

# An Inventory of Boiotian Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods

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## I. The Region Boiotia

The name of the region is Βοιωτία (Ar. *Ach.* 160; Thuc. 1.12.3; *SEG* 28 461.28, 287-0 B.C.). The ethnic is Βοιωτός (Hom. *Il.* 2.494, Ducat no. 257) or Βοιώτιος (Hom. *Il.* 14.476; *CID* II 31.93); cf. Gschnitzer (1983) 153. The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in the epigram commemorating the Athenian victory over the Boiotians in 506 B.C. (ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 501) and internally on the obverse of the coins (BOI, BOIΩ Head [1881] 21, 54) and in the C4f Boiotian proxeny decrees πρόξενον εἶμεν Βοιωτῶν, (*IG* VII 2407-8). For the individual and external use see [Ἐ]πίδδαλος τόπό[λλονι] Βοιώτιος ἐχς Ἐρχ[ομενῶ] (Lazzarini 374, C5f); for the internal use see Εὔβουλος Παναρμόστου Βοιώτιος (*BCH* 99 [1975] 51-3 line 4, C3f). The region Boiotia is described with the terms χώρα (Hdt. 8.44.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2) or γῆ (Soph. fr. 314.31, Radt; Hdt. 5.57.1), and from ca. 500 B.C. the term ἔθνος is used of the people (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 501; Hdt. 9.31.5-32.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.4; Aeschin. 2.116, Bakhuizen 1989).

In the *Catalogue of Ships* Orchomenos and Aspledon are described as Mynian settlements outside Boiotia (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; cf. Thuc. 4.76.3). In later sources both Orchomenos (Hdt. 8.34.1; Thuc. 1.113.1) and Aspledon (Strab. 9.2.41; Paus. 9.38.9) were considered Boiotian, and in the archaic and classical periods the frontiers of the whole region were the following: Boiotia bordered on Phokis, and the westernmost Boiotian *poleis* were Orchomenos (Hdt. 8.34.1), Chaironeia (Hekataios [*FGrHist* 1] fr. 116; Thuc. 4.76.3), Lebadeia (Strab. 9.3.14) and Chorsiai (Skylax 38). To the north Boiotia bordered on Opountian Lokris and the frontier must have run north of Hyettos and Kopai (no explicit evidence) and west of Anthedon (Strab. 9.2.13, cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.508). The easternmost Boiotian settlement was Delphinion in the Oropia (Strab. 9.2.6). Oropos was contiguous to Attika (Thuc. 4.99.1); it was under Athenian domination in the years ca. 500-411, ca. 375-66 and 338-22, but never integrated into Attika (see *infra* page 97). Moving westward from Oropos (Heraklides 7-8, *GGM* I, 101) the Boiotian *poleis* bordering on Attika were

Tanagra (Thuc. 3.91.3-5; Dem. 18.96), Hysiai (Hdt. 6.108.6) and Plataiai (Hdt. 6.108.3). In the years around 500 B.C. Hysiai was an Attic “deme” (Hdt. 5.74.1), and Plataiai may have been a part of Attika as well (see *infra* page 100). Eleutherai was originally a Boiotian settlement (Polemon fr. 2; Steph. Byz. 265.10) incorporated into Attika (Paus. 1.38.8) in, probably, 506 (Connor 8-16). It is a moot point whether it belonged to Boiotia once again in the fourth century (for: Camp [1991]; against: Munn [1993] 8-9). Towards the Isthmos Boiotia bordered on Megaris and the frontier ran along the ridge of Kithairon between Boiotian Kreusis and Megarian Aigosthena (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.17-8).

Our written sources provide us with information about 63 named Boiotian settlements<sup>1</sup> of the archaic and classical periods.<sup>2</sup> Of these 58 have been identified,<sup>3</sup> most beyond reasonable doubt, some with a certain amount of probability only.<sup>4</sup> Five ancient toponyms, however, remain unlocated<sup>5</sup> and, conversely, we have remains of two fairly small ancient settlements which cannot be convincingly matched with any of the toponyms found in the written sources.<sup>6</sup> Thus we know of 65 archaic and classical settlements altogether. Twenty-seven are described below in the inventory which comprises every Boiotian settlement which was either certainly (type A) or probably (type B) or possibly (type C) a *polis*. The other thirty-eight settlements are in alphabetical order:<sup>7</sup>

- Askra* (Ἄσκρα) – Hes. *Op.* 639-40 (κώμη); Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 1 (κώμη); Strab. 9.2.25; Paus. 9.29.1-2; Steph. Byz. 133.12 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 142-5).
- Aspledon* (Ἄσπληδών) – Hom. *Il.* 2.511; Cf. Hes. fr. 77; Strab. 9.2.41; Paus. 9.38.9 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 135.8 (πόλις). C, but also A since it is recorded in Homer and Hesiod. (Fossey [1988] 361-3).
- Aulis* (Ἀυλῖς) – Hom. *Il.* 2.496; Hes. *Op.* 651; Aesch. *Ag.* 191; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.3; Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 119; *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3 (?); Skylax 59 (ἱερόν); Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1; Dion. Call. 88, *GGM* 1.241 (πόλις); Strab. 9.2.8 (χωρίον, κώμη, λιμῆν); Paus. 9.19.6. Steph. Byz. 147.1. AC. (Fossey [1988] 68-74).
- Chalia* (Χαλία) – Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 211-2 = Steph. Byz. 681.4 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 77-8).
- Delion* (Δήλιον) – Hdt. 6.118.2; Thuc. 4.76.4-5; Skylax 59 (ἱερόν); Strab. 9.2.7 (ἱερόν; πολίχνην); Paus. 9.20.1; Steph. Byz. 226.13-4 (ἱερόν; πολίχνην). C. (Fossey [1988] 62-6).
- Delphinion* (Δελφίνιον) – Strab. 9.2.6 (ἱερός λιμῆν). C. Fossey [1988] 37-8.

- Donakon* (Δονακών) – Paus. 9.31.7. C. (Fossey [1988] 147-9).
- Drymos* (Δρυμός) – Harp. s.v. (πόλις) = Arist. fr. 612, Rose. Unlocated settlement near Panaktos.
- Eilesion* (Ειλέσιον) – Hom. *Il.* 2.499; Dion. Call. 90, *GGM* 1.241; Strab. 9.2.17; Steph. Byz. 261.13. AC. (Fossey [1988] 127-30).
- Gla* Unidentified settlement. C. (Fossey [1988] 288).
- Glisas* (Γλίσας) – Hom. *Il.* 2.504; Hdt. 9.43.2; Hellenicus (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 100; Strab. 9.2.31 (κατοικία); Paus. 9.19.6 (ἐρείπια); Steph. Byz. 209.16 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 217-23).
- Graia* (Γραῖα) – Hom. *Il.* 2.498; Arist. fr. 613, Rose. *A?C.* (Fossey [1988] 66-7).
- Harma* (Ἄρμα) – Hom. *Il.* 2.499; Philoch. fr. 113 (κωμηταί) = Strab. 9.2.11, 14 (κώμη ἔρημος); Paus. 9.19.4 (ἐρείπια πόλεως); Steph. Byz. 122.6 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 85-9).
- Heleon* (Ἑλεών) – Hom. *Il.* 2.500; Strab. 9.2.12, 14 (κώμη); Plut. *Mor.* 301A; Paus. 1.29.6. AC. (Fossey [1988] 89-95).
- Hippotai* (Ἰππόται) – Plut. *Mor.* 775A (κώμη). C. (Fossey [1988] 339-40).
- Hyle* (Ἵλη) – Hom. *Il.* 2.500; Strab. 9.2.20 (κώμη); Steph. Byz. 647.13. AC. (Fossey [1988] 235-43).
- Hyria* (Ἵρία) – Hom. *Il.* 2.496; Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 211 = Steph. Byz. 651.15 (πολίδιον); Strab. 9.2.12. AC. (Fossey [1988] 75-6).
- Isos* (Ἴσος) – Strab. 9.2.14 (ἵχνη πόλεως). AC. (Fossey [1988] 257-61).
- Keressos* (Κερησσός) – Plut. *Cam.* 19.4; Paus. 9.14.2-4 (ἐχυρόν χωρίον)(= Anthologiae Graecae Appendix 6.73, cf. Fontenrose Q 204). A, according to the literary sources. Near Thespiiai but unlocated.
- Kreusis* (Κρεῦσις) – Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.16-7, 6.4.3 (τεῦχος); Strab. 9.2.25 (ἐπίνειον); Paus. 9.32.1 (ἐπίνειον); Steph. Byz. 383.6 (πόλις). AC. (Fossey [1988] 157-63).
- Kyrtone* (Κυρτώνη later Κύρτωνες) – Paus 9.24.4 (πόλισμα) = Steph. Byz. 398.9 (πόλις). C. (Fossey [1990] 52-7).
- Leuktra* (Λευκτρα) – Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4 (ἐν Λευκτροῖς τῆς Θεσπικῆς); Dem. 9.23; Diod. 15.53.2 (τὸ Λευκτρικὸν πεδῖον); Harp. s.v. (χωρίον περὶ Θεσπιάς); Plut. *Mor.* 773B (κωμίον τῆς τῶν Θεσπιέων χώρας); Strab. 9.2.39 (τόπος). C. (Fossey [1988] 154-7).
- Mali* – Unidentified settlement. A. (Fossey [1988] 194-5).
- Medeon* (Μεδέων) – Hom. *Il.* 2.501 (ἐὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον); Strab.

- 9.2.26; Dion. Call. 99, *GGM* 1.241 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 439.19 (πόλις). *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 312-4).
- Metachioion* (Μετάχοιον) – Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 94 = Steph. Byz. 448.19 (φρούριον); (Μετατοίχου MSS: Μεταχοίου Marx). Between Orchomenos and Koroneia, but unlocated. *C*, according to the literary sources.
- Mideia* (Μίδεια) – Hom. *Il.* 2.507; Steph. Byz. 451.17 (πόλις). Unlocated.
- Nisa* (Νῖσα) – Hom. *Il.* 2.508; Dion. Call. 102, *GGM* 1.242. Unlocated.
- Oinophyta* (Ὀινόφυτα) – Thuc. 1.108.3; 4.95.3; Plat. *Menex.* 242B; Arist. *Pol.* 1302b29; Diod. 11.83.1. *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 58-60).
- Okalea* (Ὠκαλέα) – Hom. *Il.* 2.501; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 242 (Ὠκαλέην πολύπτυρον); Strab. 9.2.26-7; Dion. Call. 99, *GGM* 1.241 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 706.11 (πόλις). *H*, but also *A* and *C* (implicitly) since it is recorded in Homer and in the hymn to Apollon. (Fossey [1988] 314-8).
- Olmones* (Ὀλμωνες) – Paus. 9.24.3; 9.34.10 (κώμη); Steph. Byz. 490.7 (κώμη); *IG VII* 2808a15, after 212 A.D. *C*. (Fossey [1988] 296-8).
- Peteon* (Πετεών) – Hom. *Il.* 2.500; Strab. 9.2.26 (κώμη); Steph. Byz. 519.13 (πόλις). *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 233-4).
- Salganeus* (Σαλγανεύς) – Nicocrates (*FGrHist* 376) fr. 1; Heraclides 26, *GGM* 1.105; Diod. 19.77.4; Strab. 9.2.9 (χωρίον); Steph. Byz. 551.6 (πόλις). *C*. (Fossey [1988] 78-80).
- Schoinos* (Σχοῖνος) – Hom. *Il.* 2.497; *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3; Strab. 9.2.22. *AC*. Fossey [1988] 229-32.
- Stephon* (Στέφων) – Plut. *Mor.* 299C (ἔτι τῆς Ταναγραϊκῆς κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμένης). *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 49-52).
- Tegyra* (Τεγύρα) – Lycophron *Alex.* 646; Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 11 = Steph. Byz. 611.3 (πόλις); Plut. *Pelop.* 16-9. *AC*. (Fossey [1988] 367-72).
- Teumessos* (Τευμησσός) – *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 224; Eur. *Phoen.* 1100; Strab. 9.2.24; Paus. 9.19.1 (χωρίον); Steph. Byz. 618.21 (ὄρος). *C*. (Fossey [1988] 212-6).
- Tilphosaion* (Τιλφωσαῖον) – Dem. 19.141, 148 (fortification, see Fossey [1992] 112-4); Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 153 and Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 301 (ὄρος); Τιλφῶσσα Pind. fr. 198b; Aristophanes (*FGrHist* 379) fr. 4 (κρήνη). *CH*.
- Trapheia* (Τράφεια) – Nicander *Ther.* 887; Steph. Byz. 632.4 (πόλις). *AC?* (Fossey [1988] 244-6).

Some of these settlements may indeed have been *poleis*; Eleon for example seems to have had a territory of its own bordering on the territory of Tanagra (Paus. 1.29.6) and that is an indication of the *polis*-ness of the settlement. Similarly, Harma is a rather sizeable settlement with impressive fortifications (Fossey [1988] 86-8) and is described by Pausanias as the ruins of a *polis* (9.19.4). Thus we must consider the possibility that all four members of what in the Hellenistic period was called the *tetrakomia*, i.e. Pharai, Mykalessos, Eleon and Harma (Strab. 9.2.14), had all been *poleis* in the archaic and/or classical period (Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 225-6). Conversely some of the settlements included in the inventory of *poleis* might perhaps be omitted, viz., Alalkomenai and Onchestos. Even allowing for some uncertainty the inventory leads to the conclusion that more than two fifths of all the Boiotian settlements must have been considered to be *poleis* either throughout the archaic and classical periods or at least for some time within these periods.

Many of these *poleis*, however, were small dependencies, and at least in the classical period the Boiotian *poleis* seem to have formed a hierarchy with at least three different layers: during the 1st and 2nd federation (ca. 446-387 and 378/4-338) the only truly independent *polis* was Thebes which, in addition to being the leading member of the confederacy, preserved its capacity to enter into relations with other *poleis* (*Staatsverträge* nos. 273, 277, 283, 345, see *infra* page 108). Beneath Thebes was a number of *poleis* which, being member states of the federation, provided magistrates and councillors to the federal government and contingents to the federal army. Beneath these *poleis* was a number of little *poleis*, each depending on one of the larger *poleis* and with its own territory inside the territory of the larger *polis* but without any representation in the federal government. Chorsiai, Eutresis, Siphai and Thisbai were *poleis* depending on Thespiiai; Mykalessos and Pharai belonged to Tanagra; Erythrai, Skolos, Eteonos/Skaphlai and Hysiai were first connected with Plataiai in some form of *sympoliteia* but were later subdued by Thebes, which also possessed Anthedon, Oropos and Potniai; Chaironeia lay within the territory of Orchomenos until after 424.

We are poorly informed indeed about the status of all the settlements which were not *poleis*. The orthodoxy is that they were *komai* and – *mutatis mutandis* – had a status similar to the Attic demes (see Hansen [1995a] 69-71). But apart from phratries, attested in the late Hellenistic period (Knoepfler [1981] 148-9), we know of no civic subdivisions in Boiotia (Jones 79). So even supposing that these settlements were in fact *komai* there is no evidence to show that *komai* were an element in the

political organization of Boiotia in the same way as they must have been in e.g. Argos (Charneux in *BCH* 108 [1984] 207-27). Furthermore, only one Boiotian settlement is called *kome* in archaic and classical sources, namely Askra (Hes. *Op.* 639-40; Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70] fr. 1). Philochoros may have used the term *kometai* about the inhabitants of Harma (*FGrHist* 228 fr. 113). In all other cases the authority for Boiotian *komai* is either Strabo or Pausanias, but it is illegitimate to project their site-classifications back into the archaic and classical periods (see Hansen [1995a] 48-52). To conclude: the territory of a major Boiotian *polis*, e.g. Thebes or Thespiiai or Tanagra, comprised a number of settlements of which some were *poleis*, some were not and the relation between dependent *poleis* and other dependencies remains obscure.

## II. The Inventory of Poleis<sup>8</sup>

*Akraiphia, Akraiphnion (Akraiphieus)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long 23.15; size of territory: 1; type: A. The toponym is Ἀκραίφια, τὰ (*IG* VII 4135.6, C3s; 2871.1, C1) or (in literary sources only) Ἀκραίφια, ἡ (*Hdt.* 8.135.1; *Steph. Byz.* 63.1); Ἀκραίφια (Strab. 9.2.27); Ἀκραίφνιον (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); Ἀκραίφνια (Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 362). The city-ethnic is: Ἀκραίφιεύς (Ducat no. 260 = *SEG* 31 393, C5f); Ἀκρηφιεύς (*IG* VII 2708.4, C2f); or (in literary sources only) Ἀκραίφνιεύς (Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 362); Ἀκραίφνιος, Ἀκραίφνεώτης (Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70] fr. 229).

Akraiphia is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos (8.135.1) and in the political sense by the Oxyrhynchus historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Ἀκρηφιείων is in a dedication from Ptoion (*IG* VII 4156.2, C3f).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a decree from Oropos (*IG* VII 351.9 = *SEG* 25 489, 228/26 B.C.) and internally in a dedication from Ptoion (*LSAG* 95 no. 13, C6l). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a list of *aphedriateuontes* (*IG* VII 2724a.2, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451) and internally in a dedication: Πυθίας ἀκραίφ[ιεύς] (*LSAG* 95 no. 15, ca. 500 B.C.).

An inscription of ca. 315 B.C. cut in the rock near Vristika marked the border between Akraiphia and Kopai (*IG* VII 2792, *SEG* 36 411, Lauffer [1986] 136), and, similarly, a *horos* of the late archaic period probably records the border between the two *poleis* (*SEG* 30 440, C6-5): [ἥρος Ἀ]κραίφ[ιέων κ]αὶ Κοπ[αίων]. The nearby sanctuary at Ptoion

was controlled by Akraiphia in the archaic period (Ducat [1971] 448-50) as well as in the Hellenistic age (*IG* VII 4139.20-1, C21, Roesch [1982] 225ff), but when the oracle was consulted by Mys in 479 it was under Theban control (Hdt. 8.135.1, cf. Strab. 9.2.34). The Thebans may have dispossessed the Akraiphians of the oracle in C6s (Gullath [1989] 166) but a preferable explanation is that “the oracle may have remained within the direction of Akraiphia, although formally the sanctuary and the territory of Akraiphia were under Theban control” (Schachter 1 [1981] 69). In 395, however, Akraiphia was united with Chaironeia and Kopai and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 35 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 264, 198). There is no explicit evidence for membership of the Second Federation whereas the attestation of an *aphedriateuon* from Akraiphia testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724a.2, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). The oldest attested public enactments are two proxeny decrees of ca 200 B.C. (*BCH* 23 [1899] 90-1). An eponymous *archon* is attested in C6s (*LSAG* 95 no. 13). The protecting god of Akraiphia was perhaps Zeus of some sort (Schachter 3 [1994] 93-5 and letter of Dec. 1994).

The akropolis was fortified with a double wall: an outer face of hard limestone in trapezoidal coursed masonry, perhaps of C4, and an inner face of poros stone in ashlar coursed masonry, built in C3 and probably destroyed in 196 BC. A *diateichisma* in polygonal work is either older than or contemporary with the limestone wall. There are substantial remains of a pentagonal tower of the Hellenistic period. The circuit of walls enclosed an area of ca. 17 hectares (Fossey [1988] 266-8, Garland *BCH* 98 [1974] 98-112 and information from John Camp). The size of the lower town is unknown, nor do we know whether there was a circuit of walls enclosing the entire town. The settlement can be traced back to C8 (Fossey [1988] 269).

Akraiphia struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480, from 456 to 446, and from 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: kantharos in incuse square (some), legend: A (C5e), AK (C5m) or AKPH (C4e) (Head [1911] 344; Schachter [1989] 85; Baldwin Brett [1955] 137 no. 1011).

*Alalkomenai*. Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.00. Located at Vouno ca. 1 km east of Solinarion (Knauss 42-68); size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Ἀλαλκομεναί, αἱ (Strab. 9.2.27; Paus. 9.33.5). Apart from Steph. Byz. 68.19 there is no attestation of a city-ethnic.

The only author to call Alalkomenai a *polis* is Strabo who retrospectively describes the site as a small *polis* situated in a plain (9.2.36). According to Pausanias (9.33.5) the settlement was just a κώμη. But it may deserve inclusion in this inventory of *poleis* because it seems to have had a territory of its own and especially because of its famous sanctuary for Athena, τὸ Ἀλαλκομενεῖον (*IG IX*<sup>2</sup> 170.5) dedicated to the cult of Ἀλαλκομενίης Ἀθήνη (Hom. *Il.* 4.8, see Schachter 1 [1981] 111-4). According to Steph. Byz. 68.18-9 the goddess had the epithet πολλιάς, and her cult was linked with that of Ζεὺς Πολλεύς. Since the sanctuary was in the lowlands (Paus. 9.33.5) the epithets πολλιάς and πολλεύς must refer not to an akropolis cult but rather to cults of divinities protecting the *polis*. The cult of Athena at the Alalkomenion was presumably an old one (Schachter 1 [1981] 12) which indicates that at least in the archaic period Alalkomenai was a *polis* (Hansen [1995] 32-3) with the cult of its protecting god located in an extra-mural sanctuary. The territory is called Ἀλαλκομενία; it must have been very small but at least it included the fortified mountain Tilphosaion (Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70] fr. 153; Diod. 19.53.7). The Alalkomenion was located ca. 300 m north of Alalkomenai (Knauss 50).

*Anthedon (Anthedonios)* Map 54. Lat. 38.30, long. 23.25; size of territory: 2; type: B. The toponym is Ἀνθηδών, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.508; Skylax 59; *I. Stratonikeia* 508.43, C1), the city-ethnic is Ἀνθηδόνιος (*IG IX*<sup>2</sup> 27.4, C3), in the Boiotian dialect: Ἀνθάδονιος (*IG VII* 2723.4, C3e).

The earliest explicit reference to Anthedon as a *polis* (in the urban sense) is in Heraclides (23, *GGM I* p. 104, C3s); that it was a *polis* in the political sense as well is apparent from the fact that Ἀριστοκλεῖς Ἀγασιῶ Ἀνθαδόνιος appears ca. 280-70 B.C. among the *aphedriateuontes* (*IG VII* 2723.4, cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). There is no proof that Anthedon was a *polis* in the classical period, but if we can trust Steph. Byz. 96.18-9: Λεωνίδης Ζωγράφος, Εὐφράνορος μαθητής, Ἀνθηδόνιος the application of the city-ethnic to a fourth century painter is an indication that Anthedon was a *polis* in the political sense at least from the beginning of the Third Federation (i.e. from 338 B.C.). The eight victories at the four major Panhellenic games won ca. 300 B.C. by the pankratist Nikon of Anthedon point in the same direction (Steph. Byz. 96.17-8 & Phlegon of Tralles [*FGrHist* 257a] = *P.Oxy.* 2082 4.27); see also the reference in Plut. *Mor.* 300F to Μυρτίς ἡ Ἀνθηδονία ποιήτρια, probably to be dated in C3 rather than in C5 (Knoepfler [1986] 601 n. 31). Similarly, Skylax' classification of Anthe-



don as a *teichos* (59) points to the conclusion that Anthedon had not been a *polis* during the first and second federations. The only epigraphical reference to Anthedon as a *polis* is a heavily restored proxeny decree of C3 (*SEG* 36 413 = Knoepfler [1986] 624-30).

The territory is called ἡ Ἀνθηδονία (Strab. 9.2.13) and its size has been assessed at ca. 85 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 250). Anthedon bounded on Tanagra to the southeast (Nikokrates [*FGrHist* 376] fr. 1) and on Thebes to the southwest (Heraclides 23, *GGM* I, 104). Although there is no explicit evidence, it is usually assumed that Anthedon belonged to Thebes and that its harbour was used as a naval base by the Thebans when in the 360s they built a fleet (Schläger *et alii* [1968] 90), but see Fossey (1993) 117-20. The attestation of an *aphedriateuon* from Anthedon testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2723.4, ca. 280-70, cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). The protecting god of Anthedon was probably Zeus Karaios and Anthas whose cult, however, is unattested before C2 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2360, Schachter 3 [1994] 97 and letter of Dec. 1994)

The ancient town lay next to the sea around a tiny harbour (Strab. 9.2.13; Schläger *et alii* [1968]). A hill of about 30 m high was used for the akropolis. On the north side of the hill are the remains of a Hellenistic (Roesch [*PECS*] 59) fortification wall built in ashlar masonry with interval towers. The city walls encompassed both the hill and the harbour and enclosed an area of 36 hectares (Wallace [1979] 58; Fossey [1988] 252). Herakleides mentions an *agora* flanked with two stoas. The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 255).

*Chaironeia* (*Chaironeus*). Map 54. Lat. 38.30, long.22.55; size of territory: 2; type: A. The toponym is Χαιρώνεια, ἡ (Thuc. 1.113.1; *F. Delphes* III 3 96 = *SEG* 32 529, ca. 313-300 B.C.), but in some Boiotian inscriptions Χ[η]ρώνια (*IG* VII 3170.10, C3) or Χαιρωνία (*SEG* 38 380.1, C1). The city-ethnic is Χαιρωνεύς (*SEG* 15 282.4, 263/55 B. C.).

Chaironeia is called a *polis* presumably in the urban sense by Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 116, cf. Hansen [1995] 55 n. 44) and in the political sense by Thucydides (4.76.3 and 4.89.2, cf. Hansen [1995] 21-4; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Χηρωνεί[ω]ν is a proxeny decree of C2e (*IG* VII 3287 = Michel 240). The term πόλισμα is used by Aristophanes (*FGrHist* 379 fr. 3, C4).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested (internally) on the reverse of the coins ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕ(ΩΝ), 387-74 (Head [1881] 44) and externally by Polybios at 27.1.4. For the individual use of the city-ethnic see

e.g. Εὐρυφάντος Καλλίφρονος Χαιρωνέως (*SEG* 15 282.4, *grammateus* 263/55 B.C.).

The territory is called Χαιρώνεια (Lycurg. 1.16: ἡ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχῃ) and it was the westernmost region of Boiotia, bounding Phokis (Thuc. 4.76.3, cf. Hekataios [*FGrHist* 1] fr. 116). In C5f its territory was a part of the territory of Orchomenos (inference from Hdt. 8.34.1). In 395, however, Chaironeia was united with Kopai and Akraiphia and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 55 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 342).

In C5 Chaironeia was a dependent *polis* under Orchomenos (πόλιν Ὀρχομενίων, Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 407, probably referring to 446 B.C.; ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ξυντελεῖν, Thuc. 4.76.3, referring to 424 B.C.) and was perhaps without any representation in the federal government. In 395, however, Chaironeia was united with Akraiphia and Kopai and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). It is not known when Chaironeia changed its status from an Orchomenian dependency to one of the six *poleis* which provided one boiotarch every third year. Chaironeia was a member of the Second Federation (ἐπιβοιωθεῖν, Diod. 16.39.8) and of the Third Federation as well (*IG* VII 2724c.6, 245-40 B.C.). In 446 Chaironeia was conquered by the Athenians and exposed to *andrapodismos* (Thuc. 1.113.1; Theopomp. fr. 407).

Chaironeia must have been fortified in 424 (Thuc. 4.89.2). On the akropolis there are remains of (1) a circuit of walls of cyclopean masonry, probably of the archaic period; (2) Lesbian blocks, presumably archaic; (3) a C4 ashlar circuit of walls. Small extensions at the NE corner of the cyclopean wall and at the NW corner of the ashlar wall suggest that the lower city in the archaic and classical periods was walled and lay north of the akropolis. The akropolis walls enclose an area of ca. 15 hectares. The size of the lower city is unknown (Fossey [1988] 376-9). The city's extent is unknown and Bintliff's estimate of 30? hectares is guesswork (Bintliff [1991] 202). The settlement can be traced back to the Early Helladic period (Fossey [1988] 380). Of public architecture the only known building is a small rock-cut theatre of the 5th or 4th century (Dilke in *BSA* 45 [1950] 35-7). The protecting god of Chaironeia may have been Zeus (Paus. 9.41.6, Schachter 3 [1994] 99).

Chaironeia struck coins on the Aiginetan standard between 387 (or earlier) and 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: club, legend: XAI or XAIPΩNE (Head [1911] 344).

*Chorsiai* (*Chorsieus*). Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.55; size of territory:

1; type: A. The toponym Κορρσιαί, αἱ (Dem. 19.141 codd. AY; Harp. s.v.; Skylax 38) is attested in literary sources but not in inscriptions. From the city-ethnic Χορρσιεύς (*SEG* 3 342, Migeotte [1984] no. 11) we can infer that in the Boiotian dialect the toponym must have been Χορρσιαί which is the spelling offered by Steph. Byz. at 696.1. It has been suggested that the Κορρσιαί referred to by Demosthenes must be Κορρσειά in eastern Lokris (Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 32-41), but Demosthenes' mention of Orchomenos, Koroneia and Tilphosaion side by side with Κορρσιαί as well as the notes in Harp. and Skylax strongly support the traditional location of the site in southern Boiotia.

Skylax (38) lists Chorsiai as the first toponym after the heading πόλεις αἴδε, and the settlement is presumably called a *polis* by Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 167). The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Χορρσιέων is in a proxeny decree of C3s (*IG* VII 2385 = Michel 231).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a treaty with Thisbai (*SEG* 3 342, C2e) and internally in a proxeny decree (*SEG* 22 410, C2f). There is no attestation of the individual use.

The name of the territory is unknown; its size has been assessed at ca. 40 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 186). A C4f list of Thespian dedications found in Chorsiai indicates that Chorsiai in the early fourth century was a dependent *polis* lying inside the territory of Thespiiai (*SEG* 24 361, soon after 395/4, Schachter 1 [1981] 238).

In 346 Chorsiai was destroyed by the Thebans, had its walls demolished and, like Orchomenos and Koroneia, was perhaps exposed to an *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.141).

The only reference in written sources to walls is ὄχυρομένοσ at Diod. 16.58.1, describing the Phocians' occupation of Chorsiai during the Sacred War down to 346 B.C. Remains of a coursed trapezoidal wall enclose both the akropolis and the lower town on the east, north and west sides, whereas the south side is protected by cliffs. This circuit of walls seems to date from the years after the battle of Leuktra; it was probably destroyed by the Thebans in 346 (Dem. 19.141), but re-erected later on in the 4th century in isodomic ashlar work. The walls enclose residential quarters of max. one hectare (Büsing & Büsing-Kolbe [1972] 79-87; Fossey [1988] 188-91). The settlement can be traced back to the Early Helladic period (Fossey [1988] 193).

*Erythrai*. Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.25; size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Ἐρύθραι (Hom. *Il.* 2.499 [for the accent see Schol. *ad*

*loc.*]; Thuc. 3.24.2). There is no attestation of the toponym in epigraphical sources, and the only attestation of a city-ethnic is Ἐρυθραῖος Παντία[ς] (*SEG* 30 457, C6l, cf. Fossey [1991] 181-9; Hansen [1995] 46-7; for the word order ethnic-name see *IG* VII 2796). But Δημαρέτη Μοιρίχου Ἐρυθραία (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8500 = *SEG* 14 194, C4s) may come from Boiotian Erythrai too, since Μοίριχος is a good Boiotian name and since the stele was found in Eleusis where several other sepulchral inscriptions commemorating Boiotians have been found (Koumanoudis [1961] 104).

The only reference in ancient literature to Erythrai having been a *polis* is Pausanias' remark: Ὑσιῶν καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἐρείπια ἔστι. πόλις δέ ποτε τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν (Paus. 9.2.1). Pausanias' retrospective site-classification is supported by two observations: (a) in 479 Erythrai had a territory which must have been very small (Hdt. 9.15.3, 25.2: ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος χώρος), and (b) a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai in C5m suggests that Erythrai had been a *polis* before it joined the *sympoliteia* and may perhaps still have been a dependent *polis* even after the union (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Hansen [1995] 16) by which its territory seems to have become a part of Plataiis (Strab. 9.2.24). Erythrai must have been annexed by Thebes before the synoikism of ca. 431 when its population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). By 395, however, Erythrai had been repopulated, but was still lying within the territory of Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3).

The akropolis was fortified by an undated circuit of walls of rubble with no pretence to style enclosing an area of 1600 m<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 117-8). A wall of the lower town "is only visible as a line in the fall of the land" (Letter from Fossey of Jan 1995). The walls are probably later than 431 when Erythrai is described as unfortified (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). Apart from a few LH III sherds the settlement cannot be traced further back than the classical period (Fossey [1988] 118).

*Eteonos/Skaphai (Skaph(l)eus)*. Location unknown; type: C. The toponym was originally Ἐτεωνός, ὁ (Hom. *Il.* 2.497) but it was changed into Σκαφαί, αἱ (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) or alternatively Σκαφλαί (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 11654, C4m; Strab. 9.2.24, erroneously emended Σκάροφη by all eds.). The change of name may perhaps be connected with the refoundation of the town in ca. 400 B.C. after the synoikism with Thebes in ca. 431. We know that Eteonos/Skaphai was located near Skolos and occupied a hill (Hom. *Il.* 2.497) in the Parasopia (Strab. 9.2.24), but the precise location is unknown (Fossey [1988] 130-1).

Apart from Steph. Byz. (283.8) Eteonos/Skaphai is never called a *polis* and the reasons for including the site in this inventory are (a) that a city-ethnic is attested in classical sources (Hansen [1995] 28, 48) and (b) that a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai in C5m suggests that Eteonos/Skaphai had been a *polis* before it joined the *sympoliteia* and may perhaps still have been a dependent *polis* even after the union (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Hansen [1995] 16).

Apart from Steph. Byz. 283.10 there is no attestation of a city-ethnic derived from the toponym Eteonos, but the city-ethnic Σκαφ(λ)εύς is attested in four Attic sepulchral inscriptions of C4 of which the two last have been found in Eleusis: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 11202*: Σκαφλεύς, C4f; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 11654*: ἐΣκαφλάων, C4m [Koumanoudis: α<ι>ων, but see δραχμίων in *IG VII 3055.4*]; *SEG 15 161*: Σκαφλικά, Σκαφλικάί, C4m; *SEG 22 191*: Σκαφλικάί, C4s; cf. also *SEG 22 192*, C2-3 AD. The only other attestation is in Men. *Dysc.* hypoth. 14: ὑπεκρίνατο Ἄριστόδημος Σκαφεύς.

*Eutresis (Eutretidieus)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.15; size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Εὔτρησις (Hom. *Il.* 2.502; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The only surviving attestation of the city-ethnic is in a Hellenistic dedication to Apollo: Εὔτρητιδιεῖς Ἀπόλλωνι (*BCH* 28 [1904] 430-1 no. 1).

Strabo calls Eutresis a κομίον Θεσπιέων (9.2.28) and in Steph. Byz. (287.21) it is classified as a *kome*. Eutresis is not called a *polis* in any extant source, but the reference at *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3 to what was probably a *sympoliteia* between Thespiiai, Thisbai and Eutresis suggests that Eutresis during the First Federation was a dependent *polis* dominated by Thespiiai (Siewert [1977] 463, Hansen [1995] 16), cf. τοῖ Θεσπίεσιν καὶ τοῖσὺν ἀπὸς (*SEG* 26 475.5, C5f). The attestation of the city-ethnic further suggests that Eutresis was still a *polis* in the Hellenistic period during the Third Federation.

Excavations have revealed a part of a circuit of walls. Its compartment construction has been taken to suggest a mid fourth century date (Fossey [1988] 152). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 152).

*Haliartos (Haliartios)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.05; size of territory: 2; type: A. The toponym is Ἀλίαρτος, ὁ (Armenidas [*FGrHist* 378] fr.7) or Ἀλίαρτος (Hom. *Il.* 2.503, cf. *P. Lit. Lond.* 6; *Lys.* 16.13; *IG VII 2850*, C2-C1). In Boiotia the city-ethnic is either Ἀλιάρτιος (*SEG*

25 554, C5, Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 221-5) or Ἀλιάρτιος (*IG* VII 2724.4-5, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451); outside Boiotia it is always Ἀλιάρτιος (Thuc. 4.93.4). For the late appearance of the form Ἀλιάρτιος see most recently Knoepfler (1992) 480-1.

Haliartos is listed as one of the Boiotian *poleis* in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (4.91.1 & 93.4). It is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Heraclides (25, *GGM* I 104, C3) and in the political sense by the Oxyrhynchus historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a πόλις Ἀρια[ρτίων] is in a C3 decree concerning the cult of Athena Itonia (*SEG* 32 456.7, 235-30 B.C.), but the term [πο]λιτεία (citizenship) in a citizenship decree of C41 (*SEG* 28 453.8) strongly supports Knoepfler's restoration [τᾶς πόλιος Ἀλιαρτίων] in lines 3-4 of the decree (*BCH* 102 [1978] 381, *pace* Fossey in *Boeotia Antiqua* 4 [1994] 49-51).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a C5 dedication found near Onchestos (*SEG* 25 554) and internally on the reverse of a coin of C4f (APIAPTION, Head [1911] 345, see Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 222 n. 771). For the individual (and external) use see e.g. Κρισιάδαο Ἀγχιαρίω Ἀριαρτίω (*IG* VII 2724b.2, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451).

The territory was called Ἀλίαρτος (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17) or Ἀλιαρτία (Strab. 9.2.33; Paus. 9.33.4). Together with Lebadeia and Koroneia Haliartos constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 80 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 300). It comprised Onchestos (Strab. 9.2.33; *SEG* 25 554, Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 223; Schachter 2 [1986] 206) and Okalea and Medeon as well (Strab. 9.2.26). A line of fortifications, now dated to 371 BC (Fossey [1992] 112-4) indicates the border of the city towards Koroneia (Fossey [1988] 320). The Cambridge/Bradford survey of Boiotia has disclosed that there is a band of almost empty territory running east-west just north of Askra, probably the border-zone between the territory of Haliartos and that of Thespiiai (Snodgrass [1990] 129). The Thebans' remark at Hdt. 5.79.2 that the Koroneians and Thespiians are their neighbours indicates that Haliartos in 507/6 was a dependent *polis* and situated in what was then the territory of either Koroneia or Thebes. Haliartos was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) and of Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724b.2, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). We have no evidence relating to the Second Federation.

A small circuit of walls of cyclopean masonry (Mycenaean) with Lesbian (archaic) and trapezoidal (classical) repairs encloses the akropolis.

An ashlar circuit of walls, probably of C4, encloses the lower city and covers an area of ca. 36 hectares (Fossey [1988] 301-5). Haliartos was fortified when attacked by Lysandros in 395/4 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17-9; Paus. 3.5.3-5). Both passages refer to a circuit of walls enclosing the whole city and not just the akropolis. Haliartos seems to have been an early iron age settlement located in and round the akropolis wherefrom it spread down the slope to the south. The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 305-6). The urban centre reached its maximum size in the 4th century (Bintliff & Snodgrass [1988] 61-5). On the akropolis have been found the remains of an archaic sanctuary of Athena (C7-6), and the protecting god of Haliartos was probably Athena Itonia (*SEG* 25 556.6-7, C31, Schachter 1 [1981] 116)

Haliartos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 456 to 446, from ca. 400 (or earlier) to 374 (or later), and again from ca. 338 to 315. Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: amphora, later a trident, legend: either API or AP, later ΑΛΙ (Head [1911] 345; Kraay [1976] 111-2). A remarkable stater has on the reverse a naked Poseidon and the legend AP-IAPTION (or -ΙΟΣ) in epichoric letters, which points to a date around 400 B.C. rather than after 387 (Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 222, Hansen [1995] 63 add. note). The archaic coins inscribed with an epichoric H and traditionally assigned to Haliartos are now believed to have been struck by Hyettos (Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 218-26).

*Hyettos (Hyettios)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.35, long. 23.05; size of territory: 2; type: B. Apart from the Latinized version in Pliny *NH* 36.128 the toponym Ὑηρτος, ὄ is attested in two late sources only, viz., Pausanias (9.24.3-4, 36.6) and Stephanus (646.14). But the personal name Ὑηρτος (Hes. fr. 257, C7-6) implies that the toponym goes back to the archaic period. The city-ethnic is Ὑέτιος (*SEG* 24 300, C6s), Ὑείτιος (*IG* VII 1673.4, ca. 240 B.C.), Ὑέτιος (*IG* VII 416.78, C1) or Ὑήτιος (*IG* VII 2833.4, ca. 200 AD).

The earliest explicit reference to Hyettos as a *polis* is in a military catalogue of ca. 250 (*SEG* 26 498.3-4). But other evidence implies that Hyettos was a *polis* in the archaic and classical periods as well. (a) *SEG* 24 300, C6s: Θεβαῖοι τῶν ηυετίων inscribed on a greave and undoubtedly commemorating a Theban victory over the Hyettans. (b) *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3: δύο δὲ παρείχοντο βοιωτάρχας Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Ὑήττιοι (Wilamowitz, Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 230 : MS Ὑσιαῖοι), which shows that in ca. 400 B.C. Hyettos was one of the *poleis* which participated in the running of the Federal administration. Further evidence of

the close relations between Hyettos and Orchomenos is provided by a public dedication of ca. 400 B.C. set up by the Orchomenians on the akropolis of Hyettos (now lost but seen in 1938 by M. Feyel, *BCH* 62 [1938] 165 n. 5.; Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 228-9).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in the dedication *SEG* 24 300, C6s and internally on the coins if  $\Xi$  is an abbreviation of  $\text{h}\nu\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ . The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in a list of *aphedriateuontes*: ... Ἀριστομάχῳ Ὑειττίῳ (*IG* VII 1673.4, ca. 240 B.C.). The name of the territory is unknown; its size has been assessed at ca. 55 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 292).

During the First Federation Orchomenos and Hyettos constituted two of the Boiotian districts and provided two Boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The difference in size between the two cities indicates that, like the other small *poleis* around lake Kopais, Hyettos provided one boiotarch every third year and Orchomenos all the others (Etienne & Knoepfler 229-33). Hyettos was a member of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 1673.4, ca. 240 B.C.). There is no evidence concerning the Second Federation.

The akropolis was fortified by a wall of Lesbian masonry dating from ca. 500 B.C. with repairs of the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C. The circuit of walls encloses an area of ca. 6 hectares. There are no traces of any wall around the lower city, which seems to have lain south and east of the akropolis (Etienne & Knoepfler 45-65). There are no traces of habitation antedating the archaic period (Fossey [1988] 294-5).

Hyettos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to ca. 480. Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: a mill-sail punch. Legend: (first on obv. later on rev.) the epichoric letter h ( $\Xi$ ) (Head [1911] 345 & Kraay [1976] 109-10 under Haliartos, but assigned to Hyettos by Etienne & Knoepfler [1976] 218-26 & 383-90; Schachter [1989] 85).

*Hysiai*. Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.20; size of territory: 1; type: *C*. The toponym is Ὑσιαί (Hdt. 5.74.2; Eur. *Bacch.* 751). There is no attestation of the toponym in epigraphical sources and the only attestation of a city-ethnic is in Steph. Byz. 653.9.

Apart from Pausanias' description of Hysiai as the ruins of what had once been a Boiotian *polis* (9.2.1) the only reference in ancient literature to Hysiai as a *polis* is in Harpokration s.v. Ὑσιαί, τῆς Βοιωτίας πόλις, quoting Hypereides' speech *For Xenophilos* (fr. 156, Sauppe) on the toponym, but not necessarily on the classification of the site as a *polis*. The two main reasons for including Hysiai in this inventory are (a) that it had a territory of its own and (b) that it was placed right between Pla-



taiai and the three small cities which are named by the Oxyrhynchus historian as συμπολιτευόμενοι with Plataiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), viz. Erythrai, Skolos and Skaphai. This location strongly indicates that Hysiai must have been one of the small members of the *sympoliteia* not mentioned explicitly by the Oxyrhynchus historian but referred to with the phrase τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων, and thus Hysiai was presumably a *polis*, at least before it joined the *sympoliteia*.

Hysiai had been annexed by Athens, probably in 519, and was still part of Attika in 506 (Hdt. 5.74.2; 6.108.6); but in 479 Hysiai had a territory of its own which, however, must have been very small (Hdt. 9.25.3, cf. 6.108.6) bounding Plataiai to the west (Hdt. 9.15.3; 25.3), Thebes to the north (Hdt. 6.108.6), Erythrai to the east (Hdt. 9.15.3) and Eleutherai to the south (Paus. 9.1.6). Later in C5 Hysiai seems to have been a member of the *sympoliteia* led by Plataiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) and must accordingly have been a part of Plataiis (cf. Paus. 9.2.1).

Traces of a circuit of walls could still be seen a hundred years ago (Fossey [1988] 113) and some remains of buildings as well as two dedications to Demeter (*IG VII* 1670-1) have been connected with the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinos (Hdt. 9.57.2; Plut. *Mor.* 325E)(Schachter I [1981] 153).

*Kopai (Kopaieus)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.30, long. 23.10; size of territory: 3; type: A. The toponym Κῶπαι is attested in literary sources only (Hom. *Il.* 2.502; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The city-ethnic is Κῶπαιεύς (Thuc. 4.93.4; *IG VII* 4149.15, C1f) or Κῶπαιός (Head [1911] 344, C4f) or Κῶπιῶς (*IG VII* 2792, C4s), which is the more common form in Boiotian inscriptions (Fossey in *LCM* 10 [1985] 39).

Kopai is listed as one of the Boiotian *poleis* in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (4.91.1 & 93.4) and in the Oxyrhynchus Historian's account of the federal constitution (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a πόλις Κῶπιῶν is in a dedication of the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 41 452, C2f).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on a C4s boundary stone (*IG VII* 2792) and internally on the reverse of a coin of C4f (ΚΩΠΑΙΩΝ, Head [1911] 344); the individual use is attested externally in a list of *aphedriateuontes*: Ἀριστοκράτιος [Ἐμ]πέδωνος Κῶπ[ή]ω (*IG VII* 2724d.5, ca. 240 B.C.) and internally in a Hellenistic grave epigramme (*IG VII* 2796.1).

An inscription of ca. 315 cut in the rock near Vristika marked the border between Kopai and Akraiphia (*IG VII* 2792, *SEG* 36 411, Lauffer

[1986] 136), and, similarly, a *horos* of the late archaic period probably records the border between the two *poleis* (*SEG* 30 440). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 105 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 264).

In 395 Kopai was united with Akraiphia and Chaironeia and constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). There is no explicit evidence concerning the Second Federation, but Kopai was a member of the Third Federation (*IG* VII 2724d.5, ca. 240 B.C.).

A line of an ashlar wall (presumably of the second half of the 4th century B.C.) and possibly the position of a tower can still be observed (Fossey [1988] 278). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 279).

Kopai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard between 387 (or earlier) and 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: forepart or head of a bull, legend: ΚΩ or ΚΩΠΑΙΩΝ (Head [1911] 344).

*Koroneia* (*Koronaios* or *Koroneus*). Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.55; size of territory: 2; type: A. The toponym is Κορώνεια (Hom. *Il.* 2.503; Thuc. 1.113.2; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5222, 394 B.C.) but a C6 dedication in Olympia has ρορόνεια (*LSAG* 95 no. 11). In most literary sources the city-ethnic is Κορωνάιος (Hdt. 5.79.2; Thuc. 4.93.4) but in inscriptions and some literary sources it is Κορωνεύς (Lazzarini 916; *CID* II 74 col. 1.50, 337/6; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); once it is Κορωνίος (Strab. 9.2.29). Again, [ϙο]ρονε[ῆς] has been restored on a C6I helmet dedicated to Olympian Zeus (*BSA* 87 [1992] 288) and the oldest coins (500-480) are marked with a ϙ whereas the coins of the next series (from ca. 456-46) are signed ΚΟΡΟ (Head [1911] 345).

Koroneia is presumably called a *polis* by Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 117) but the first unquestionable attestation of Koroneia as a *polis* is in Thucydides' description of the battle of Delion (Thuc. 4.91.1 & 93.4). The oldest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Κορωνέων is in a C3I proxeny decree (*SEG* 26 552).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally in a dedication in Thebes (Lazzarini 916) as well as in literary sources (Hdt. 5.79.2; Thuc. 4.93.4) and internally on the coins ΚΟΡΟ(ΝΕΙΩΝ) (Head [1881] 26). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic cf. the sepulchral inscription Εὐκράτη Κορωνεῦ χαῖρε (*IG* VII 2114 = Choix 49, Hellenistic), for the individual and internal use see the list of victors at the Pamboiotia (*SEG* 26 551, C3s)

The territory was called Κορώνεια (Thuc. 1.113.2; Arist. *Mir.* 842b3) or ἡ Κορωνειακή (Strab. 9.2.19, 28). Together with Haliartos

and Lebadeia Koroneia constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The territory of Koroneia comprised Hermaion (a valley), Metachoion (a fortress between Koroneia and Orchomenos) (Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70] fr. 94a) and the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (Strab. 9.2.29; Schol. Apol. Rhod. 1.551a). Its size has been assessed at ca. 95 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 322).

Koroneia was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2). The city was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3-4), the Second Federation (Diod. 16.35.3) and the Third Federation (*CID* II 74.50). In 359 *theorodokoi* were appointed to host *theoroi* from Epidaurus (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1.94.7). The protecting god of Koroneia was Athena Itonia whose sanctuary seems to have been located just to the north of the akropolis (Alc. fr. 325, L&P; Schachter 1 [1981] 117-27).

In 353/2 Koroneia was conquered by Onomarchos (Ephorus fr. 94a; Diod. 16.35.3) and became a Phokian stronghold (Dem. 19.148; Diod. 16.58.1) until 346 when Philip had the city handed over to the Thebans (Dem. 5.22, 6.13) who exposed it to an *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.112, 325); but shortly afterwards Koroneia must have been resettled since, in 337/6, one of the Boiotian *tamiai* in Delphi is a Koroneian citizen (*CID* II 74.50).

Koroneia was a walled city when conquered by the Phokians in 353 (Ephorus fr. 94a; Diod. 16.58.1). There are remains of an undated polygonal circuit of walls around the akropolis, enclosing an area of 38 hectares (Fossey [1988] 325-6, letter of Jan. 1995); another circuit of walls of unknown date enclosing the lower town could still be seen in the 19th century (Frazer *Paus.* V 70). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 326).

Koroneia struck coins on the Aiginetan standard in the periods ca. 500-480, ca. 456-46, ca. 387 (or earlier) – 374 (or later) and after 338. Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: head of Athena Itonia (some), legend: down to ca. 480: ♀, thereafter either KOPO or KO or KOP (Head [1911] 345; Kraay [1976] 110-1; Schachter [1989] 85).

*Lebadeia (Lebadeus)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 22.50; size of territory: 2; type: A. The toponym is Λεβάδεια, ἡ (Hdt 8.134.1; *IG* VII 3083.4-5, C3s). The city-ethnic is Λεβαδεύς (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; *CID* II 102 col. I 11, 324/3) but in some Boiotian inscriptions it is Λεβαδειῆος (*IG* VII 3068.1 = Michel 635, C3).

Lebadeia is called a *polis* in the political sense by *Hell. Oxy.* (at 19.3). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a πόλις Λεβαδει[ήων] is in a sa-

cred law of C4m (*IG VII 3055*). The formula is restored in *IG VII 3086* of ca. 400 B.C., but see Schachter 3 (1994) 76 n.1.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a sacred law (*IG VII 3055*, C4s, Schachter 3 [1994] 86-8) and externally in *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3. For the individual and external use see e.g. Σωκράτε[ος Λ]-εβαδειέ[ος], *hieromnemon* in 324/3 (*CID II 102 col. 1.11*).

The territory was called Λεβιάδεια (Cratinus fr. 220; Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4; Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 4.11.8) or ἡ Λεβαδιακή (Arist. *HA* 606a1). Together with Koroneia and Haliartos Lebadeia constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). A *horos* of C4-C3 found some 4 km. south-east of Lebadeia marks the border between Lebadeia and Koroneia (*SEG 23 297*). To the north-east Lebadeia bordered the territory of Orchomenos (Arist. *HA* 606a1). The adjoining city to the north was Chaironeia (Plut. *Mor.* 849A, rC4). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 95 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 322, 342).

Lebadeia was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). The city must have been a member of the Second Federation as well since the annual *panegyris* celebrating the Boiotian victory at Leuktra took place in Lebadeia (Diod. 15.53.4; *IG VII 552*, C4), and the attestation of a *hieromnemon* in 324/3 testifies to membership of the Third Federation (*CID II 102 col. 1.11*)

*Theorodokoi* were appointed in ca. 400 B.C. to host *theoroi* from Delphi (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 90.14-5) and in 359 to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (restored in *IG IV*<sup>2</sup> 1.94.9). The protecting god of Lebadeia was probably Zeus Basileus (Schachter 3 [1994] 109-18).

The city was situated on the eastern bank of the Herkyna river (Paus. 9.39.2) beneath the modern city. The size of the city is unknown and so far no traces of an ancient circuit of walls have been found. Excavations have revealed some remains of C4 monumental buildings including a stoa and a temple of the Megale Meter (Fossey [1988] 345; Schachter 2 [1986] 127-30). To the west of the Herkyna river was the sanctuary of Zeus Basileios and the famous oracle of Trophonios (Paus. 9.39.5-13). Lebadeia was sacked by Lysandros in 395 B.C. (Plut. *Lys.* 28.2).

Lebadeia struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later) and again from ca. 338 to 315. Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: thunderbolt (some), legend: ΛΕΒΑ or ΛΕΒ (Head [1911] 346).

*Mykalessos (Mykalessios)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.25, 23.30; size of territory: 2?; type: A. The toponym is Μυκαλησσός, ἡ (Hom. *Il.* 2.498; Thuc.

7.29.2-3). The city-ethnic is Μυκαλήσσιος (Thuc. 7.30.3). Neither the toponym nor the city-ethnic is attested in epigraphical sources.

Mykalessos is called a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense by Thucydides at 7.29-30. According to Strabo it was a *kome* (Strab. 9.2.11, 14), whereas Pausanias, retrospectively, describes Mykalessos as the ruins of a *polis* (9.19.4).

The only attestation of the city-ethnic (in its collective and external use) is in Thuc. 7.30.3, paraphrased by Pausanias at 1.23.3.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Mykalessos was located in the territory of Tanagra (Strab. 9.2.11, 14; Paus. 9.19.8), and that seems to have been the case already in the early 5th cent. B.C (Fossey [1988] 83-4, 222-3; Hansen [1995] 36-7). Within the Tanagraian territory, however, Mykalessos had its own territory, called Μυκαλήσιος, which seems to have stretched as far as the Euboian Gulf (Paus. 9.19.5, Bakhuizen [1970] 20-1, 148-9) and so must be assessed at at least 50 and perhaps over 100 km<sup>2</sup>.

In 413 the city was sacked by Thracian mercenaries and a large part of the population was killed off (Thuc. 7.29-30). Mykalessos was walled but the circuit of walls was not very high and parts of it had collapsed (Thuc. 7.29.3). The wall reported by Lolling (1989) 508 may have been the remains of a circuit of walls (Fossey [1988] 80-1). Thucydides describes Mykalessos as a small *polis* and apart from houses the only buildings referred to are some sanctuaries and a school (Thuc. 7.29.4-5). The large nekropolis testifies to a peak of population in C6s (Ure [1940] 496-510). The settlement can be traced back to EH II (Fossey [1988] 79-80).

Mykalessos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480 and from 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: thunderbolt (some), legend: M or later MY (Head [1911] 346; Kraay [1976] 110; Schachter [1989] 85).

*Onchestos*. Map 54. Lat. 38.25, long. 23.10; size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Ὀγχηστός, ὄ (Hom. *Il.* 2.506; *IG IX<sup>2</sup>* 1.1 170.5, 292 B.C.). There is no attestation of a city-ethnic.

Onchestos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Heraclides at 25, *GGM I* 104) and retrospectively by Pausanias at 9.26.5. There is no explicit reference to Onchestos being a *polis* in the political sense. In 338, however, Onchestos became the capital of the Boiotian Federation (Roesch [1982] 266-82), and the federal archon was hereafter referred to as the Archon in Onchestos (*IG XII 9* 912.5, ca. 308-04 B.C.). The re-

mains of a C6s temple of Poseidon have been found (*ArchDelt* 28 [1973] 269-71, Schachter 2 [1986] 207) and near the temple what may be the remains of an early Hellenistic *bouleuterion* (*ArchDelt* [1973-4] *Chron.* 442). If the identification is correct, it probably accommodated the federal council (*SEG* 23 271.64-6, Roesch [1965] 126-33).

According to Steph. Byz. (483.9) the city-ethnic was Ὀρχήστιος, but in earlier and more reliable sources this adjective is unattested as a city-ethnic and known only as an epithet of Poseidon (Paus. 9.37.1) or his son Megareus (Hellanicus [*FGrHist* 4] fr. 78).

Together with Haliartos (Hdt. 5.79.2) Onchestos may originally have belonged to Thebes (Hes. *Scut.* 103-5, Schachter 2 [1986] 215) or to Koroneia. A C5 public dedication of the Haliartians found in the Poseidonion indicates that it then belonged to Haliartos (*SEG* 25 554, Schachter 2 [1986] 206). After 338 it was probably independent.

The settlement of Onchestos has been tentatively identified with a site of ca 5 hectares about 1 km. west of the sanctuary of Poseidon. On the site were found fragments of monumental Doric architecture, traces of a fortification wall, of a Hellenistic *bouleuterion*, and the plan of what appears to be an agora of Hellenistic date. (Bintliff & Snodgrass [1985] 140; Schachter 2 [1986] 208).

*Orchomenos (Orchomenios)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.30, 22.55; size of territory: 3; type: A. The toponym is Ὀρχομενός (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; Thuc. 3.87.4) or, in the Boiotian dialect, Ἐρχομενός (*LSAG* 95 no. 17, ca. 475-50?). The city-ethnic is Ὀρχομένιος (Hdt. 9.16.1; *CID* II 74 col. 1.36) but in Boiotian inscriptions almost always Ἐρχομένιος (*LSAG* 95 no. 11) and only occasionally Ὀρχομένιος (both forms are attested in *IG* VII 3172.17 & 51-2, 223 B.C.).

Orchomenos is called a *polis* in the territorial sense by Pindar (?) in a poem for Apollon (fr. 333.8, Maehler), in the urban sense by Herodotos (8.34.1), and in the political sense by Thucydides in his description of the battle of Delion (Thuc. 4.91.1 & 93.4). The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Ἐρχομενίων is a proxeny decree of C31 (*IG* VII 3166 = Michel 238).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on a C6m helmet at Olympia commemorating a victory over Koroneia (*LSAG* 95 no. 11) and internally (in an abbreviated form) on the reverse of the coins: ΕΡΧΟ(ΜΕΝΙΩΝ) (Head [1911] 346-7). For the individual (and external) use cf. e.g. Νικίας Ἐρμαίου Ἐρχομένιος (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10036, 410-390 B.C.). Both the ethnic and the city-ethnic are recorded in a C5 ded-

ication from Delphi: [Ἐ]πίδαλος ... Βοιότιος ἔχς Ἴρχ[ομενῶ] (LSAG 95 no. 17, ca. 475-50).

The territory was called γῆ ἢ Ἴρχομενίων (Hdt. 8.34.1) or ἡ Ἴρχομενία (Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 9.13.1; Strab. 9.2.19) or ἡ Ἴρχομενός (Thuc. 1.113.2). [When denoting the city the gender of the toponym is invariably masculine (the exception is Apol. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.257), thus ἡ Ἴρχομενός probably denotes the territory of Orchomenos with either γῆ or χώρα implied]. Together with Hyettos Orchomenos constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). Down to the end of the 5th century the territory of Orchomenos seems to have included Chaironeia (Hdt. 8.34.1; Thuc. 4.76.3; Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 407), but Chaironeia became free of Orchomenos at one time after 424 (Thuc. 4.76.3; 4.93.4) but before 395 (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). To the south Orchomenos bordered the territory of Lebadeia (Arist. *HA* 605b31). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 105 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 342).

In the Catalogue of Ships Orchomenos is called Μινύεος and is not a part of Boiotia (Hom. *Il.* 2.511; cf. Thuc. 4.76.3). According to this tradition Orchomenos and the Minyans had once ruled Boiotia and received tribute from the Boiotian cities (Isoc. 14.10; Diod. 15.79.5).

As a member of the First Federation Orchomenos (together with Hyettos) supplied two of the eleven Boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); but in 395 at the outbreak of the Korinthian War the Orchomenians joined Sparta and defected from the federation (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6). The city was garrisoned by the Spartans from 395 to 375 or even later (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.15; 5.1.29; Diod. 15.37.1) and the war between Thebes and Orchomenos went on until 371 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.10). In 370, however, Orchomenos was forced to rejoin the Boiotian federation (Diod. 15.57.1), apparently without any representation in the federal government (only 7 boiotarchs in 365, *SEG* 34 355). An abortive coup d'état planned by the Orchomenian knights in collusion with some Theban exiles resulted in a Theban attack on Orchomenos in 364. The city was conquered, destroyed and exposed to an *andrapodismos* by which all men were killed while women and children were sold into slavery (Diod. 15.79.3-6; Dem. 16.4, 25; 20.109). But the site was not abandoned, and in 359 an Orchomenian *theorodokos* was appointed to host a *theoros* from Epidaurus (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1 94.8). So in 364 Orchomenos must have been given to settlers who were loyal to Thebes. In the spring of 353 Orchomenos was conquered by Onomarchos (Diod. 16.33.4) and occupied by the Phokians until their capitulation in the summer of 346 (Dem. 19.148; Aes-

chin. 2.141; Diod. 16.58.1). During the Phokian occupation the city was resettled by some Orchomenians, probably those who had escaped the *andrapodismos* of 364 (Aeschin. 2.141; Dem. 16.25; Schol. Dem. 6.13, 21 Dilts). After the peace with the Phokians Philip surrendered Orchomenos to the Thebans (Dem. 5.21-2) and the city seems to have suffered yet another *andrapodismos* (Dem. 19.112, 141, 325). When the Thebans had been defeated at Chaironeia, however, Orchomenos was refounded, this time with Philip's support, and the city was given back to the surviving Orchomenians (Paus. 4.27.10; 9.37.8); it joined the federation again, and in 337-6 one of the Boiotian *hieromnemes* at Delphi was an Orchomenian (*CID* II 74 col. 1.36; col. 2.27). After the destruction of Thebes in 335 Orchomenos became once again a walled city (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10).

Orchomenos was a member of the Kalaurian amphiktyony (Strab. 8.6.14, Schachter 2 [1986] 213-4; Tausend [1992] 12-3). In 452 Orchomenos may have been a member of the Delian League (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 260 col. 9.9, as restored by D. Lewis; see *CAH* 5.50)

The constitution of Orchomenos was oligarchic (Thuc.4.76.3; Diod. 15.79.3) and based on a property qualification (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2). The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of the Orchomenians* (Arist. fr. 578-82, Gigon). Pausanias' reference at 9.34.10 to two Orchomenian *phylai*, if trustworthy, must refer to his own day (Jones [1987] 78-9).

The protecting god of Orchomenos was Zeus with various epithets (Laphystios, Akraios, Karaios, Keraios)(Schachter 3 [1994] 120-24, letter of Oct. 1994). Asopichos of Orchomenos is recorded as victor in the Olympic games of 488 (Pind. *Ol.* 14.4, 17)

The only explicit reference in written sources to walls is ὀχυρωμένος at Diod. 16.58.1 which shows that Orchomenos was fortified during the Phokian occupation 353-46. Substantial remains of a polygonal and irregular trapezoidal wall enclose the akropolis and the western part of the town, and is crowned by a keep of ashlar masonry. The walls enclose an area of less than 20 hectares but the lower city must have extended further to the south. The date of the wall is disputed. Fossey (1988) 353 suggests archaic, Scranton (1941) 91 the mid 4th century, whereas Lauffer (1974) 297-9 prefers to identify the remains with the walls erected in the 330s after the sack of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). For the archaic and classical periods the degree of urbanisation is virtually unknown, partly because the classical remains were destroyed by the later Byzantine occupation and partly because the relevant material from



Bulle's excavations was never published (Lauffer [1974] 311). Remains have been found of archaic temples, a shrine for Dionysos (Fossey [1988] 354, and a theatre which is now dated C4s (Spyropoulos in *AR* 20 [1973-4] 20).

Orchomenos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480: Type: Obv.: incuse; Rev.: sprouting corn-grain, legend: E or EP. From ca. 400 (or earlier, cf. Hansen [1995] 63 add. note) to 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: running horse or amphora, legend: EP, EPX or EPXO. From ca. 338 to 315. Types: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: plain, legend: OPX (Head [1911] 346-7; Kraay [1976] 110; Schachter [1989] 85).

*Oropos (Oropios)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.45; size of territory: 3; type: *B*. The toponym is Ὀρωπός, ὄ (Hdt. 6.101.1; *SEG* 3 117.14, 303/2 B.C.). The city-ethnic is Ὀρωπίος (Thuc. 2.23.3; *IG* VII 4250-1 = Tod, *GHI* 164 A-B, C4m).

Oropos is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Heraclides (7, *GGM* I 100, C3s) in the territorial sense by Aristotle (fr. 613, Rose) and in the political sense by Diodoros (Diod. 14.17.3, rC4). The earliest epigraphical attestations of Oropos as a *polis* are in some citizenship decrees of ca. 322-310 B.C. (*IG* VII 4256-7 and *SEG* 15 264).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in two proxeny decrees of C4m (Tod, *GHI* 164 A-B) and externally in many literary sources (e.g. Thuc. 2.23.3). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a sepulchral inscription of C2 (*SEG* 15 303) and externally in a list of *aphedriateuontes* of 312-04 B.C.: [Κ]ρατύλλω Ἀμφιδαμίω Ὀρωπίω (*IG* VII 2724a.5, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451).

The name of the territory is Ὀρωπία (Thuc. 4.99.1) or Ὀρωπός (Hyp. 3.16). It is sometimes referred to as being contiguous to Boiotia (*SEG* 37 100.142, ca. 330 B.C.) and sometimes as being part of Boiotia (Paus. 1.34.1). Thucydides' account of the aftermath of the battle of Delion shows that Oropos was a border district between Attika and Boiotia (Thuc. 4.99.1). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 110 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 28).

According to the Boiotian historian Nikokrates (*FGrHist* 376 fr. 1) Oropos was originally an Eretrian colony, and this piece of information is supported by a study of the local dialect which was neither Boiotian nor Attic but a form of Ionian very close to that spoken by the Eretrians (Wilamowitz [1886] 97-103). Oropos fell to Athens probably after

507/6 (since the settlement did not become an Attic deme), perhaps before 490 (Hdt. 6.101.1), but perhaps only after the Persian destruction of Eretria (Knoepfler [1985] 52). During most of the 5th cent. Oropos was an Athenian dependency (Thuc. 2.23.3) but in 411 the city was conquered by the Boiotians (Thuc. 8.60.1) and enjoyed a short period of independence (Lys. 31.9) until 402 when the losing side in a civil war appealed to Thebes. The Thebans captured the city and forced its population to leave their settlement at the coast and move seven stades inland. The Oropians were first allowed to retain their political institutions, probably as a Theban dependency, but after a few years Oropos was annexed to the Boiotian federation and all Oropians were made citizens of Thebes (Diod. 14.17.1-3; Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 12). When the Boiotian federation was dissolved in 386 after the King's Peace Oropos must have regained its independence, but some time between 375 and 373 the Oropians preferred to join Athens once again rather than to be forced by Thebes to join the new Boiotian federation (Isoc. 14.20, 37, Knoepfler [1986] 90-3; *SEG* 36 442). Already in 366 (Diod. 15.76.1), however, Oropos was captured by the Eretrian tyrants (Aeschin. 3.85; Dem. 18.99). Facing the threat of a major Athenian attack they agreed to hand over Oropos to the Thebans and submit to international arbitration. The Thebans garrisoned the city, but the arbitration came to nothing and Thebes arrogated Oropos once again (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1; Diod. 15.76.1; Schol. Dem. 18.99, 176 Dilts; 21.64, 204 Dilts). Two proxeny decrees passed by the Oropians in their *ekklesia* (Tod, *GHI* 164A-B) in probably 359/8 (Coulton [1968] 182) strongly suggest that Oropos, though a dependency of Thebes, was still a *polis*, and not just a municipality (Hansen [1995] 39). After the defeat at Chaironeia Oropos was transferred to Athens, perhaps already by Philip in 338 (Paus. 1.34.1; Schol. Dem. 18.99, 176 Dilts; Robert [1960] 195), perhaps only in 335 after Alexander's destruction of Thebes (Knoepfler [1993] 295). Oropos regained its independence in 322, had it confirmed in 319 (Diod. 18.56.6), but became a member of the Third Boiotian Federation in the years 312-04 (Diod. 19.78.3; *IG* VII 2724a.5, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451).

Remains of an undated fortification wall enclosing the akropolis are still visible along the west side, but only as a fall in the land with some debris. All remains of ancient structures have disappeared (Fossey [1988] 30 and letter of Jan. 1995).

*Pharai*. Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.40, size of territory: 1?; type *B*.

The toponym is Φαραΐ, attested in Strab. 9.2.14 and Steph. Byz. 658.5 but not in any other source. The full form of the city-ethnic is unknown since it is only attested in the abbreviated form ΦΑ on the reverse of some C4f coins (Head [1911] 347).

Pharai is not called a *polis* in any extant source but the existence of a fourth-century mint strongly suggests that Pharai must have been a *polis*, at least in the period after the King's Peace of 386.

According to Strabo (9.2.14-5) Pharai, Eleon, Harma and Mykalessos formed a τετρακομία which lay in the territory of Tanagra.

Pharai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard between ca. 386 (or earlier) and 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: amphora, legend: ΦΑ (Head [1911] 347). On the archaic issues traditionally assigned to Pharai see *infra* s.v. Thespiiai.

*Plataiai (Plataieus)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.15; size of territory: 3; type: A. The toponym is Πλαταιαί, αί (Tod, *GHI* 204.34-5, C4; *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1 629, C2; Hdt. 9.25.2) but some authors use the singular: Πλάταια, ἡ (Hom. *Il* 2.504; Thuc. 2.2.1 *et alibi*). The city-ethnic is Πλαταιεύς (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27.6, 479 B.C.; *SEG* 9 2.44, C4s; *IG* VII 1664.2-3, C3; Hdt. 8.44.1; Thuc. 2.3.1; Lys. 23.2) and the *ketikon* Πλαταικός is only used as an ethnic in the feminine (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10096, C4m); for one possible exception see Aeschin. 3.162.

Plataiai is called a *polis* in numerous literary sources both in the urban sense (Hdt. 8.50.2; Thuc. 2.5.4; 3.68.3) and in the political sense (Thuc. 2.2.2; 3.57.2; Isoc. 14.1, cf. *polites* at Thuc. 2.2.2; 3.65.3). The term *asty* is used by Herodotos at 7.233.2. The earliest epigraphical reference to a πόλις Πλαταιέων is in a C3 proxeny decree (*IG* VII 1664.3 = Michel 225).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on the Serpent Column (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27.6, 479 B.C.) and internally in a Hellenistic proxeny decree (*IG* VII 1664.2-3, C3). For the individual (and external) use cf. e.g. Ἐχίλαος Φιλωνίδου Πλαταιεύς in a Troizenian citizenship decree of 369 B.C. (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 162.2-3, 369 B.C.).

The name of the territory is γῆ Πλαταιίς (Thuc. 2.71.4); χῶρα Πλαταιίς (Thuc. 3.58.5); Πλαταιᾶσιν (Thuc. 4.72.1); ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.48). In 506 the Asopos river was made the border between Plataiai and Thebes (Hdt. 6.108.6; Paus. 9.4.4). To the west Plataiai bounded on Thespiiai (Hdt. 8.50.2) and to the east on Hysiai (Hdt. 6.108.6) which was then a part of Attika (Hdt. 5.74.2). The size of the territory has been assessed at ca. 170 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 100). It is

debated whether Plataiai too was a part of Attika from 519 onwards (for: Badian [1993] 117; against: Hammond [1992] 145). But at least from 479 Plataiai was a part of Boiotia. Plataiis came to constitute two of the eleven Boiotian districts and included the small towns in the Parasopia which by then had entered into a *sympoliteia* with Plataiai, i.e. Skolos, Erythrai, Skaphai and, undoubtedly, Hysiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). In 429 King Archidamos summoned the Plataians to show him the borders of Plataian territory (Thuc. 2.72.3). In 427-6 the territory was annexed by Thebes (Thuc. 3.68.2-3; 5.17.2). In 519 (Thuc. 3.68.5, Hornblower [1991] 464-5) Plataiai entered into an alliance with Athens (Thuc. 2.73.3; 3.68.5, Hammond [1992] 144) whereby the Plataians were granted Athenian citizenship collectively (Thuc. 3.55.3; 63.2, Amit [1973] 75-8; Hornblower [1991] 449); the grant probably implied that a Plataian who moved to Athens was inscribed as citizen without an individual decree passed by the people. The Plataians fought side by side with the Athenians at Marathon (Hdt. 6.108.1) and those who died in battle were buried with the Athenian (manumitted) slaves (Paus. 1.32.3, Hammond [1992] 147-50). In 480 the Persians occupied Plataiai and destroyed the city by fire (Hdt. 8.50.2). Six hundred Plataians fought in the battle of Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.6) and after the battle Pausanias had all the victors take an oath that guaranteed the independence of the Plataian *polis* (Thuc. 2.71.2). At one time between the Persian and the Peloponnesian War, when the First Federation was organized as described by the Oxyrhynchus historian, Plataiai had some kind of *sympoliteia* with the small towns in the Parasopia, controlled two of the eleven districts of Boiotia, and provided two boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Kirsten [1950] 2302-3). It is apparent, however, from Thucydides' account (Thuc. 2.2.4; 3.65.2, Buck [1979] 153-4) that Plataiai had left the federation when the city was attacked by Thebes in the spring of 431 (Thuc. 2.2-6). During this period Plataiai was a democracy in which major decisions were made by the people in assembly (Thuc. 2.72.2, see Amit 66-71). In the years 429-7 Plataiai was besieged by the Lakedaimonians and the members of the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 2.71-8; 3.20-4; 3.52-68). After its capture in 427 the men were killed while the women were exposed to *andrapodismos* (Thuc. 3.68.2; Dem. 59.103). In 426 the city was razed to the ground (Thuc. 3.68.3) and settled by some Megarians plus a few Plataians who were loyal to Sparta (Thuc. 3.68.3). Some Plataian evacuees of 431 (Thuc. 2.6.4) and some who in 428 escaped the siege (Thuc. 3.24.2) were all granted Athenian citizenship (Dem. 59.103-4; Isoc. 12.94, Osborne [1982] D 1) and inscribed in the

Attic tribes and demes (Lys. 23.2-3). After the destruction of Skione in 421 the Athenians gave the place to the Plataians (Thuc. 5.32.1) but many remained in Athens (Lys. 23.5-7). The Plataians were restored to their native city only after the King's Peace of 386 (Paus. 9.1.4) and perhaps in connection with Sparta's occupation of the Kadmeia in 382 (Isoc. 14, hypoth.). They remained loyal to the Lakedaimonians after the liberation of Thebes in 379 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.14), and when the Thebans put pressure on the Plataians to join the Second Federation they refused (Isoc. 14.8-9). As a result Plataiai was conquered and destroyed once again by the Thebans (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1; 6.3.5; Isoc. 14. 1, 5, 7, 19, 35, 46), probably in 373 (Paus. 9.1.5-8, Tuplin [1986] 321 n. 2) rather than in 374 (Diod. 15.46.6). This time the Plataians were allowed to go into exile (Paus. 9.1.7). They found refuge in Athens once again and had their previous grant of citizenship renewed (Diod. 15.46.6, cf. Isoc. 14.51-2). The town was still deserted and unfortified in 343 (Dem. 19.21, 112, 325), but the Plataians were repatriated by Philip II (Paus. 4.27.10; 9.1.8) undoubtedly in consequence of the peace of 338. They took an active part in the destruction of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.8.8; Diod. 17.13.5), whereupon the members of the Korinthian League decided to rebuild and refortify Plataiai (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). Yet it may have taken another four years before the town and its walls were re-erected in 331 B.C. (Plut. *Alex.* 34.2; *Arist.* 11.9). Plataiai provided one of the *naopoioi* of 336/5 and must accordingly have joined the Boiotian federation already before the destruction of Thebes (*CID* II 32.32). The attestation in the early 3rd century of a Plataian as one of the *aphedriateuontes* shows that the city was a member of the Third Federation as well (*IG* VII 2724.5-6, ca. 280-70, cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451).

Plataiai was a fortified city when attacked by Thebes in 431 (Thuc. 2.4.4; 2.75.4), but in 426 the walls were demolished (Thuc. 3.68.3) and not reerected until after the King's Peace of 386, now with Spartan help (Paus. 9.1.6). This circuit of walls, however, was destroyed once again by the Thebans in 373 (Isoc. 14.19, 35; Dem. 6.30), and new walls were built only after the sack of Thebes in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10). Remains of all three phases are still to be seen: (1) Plataiai had no proper akropolis; but the oldest part of the settlement to the NW, an area of 10 hectares, was enclosed by a wall in Lesbian masonry probably the one that was demolished in 426. (2) A new and much larger wall in polygonal masonry with interval towers enclosed an area of 80 hectares. (3) Re-founded in 335 the city was protected by a wall of coursed ashlar blocks enclosing an area of 70 hectares (Fossey [1988] 102-7).

Plataiai is described as a small town (Thuc. 2.77.2) and according to Poseidippos (fr. 29, C3e) it deserved to be called a *polis* only during the celebration of the Eleutheria (Prandi [1988] 161-73) which were celebrated in the agora (Thuc. 2.71.2). Six hundred Plataians fought at Plataiai in 479 (Hdt. 9.28.6), and there were four hundred to defend the city when the siege began in 429 (Thuc. 2.78.3). The protecting god of Plataiai was Hera (Schachter I [1981] 242-50) whose sanctuary was outside the city (Hdt. 9.52.1), whereas the temple for Hera built by the Thebans in 427-6 was probably inside the walls (Thuc. 3.68.3). The settlement can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Fossey [1988] 109).

Plataiai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). Type: Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: head of Hera, legend: ΠΛΑ (Head [1911] 347).

*Potniai (Potnieus)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.20; size of territory: 1; type: C. The toponym is Ποτνιαί (*Hell.Oxy.* 20.3; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.51). The city-ethnic is Ποτνιαεύς (*ADelt.* 3 [1917] 64).

Potniai is called a *polis* in late sources only (Strab. 9.2.24; Schol. Eur. *Or.* 317-8; Steph. Byz. 533.21) and Pausanias has just ἐρείπια (9.8.1). The reason for including Potniai in this inventory of *poleis* is the C6 attestation of a city-ethnic inscribed on a poros column drum dedicated to Apollon: [Ἰ]Ἀπόλ[λ]ωνι Ποτνιαῖς (*ADelt.* 3 [1917] 64, cf. Hansen [1995] 32, 48).

We have no information about the name of the territory. Potniai was one of the small unwalled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) in connection with the major synoikism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Demand [1990] 83-5). The absence of physical remains of the Hellenistic period (Fossey [1988] 209) may indicate that, unlike the other small towns synoikized with Thebes in 431, Potniai was not resettled. Potniai was famous for its sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Paus. 9.8.1) which was an ancient one (Schachter I [1981] 159-60). The settlement can be traced back to the Protogeometric period (Fossey [1988] 209) but po-ti-ni-ja on a Theban Linear B tablet suggests that Potniai was inhabited in the Mycenaean period (Schachter I [1981] 159).

*Siphai (Siphaietus)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.10, long. 23.05; size of territory: 1; type: A. The toponym is Σίφαι (Thuc. 4.76.2) but according to Pausanias Τίφα (9.32.4). The city-ethnic is Σιφαιεύς (*IG VII* 207 = Michel 170, C3s).

Siphai is called a *polis* (in the political sense) by Thucydides at 4.76.2-3 & 89.2 (Cf. Hansen [1995] 21-3) and in the urban sense by Skylax (38, emendation of MSS Σφάσις). The only epigraphical reference to a πόλις Σιφείων is in a Hellenistic pact of friendship between Aigosthena and Siphai (*IG VII* 207, C3s) which, too, provides us with the only preserved attestation of the city-ethnic.

The territory is called Σίφαι (Arist. *Part. An.* 696a5, Schwandner [1977] 519-20). It constituted the littoral region of the territory of Thespiai (Thuc. 4.76.3) and its size has been assessed at ca. 25 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 134). Stephanus calls Siphai an ἐπίνειον τῆς Θεσπιακῆς (Steph. Byz. 573.1). A C4f list of Thesopian dedications includes some in Siphai (*SEG* 24 361.25), which supports the assumption that Siphai was a dependent *polis* in Thesopian territory.

From the abortive attempt in 424 B.C. to introduce a democracy we can infer that Siphai must have had an oligarchic constitution (Thuc. 4.76.2-3; 89.2; 101.3)

Siphai was walled in 424 (προδώσειν, Thuc. 4.76.3). The existing circuit of walls in ashlar masonry with square towers (of which 7 are preserved) encloses both the akropolis and the settlement below to the north, east and south. To the west was the Corinthian Gulf and no traces of a wall have been found here. The wall is of C4 and, partly for historical reasons, Schwandner suggests a date between 363 and 330, but the nearby tower at Mavrovouni (Ano-Siphai) from ca. 400 B.C. points to earlier fortifications at Siphai as well (Schwandner [1977] 548-51). The circuit encloses an area of ca. 3 hectares, of which only a part was used for settlement. The harbour was presumably to the south of the city.

Siphai had no mint but stray finds on the akropolis of Thesopian coins (Schwandner [1977] 547 n. 32) demonstrate that such coins were legal tender in Siphai.

*Skolos*. Map 54. Lat. 38.20/38.15, long. 23.20; size of territory: 1; type: C. Down to ca. 404 probably north of the Asopos river, after 404 south of the river, see *infra*. B. The toponym is Σκῶλος (Hom. *Il.* 2.497; Xen. *Ages.* 2.22). Apart from Steph. Byz. 580.8 there is no attestation of an ethnic.

The only classification of Skolos as a *polis* is in Steph. Byz. 580.7. According to Strabo it was a κόμη τῆς Παρασωπίας (9.2.23) and Pausanias has just ἐρείπια (9.4.4). What justifies the inclusion of Skolos in this inventory is only its membership of the *sympoliteia* headed by Plataiai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, Hansen [1995] 16)

We have no information about the name of the territory which must have been very small. Down to 479 B.C. Skolos was in Theban territory (Hdt. 9.15.2; 65.1) and probably situated north of the Asopos river, which was the southern border of the territory of Thebes (Hdt. 6.108.6, cf. most recently Munn [1987] 121-4). After the Persian Wars Skolos became part of the Plataian territory and a member of the *sympoliteia* which for some time constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). But by 431 B.C. Skolos must have been annexed by Thebes once again, since it was one of the small unwallled settlements whose population was moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3) in connection with the major synoikism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. By 395 Skolos had been repopulated. It still belonged to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), but since both Strabo (9.2.23) and, more importantly, Pausanias (9.4.4, Wallace 89) place Skolos south of the Asopos river, the re-founded village was probably placed south of the Asopos river in land that had been Theban territory since the destruction of Plataiai in 426.

*Tanagra (Tanagraios)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.35; size of territory: 5; type: A. The toponym is Τάναγρα (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 35, 36 = Lazarini 998), the city-ethnic is Ταναγραῖος (*LSAG* 95 no. 12, C6; *SEG* 9 2.32, C4s) but in Boiotian inscriptions from C4 onwards mostly Ταναγραῖος (*IG* VII 3055.25, C4m; 2723.2-3, C3e), sometimes Ταναγραεῖος (*IG* VII 522.10, C3s).

Tanagra is listed as one of the Boiotian *poleis* in Thucydides' description of the Battle of Delion in 424 (4.91.1 & 93.4). It is described as a *polis* in the urban sense by Heraclides (8-10 *GGM* I p. 101, C3s) and in the territorial sense by Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.4.49). The earliest epigraphical references to a πόλις Ταναγραίων are in a series of proxeny decrees of C3s (*IG* VII 504-9).

The collective use of the city-ethnic Ταναγραῖοι is attested externally on a late C6 shield at Olympia commemorating a victory over? (*LSAG* 95 no. 12), and internally (in an abbreviated form) on the reverse of the coins: TANA(ΓΠΑΙΩΝ) (Head [1911] 347-8). For the individual use of the city-ethnic see e.g. Σ[χ]υθρίωνι Φορμίδα Τανα[γραῖοι], *naopoios* at Delphi in 335 (*CID* II 76 col 2.19-20).

The territory is called Τάναγρα (Thuc. 3.91.3-4) or ἡ Ταναγραία (Thuc. 4.76.4) or (later) ἡ Ταναγραικὴ (Strab. 9.2.11). During the First Federation the territory of Tanagra constituted one of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); it comprised Delion (Thuc. 4.76.4), Aulis (Nikokrates [*FGrHist* 376] fr. 1; Strab. 9.2.8), Salgameus (Nikokrates



[*FGrHist* 376] fr. 1), and what was later called the *Tetrakomia*, i.e. Eleon, Harma, Mykalessos and Pharai (Strab. 9.2.14, Fossey [1988] 43-99 and 222-3). Tanagra was bounded on the east by Oropos (Heraclides 7-8, *GGM* I, 101) on the west by Skolos (belonging to Thebes) (Hdt. 9.15.2; 5.79.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) and on the north by Anhedon (Nikokrates [*FGrHist* 376] fr. 1) and Glisas (Hdt. 9.43.1) (belonging to Thebes, Strab. 9.2.31). Inclusive of the small dependent *poleis* its size has been assessed at ca. 530 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 28).

Tanagra was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2) and the city was a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), the Second Federation (Isoc. 14.9) and the Third Federation (*SEG* 32 476.14, ca. 338 B.C. recording a boiotarch from Tanagra). The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* seems to have included a *Constitution of Tanagra* (Plut. *Mor.* 299C, Hansen [1995a] 53) which reported a tradition that the territory of Tanagra had once been inhabited *κατὰ κόμμας*.

According to Thucydides Tanagra was a walled city in 457 but following the battle of Oinophyta the Tanagraians had their walls demolished by the Athenians (Thuc. 1.108.1). The existing circuit of walls of 2,2 km. with 43 towers, mostly of isodomic ashlar construction, can be dated to the period ca. 425-375 and may have been erected after the King's Peace in 386 (Roller [1974], [1987]). Xenophon's mention at *Hell.* 5.4.49 of τὸ τεῖχος, however, must refer to the Theban stockade and not to the walls of Tanagra (Munn [1987] 124-6). The city walls enclose an area of 60 hectares. Except, perhaps, for a temple of Hermes Promachos near the theatre (Paus. 9.22.2) all architectural remains seem to be later than the C4 circuit of walls; and the orthogonal town plan, with insulae of 52 x 102 metres, was clearly devised to fit the existing walls. Nothing of archaic and fifth-century Tanagra is visible today (Roller [1989] 157). There are a few remains of the theatre, which may have been built in C4 (Roller [1989] 152-4). Heraclides describes Tanagra as a town inhabited by farmers (9, *GGM* I p. 101, 9).

The protecting god of Tanagra seems to have been Hermes with the epithets Kriophoros and Promachos (Schachter 2 [1986] 47). Tanagra struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 446, from before 410 to 374 (or later) (Hansen [1995] 20-1) and again from ca. 338 to 315. Type: Obv.: mostly Boiotian shield but some of the earliest have the forepart of a bridled horse (Schachter [1958] 43-6); Rev.: mostly an incuse but between 410 and 374 some have a horse's head or the stern of a galley, legend: T, TA, TAN, TANA. Between 480 and 456 some are inscribed BO or BOI (Head [1911] 347-8; Kraay [1976] 109-14;

Schachter [1989] 85). In ca. 560 Tanagra joined Megara in colonizing Herakleia Pontike (Paus. 5.26.7, Burstein [1976] 15-8).

*Thebai* (*Thebaios*). Map 54. Lat. 38.20, long. 23.20; size of territory: 5; type: A. The toponym is Θῆβαι, αἰ (*LSAG* 95 no. 16, ca. 470; Hom. *Il.* 5.804); the singular Θῆβη or Θῆβα is sometimes found in poetry (Hom. *Il.* 4.378, *IG* VII 2470.1, ca. 300 B.C.). The city-ethnic is Θηβαῖος (*LSAG* 94 no. 7, C6f; Hdt. 5.79.2), in the Boiotian dialect often Θειβῆος (*SEG* 28 465.4, C4s).

Thebes is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Hes. *Scut.* 105 (C6) and in many later sources (Theog. *Eleg.* 1.1209; Hdt. 9.86.1; Dem. 18.216). The term *asty* is used by e.g. Demosthenes at 18.215. Thebes is called a *polis* in the territorial sense by Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.4.49) and in the political sense by e.g. Herodotos (9.13.3), Thucydides (3.62.3-4) and Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.5.8). The earliest epigraphical attestation of a πόλις Θειβήων is in a proxeny decree of C4s (*SEG* 28 465; 32 430). The term *polisma* is found at Aesch. *Sept.* 63.

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on the reverse of some coins (ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ, Head [1881] 31-2, C5s) and externally on a dedication in Olympia of C6s (*SEG* 24 300). For the individual use of the city-ethnic see Ducat [1971] no. 232: Ἐπιχάρες ἠο Θεβ[αῖος] (dedication in Ptoion, C6s).

The territory is called Θηβαῖς (Hdt. 9.65.1; Thuc. 3.58.5) or Θῆβαι (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25), or in later sources sometimes Θηβαία (Strab. 9.2.26). Before 506 the Thebaïs extended south of the Asopos but in 506 the river was made the border between Thebes and Plataiai (Hdt. 6.108.6; Paus. 9.4.4), and the territory of Thebes may then have comprised both Haliartos (inference from Hdt. 5.79.2) and presumably Akraiphia with Apollon's sanctuary at Ptoion (Hdt. 8.135.1, Schachter 1 [1981] 69, cf. also Strab. 9.2.34; Paus. 9.23.5). To the east Theban territory may have reached the coast and included Delion (Hdt. 6.118.2, Schachter 1 [1981] 46). After the battle of Plataiai Thebes was probably deprived of most of its former territory including the *Tetrakomia* (Hdt. 9.43.2, Fossey [1988] 222-3, probably relating to the period ca. 450-30, cf. Hansen [1995] 37 with n. 137) and Delion (Thuc. 4.76.4). But at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Thebaïs must have comprised all the small towns that joined the synoikism and had their population moved to Thebes (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). The size of its territory ca. 435 B.C. has been assessed at ca. 650 km<sup>2</sup> (Bakhuizen [1994] 314). In 427-6 the territory of Plataiai was incorporated into Thebes (Thuc. 3.68.2-3, 5.17.2). In 395 the Thebaïs con-

stituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts and controlled the two Plataian districts as well (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), plus Oropos (Diod. 14.17.1-3) and Aulis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.5). Thebes suffered its next major setback during the Spartan occupation in 382-79 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25-36; 5.4.1-12), but when the Boiotian Federation had been re-established in 378-4 Thebes extended its territory to include Plataiai (from 373, Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1; Paus. 9.1.5-8), Thespiiai (after 377 [Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46-8] but before the autumn of 371, Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.5; Isoc. 8.17), Kreusis (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3) and Oropos (from 366, Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1). We have no information about Anthedon (Gullath [1989] 164), and we do not know whether Orchomenos was annexed by Thebes after its destruction in 364 (Diod. 15.79.3-6). During the Third Sacred War Koroneia and Orchomenos were held by the Phokians but in 346 Philip handed them back to the Thebans (Dem. 5.21-2). The Thebaïis must now have been bounded by Thisbai, Haliartos, Akraiphia, Tanagra (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49) and Athens (πόλις ἀστυγείτων, Aeschin. 3.133; Din. 1.38). In 338 Thebes lost Plataiai, Orchomenos (Paus. 4.27.10), Thespiiai (*SEG* 32 476) and Oropos (Paus. 1.34.1), and after the destruction of Thebes in 335 what remained of its territory was given to the neighbouring cities (Hyp. 6.17; Diod. 18.11.3-4; Paus. 1.25.4; Gullath [1982] 77-82).

After the victory at Plataiai in 479 Thebes was besieged by the Greek army until it surrendered the leaders of the pro-Persian faction (Hdt. 9.86-8). Shortly after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War many small unfortified Boiotian towns were synoikized with Thebes which thereby doubled its population. The towns merged with Thebes included Erythrai, Skaphai, Skolos, [..]lis, Schoinos and Potniai (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3, Demand [1990] 83-5, *pace* Moggi [1976] 197-204 who prefers a date ca. 426-4). From 382 to 379 Thebes had to suffer a Spartan occupation (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25-36; 5.4.1-12); and by the peace of 338 a Macedonian garrison was placed on the Kadmeia (Diod. 16.87.3).

In 335 Thebes was conquered by Alexander and razed to the ground (Din. 1.24; Arr. *Anab.* 1.7-9; Diod. 17.7-14; Plut. *Alex.* 11.6-12, Gullath 60-85). More than 6000 men were killed and the remaining population, some 30,000 men, women and children, were exposed to *andrapodismos* and sold into slavery (Din. 1.24; Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9; Diod. 17.13.3; 17.14.1; Plut. *Alex.* 11.12).

Thebes was the leading member of the First Federation (Thuc. 4.91.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3); it re-established the federation immediately after the liberation of the city in 379 (Plut. *Pelop.* 13.1) and dominated all the other member states (Isoc. 14.8-10; Aeschin. 3.142); and in spite of the

defeat in 338 Thebes was still a member of the Third Federation between 338 and the destruction of the city in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.11; *CID* II 74 col. 1.72, 337/6).

Membership of the Boiotian Federation did not prevent Thebes from joining one of the major leagues or from entering into alliance with other *poleis*: during the 370s Thebans was a member of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 40; 43.24-5, 79; 1607.155), and in 339 Athens concluded an alliance with Thebes, not with the Boiotian federation (Aeschin. 3.142, *Staatsverträge* 345).

Theban laws were traditionally ascribed to Philolaos of Korinth (Arist. *Pol.* 1274a31-2) who probably lived in C7s. The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of Thebes* (Arist. fr. 506-7, Gigon). Down to the Spartan occupation of Kadmeia 382-79 Thebes was an oligarchy, in C6l-C5e of the narrow type (*dynasteia*, Thuc. 3.62.3), later a more moderate oligarchy (ibid., Arist. *Pol.* 1278a25) ruled by a *boule* based on a property qualification (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2). The battle of Oinophyta in 457 B.C. was followed by a brief period of democracy (Arist. *Pol.* 1302b28-9). Between 382 and 379 the constitution was again a *dynasteia* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46). From 379 onwards Thebes was a democracy (Diod. 15.79.3; Polyb. 6.43). Thebes had a *boule* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29) which prepared the matters to be put to the assembly (Diod. 17.9.1). An oracular response refers to a meeting of the popular assembly in 506 B.C. (Hdt. 5.79.1). It is unknown what powers it had during the oligarchy down to 379, but from then on major decisions were made by the people in assembly (Aeschin. 2.105; Dem. 18.213; Ar. *Anab.* 1.7.2). An eponymous *archon* is attested in C4s (*SEG* 28 466, ca. 338 B.C.) and polemarchs from 382 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25, Schaefer [1956] 1108-11).

The protective divinities of Thebes were probably Demeter and Dionysos Kadmeios (Pind. *Isthm.* 7.1-5; Brackertz [1976] 73-8; Schachter 1 [1981] 168; 187). *Theorodokoi* were appointed in 359 to host *theoroi* from Epidauros (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1.94.4); In 360/59 Thebes was granted *promanteia* by the Delphians (*F.Delphes.* III.4 375).

Citizens of Thebes are frequently attested as victors at the major Panhellenic festivals, e.g. at the Isthmian games (Pind *Isthm.* 1, 3-4, 7, 474, 458 and 454 B.C.), at the Nemean games (Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 223.10, Drachmann, 470s B.C.), at the Olympic games (Paus. 5.8.7, 680 B.C. See Moretti nos. 33, 69, 136, 206, 352, 427, 441), at the Pythian games (Pind. *Pyth.* 11, 474 B.C.), and at the Amphiareia (*IG* VII 414.4, 24, 366-38 B.C.).

Thebes is called a fortified city in ca. 540 (Theog. *Eleg.* 1.1209) and

again in 479 (Hdt. 9.41.2; 9.86-8), but it is uncertain whether the references are to the akropolis wall or to a wall enclosing the lower city as well. In C4 the city had two circuits of walls (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.9-10, 8.5-6): an akropolis wall around the Kadmeia with the seven famous gates (Pind. *Pyth.* 11.12; Paus. 9.8.4) enclosed an area of ca. 25 hectares, and a wall around the lower city enclosed an area of ca. 328 hectares. Only a few traces are left (Symeonoglou [1985] 119). The akropolis wall seems to have followed the line of the late Helladic cyclopean wall, and the surviving traces of polygonal and isodomonic masonry may be no more than archaic and classical repairs of the late Helladic wall (Cf. Hes. *Scut.* 105). The short south side of the akropolis wall seems to have been a part of the city wall as well (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.9-10). The great city wall was of mud-brick superimposed on a foundation of isodomonic masonry and covered with tiles. The masonry suggests a date in the 5th century. The synoikism of 431 must be the *terminus ante quem*, and the most likely *terminus post quem* seems to be the liberation of Boiotia from Athenian domination in 446 (Symeonoglou [1985] 118-22). The city wall was demolished in 335 (Aeschin. 3.157), but the akropolis wall was probably left to protect the Macedonian garrison on the Kadmeia (Hyp. 6.17; Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9).

In the archaic period much of the Kadmeia was inhabited (Fossey [1988] 204), but some Thebans, including Pindar, lived in the lower city (Paus. 9.25.3) which became densely populated after the erection of the greater circuit of walls in the mid-fifth century and the synoikism of ca. 431 (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3). In the classical period Thebes had at least 23 sanctuaries, twelve on the Kadmeia and eleven in the lower city (Symeonoglou [1985] 123-37). The Theban *boule* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29) as well as the federal council (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.4) and the boiotarchs (Aeschin. 3.145) had their meeting place on the Kadmeia. In lower Thebes was the *polemarcheion* (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.6), a hippodrome (Paus 9.23.2; Symeonoglou [1985] 140 and Cat. no. 106), a stadion and a gymnasium (Paus. 9.23.1; Symeonoglou [1985] 140, cat. nos. 65, 169); another gymnasium was situated outside the walls (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25). The agora in the lower city was flanked with several stoas (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29; Diod. 12.70.5). Thebes had a theatre (Paus. 9.16.6) which in C4 was used for meetings of the assembly (Plut. *Mor.* 799E-F); traces have been found in the northern part of the lower city (Symeonoglou [1985] 189-90). The city got most of its water through an impressive system of subterranean aqueducts already famous in antiquity (Heraclides 13, *GGM* I 102) and still partly preserved (Symeonoglou [1985] 141-4).

Thebes struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 335 (Head [1881] 11, 16-8, 23-4, 29-42, 54-5, 61-72, Kraay [1976] 109-14; Schachter [1989] 85). Type: Obv.: mostly Boiotian shield, but on some C4 bronze issues the head of young Herakles; Rev.: down to 479 mill-sail; thereafter Herakles or Dionysos or an amphora with symbols relating to Herakles or Dionysos. Legend: first Θ, later various abbreviations of the city ethnic or occasionally the full form: ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ. An abbreviated personal name, denoting the issuing magistrate appears on the C4 amphora coins, and 45 separate magistrates can be identified (Hepworth [1986] 35). A series of probably Theban coins struck ca. 386-79 have a kantharos on the rev. and the legend BOI or BOIΩ.

In ca. 560 B.C. Thebes joined Megara in colonizing Herakleia Pontike (*Suda* s.v. Ἡρακλείδης, 461 Adler, cf. Burstein [1976] 15-8).

*Thespiiai* (*Thespieus*). Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 23.10; size of territory: 4; type: A. The toponym is Θεσπιάι (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.10; *IG* VII 1862, Roman, but Θέσπεια at Hom. *Il.* 2.498, Hdt. 8.50.2). The city-ethnic is Θεσπιεύς (*F.Delphes* III.4 148, C5f). At Hes. *Op.* 222 πόλις probably denotes Thespiiai. After Hesiod the earliest explicit references to Thespiiai as a *polis* are Hdt. 8.50.2 (in the urban sense) and *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 72.6 (in the political sense). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested externally on the Serpent Column (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27.6: Θεσπιῆς, 479 B.C.) and internally in a proxeny decree of C3m (*SEG* 32 496.2-3). For the individual use of the city-ethnic cf. e.g. Πύθωνι Θεσπιεῖ, *naopoios* at Delphi in 334 (*CID* II 79A.15). In the feminine the *ketikon* Θεσπική is sometimes used (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8834, C4).

The territory is called ἡ Θεσπική γῆ (Thuc. 4.76.3); ἡ τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώρα (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.42) or just ἡ Θεσπική (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4). During the First Federation Thespiiai constituted two of the eleven Boiotian districts (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) including Siphai (Thuc. 4.76.3), Leuktra (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4), Eutresis and Thisbai (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), Kreusis (Skylax 38 [as restored by Roesch 1980]; Livius 36.21.5; but Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3 shows that in 371 it belonged to Thebes), Askra (Hes *Op.* 639-40 & 222; Arist. fr. 580, Gigon) and Keressos (Paus. 9.14.1-4; Plut. *Cam.* 19.4; *Mor.* 866F). Thespiiai bounded on Haliartos to the north (see s.v. Haliartos), on Thebes to the east (Hdt. 5.79.2), on Plataiai to the south-east (Hdt. 8.50.2), and on Thisbai to the south-west (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3-4). The size of its territory has been assessed at ca. 260 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 134).

Thespiiai was allied with Thebes in 506 and earlier (Hdt. 5.79.2). The

city was a member of the First Federation and provided two boiotarchs (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3-4). Thespiiai was garrisoned by the Spartans in 379 and 378 (*Xen. Hell.* 5.4.15, 41) but by 372 it had been forced by the Thebans to join the Second Federation (*Isoc.* 14.9, συντελεῖν εἰς τὰς Θήβας). Before the autumn of 371 (*Xen. Hell.* 6.3.5; 6.4.10) the city was sacked by the Thebans and depopulated (*Diod.* 15.46.6, *Isoc.* 6.27; *Dem.* 16.4, 25, 28). In 359, however, a Thespian *theorodokos* hosted *theoroi* sent from Epidaurus (*IG IV<sup>2</sup>* 1.94.6) and Aischylos of Thespiiai was a victor in the Olympic Games, probably in 348 (*CIA* 26); so Demosthenes' contention (19.325) that the city was still not rebuilt in 346 must be read with a grain of salt. But shortly after 338 the city was resettled and provided one of the boiotarchs for the federation in its third period (*SEG* 32 476.13, C4s).

The constitution of Thespiiai was oligarchic and based on a property qualification (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3; *Xen. Hell.* 5.4.46), and a democratic uprising in 414 was immediately quenched by the Thebans (*Thuc.* 6.95.2). An eponymous archon is attested in ca. 386 (*SEG* 24 361.3, Sherk 287).

The Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* included a *Constitution of Thespiiai* (*Arist.* No. 59, p. 640, Gigon).

The walls were demolished by the Thebans in 423 (*Thuc.* 4.133.1); re-erected with Spartan help in 378 (*Xen. Hell.* 5.4.41); demolished once more by the Thebans (*Dem.* 6.30; *Isoc.* 14.19, 35), probably before 373-2 (the date of *Isoc. Plat.*) and not yet rebuilt in 343 (*Dem.* 19.112). Three huge square blocks of the classical city wall were discovered in 1987 (Bintliff-Snodgrass [1988]67). Surveys have shown that "the early city consisted of at least four separate nuclei, spread out over a total area of about 100 hectares". In the 5th and 4th centuries they were merged together into one large conurbation (Snodgrass [1987-9] 57). The city was burned down by the Persians in 480 (*Hdt.* 8.50.2). Seven hundred Thespiians were killed at Thermopylai in 480 (*Hdt.* 7.202.1), and 1800 fought in the battle of Plataiai in 479 (*Hdt.* 9.30.1). South and west of the city remains have been found of a Doric temple dedicated to Apollon Archegetas who seems to have been the protecting god of Thespiiai (Schachter 1 [1981] 89, letter of Oct. 1994).

Thespiiai struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480 (Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 219; Schachter [1989] 85), from 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later) and again from ca. 338 to 315 (Head [1911] 354). Obv.: Boiotian shield; Rev.: crescent and (on some) amphora or head of Aphrodite, legend: 510-480: the epichoric letter (⊕), originally interpreted as a Φ and associated with Pharai, but now interpreted as a Θ

signifying Thespiiai (Etienne and Knoepfler [1976] 219); the fourth century coins are inscribed ΘΕΣ or ΘΕΣΠΙ or ΘΕΣΠΙΚΟΝ. Some have the epichoric sigma (ς), pointing to a date earlier than 387.

*Thisbai (Thisbeus)*. Map 54. Lat. 38.15, long. 22.55; size of territory: 3; type: B. The toponym is Θίσβη, ῆ (Hom. *Il.* 2.502) or more frequently Θίσβαι in the plural (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, *F. Delphes* III 3 103.3, 300-280 B. C.). The city ethnic is Θισβεύς (*IG VII* 2724b6, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451; *SEG* 15, 282.4, 263-55 B.C.).

The earliest attestation of Thisbai as a *polis* is in a third-century treaty with Chorsiai (*SEG* 3 342.4 = Migeotte [1984] no. 11, C2e) and the only attestation in a literary source is in Paus. 9.32.2. The occurrence in the late fourth century of a Thisban among the *aphedriateuontes*, however, shows that Thisbai was a *polis* at least from the beginning of the Third Federation (*IG VII* 2724b.6, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451), and the reference at *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3 to what was probably a *sympoliteia* between Thespiiai, Eutresis and Thisbai suggests that during the First Federation Thisbai was a dependent *polis* dominated by Thespiiai (Roesch [1965] 37; Siewert [1977] 463; Hansen [1995] 16). The size of its territory has been assessed at just over 100 km<sup>2</sup> (Fossey [1988] 176).

The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in Thisbai's copy of a treaty with Chorsiai (*SEG* 3 342 = Migeotte [1984] no. 11, C2e) but externally only in a Roman inscription (*IG VII* 2870.13, 155 A.D.). For the individual use see e.g. Πύρρακος Ἰθουδαμῖω Θισβεῖος in a list of *aphedriateuontes* (*IG VII* 2724b.4, ca. 280-70 B.C., cf. Knoepfler [1992] 451). The territory was called Θίσβαι (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3).

Thisbai is attested as a member of the First Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) and of the Third Federation (*IG VII* 2724b.4).

A circuit of walls of ca. 2.5 km. with interval square towers enclosed the city which was situated on a rocky hill to the north, the foothill of mount Helikon to the south and the narrow corridor between the two eminences. Most of the wall is of pseudo-isodomic trapezoidal or ashlar work, but one round tower on the northern hill (the akropolis) is in Lesbian masonry (Maier [1958]). The circuit of walls enclosed an area of ca. 47 hectares. Maier (24-5) suggests a date between ca. 325 and 175 B.C., but the tower indicates a date between 375 and 325 B.C. (Buckler [1980] 283 n. 19). No remains of buildings have been traced. The settlement can be traced back to the Early Helladic period (Fossey [1988] 180).<sup>9</sup>



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## Notes

- 1 The list of settlements excludes sanctuaries, cf. Fossey (1988) 435 note 107, i.e. the Amphiaraiion, the Kabeirion and the sanctuaries of Apollon Ptoios, Apollon Tegyrios, Apollon Thourios, Athena Itonia, Dionysos at Tzamali, the Muses near Thespieai and Zeus Hypatos at Moni Sagmata.
- 2 Doubtful or spurious settlements mentioned in late sources only include a number of toponyms recorded in Strabo, viz., Θεράπναι (9.2.24) and Φουινιζίς (9.2.27) or in Steph.

Byz. viz.: Ἄστυρα (140.18); Ἄχυνα (152.17-8); Γέφυρα (= Tanagra, Fossey 54); Ζαῖα (293.20); Ἰσμήνη (338.21); Ἴτων (342.10 cf. Armenidas *FGrHist* 378 fr. 1); Κελαίθρα (372.8); Ὀλμιον (490.3); Φιληνώριον (665.21) and Φλεγύα (667.15). Furthermore, following Bakhuizen ([1989] 65-6), I have left out Ἄρνη (Hom. *Il.* 2.507; Hes. fr. 218; Strab. 9.2.35; Steph. Byz. 123.18, πόλις) which allegedly was swallowed up by the Lake Kopais (Strab. 9.2.35). It seems to be a mythical toponym, not even to be placed on an atlas of Bronze Age settlements. However, in *Papers* (1990) 64-5 Fossey identifies Homeric Arne with a settlement (Magoula Balomenou) which has substantial remains from the Bronze Age plus some Roman and Late Roman.

3 For the location and identification of the settlements see Map 54 of the *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, compiled by J. Fossey and J. Morin and the directory which accompanies the map.

4 Viz., Delphinion, Donakon, Heleon, Hyle, Oinophyta, Okalea, Pharai, Stephon, Tilphosaion, and Trapheia, see Fossey (1988) 390-1; for Tilphosaion, however, see Map 54.

5 Eteonos/Skaph(1)ai, Keressos, Mideia, Metachioion and Nisa.

6 Gla and Mali both recorded in the *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* as settlements of the smallest size.

7 Information about the date of the remains found on the site is derived from the directory accompanying Map 54 (*supra* n. 3). *A* means Archaic and *C* classical. The lat/long coordinates given for each of the *poleis* recorded in the inventory below are approximations. I would like to thank Dir. R. Talbert and the compilers of Map 54 for permission to refer to the still unpublished information on the map itself and in the accompanying directory. Let me add that the map is still being revised and that the final version in some details may be different from the one I have used.

8 *Conventions*: references to Greek authors follow the abbreviations of *OCD*. References to inscriptions follow the latest standard editions, conventions are those of *SEG*. Citations of modern works follow the abbreviations of *American Journal of Archaeology* (1991 issue). Centuries are abbreviated C6, C5, C4 (= 6th, 5th, 4th cent. B.C.). C5e (= early fifth century B.C.), C5f (= first half of the 5th cent.) C5m (= ca. 450 B.C.) C5s (second half of the 5th cent.). C5l (= late fifth century B.C.). Whenever a source is used retrospectively the period to which it refers is indicated. A reference in Diodoros to an event in 402 B.C. is recorded: Diod. 14.17.3, r402 B.C. or: Harp. s.v. Hysiai, rC4.

*Re size of territory*: we distinguish between five different categories: (1) 0-25 km<sup>2</sup>, (2) 25-100 km<sup>2</sup>, (3) 100-200 km<sup>2</sup>, (4) 200-500 km<sup>2</sup> and (5) 500 km<sup>2</sup> or more.

9 I am extremely grateful to Prof. Denis Knoepfler and Prof. Albert Schachter for their valuable *addenda* and *corrigenda* to an earlier version of this inventory. I would furthermore like to thank Prof. John Camp and Prof. John Fossey for providing me with additional information about Boiotian city walls.