 24.

³⁷² *IOropos* 290 l.6. ³⁷³ *RO* 27 l.1.

³⁷⁴ Knoepfler 1986: n. 53. *IOropos* 290 l. 26: τὸν ἱερέα τὸ Ἀμφιαράο Ἀντικράτη Δεκελέα.

³⁷⁵ *RO* 27 l.22: [[ἐννέ ὀβολούς δοκί]]μου. ³⁷⁶ Wilding 2021: 76.

³⁷⁷ I believe the re-inscription of the Theban epigram of the golden shield dedicated by Croesus should be dated to this period to celebrate the renewed claim on the Oropia. It fits the ‘Panhellenic’ aims of the adaptation of the Ionic script as argued by Papazarkadas 2016, as the

posited that the *koinon's* presence was less prominent, considering the archaeological and epigraphic record is skewed towards their Athenian neighbours.³⁷⁸ Epigraphically, this certainly rang true in the fourth century, but that was rectified by the ‘bombardment’ of Boiotian decrees at the Amphiareion in the third century, when they treated the sanctuary as if it was a federal shrine.³⁷⁹ The relative dearth of traces in the fourth century, however, does not equal a total absence.

The Boiotian grasp over the sanctuary is attested by a *lex sacra*.³⁸⁰ It details the payments for medical consultations at the sanctuary. Although the decree appears to have been inscribed in the Ionic script – in line with the local customs – there are hints that reveal the Boiotian provenance of the decree. In line 1 the use of ‘ἐλεξε’ rather than the Athenian ‘εἶπε’ hints at the origin of the proposers of the decree.³⁸¹ What’s furthermore striking about the decree is the payment involved, which supports a Boiotian origin: it stipulates that no less than a Boiotian drachma ([δρα]χμῆς Βοιωτῆς) should be dropped into the offertory box – a stark contrast with the earlier law, where the currency employed was presumably Athenian.³⁸² With the cult experiencing growth, an ‘economic enforced use’ of Boiotian currency is unsurprising. This facilitated taxation and prevented currency exchanges with accompanying costs, but also characterised the Amphiareion as a Boiotian sanctuary.

One problem remains, however. Scholars habitually follow Angeliki Petropoulou’s dating for this document between 402 and 387.³⁸³ But that ignores the valid points made by Denis Knoepfler against this date. He argues for a later date, in the mid-fourth century.³⁸⁴ The key is the use of ‘δεδόχθα[ι]’ in line 1. This phrase is nowhere attested in Athenian decrees (nor in Boiotian ones) before 387/6 and its appearance here is remarkable. A date somewhere between 366 and 350 would be more acceptable

epigram corroborates the Theban claim on the Oropia, which was vindicated by the arbitrators in 366.

³⁷⁸ Papazarkadas 2016: 126. ³⁷⁹ Knoepfler 2002; Wilding 2021: 121–90. ³⁸⁰ *IOropos* 276.

³⁸¹ Petropoulou 1981: 41.

³⁸² *IOropos* 277 l.22: [[ἐννέ ὀβολοῦς δοκί]μου. This replaces an earlier erased currency, perhaps during Athenian control after 371. Petropoulou 1981: 54 follows Wilamowitz in restoring the original currency as δραχμῆς δοκίμου believing this to be confirmed by *IOropos* 276, but that depends on the dating ascribed to this inscription. Nevertheless, a replacement or erasure of Oropian/Boiotian currency is plausible.

³⁸³ Petropoulou 1981; *IOropos* 276; Papazarkadas 2016: 199 n. 26.

³⁸⁴ Wilding 2021: 80 accepts this date and points to the Eretrian dialectal traces in this decree, which is known from the earliest Oropian proxy decrees, leading to a later date than Petropoulou 1981 suggests.

epigraphically.³⁸⁵ Moreover, the Ionic script aligns with the Boiotian ‘adoption’ of the script. This gradual process of linguistic appropriation was encouraged by the *koinon* to accrue Panhellenic prestige in the Greek political world.³⁸⁶ The Oropians had always utilised the Ionic script, but in an early fourth-century Boiotian decree the epichoric script would be expected. The Ionic script was in step with the Boiotian ‘epigraphic habits’ post-Leuktra (371).

The Theban presence was perceivable in other ways as well (see Figure 5.10). During this period the Amphiareion witnessed some of its most profound architectural changes. The expansion of the sanctuary was presumably a combination of Boiotian political agendas and the need to accommodate the growing numbers of visitors to the sanctuary. A larger temple of Amphiaraos arose near the altar, in the west of the sanctuary. Its dimensions (14 × 28 m) suggest a significant investment.³⁸⁷ This could be the building where the Boiotians advertised their dominance, especially if the laws enacted under their rule were set up in its proximity as a visual stimulus. Following Peter Rhodes and Robin Osborne, it might even be possible to add the stadium and a theatre to this period of expansion.³⁸⁸

The largest of the architectural changes in the sanctuary’s landscape, however, is the stoa built in the mid-fourth century.³⁸⁹ Despite its ruined state, its dimensions demonstrate its visual dominance within the Amphiareion’s physical landscape. The stoa measured 11 × 110 metres, with a Doric outer colonnade and an inner Ionic colonnade. Running alongside the interior wall was a marble bench, and at each end was a small screened room, which measured 10 × 5.5 m. In one of these rooms, evidence of two offering tables has been found. Whether these rooms were solely meant for dedications, or perhaps used for sleeping, is uncertain. What is certain is that the stoa was meant for the incubation ritual, so

³⁸⁵ Knoepfler 1986: 82. Wilding 2021: 78 indicates support for Knoepfler’s assertion but remains more agnostic.

³⁸⁶ Papazarkadas 2016. The script’s adaption of the script. Iversen 2010: 262–3; Schachter 2016b; *BE* 2009: no. 244 argue for gradual acculturation in the areas bordering Athens, such as Thespiiai. Vottéro 1996: 161–4 argued it was implemented after the liberation of the Cadmeia in 379.

³⁸⁷ Petrakos 1968: 99–107. The temple’s current state reflects its third-century form.

³⁸⁸ *RO* 27. There was likely a wooden theatre and a predecessor to the later stadium in the fourth century, considering the thymelic and athletic games at the festival, but whether these were Athenian additions or adaptations of previous games is unclear.

³⁸⁹ Coulton 1968; 1976: 26; Petrakos 1968: 77–84; Sineux 2007: 159–64.

essential to the Amphiaraos cult.³⁹⁰ Therefore it is tempting to just regard this stoa as an extension of the cult's popularity, built out of necessity rather than anything else.

Although there is no conclusive evidence linking the stoa to the Thebans, who took over the Oropia in 366, the dating of the structure to the mid-fourth century makes it nearly impossible to ascribe agency to another polity.³⁹¹ During their hegemony the Thebans embarked on an ambitious programme of revamping sanctuaries throughout the region.³⁹² Building a large stoa in the Amphiareion fits with the overall scheme. The stoa carried an impressive dedicatory inscription on its Doric frieze course, with one letter per metope. Some of the letters have small holes for the attachment of golden gilded letters.³⁹³ Few letters (Θ, Π, Ο and Ν) have remained, making any reconstruction extremely tenuous. John Coulton declares it a victory dedication after a successful military campaign. This restoration is tempting, but it cannot be followed here.³⁹⁴ If the stoa did celebrate a military victory, it certainly enhanced the Theban presence at the site. But even without the celebratory inscription, the stoa was an impressive physical manifestation thereof, demonstrating their involvement in promoting and expanding the cult. As the original entrance to the sanctuary lay on the east side – as opposed to the entrance of the modern archaeological site – the stoa was the first structure visitors would encounter upon entering the sanctuary.

The stoa adjusted the spatial dynamics of the sanctuary as well.³⁹⁵ Whereas previous structures were centred around the small temple and the altar in the west end of the sanctuary, the gargantuan stoa drew attention eastwards by its sheer size and because it was the centre of the

³⁹⁰ Petrakos 1995: 27 argues these rooms were meant for incubation and the rest of the stoa was not.

³⁹¹ Umholtz 2002: 284 remarks it is impossible to trace whether the stoa was an individual or group dedication. This seems to me beyond the point: the size of the structure, combined with Theban control over the site, points towards the *koinon*. Coulton 1968 ascribed it to the Macedonians, but changed to Boiotian agency in Coulton 1976: 48 n. 2. The stoa's date is debated. The stoa recently excavated at Amarynthos near Eretria can only be dated after 338 (Fachard et al. 2017: 174–5). Its stylistic similarities undermine Coulton's more certain date.

³⁹² Schachter 2016a: 118–19.

³⁹³ Petrakos 1997: 259: μικρές ὀπές γιὰ τὴν προσήλωσι γράμματων ἀπὸ χάλκινο ἐπίχρυσο ἔλασμα.

³⁹⁴ Coulton 1968: 182–3; *Ioropos* 339: [οἱ Θεβαῖοι] [Ἀμφιαράωι ἀνέθ[ηκαν ἄ]πὸ [τῶν πολεμίων δεκάτα]ν. The reconstruction appears odd, as the Thebans preferred to dedicate memorials and erect decrees in name of the 'Boiotoi' rather than the Thebans. Of course, a reconstruction of [οἱ Βοιωτ]οι is possible.

³⁹⁵ Wilding 2021: 104 notes the western end was dominated by the Athenians prior to the construction of the stoa.

incubation ritual, which occupied an important place in the cult.³⁹⁶ Thereby, the ‘cultic centre’, though not shifting away from the altar, moved partially eastwards and now included a hitherto unused area of the sanctuary, embodied by the Theban stoa, as visitors now inevitably passed by the grandiose structure.

This shift is more apparent if the old stoa was located on the terrace where most of the dedicated bases are at the current archaeological site. If the old stoa stood on this terrace – its remains are hard to trace due to the subsequent construction phases in the area – it means the new stoa inevitably directed attention away from the west of the sanctuary towards the east.³⁹⁷ By building this stoa, the Boiotians altered the spatial allocation of the sanctuary. All visitors would now walk by their splendid construction on their way to the altar and would have to move back to it again, rather than linger on the western edge of the sanctuary if they wished to undergo incubation.

The ‘new regime’ was thus clearly established within the sanctuary. The stoa’s construction radically recalibrated the sanctuary’s landscape and created a sharp contrast with the pre-existing surroundings.³⁹⁸ In addition, the reorganisation of the costs for consulting the god transformed the cult into a base of income for the *koinon* and revealed to all visitors the new controllers of the sanctuary. The splendour of the stoa surpassed anything the Athenians had done at the Amphiareion and perhaps remained unsurpassed architecturally, indicating that the Boiotian presence at the Amphiareion was not so limited.

Their control came to a painful end in 338, when Philip declared Oropos independent after his victory at Chaironeia. For a brief interval, the Oropians enjoyed their independence. They used their sanctuary as a venue for their newly found status by setting up proxeny decrees to prominent Macedonians at the sanctuary.³⁹⁹ These decrees were erected close to the Athenian decree for Pandios, suggesting some interaction between the divergent messages was at play here.⁴⁰⁰ The awards demonstrate the

³⁹⁶ For incubation in the Amphiaraos cult at Oropos: Renberg 2017: 270–95.

³⁹⁷ Coulton 1968; Sineux 2007: 159–64. Renberg 2017: 277 concludes the dormitories referred to in *RO* 27 ll. 36–56 are the old stoa, but the evidence is too scanty to offer any insights.

³⁹⁸ There are stylistic differences between the stoa and the temple from earlier in the century: Coulton 1968: 172.

³⁹⁹ *RO* 75; Knoepfler 1993. That the Oropians started to award proxeny decrees at this time of independence indicates their intention to forge ties across the Greek world (Wilding 2015) and emphasised their ‘polis-status’ after being subjected to foreign rule for so long: Mack 2015.

⁴⁰⁰ Wilding 2021: 78.

Oropians' awareness of the sanctuary's possibility to transmit these messages to a large audience and its role as a mirror of the political landscape. Unfortunately for the Oropians, they had bet on the wrong horse. After the destruction of Thebes in 335, Alexander decided to grant the Athenians ownership over the Oropia in a bid to mollify them and to punish the Oropians for supporting Amyntas, a pretender to the throne and one of their *proxenoi* (Chapter 2.7).

Alexander's grant of Oropos realised a long-cherished wish for the Athenians. More than thirty years had passed since the loss of the Oropia, and its departure had been repeatedly lamented in public discourse. Unsurprisingly, the return of the Oropia to Athenian control was lavishly celebrated. Among a plethora of decrees and awards celebrating everything connected to the sanctuary and its cult, there is one honorary decree that stands out in all aspects: the crowning of Amphiaros in 332/1.⁴⁰¹ The document is unique in several aspects. Crowning individuals was common practice in Athens, but normally such mundane honours were reserved for mortals. In this case, however, they were awarded to a deity, an exceptional honour. In fact, Amphiaros is 'the only immortal to be voted a golden crown by the Athenian assembly'.⁴⁰² Adele Scafuro analysed the idiosyncrasies of Amphiaros' honours in comparison to the honours granted to foreigners and Athenian citizens.⁴⁰³ Her analysis revealed the significance of this award, meant to symbolise the (unequal) relationship between the Athenians and their newly acquired territory. This inequality is demonstrated in the stele by the repeated distinction between Athenians and others.⁴⁰⁴ Another indication is the agency of the Athenian officials, the *epimeletai*, who were responsible for carrying out the crowning, making clear the sanctuary was now under Athenian supervision. She concluded that the stele, dedicated at the Amphiareion, signalled that the Athenians showed due deference to the Oropians' god, by emphasising his good deeds to the demos and all the other inhabitants of the land.⁴⁰⁵ The award of the

⁴⁰¹ *IOropos* 296 = *IG* II³ 1 349.

⁴⁰² Parker 1996: 247. For crowning practices: Gauthier 1985: 112–17; 180–9.

⁴⁰³ Scafuro 2009. Papazarkadas 2011: 47 adds the example of Boreas' honours in Thuri (Aelian *VH* 12.61).

⁴⁰⁴ *IOropos* 296 ll. 13–4: Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν; ll. 29–31: δῆμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων . . . πάντων.

⁴⁰⁵ *IOropos* 296 ll. 26–31: 'having announced what has been decreed to the visitors in the sanctuary, shall dedicate the crown to the god for the health and preservation of the Athenian people and the children and woman and everyone else in the *chora*' (trans. A. Scafuro).

crown was thereby an instrument of ‘reconciliation’ of sorts, expressing the return of Athenian rule over Oropos and its appropriation of the sanctuary.

It was set up in the Amphiareion, presumably flanked by several honorary awards to Athenian citizens for their involvement in the sanctuary and the cult.⁴⁰⁶ One example is the honours granted to Pytheas for his work on the fountain and the waterworks in the Amphiareion.⁴⁰⁷ Another is the honours awarded to Phanodemos for his reorganisation of the god’s festival and his legislation at the Amphiareion, granted on the same day as Phanodemos proposed the honours for Amphiaraos.⁴⁰⁸ By setting up several steles in close proximity on the platform in front of the temple, there would be no doubt to visitors that the Amphiareion was now an Athenian sanctuary.

The Athenian presence was felt in other ways as well. As mentioned before, Pytheas of Alopeke was honoured for his work on the fountain and waterworks in the sanctuary. His involvement in these works demonstrates the willingness to alter the physical environment of the sanctuary through the construction (or repair) of a fountain at the sanctuary, creating another memento of the political changes. Another feature of his works was the maintenance of the water channel and the underground conduits. As water was such an essential element in the cult and would be necessary for visitors to drink, it forms another reminder of the Athenians’ care of the sanctuary and its pious travellers.⁴⁰⁹ This concern for the maintenance of waterworks is displayed in other decrees too.⁴¹⁰

The new ownership applied changes to the cultic spheres too. The Oropian sacrificial regulations (*IOrupos* 277) were probably adjusted. The clause on the skins of sacrificial animals, previously stipulated to be sacred, was erased during the Lycurgan era.⁴¹¹ As Wilding notes, this fits in with the Athenian practice under Lycurgus of selling the skins of the animals to finance cultic activities, with Amphiaraos being one of the recipients.

The care for Amphiaraos was reflected in the grand reorganisation of the Megala Amphiareia, a *pentaeteric* festival. Instrumental in bringing about

⁴⁰⁶ Wilding 2021: 84–91. ⁴⁰⁷ *IOrupos* 295 = *IG* II³ 338 (333/2).

⁴⁰⁸ *IOrupos* 297 = *IG* II³ 1 348; Rhodes 1972: 98. Phanodemos was a prominent figure, considering he received honours because he had spoken and acted best on behalf of the Athenian Council 343/2 (*IG* II³ 1, 306 ll. 4–16).

⁴⁰⁹ *IOrupos* 295 ll. 16–17: καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιαράου κρήνην κατεσκεύασεν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἀγωγῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐπιμελήθηται αὐτόθι. For water at ancient sanctuaries and the placement of fountains and other water works: von Ehrenheim, Klingborg and Frejman 2019.

⁴¹⁰ *IOrupos* 291–3; Argoud 1989. ⁴¹¹ Wilding 2021: 113.

these changes was Phanodemos, who was honoured for his role.⁴¹² Which part of the festivities can rightfully be judged innovative is uncertain. The *apobates* was already celebrated in the early fourth century, speaking more for continuation than a radical break with tradition.⁴¹³ The competition did fit with the renewed focus on military capacity post-Chaironeia, including the ephebic reform. Amphiaraios' military prowess can help to explain *why* so much effort was put into the new festival, in a celebration of 'military preparedness' for their self-identity.⁴¹⁴ Whether the procession for the god and 'other events' surrounding the *panegyris* were newly implemented aspects cannot be certified.⁴¹⁵ The musical and poetic competitions mentioned in the victor's list of 329/8 could be new additions to the celebrations.⁴¹⁶ The decision to reorganise the festival was another subtle form of Athenian power, since it entailed adjusting the sanctuary and cult at their root. Of course, these festivities needed to be financed. To ensure a smooth celebration and avoid financial penury, Amphiaraios and his sanctuary were granted parcels of land throughout the Oropia to pay for these lavish celebrations (Chapter 4.1.2).⁴¹⁷ It was presumably on Phanodemos' insistence that the god was granted these lands, as he was awarded the honours mentioned above precisely because of his endeavours to make sure the *pentaeteric* festival was 'as fine as possible'.⁴¹⁸

Judging from the honours awarded to the *epimeletai* of the Greater Amphiareia after its first celebration in 329/8, they must have succeeded

⁴¹² *Ioropos* 297 = *IG* II³ 1 348 ll. 10–15: 'since Phanodemos of Thymaitadai has legislated well and with love of honour about the sanctuary of Amphiaraios, so that both the quadrennial festival may be as fine as possible, and the other sacrifices to the gods in the sanctuary of Amphiaraios' (trans. S. Lambert).

⁴¹³ Petrakos 1968: 121.16, pl. 38; 121–2.17, pl. 39, dated c. 400. For its earlier appearance: Schachter 2016a: 202 n. 20. Parker 1996: 146–7 n. 101 notes the *apobasis* competition fits Athenian practices better, yet the reliefs are dated to periods when the Oropia eluded Athenian control. There is a connection between the Panathenaia and the *apobasis*: Shear 2021: 51–65, 351–6; Parker 2005: 183, 254–6. Wilding 2021: 91 notes the military connotations.

⁴¹⁴ Wilding 2021: 98.

⁴¹⁵ *Ioropos* 298 ll. 15–19: τῆς τε πομπῆς τῶι Ἀμφιαράωι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ γυμνικοῦ καὶ ἵππικοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐποβάσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν.

⁴¹⁶ *Ioropos* 520. It is interesting to note that, according to Lambert 2012: 96–7, Athenian foreign policy underwent three changes after Chaironeia, one of which was a preoccupation with the theatre in Athens. Could the addition of the poetic competition at the Amphiareia form part of this concern?

⁴¹⁷ The sanctuary owned up to 17 per cent of the Oropian lands: Cosmopoulos 2001: 74–5.

⁴¹⁸ A fragmentary law from the Athenian Agora could be Phanodemos' law moved for the re-organisation of the Amphiareia (*IG* II³ 1 449; *SEG* 32.86). But this depends on an uncertain restoration in l.33 of 'Amphiareion': Humphreys 2004: 113–14; Lambert 2012: 88. For the honours: *Ioropos* 297 ll. 12–15. A similar law for the Lesser Panathenaia, dated to the same time, offers a useful parallel: *RO* 81 ll. 5–7; Papazarkadas 2011: 45–8.

in this purpose. The stele was set up in the Amphiareion to show all visitors what a success the festival was and aimed to demonstrate the ‘Athenianness’ of the sanctuary. These managers were among Athens’ elite. Their ranks include Phanodemos, the politician Demades and the famous Lycurgus, among others.⁴¹⁹

The Megala Amphiareia were a predominantly Athenian affair, as can be gathered from the victor’s list of 329/8.⁴²⁰ From the forty events in total, twenty-five were won by Athenians. Among the rest, only one victor had a Boiotian origin – Lysandros, a Theban, in the boys’ citharist event. As these events took place after the destruction of Thebes in 335, it is plausible he was a Theban exile living in Athens. If this is the case, his victory would only add to the ‘Athenocentricity’ of the festival.⁴²¹ Nevertheless, the embellishment of the festival – through either innovation or enlargement – poignantly marked the Amphiareion as an Athenian shrine and it attracted visitors from further afield.⁴²²

To hammer the point home, several dedications were made in or around the temple. A mixture of private and public Athenian dedications adorned the sanctuary.⁴²³ One in particular stands out. It concerns a stele detailing contributors to a dedication to Amphiaraos, made by the Athenian Council. Following this list of names is a decree honouring three individuals for their responsibility in making the dedication. It was set up on a marble pillar in the sanctuary. The shape of monument was unique in this period: it was a block narrow enough to mirror a stele, but thick enough to serve as a base. Such a distinctive shape must have stood out among the other dedications. Since it concerned an official dedication, it was a symbolic reminder of the Athenian presence at the sanctuary. Their dedicators’ origins point to a regional interest in the cult, with members stemming from nearby demes or having demonstrable connections to Central Greece in other ways.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹ *IOropos* 298 = *IG* II³ 1 355; Scafuro 2009: 59.

⁴²⁰ *IOropos* 520. Earlier dates have been given, namely, the Theban period (366–338); *COB* I 24 n. 4; later date: Knoepfler 1993; 2001b: 367–89. Manieri 2009: 35–6, 219–28 for further specifics and bibliography.

⁴²¹ *IOropos* 520 I.3: [κιθ]αρ[ιστής παῖς] Λύσανδρος Θεβαῖ[ος]. See *IG* II³ 1 929, honours for a Theban pipe player. It consists of two separate decrees; dated to 285–250 and 325, respectively (SEG 60.145).

⁴²² Wilding 2021: 99–104.

⁴²³ Wilding 2021: 91 adds the many smaller dedications made, mostly by Athenians as recorded in the fragmentary inventory lists (*IOropos* 309–17).

⁴²⁴ *IOropos* 299 = *IG* II³ 1 360 (328/7). Its official character is confirmed by: ἀνέθεκον ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐπ’ Εὐθυκρίτου ἄρχοντος (ll. 1–2). For the comments on the stone and the peculiarities of the

Another more salient feature of the dedicatory landscape of the Amphiareion is the dedications made by the Athenian ephebes. These imply the sanctuary was frequented by the young soldiers training for military duty, as well as their participation in the games.⁴²⁵ One of these dedications was especially striking. It was a limestone base inscribed on three sides, mentioning the ephebes of the Leontid tribe and the people they crowned. Considering its finding place, this monument possibly stood on the platform that would later become the ‘gallery’ for dedications in the Hellenistic period and which at that time was sparsely populated.⁴²⁶ More important than the shape of these dedications are the dedicants. These were Athenian ephebes, the guardians of the borders responsible for the protection of the Attic countryside. Their epigraphic trace at the Amphiareion and participation in the games was perhaps the ultimate sign of Athenian dominance over the sanctuary and its adjacent territory, as their presence indicated Attica’s border lay at Oropos, rather than Rhamnous.

Athenian interest in the sanctuary, its regulations and its sacred landscape continued until the Oropians were granted independence from the Athenians in 322 through royal intervention.⁴²⁷ In one decade, the Athenians had invested more effort and money into the sanctuary than all prior periods of control combined. From this striking incongruity, one would be tempted to conclude their reasons for doing so were antagonistic, aimed at wiping away the memory of previous Boiotian control. But that would be a very monolithic interpretation of the evidence. The Athenians undeniably wished to stake their claim to the sanctuary and clarify to all visitors that the Amphiareion was now theirs. Nevertheless, I believe this was equally a consequence of the context in which these changes occurred.

contributors involved: Lambert 2012: 24–30, 53. In the same year, the Athenians honoured either a citizen or a foreigner. This Ἀρτικλειδης was flanked by Amphiaraos and Hygieia in the inscription, showing Amphiaraos was appropriated by the Athenians even in decrees set up in Athens: *IG II³ 1 450*; Lambert 2012: 180–1; Lawton 1995: no. 153.

⁴²⁵ *IOropos* 353 (324/3), 352 (328/8), 354 (335–322); *SEG* 31.435. One can add *IOropos* 348 (335–322) in which an unknown Athenian, son of Autolycus, made a dedication after defeating the ephebes in the javelin competition. Perhaps the εὐταξίαν of *IOropos* 298 l. 45 was an ephebic event.

⁴²⁶ *IOropos* 353. It was found east of the statue base for Agrippa. For an analysis of this ‘gallery’ and the location of later dedications: Löhr 1993. For more on ephebic dedications at the Amphiareion: Humphreys 2004–9 [2010].

⁴²⁷ For a final decree set up in the Amphiareion: *IOropos* 300 = *IG II³ 1 385*. One could add the encomium for Amphiaraos: *IOropos* 301; *SEG* 47.498; Versnel 2011: 414. The interest in regulations is also reflected in the appearance of inventory lists in the sanctuary: *IOropos* 309–20.

The Lycurgan period was notable for its large number of new laws, the reforms in regulations for cult, as well as the reorganisation or establishment of the *ephebeia*.⁴²⁸ The involvement at Oropos, therefore, may have as much to do with these reforms and concerns with Attic matters as with the neighbourly rivalry.

More importantly, in my opinion, is the state of the political landscape post-335. The two groups normally contesting Athenian control over the Amphiareion, the Boiotian *koinon* and the Oropians, had been punished by Alexander, with Thebes no longer in existence. Oropos' most ardent defender against Athenian aggression had been erased, and worse, the Athenian claim was vindicated by the new political leader of the Greek world. Armed with Macedonian support, the Athenians knew their grasp over the Oropia went unchallenged and forwarded that message to the Oropians in the most explicit way possible by bombarding their prized sanctuary, the Amphiareion, with decrees and dedications meant to convey Athenian ownership. The decree awarding a crown to Amphiaraos was perhaps the most impactful exponent of those efforts.⁴²⁹ Implicitly, the Athenians may have wanted to show the Boiotian *koinon* that Oropos belonged to Attica, but in my opinion, the intended targets were the locals.

This localised conflict is perhaps best reflected in the series of proxeny decrees issued by the Oropians after they regained independence in 323. Out of four decrees, three are awarded to Macedonians, showing due deference to their liberators.⁴³⁰ A more cynical endeavour was the *damnatio memoriae* exacted upon Athenian dedications. Several offerings have traces of erasure, and nearly all cases concern Athenian dedicants. In some cases, the *demotikon* of the dedicant has been replaced by the ethnic 'Ἀθηναῖος' to signify their foreignness as opposed to Oropian offerings.⁴³¹

Independence was short-lived, however, and in the following tumultuous decades, Oropos would find itself changing hands more frequently than ever before. Both Athenians and the Boiotian *koinon* left their mark

⁴²⁸ For a synoptic account of Lycurgus' reforms: Humphreys 2004: 77–130. For the *ephebeia* as a Lycurgan innovation rather than a re-organisation: Friend 2019: 8–33.

⁴²⁹ If the hypothesis of Papazarkadas 2016: 128, that the Oropia was cleansed of tombs to prevent *miasma*, is correct – he makes a convincing case – this message would have resonated more strongly with the Oropians.

⁴³⁰ *IOropos* 4–7. *IOropos* 7 is awarded to Mantidotos, but his origin has not survived.

⁴³¹ *IOropos* 341, 348, 355–9. Petrakos 1968: 30–1 shows that whenever Oropos gained independence, Athenians were prohibited from signing their dedications with anything other than 'Athenians'. On the subsequent reuse of some of these stones to advertise the Oropians' adherence to the *koinon*, with a federal decree inscribed underneath one of these dedications: Wilding 2021: 3, 122–90.

on the sanctuary in that period. The dust finally settled in 287, when Oropos became a member of the Boiotian *koinon*.

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter we have looked at how the Athenian and Boiotians remembered and commemorated their neighbourly relations. From analysing the use of sacred and civic spaces as mirrors of interstate relations, it emerged that the local was preferred over the Panhellenic when it came to commemorating their dyadic relationship. Part of that stems from the roots of identity formation.⁴³² Politics require reflections on their past and history to coagulate into a stronger unity. Since most of these dedications were aimed at promulgating a view of the past in which the 'local other', namely, the Boiotian or Athenian neighbours, was defeated, it was imperative to the dedicating polities to reach the intended audience in the most efficient way possible. In most cases, that meant local sanctuaries and civic spaces and eschewing Panhellenic sanctuaries. Defeating one another was less important on a grander, Panhellenic stage. This ties in with Matteo Barbato's recent investigations, which clarified that different versions of the past could be presented to the same audience within different contexts in Athens.⁴³³ A common memory, therefore, did not truly exist, but was malleable, easily adaptable to the situation. The memory of neighbourly relations was no different. Memorials at Panhellenic sites involved battles or victories that were fought between larger alliances of which the two neighbours were a member. The monuments erected at Delphi incontrovertibly aimed to engage with previous Persian War memorials and were an expression of shifts and ruptures in the political landscape of Greece – most prominently dominance in mainland Greece – rather than any direct invocation of the neighbourly relations. The impetus to dedicate at Panhellenic sanctuaries was thus different from the motivations behind local commemorative practices, even in a contested sanctuary such as the Amphiareion. Direct confrontations between the two could help stimulate the self-image of the respective regions, and its effects were more profound on the local level. Fostering one's own identity is easier when contrasting it

⁴³² See Karl Deutsch's observation in his *Nationalism and Its Alternatives* (1969): 'A Nation . . . is a group of persons united by a common error about their ancestry, and a common dislike of their neighbors.'

⁴³³ Barbato 2020.

with others, preferably neighbours, and the protagonists of this study are no exception. To view these as reflections of inbred animosity between them overlooks how ductile these views were and how these could be altered to fit a certain narrative. Friends of the Boiotians could always be found in Athens, and vice versa. These memorials, rather, meshed into their own particular context, with an epichoric view of the events. The Amphiareion perfectly encapsulates this dominance of the local over the 'global', as the dynamics of power between the two neighbours were crystallised with aims of demonstrating to the inhabitants of Oropos and other visitors of the shrine that the changes in their political fortune were intimately tied to the changes in power between the neighbours.