

THEBES AND BOEOTIA IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

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IT IS SOMETIMES POSITED that in the years between 379/8, the winter of liberation, and 366, the year in which Oropos was acquired, the Thebans not only managed to gain actual control of the entire country of Boeotia but in fact unified it into one city-state, in the same way as Attica was the unified

The following works will be cited by authors' or editors' names or specified short titles: G. Argoud and P. Roesch (eds.), *La Béotie Antique*, Lyon-Saint-Étienne, 16–20 mai 1983 (Paris 1985, Colloques internationaux du CNRS); S. C. Bakhuizen, *Salganeus and the Fortifications on Its Mountains* (Groningen 1970, Chalcidian Studies 2); V. Bartoletti, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Leipzig 1959); H. Beister and J. Buckler (eds.), *Boiotika*, Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Bötien-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Dr Siegfried Lauffer: Institut für Alte Geschichte, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 13.–17. Juni 1986 (Munich 1989); R. J. Buck, "Boeotia, Its Development of Institutions and Oligarchic and Democratic Theory in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.," in Argoud and Roesch 291–295; J. Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1980); G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* 2 (Munich 1926, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 4.1.1); J. M. Fossey and A. Schachter (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities* (McGill University, Montreal, 2–4.11.1973) (Montreal 1979, *Teixesias Supplement* 2); F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (Munich 1958); B. Gullath, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Boiotiens in der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen* (Frankfurt am Main and Bern 1982); D. Knoepfler, "Proxénies béotiennes du IV^e siècle," *BCH* 102 (1978) 375–393; J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States, Their Institutions and History* (Oxford 1968); D. J. Mosley, "Theban Diplomacy in 371 B.C.," *REG* 85 (1972) 312–318; P. Roesch, *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* (Paris 1965) = Roesch, *Thespies*; *idem*, *Études béotiennes* (Paris 1982) = Roesch, *Études*; *idem*, "Un Décret inédit de la Ligue thébaine et la flotte d'Épaminondas," *REG* 97 (1984) 45–60 = Roesch, "Un Décret inédit"; P. Salmon, *Étude sur la confédération béotienne (447/6–386), son organisation et son administration* (Brussels 1978, Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres, 2^e série, t. 63, fasc. 3); P. Siewert, "L'Autonomie de Hyettos et la sympolitie thespienne dans les Helléniques d'Oxyrhynchos," *REG* 90 (1977) 462–464 = Siewert, "Helléniques d'Oxyrhynchos"; *idem*, "Eine Bronze-Urkunde mit elischen Urteilen über Böoter, Thessaler, Athen und Thespiäi," in A. Mallwitz (ed.), *X. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Berlin 1981) 228–248 = Siewert, "Eine Bronze-Urkunde"; M. Sordi, "La restaurazione della lega beotica nel 379–8 a.c.," *Athenaeum* NS 51 (1973) 79–91; C. J. Tuplin, "The Fate of Thespieae during the Theban Hegemony," *Athenaeum* NS 64 (1986) 321–341. All dates are B.C.

This is a revised and fuller version of a paper read at Thebes during the Boeotian conference held there in September 1986 and published as "A Note on Syntely, the Case of Boeotia," in A. P. Bekiaris (ed.), *Α' Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικῶν Μελετῶν, Θῆβα, 10–14 Σεπτεμβρίου 1986, Τεύχος α' Προϊστορία, Ἀρχαίοι χρόνοι, Βυζάντιον καὶ Μέσοι χρόνοι* (Athens 1988, *Επετηρίς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βοιωτικῶν Μελετῶν Τόμος α'*) 279–290. A version was likewise read at McGill University, Montreal, during the winter term of 1988, and at the University of the Saarland at Saarbrücken in the summer of 1990. I thank the anonymous

territory of the city-state of Athens.¹ On this view, the Boeotian League of 379/8–338 can hardly have led a life in its own right, being virtually a façade of Theban rule.² Admitting wholeheartedly the crucial role played by Thebes, I shall put forward a view of the fourth-century League and of the role of Thebes in fourth-century Boeotia that slightly modifies this proposition and allows that Boeotia is an important part of the picture. Perhaps we must avoid the term city-state in our case.³

In this article I shall try to define and explain the territorial composition of the fourth-century League. I shall do so by paying attention to a specific word, *synteleia*. Although a few remarks will be made about its activities, it is not my intention to comment on the functioning of the fourth-century League,⁴ which by reason of Thebes' newly adopted democratic leanings was

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¹J. H. Thiel, "De synoecismo Boeotiae post annum 379 peracto," *Mnemosyne* NS 54 (1926) 19–28; comparison with Athens (23–25, esp. 24): *Itaque tota Boeotia illa aetate ut Attica in formam unius πόλεως redacta erat* and *Tota Boeotia iam πόλις magna erat ut Attica, quae et ipsos Thebanos absorbuerat* (25); Sordi 90, calling the unification of Boeotia a "synoecism" (*forse*); *alii*. For an alleged Boeotian "synoecism" see Dio Chrys. Or. 45.13, where Epaminondas' Thebes is compared with Theseus' Athens. Up to a point Dio's comparison holds, for both fourth-century Thebes and Athens before Theseus were surrounded by a ring of *poleis*; Athens and other Attic *poleis*: Thuc. 2.15.1–2 and Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 94; Thebes and other Boeotian *poleis*: e.g., Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3; Diod. 15.50.4 with 51.3; cf. Plut. *Ages.* 28.1–2; Paus. 9.13.2; the four texts reporting on the peace conference at Sparta in 371; also Aeschines *In Ctes.* 142 (referring to the year 339). But the parallel in Dio Chrysostom is not precise. After the unification of Boeotia *poleis* continued to exist, whereas after the "synoecism" of Theseus Attic *poleis* other than Athens were usually designated as "demes" (the Marathonian *tetrapolis* excepted; see also n. 3).

²See Roesch, *Thespies* 46, "Ce n'est donc pas sans raison qu'on appelle parfois 'Ligue thébaine' plutôt que béotienne cette caricature de confédération où Thèbes était toute puissante," and 103 "la période de la 'Ligue thébaine' où la Béotie disparaît à l'ombre de Thèbes . . ."; also Roesch, "Un Décret inédit."

³See W. Gawantka, *Die sogenannte Polis: Entstehung, Geschichte und Kritik der modernen althistorischen Grundbegriffe "der griechische Staat, die griechische Staatsidee, die Polis"* (Stuttgart 1985). Texts like Ps.-Scylax 57, in which the Attic towns of Rhamnous, Thorikos, Sounion, Anaphlystos, Peiraeus, and Eleusis are referred to as *poleis* (fourth century), can be used to explore the ancient notion of *polis*.

⁴The sovereign Boeotian assembly, the *damos*, is well attested. So are the "boeotarchs," although it is not known how they were elected in the fourth century. D. P. Orsi, "La boulé dei Tebani," *QS* 13 (1987) 125–144 pleads for the existence of a federal Boeotian *boule*. The political body which she identifies must, however, be the *syndrion* of a fourth-century alliance of cities meeting in Thebes but reaching beyond Boeotia proper (Sicyon and Byzantium are included); see D. M. Lewis, "The *Syndrion* of the Boeotian Alliance," in A. Schachter (ed.), *Essays in the Topography, History and Culture of Boiotia* (Montreal 1990, *Teiresias* Supplement 3) 71–73.

organized differently from the less democratic League of the fifth century,⁵ and also from the later, Hellenistic League, in which Thebes, within the Boeotian context, was no longer a hegemonial city.⁶ Focus on *synteleia* may, to some extent, help produce a fuller understanding of the fourth-century territorial Boeotian situation. I shall take *synteleia* (= "contribution" of taxes or soldiers) not as a technical term but simply as a word describing a situation.

I THE THEBANS

Writing about the peace conferences at Sparta, the first in 375,⁷ the second in 371,⁸ Diodorus Siculus referred to Thebes as uniting or holding together the cities of Boeotia in *synteleia*. He did so four times (15.38.3; 15.38.4; 15.50.4 [twice]). The phrasing reads as if Thebes was—or was on its way to becoming—the unifier of Boeotia, and as if *synteleia* could be used as a specific word for the unification. A closer look at this word will lead to the conclusion that *synteleia* was a notion and a phenomenon fairly characteristic of Boeotian interstate relationships even if it was also used for many other areas of the Greek world and in a variety of other contexts. I shall argue that, although it was not a constitutional term but rather a word used by historians and orators in a loosely descriptive way, it yet sheds some light on the relationship between the territories of Thebes and of the other Boeotian cities. I shall defend the proposition that *synteleia*, in the fifth and fourth centuries, could be used as a precise word for describing lordship of Thebes, or Orchomenos, or another major Boeotian city over their respective neighbouring districts, or rather as indicating the dependent position of some areas in Boeotia on cities such as Orchomenos and Thebes. These overlordships, or—seen from the other perspective—these dependencies are attested as facts. Even if we do not take the word *synteleia* into account the Boeotian lordship-dependence relations still stand.

The words *syntelein* and *synteleia* had a fairly wide range of meanings: as a verb "to finish," "to complete," and in religious contexts "to cele-

⁵Compare Buckler 18–33 with Salmon; see further Buck.

⁶For the Hellenistic League see Roesch, *Études*, and *idem*, "La Citoyenneté fédérale en Béotie," in Fossey and Schachter 27–31; see also Gullath.

⁷Discussion of sources: S. Lauffer, "Die Diodordublette XV 38=50 über die Friedensschlüsse zu Sparta 374 und 371 v. Chr.," *Historia* 8 (1959) 315–348; and T. T. B. Ryder, *Koine Eirene: General Peace and Local Independence in Ancient Greece* (London 1965) 124–126; the date: G. L. Cawkwell, "Notes on the Peace of 375/4," *Historia* 12 (1963) 84–95 and J. Buckler, "Dating the Peace of 375/4 B.C.," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 353–361; comment: A. Momigliano, "Un momento di storia greca: la pace del 375 a.c. e il Plataico di Isocrate," *Athenaeum* NS 14 (1936) 3–35 (= *Terzo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* [Rome 1966] 421–455) and A. G. Roos, "The Peace of Sparta of 374 B.C.," *Mnemosyne*⁴ 2 (1949) 265–285.

⁸For comment see Mosley.

brate," as a noun "accomplishment," "completion." In a narrow sense they could be accountancy terms, the verb denoting "making (combined) contributions," the noun "a (combined) contribution." The words are built on *telos*, which fundamentally means "a task," "a duty," "a due," "an obligation," "a charge."⁹ Thus *συντελεῖν* + dative or *εἰς* bears the meanings, "to be joined in obligation to" and "to be dependently joined to." It was used for instance to describe how early Mycenae was dependent on Argos (Strabo 8.6.10) or early Larymna on Opous (Paus. 9.23.7). In the fourth century Ephorus referred to the "syntelic" position of the Lacedaemonian *perioikoi* with respect to Sparta (*FGrHist* 70 F 117) and in the fifth century Thucydides described in these terms the relationship of the outlying districts of Attica to Athens before the synoecism by Theseus (2.15.2). *Synteleia* was frequently used to describe a degree of dependence between cities, between a city and a league, or between rural areas and cities,¹⁰ and this relationship of dependence is also encountered when the Boeotian situation is investigated. The subject matter should be treated with caution, for some of the sources concerning Boeotia are rhetorical and perhaps imprecise, others may contain a bias (see below, note 28).

Two of these passages state that, "[The Spartans and the Athenians] consistently tried to detach the Boeotian cities from the *synteleia* of the Thebans" (Diod. Sic. 15.38.4, referring to 375)¹¹ and "all the cities concluded a common peace except for the Thebans; they alone were not admitted to it by the Greeks because they wanted to bring Boeotia under one *synteleia*" (15.50.4, ὑπὸ μίαν ἄγοντες συντέλειαν, referring to 371);¹² the present tense (ἄγοντες) implies that not all the Boeotian towns had been brought under "syntelic" conditions in 371.

In the *Plataikos* of Isocrates, which was written between 373 and 371, the word *συντελεῖν* occurs three times (8 [twice]; 9). The Thebans said that the Plataeans had not been willing to join in *synteleia* with them (8).¹³ The Plataeans remarked, "The Thebans should have gone no further than to force us to submit to the *synteleia* of Thebes, as they compelled Thespiæ and Tanagra" (9).¹⁴ The Plataeans had been forced to evacuate their country (373); their city was demolished. Isocrates intimates that, as "syntelic" submission occurred elsewhere in Boeotia, "syntelic" incorporation into Thebes would have been a feasible alternative.

⁹See F. M. J. Waanders, *The History of τέλος and τελῶ in Ancient Greek* (Amsterdam 1983).

¹⁰For examples see Tuplin 339–340.

¹¹τὰς κατὰ Βοιωτίαν πόλεις ἀπέσπων τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων συντελείας.

¹²συνέθεντο κοινὴν εἰρήνην αἱ πόλεις πλὴν Θηβαίων· Θηβαῖοι γὰρ μόνοι, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἄγοντες συντέλειαν, οὐ προσεδέχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

¹³συντελεῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἠθέλομεν.

¹⁴ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτούς, ἐπειδὴ πείθειν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν οὐχ οἶοι τ' ἦσαν, ὥσπερ τοὺς Θεσπιάς καὶ τοὺς Ταναγραίους, συντελεῖν μόνον εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀναγκάζειν.

The third source, Thucydides, concerns Chaironeia, which city is said to have been "syntelically" dependent on Boeotian Orchomenos in 424 (4.76.3).¹⁵ A fourth source, the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, refers to the Boeotian villages (*choria*) of Skolos, Erythrae, Skaphae and to other places of the Parasopia which were "syntelically" dependent on Thebes in 395 (16 [11].3 Bartoletti).¹⁶

The evidence for *synteleia* in Boeotia assembled here belongs to the years 424–371. I see no reason why the expression "fulfilling tasks/obligations together with . . ." cannot be taken literally here, for it is an established fact that the Boeotian League of pre-Hellenistic times acknowledged that, where finance and military organization were concerned, certain regions were joined to the larger *poleis*.¹⁷ Similarly, the word *synteleia* also had the meaning of dependence in Boeotia, as elsewhere.

Telein, "to fulfil a task, an obligation," is used in the Boeotian context towards the end of the sixth century in a carefully and diplomatically phrased compact arbitration which aimed at soothing tensions between the Plataeans and the expansionist Thebans (Hdt. 6.108):

The Thebans should not interfere with those among the Boeotians who do not wish to fulfil obligations towards the Boeotians (ἐὰν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν).

This, together with the evidence for *syn-teleia* in Boeotia assembled above, may suggest that *telein*, *syn-telein*, *syn-teleia* constituted a group of words that in some particular way was adroitly suitable in the Boeotian situation. Suitable in what particular way?

Here, we shall have a look at the pattern of habitation in Boeotia, which was a country with settlements of unequal size. By the side of major cities like Thespieae, Plataeae, Thebes, and Orchomenos, we find small towns, *polismata*, Siphae for instance, and rural districts like the Parasopia, where the settlements were called *choria* or *komai*. These significant differences in settlement size and concomitant relations of dependence between settlements were typical of Boeotia.

¹⁵Χαιρώνειαν δέ, ἥ ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν . . . ξυντελεῖ.

¹⁶Σκόλου καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν καὶ Σκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τῶν πρότερον μὲν . . . τότε δὲ συντελούντων εἰς τὰς Θήβας.

¹⁷E.g., the Parasopia being linked to Plataeae (approximately in the second and third quarters of the fifth century), *Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].3 Bartoletti; Thisbe and Eutresis pooled together with Thespieae, *Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].3 Bartoletti (ca 400), or minor places pooled together with Thebes, Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμοροι ἀπὸ τοῖς, "the Thebans and their *symmoroi*" (424), Thuc. 4.93.4. For pooling of finance (*eisphorai*) see *Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].4 Bartoletti with Salmon 212–214; for pooling of military contingents *Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].4 Bartoletti; in the fifth century the Boeotian leaders, the "boeotarchs," were elected along the same lines. For full discussion see Salmon (fifth century). The "pools" contained one or more "sections of the Boeotians," *μέρη*, a word that is usually translated as "districts."

Knowledge of the relations of dependence between larger and smaller Greek communities was advanced considerably by the work of Professor Gschnitzer.¹⁸ In particular, it was demonstrated that a civic community, a *polis* with its *chora*, or another distinct territory, could, in some sense, be part of the *chora* of a larger *polis*. The Cretan harbour *poleis* of Setaia and Stalae were constituent elements of the larger inland *polis* of Praisos. I believe that a similar situation as found in Eastern Crete and elsewhere was endemic in Boeotia. I shall give three examples. The first concerns the *polis* of Chaironeia, which was dependent on Orchomenos. Discussing events of 446—military action of the Athenian general Tolmides in Boeotia—, Hellenicus called Chaironeia “a *polis* of the Orchomenians” (*FGrHist* 4 F 81). It was noted above that Thucydides referred to the “syntelic” dependence of this city on Orchomenos (4.76.3). Secondly, the relation of Thisbe to Thespieae must have been of a similar nature.¹⁹ Thirdly, the small Boeotian town of Mykalessos, which was raided by Thracian mercenary soldiers in 413, was a *polis* (Thuc. 7.29.3, 29.5, 30.2). This *polis* must have been part of Theban territory, which at the time extended already as far as the Euripus (to Aulis; Fig. 1).²⁰ I believe that Boeotian dependencies such as those of Chaironeia, Thisbe, the Parasopia region, and Mykalessos, could be described in antiquity as “syntelic” (although they could also be described in other terms, see below). We are dealing here with the incorporation of a territory into the territory of a larger city; this incorporation respected to some extent the identity and character of the incorporated *chora*.

It may be useful to summarize some points made so far. In the fifth century a number of small Boeotian towns and one or two rural districts were dependent on larger Boeotian cities. This did not imply complete absorption; the small towns remained *poleis* or *polismata*. The military and financial obligations of *poleis* like Chaironeia or Mykalessos had been joined to those of the major *poleis*. The word *synteleia* described this.²¹

¹⁸Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte*, and *idem*, “Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔδωκαν Πραΐσιοι Σταλίταις τὰν χώραν . . . , Zu einem Geschäftstyp des griechischen Völkerrechts,” in H. J. Wolff, J. Modrzejewski and D. Nörr (eds.), *Symposion 1971, Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Cologne and Vienna 1975) 79–102.

¹⁹*Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].3 Bartoletti (around 400): “The Thespians together with Eutresis and Thisbe”; Olympia inscription B6362 (first half of the fifth century): “the Thespians and those with them”; see Siewert, “Helléniques d’Oxyrhynchos,” and “Eine Bronze-Urkunde.”

²⁰*Hell. Oxy.* 17 [12].3 Bartoletti with Bakhuizen 150–151.

²¹In the second century A.D. the word was still used to describe such pooling. When Pausanias (9.6.3) reported on the preparations for the Daidala ceremonies on Mt Cithaeron, he observed that the major Boeotian cities made their own preparations, but that “all the small towns that are of minor importance opt for *synteleia*” (τῶν δὲ πολιμάτων ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐλάσσονος λόγου συντέλειαν αἰροῦνται).

It expressed relations between certain individual Boeotian settlements, and it concerned only a part of the Boeotian countryside. Though, in the fifth century, some regions were "syntelic" on the larger cities, there were other regions where relations of "syntelic" dependence are not in evidence. For instance, Haliartos and Lebadeia seem to have been medium-sized settlements that were not joined to any larger city. Therefore, although *synteleia* in the sense of "dependence" was not uncommon in fifth-century Boeotia, it can in no way be taken as a synonym for the League of that country.

As for Thebes (see Fig. 2), I reckon with the possibility that the large Theban territory of ca 420 and after (*Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].3 Bartoletti, cf. 17 [12].3 Bartoletti) was made up of (1) the old Theban *chora* of central Boeotia, (2) older "syntelic" territory of Mykalessos and perhaps other northern²² and north-eastern places, (3) the annexed *chora* of the Plataeans (427), and (4) the younger "syntelic" acquisition of the Parasopia (431–427). Thus, ca 420 approximately half of the greater Theban territory seems to have been "syntelic" on Thebes.

We can now turn to the new situation of 379/8 and after (see Fig. 3). In the years 376 and 375 "the Thebans marched to the cities that lay around them and re-incorporated them" (*Xen. Hell.* 5.4.63),²³ restoring the control over them which they had exercised before the King's Peace of 387/6. The reference may be to Mykalessos and perhaps to Akraiphia, places of which the possible "syntelic" dependence on Thebes in the fifth century was discussed above. In 373 the Thebans destroyed Plataeae; its citizens fled to Athens, as many of them had done in 431–427; again the *chora* of Plataeae was incorporated into that of Thebes, as it had been after 427, again not "syntelically," for there were no Plataeans left to make "syntelic" contributions (*Isocr. Plat. passim*, *Archid.* 27; *Xen. Hell.* 6.3.1; *Diod.* 15.46.4–6; *Paus.* 9.1.3–8). As for Tanagra, the Thebans killed Panthoidas, the Spartan *harmostes* (*Plut. Pel.* 15.6), and they must have driven the pro-Spartan oligarchs (*Xen. Hell.* 5.4.49) from that city, for Isocrates says that it became "syntelic" on Thebes (*Plat.* 9). The case of Thespieae—on which various views are held (for a discussion see Tuplin)—stands out more sharply. After dislodging the Plataeans from

²²Though not in 395 (*Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].3 Bartoletti), there may have been periods, both earlier and perhaps later, during which the *polis* of Akraiphia stood in a "syntelic" relationship to Thebes. Earlier: *Hdt.* 8.135.1, the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, which lay not at all far from Akraiphia (ἀγχιστάτω Ἀκραϊφίης πόλιος), was Theban (ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων); cf. *Strabo* 9.2.34: "both the oracle and the mountain" (Ptoion) "were Theban" (Θηβαίων δ' ἦν τό τε μαντεῖον καὶ τὸ ὄρος), and *Pausanias* writing about Akraiphia (9.23.5): "it is said that the city was of old part of the Theban territory" (εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε μοῖραν τῆς Θηβαΐδος τὴν πόλιν φασί). Later (hypothetically though): Gullath, *Untersuchungen* 81–82, and *idem*, "Veränderung der Territorien boiotischer Städte zu Beginn der hellenistischen Zeit am Beispiel Thebens" in *Beister and Buckler* 163–168, at 163, 166.

²³ἑστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς περιουκίδας πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον.

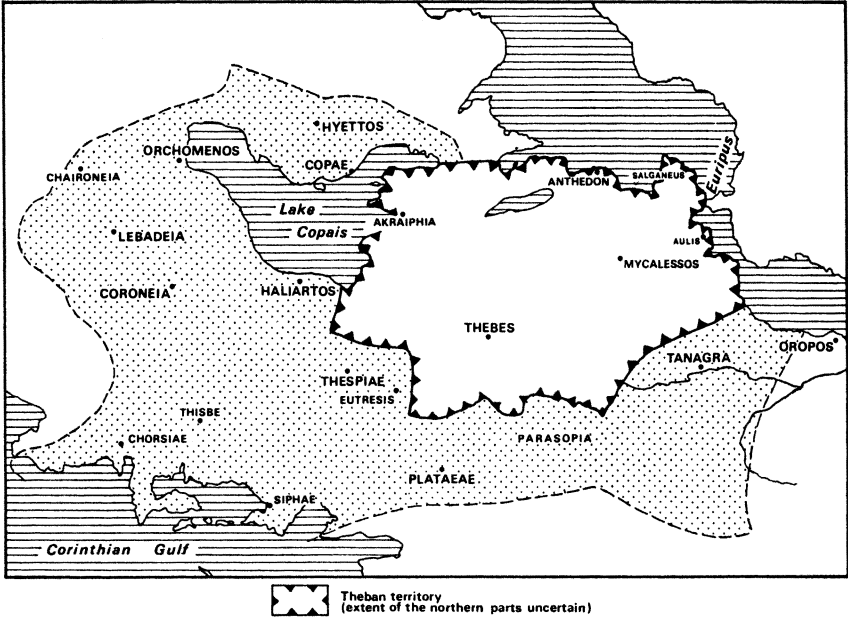


Fig. 1 Boeotia and the Territory of Thebes ca 435

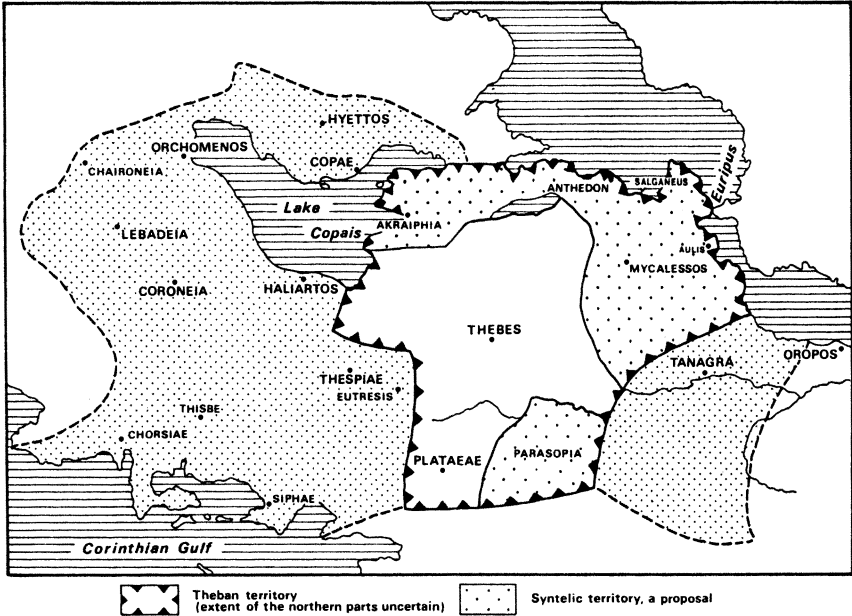


Fig. 2 Boeotia and the Territory of Thebes ca 420

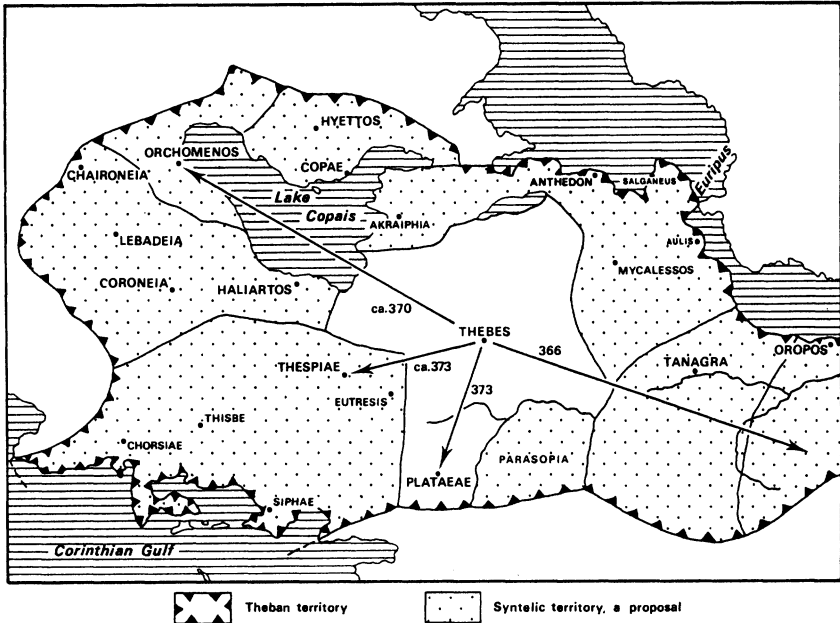


Fig. 3 Boeotia and the Territory of Thebes after 379/8

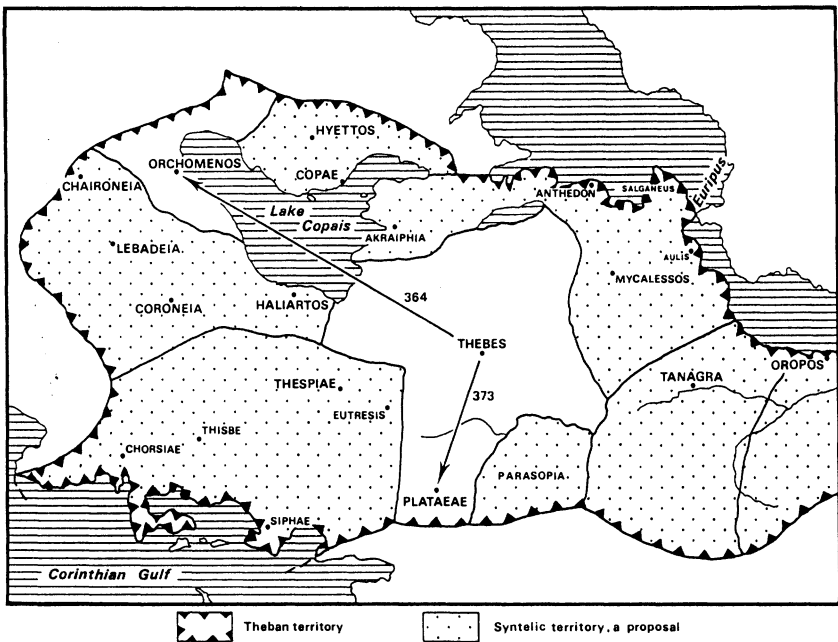


Fig. 4 Boeotia and the Territory of Thebes after 364

their city and destroying it, the Theban army, which was under the command of "boeotarchs" (Diod. 15.46.4, cf. Paus. 9.1.5-7), marched against Thespieae (Diod. 15.46.6, cf. 51.3). Though some of the citizens had left the city, the events at Thespieae were of a different nature than those at Plataeae. Like Plataeae, the city was dismantled and destroyed. Yet the Thebans did not take possession of the *chora* by annexing it: most Thespians continued to live on the Thespian land (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1 described them as having no longer a central settlement, *a-polides*). The Theban operation may be described as a *dioikismos*. The smaller towns of the Thespian territory, places like Thisbe, Chorsiae, Siphae, and Eutresis (*Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].3 Bartoletti [395]; Olympia inscription B6362 [fifth century, first half])²⁴ may have profited from it. Chorsiae, for instance, is described as a *polis* in these years (Theopompus [*Philippika* 30], *FGrHist* 115 F 167; Diod. 16.58.1). It is also on record as being *Theban* (Pliny *HN* 4.8, see appendix 1). When Isocrates in 373-371 speaks of a Thespian "syntelic" dependence on Thebes (*Plat.* 9) this fits in with the evidence we have. The populous territory of Thespieae, though not in every respect pro-Theban,²⁵ could be turned into an advantageous acquisition if it was placed under some form of Theban supervision. *Synteleia*, which left the Thespians free to conduct their own affairs, yet gave the Thebans control of matters military and financial, would do just that. If this view can be accepted, the larger Theban territory, in 371, stretched from the Euripus in the East²⁶ to the Corinthian Gulf in the west (Pliny *HN* 4.8, see appendix 1). Around 370 and in 366 the territories of Orchomenos and of Oropos were to follow, both places being subjugated after military expeditions (Orchomenos: Diod. 15.57.1; Oropos: Diod. 15.76.1, cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1). The sentence in Diodorus Siculus describing the legal position of Orchomenos after the Theban attack mentions that the Orchomenian *chora* was now to contribute military contingents to the Thebans.²⁷ This is precisely what *synteleia* signified. I find no difficulty in assuming that the Thebans placed the resident inhabitants of territorial units like Thespieae, Orchomenos, and Oropos in positions of "syntelic" vassalage, thereby extending considerably the "syntelic" grip of the city on the Boeotian land. According to the evidence assembled so far, by the year 366 the wider Theban *chora* may have comprised approximately three-quarters of Boeotia or more.

²⁴Siewert, "Helléniques d'Oxyrhynchos," and "Eine Bronze-Urkunde."

²⁵See J. Buckler, "The Thespians at Leuktra," *WS* 90 [N.F. 11] (1977) 76-79.

²⁶Strabo wrote (9.2.12): "Hyria is now part of the territory of Tanagra; in earlier days [before 335: Bakhuizen 18-25] it belonged to the *Thebais*" (πρότερον δὲ τῆς Θηβαΐδος). Hyria lay close to Aulis (Strabo 9.2.12, cf. 8.6.17; *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Hyria; Bakhuizen 146-147).

²⁷"... they assigned the Orchomenians to the category '*chora of the symmachoi*'" (τοὺς μὲν Ὀρχομενίους εἰς τὴν τῶν συμμάχων χώραν κατέταξαν).

Regarding towns like Copae, Coroneia, or Haliartos we do not have any evidence indicating their status in this period.²⁸ The smaller towns may not have been treated harshly in these years. Their feelings towards the Thebans may have been friendlier than the attitudes in the bigger cities, which tended to turn away from Thebes and to align themselves with powers outside the country, Sparta, Athens or Macedon, as the case may have been.²⁹ In the ancient sources for the Sacred War of 355–346 the names of Boeotians and Thebans seem to be almost completely interchangeable.³⁰ It is likely, therefore, that by 366 *all* the Boeotian cities had been made dependent on Thebes (Fig. 3).

It has been argued here that the specific and traditional method which the Thebans used in expanding their state was incorporation into their territory of *poleis* as *poleis*, and of well-defined districts with villages, both of them as distinct, dependent regions. When, in the fourth century, during the years of their expansion in Boeotia, they used this method, they were re-activating normal fifth-century Boeotian practice.³¹ The Greeks

²⁸ There are a number of texts describing Theban military operations or Theban aspirations in broadly or strongly worded language. I refrain from including these passages in the argument. See for instance Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.1 (376–375): “they subjugated the Boeotian *poleis*” (κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις); which *poleis* did they subjugate, and which did they not? what does “subjugation” mean? Or the rhetorical exclamation of Aeschines (*In Ctes.* 142), who inveighs against Demosthenes: “... he betrayed all of Boeotia to the Thebans” (... ἐκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤπασαν ἐποίησε Θεβαίους). For a third passage, which pictures the reverse of reality, see Dem. *Fals. Leg.* 20 (343): “Thebes ... by itself, without the rest of Boeotia” (Θήβας ... αὐτὰς καθ’ αὐτὰς χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας). Generalizations of this kind are difficult to evaluate.

²⁹ Feelings of hostility at Tanagra: “laconizers” (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49 [377]; but in later years such feelings are not recorded); at Plataeae: “laconizers” (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.10 [379/8], the Spartans expect help; 5.4.14 [379/8]); Plataeans fleeing to Athens after being driven from their city by the Thebans (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1; Diod. 15.45.4 [373]); Plataeans assisting Alexander the Great in the war against Thebes (Diod. 17.13.5; Plut. *Alex.* 11.11; Arr. *Anab.* 1.8.8; Justin 11.3.8–4.7 [335]); at Thespieae: “laconizers” (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.10 [379/8], the Spartans expect help); Thespian hoplites fighting against the Thebans (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.45 [378]); hostility (Diod. 15.46.6 [ca 373]); the Thespians honouring Philip of Macedon by erecting his statue (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37.42); Thespians assisting Alexander the Great in his war against Thebes (Diod. 17.13.5; Justin 11.3.8–4.7 [335]), and joining him afterwards in the expedition against Asia (*Anth. Pal.* 6.344, cf. Tod, no. 197); at Orchomenos: conspiracy, after which the Thebans killed the men, enslaved the women and the children, and dismantled the city (Diod. 15.79.3–6 [364]; see Fig. 4); Orchomenians assisting Alexander the Great in the war against Thebes (Diod. 17.13.5; Justin 11.3.8–4.7 [335]), and cavalry joining him afterwards in the expedition against Asia (*IG* 7.3206 = Tod, no. 197).

³⁰ See J. Buckler, *Philip II and the Sacred War* (Leiden 1989) *passim*.

³¹ At the time of the fusion of Corinth with Argos in 392(390)–386 (M. Moggi, *I sinecismi interstatali greci: Introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione, commento e indici* 1: *Dalle origini al 338 a.c.* [Pisa 1976] no. 39) the overall new polity was that of Argos; all the land could now be called Argive. Yet Corinth, a major city, stood where it had always stood.

had several terms at their disposal to describe such clearly discernible dependencies (Gschnitzer's *abhängige Orte*), not one particular term. Words like *sympoliteia*,³² *synoikia*,³³ or *perioikoi*³⁴ could indicate the situation or part of it; so could *synteleia*, it appears. That was the word which was preferred to describe the status of the Boeotian dependencies. In the fifth and fourth centuries *synteleia* was an administrative method by which the Thebans extended direct rule in Boeotia. "Syntelic" regions were distinct, dependent parts of the wider Theban *chora*.

Fourth-century Theban dominance in Boeotia³⁵ appears to have operated along two different lines. One was the *koinon* policy of the Boeotian League, where on account of its hegemonial leadership among the Boeotian cities the notions "Thebes" and "Boeotia" coincided in most respects. The other exploited the "syntelic" situation, which allowed "perioecic" Boeotian *poleis* other than Thebes to continue to exist inside an enlarged Theban territory. The local *polis* identities had been deep-rooted and strong, hard to ignore

³² *Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].3 Bartoletti (fifth century, before 427): Πλαταιέων, καὶ Σκάλου καὶ Ἐρ[υ]θρῶ[ν] καὶ Σκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἐκείνοις συμπολιτευομένων (the Parasopia region dependent on Plataeae in "sympolity").

³³ Ps.-Scylax 43 speaking of the *poleis* of Elis: "... and further Elis [i.e., the city], a *synoikia* of *poleis* in the interior" (συνοικία πόλεων) (fourth century). Another instance is the inscription which records how the small town of Euaim(n)on was integrated into Arcadian Orchomenos (first half of the fourth century), S. Dušanić, "Notes épigraphiques sur l'histoire arcadienne du IV^e siècle," *BCH* 102 (1978) 333–358, at 333–346, esp. 342; cf. Theopompus (*Philippika* 6), *FGrHist* 115 F 61: "Euaimon, a *polis* of the Orchomenians."

On the whole, the Peloponnesos provides good parallels with the Boeotian situation. In addition to the case of Orchomenos and to the towns around the city of Elis (on which see Gschnitzer 7–17) there were Sparta with the Lacedaemonian "perioecic" cities, and Mantinea with a few neighbouring smaller *poleis* (see G. J. M. G. Te Riele, "Hélisson entre en sympoliteia avec Mantinée: une nouvelle inscription d'Arcadie," *BCH* 111 [1987] 167–190). Further, the study by H. Braunert and T. Petersen, "Megalopolis: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit," *Chiron* 2 (1972) 57–90, analyzes the intended position of Megalopolis among the Arcadian cities.

³⁴ *Xen. Hell.* 5.4.63 (376–375) quoted in n. 23 above. The word "perioecic" occurs also in *Xen. Hell.* 5.4.46, "the Thebans marched to Thespieae and the other 'perioecic' cities" (τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις; 378). And Isocrates (*On the Peace* 115) wrote that the Thebans "treat the *perioikoi* unfairly" (τοὺς περιοίκους ἄδικοῦσιν). Even if the word was commonly used for dependent communities in Lacedaemonia, Elis, Thessaly, and Crete, a conclusion that *perioikoi* in itself was a technical constitutional term does not follow: see Gschnitzer 146–151. For terminology used for dependent outlying communities in the Roman world—*contributi*—see U. Laffi, *Adtributio e Contributio, Problemi del sistema politico-amministrativo dello stato romano* (Pisa 1966).

³⁵ Cf. Knoepfler 391: "Pendant la période dite de la 'Ligue thébaine' (379–338), en effet, Thèbes ne fut pas seulement la capitale incontestée de la Béotie: elle se confondait véritablement avec elle, au point que toutes les cités conquises formaient sous sa domination un État des plus unitaires et des plus centralisés; il n'est donc pas exagéré de dire, comme vient de le faire M^{me} Sordi dans un article très suggestif [Sordi 89], que 'nello stato nato dalle vicende del 379 Tebe è la Beozia' (souligné par moi)."

it would seem. I believe that the evidence shows that, to some extent, the Thebans were willing to respect these feelings.

The liberators of 379/8 aimed at restoring the Theban-Boeotian situation to such as it had been before the King's Peace of 387/6, years during which the League had been a fully developed organization, and also years during which Thebes had been a strong and influential city. However, in 379/8 they wanted Boeotia to have a constitution based on the sovereignty of the people (*damos*) of the whole country, for which they took the Athenian-Attic *demos* / *ekklesia* as a model.³⁶ After opting for a Boeotian constitution and for Boeotian offices right from the start, the Thebans set out to unite the Boeotians—consistently, insistently, persistently—and by paying as little attention as possible to their own Theban citizen status in dealings with other cities, the Thebans *strove* to present themselves as Boeotians to the outside world.³⁷ Under the directives of Thebes, the Boeotian *ethnos* was united into a *koinon* headed by seven "boeotarchs."³⁸ The *koinon* could appoint *proxenoi* of the Boeotians;³⁹ it carried out diplomatic negotiations with foreign powers, but more than anything else it was an army, fighting to drive occupation forces or collaborators from the country,⁴⁰ and waging war with foreign enemies like Sparta, Phokis, or Philip II of Macedon.

³⁶See Buckler 44–45, and Buck.

³⁷Cf. H. Beister, "Hegemoniales Denken in Theben," in Beister and Buckler 131–153, at 150–153. Athens and Sparta, each in its own specific way, objected to Thebes' Boeotian policy, and consequently—in the seventies—Thebes shrank from openly posing as Boeotian in diplomatic contacts with foreign powers. In 378/7 it was Thebes, not the Boeotian League, which concluded the treaties *IG* II².40 and *IG* II².43 (= Tod, no. 123) with Athens (for historical commentary see A. P. Burnett, "Thebes and the Expansion of the Second Athenian Confederacy: *IG* II² 40 and *IG* II² 43," *Historia* 11 [1962] 1–17, and J. Buckler, "Theban Treaty Obligations in *IG* II² 40: A Postscript," *Historia* 20 [1971] 506–508). At the peace conference in Sparta in 371 the Theban politician Epaminondas, who was a "boeotarch" at the time (Paus. 9.13.7) and who was the leader of the delegation from Boeotia—only one delegation had been sent from the country—, signed as a Theban, but at the closing of the conference he attempted to get recognition and to claim similar hegemonial rights for Thebes with respect to Boeotia to those which Sparta possessed over Laconia and the "perioecic" cities. Formally, Epaminondas had the right to speak and to sign either as a Theban or as a Boeotian. Yet, in 371, that signalled great trouble. See further Mosley.

³⁸On the "boeotarchs" see for instance Roesch, *Thespies* 100–101.

³⁹*Proxenoi*: Roesch, "Un Décret inédit"; A. Gerolymatos, "Fourth Century Boiotian Use of the Proxenia in International Relations," in Argoud and Roesch 307–309; cf. Knoepfler 381–393.

⁴⁰For the election of "boeotarchs" in the winter of 379/8 before the Spartan garrison in the Cadmeia came under siege see Plut. *Pel.* 12.5–13.1; cf. Diod. 15.28.1. For the involvement of the "boeotarch" Gorgidas in the fighting against the Thespians and the Spartan garrison in that city in 378 see J. Buckler, "The Re-Establishment of the *Boiotarchia* (378 B.C.)," *AJAH* 4 (1979) 50–64, at 53–56. For "boeotarchs" leading the Theban army against Plataeae in 373 see Diod. 15.46.4–5: "... the Plataeans should get out and never set foot on Boeotian soil again" (καὶ μηκέτι τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐμβαίνειν); Pausanias 9.1.6 mentions the "boeotarch" Neocles in this context.

The Thebans unified Boeotia in the sense that they were the ones who in 379/8 took the initiative and the lead in driving Spartans and "Iaconizers" from the country. In the Spartan strike at Thebes by Phoebidas (382) and in the subsequent installation of pro-Spartan governments in the more important among the Boeotian cities⁴¹ and in the installation of Spartan garrisons there,⁴² the Thebans were provided with an excuse and a motive for freeing Boeotia from sprawling Spartan interference and for assuming hegemonial leadership over the full extent of Boeotian territory.

To sum up, in the fourth century, the ring of "syntelic" Boeotian territories around Thebes could be called *Theban* (Strabo 9.2.12; Pliny *HN* 4.8, see appendix 1) because it was dependent on Thebes, which lay in the centre of the country. A "syntelic" Boeotian region or city, in this period, was Theban. Examples were Thespieae, Chorsiae—as part of the Thespian "syntelic" territory—or the Aulis-Salganeus region.⁴³ The country as a whole was called not Thebes but Boeotia.

The territorial arrangements that Thebes introduced into Boeotia in the years 379/8–338 had been derived not entirely from a contemporary Athenian system but also from earlier, fifth-century Boeotian practice at home. Whereas Orchomenos, Plataeae,⁴⁴ Thespieae, and Thebes itself in that century had claimed suzerainty over a few small neighbouring places, fourth-century Thebes extended these relationships to comprise Boeotia in its entirety. The territorial policy initiated in 379/8 came to complete fruition when in 366 the Thebans—with Eretrian help—gained control of Oropos.

II THE OTHER BOEOTIANS AND THE THEBANS

At this point I could have stopped the exposition for, as has been remarked, it is not the intention of this article to give a full description and analysis of the Boeotian League of the fourth century.⁴⁵ But what should be discussed is the question of the actual role the Thebans played in the Confederacy. How, in the fourth-century Boeotian context, did *synteleia* relate to *koinon*? This question can also be phrased in other words: was fourth-century Thebes the "capital" of the Boeotian League?

⁴¹For pro-Spartan governments see above, n. 29. Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46: "... in all the cities *dynasteiai* had formed just as in Thebes ..., *philoi* of the Lacedaemonians."

⁴²At Thespieae: Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.15–16, 20, 41–46; Diod. 15.32.2, 33.6; Plut. *Pel.* 14.3 (378); at Tanagra: Plut. *Pel.* 15.6 (probably 377); at Orchomenos: Diod. 15.37.1; Plut. *Pel.* 16.2–3 (375).

⁴³Bakhuizen 18–25, 146–147.

⁴⁴The Parasopia dependent on Plataeae before 431–427 (πρότερον): *Hell. Oxy.* 16 [11].3 Bartoletti.

⁴⁵Although the recent treatment by Buckler is very complete, the following works are still useful: Busolt and Swoboda 1423–31, "Der Bund von 378 bis zur Schlacht bei Chaironeia," and Larsen 175–180.

or, what precisely was the position of Thebes within the Boeotian commonwealth?

The present study originated from the wider investigation into whether the ancient Greeks knew the institution that we call "capital" today.⁴⁶ This is not the place to discuss a term such as *metropolis*.⁴⁷ I do not consider it helpful to introduce the contemporary term "capital" into regional studies of ancient Greece. Yet the question of the precise hierarchical position of Thebes in fourth-century Boeotia and of the terms used to describe it is an important issue and is pursued in this article. I have not found ancient expressions that justify the use of the term "capital" for fourth-century Thebes. It can only be established (1) that the Thebans ultimately acquired the "hegemony" over all the Boeotians,⁴⁸ and (2) that all the Boeotian cities other than Thebes accepted⁴⁹ or were forced to accept⁵⁰ its leadership in terms of *synteleia*, of "taking charge of their various obligations together with the Thebans."⁵¹ The relationship between Sparta and the "perioecic" Laconian cities was similar and has also been described as a *synteleia* (Ephorus *FGHist* 70 F 117), but there was a difference: in spite of the comparable situation—for instance, the *perioikoi* joining

⁴⁶Another test case would be the position of Demetrias within the *ethnos* of the Magnesians. One might ask, "Was Demetrias the capital of Magnesia?" I believe that its position need not be defined by such a term, though it was of course the leading city of the *ethnos*. In my view the question to be asked is "what precisely did it imply that Demetrias was the leading city of the Magnesians?"

⁴⁷Strabo wrote that "Chalcis was called the *metropolis* of the Euboeans" (10.1.11), cf. 10.1.8 ("metropolis of the island"); Livy 35.51.10: *caput erat Euboeae*. This Latin word was also used in the case of Thebes (172): *Thebae . . . quod Boeotiae caput est* (Livy 42.44.3).

⁴⁸Diod. 15.50.5: "The Thebans were the *hegemones* of all Boeotia" (τῆς ὅλης Βοιωτίας ἡγούμενοι).

⁴⁹Diod. 15.28.1 (the cities taking courage when the Thebans proved stronger than the Spartans on the battlefields of the so-called Boeotian War of 379/8–371), Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.63, 6.1.1 (the Thebans marching their army to the cities of Boeotia). The possibility of persuasion is also referred to by Isocr. *Plat.* 8.

⁵⁰A policy of enforcing "syntelic" obedience is suggested in Isocr. *Plat.* 8; the words used are βιάζεσθαι and ἀναγκάζειν. Thebes leaving the cities free would have been the opposite policy; here the words used are εἶναι (Diod. 15.51.3, Paus. 9.13.2; already in the sixth century: Hdt. 6.108) and ἀφίεναι (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3 [twice]; Plut. *Ages.* 28.1).

⁵¹Concerning the years 376 and 375 Diodorus writes (15.28.1) that a fair number of Boeotian cities were no longer intimidated into "laconizing" by nearby Spartan garrisons or as a result of Spartan military successes but that they now decided to follow the Theban lead and to fight against the Spartans together with the Thebans, as "Boeotians," κοινὴν συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι. (The passages Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.63 and 6.1.1 [see above, n. 49] refer to the same historical constellation). The cities joined the League that had been formally refounded by the Thebans three years earlier. *Symmachia* is a word that indicated that two or more *poleis* or regions had decided to fight together in war, to be military allies. That might occur in any constitutional context and the word carried no implications of international law beyond what its literal translation conveys.

the Spartans in war—there existed no Laconian/Lacedaemonian League (*koinon*) with Sparta as its centre, at least not before 200.⁵² And this proves a point I have been trying to make in this study: “dependence,” *synteleia*, was one thing, a confederacy, *koinon*—the Boeotian League in our case—was another. If in fourth-century Boeotia these phenomena co-existed, then clearly they were not mutually exclusive, but I have tried to show that either of them can be analyzed and understood in its own right. If my view is correct, the semantic content of *synteleia* does not justify a translation and interpretation as “league” or “confederacy.” I think that the meaning cannot be stretched beyond translations such as “dependence,” “union,” and “district.”⁵³ *Koina* like those of the Thessalians or the Aetolians were not ruled through the hegemony of one city as was the case in fourth-century Boeotia, where “syntelic” cities followed the lead of Thebes. After 366, Thebes being given responsibility for Oropos, an act which is described as *parakatatheke* in the sources,⁵⁴ the situation crystallized. Thebes was the *hegemon* of the Boeotians, and the Boeotians complied. Although we do not have the immediate evidence, these relationships must have been made permanent, probably by means of oaths.⁵⁵ Whatever may have been the criticisms and intimidations of King Agesilaos and King Kleombrotos of Sparta,⁵⁶ and the insinuations of Isocrates of Athens,⁵⁷ the “syntelic” situation of the Boeotian cities was not transitory and illegal. Apart from destroying the city of the *hegemon*,⁵⁸ there were only two ways out of their “syntelic” dependence: revolt followed by

⁵²In the second century, after Roman interference, the “perioecic” cities, or some of them, were severed from Sparta, it seems. The founding of “the *koinon* of the Lacedaemonians” and, later, of “the *koinon* of the Eleutherolakones” was perhaps the result of these Roman measures; see P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta, A Tale of Two Cities* (London and New York 1989).

⁵³For Diod. 15.50.4, συνεῖχον τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐν τῇ καθ’ αὐτοὺς μὲν συντελείᾳ, “they were keeping Boeotia together by tying it to themselves (καθ’ αὐτοὺς) in an overall (μὲν) state of sharing duties,” the Loeb edition has “the Thebans continued to hold Boeotia in a single confederacy subject to themselves” but that is a free translation and in view of the use of the word *synteleia* in the Boeotian context as documented in this paper not a compelling one. I do not think that this passage from Diodorus (and three other passages: earlier same paragraph; 15.38.3, 4) can be cited in order to argue that, in Boeotia, *synteleia* was used as a word synonymous with *koinon*; compare the Loeb translation of Diod. 11.78.4. The reader is further referred to appendix II.

⁵⁴Diod. 15.76.1: “. . . it [the city of Oropos] was left in the care of the Thebans”; also Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1.

⁵⁵Cf. *IG* I.1³.40, the Chalcidians of Euboea swearing an oath of obedience to Athens, the Athenians committing themselves to warrants and rights for the Chalcidians and for their *polis*.

⁵⁶Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3; Diod. 15.51.3; Plut. *Ages.* 28.1; Paus. 9.13.2 (371 B.C.).

⁵⁷*On the Peace* 115 (ἀδικοῦσιν), *Plat.* 35 (ἀδίκως).

⁵⁸For Thespians joining Plataeans and Orchomenians, and helping Alexander the Great in attacking and destroying Thebes in 335 see Diod. 17.13.5.

constitutional curtailment of the hegemonial position of Thebes, or defection.

Orchomenos in 364 is an example of the former. In 364 Orchomenian exiles and Orchomenian knights, in an attempt to revive the aristocratically organized League of the fifth century, conspired to overthrow the democratic constitution of the Boeotian Confederacy. After the plot had been betrayed to the "boeotarchs," the federal *damos* was assembled and it decided to dispatch the army—this may have been the federal army, or the Theban army with federal consent—to Orchomenos in order to enslave its citizens and to destroy the city. That was what happened; the women and children were enslaved, and the men were killed.⁵⁹ The civic community of the Orchomenians ceased to exist. Thebes must have annexed its territory as it had done with the *chora* of Plataeae in 373 (Fig. 4). Earlier, around 370, after years of "laconizing" Orchomenos had been forced back into Boeotian ranks. Though at that time too a proposal was voiced to enslave its population, the opinion of the "boeotarch" Epaminondas prevailed, who said, "those who harbour high aspirations in Greece should proceed with clemency at home."⁶⁰ The Orchomenians were allowed to stay in their city; they gave up their "laconizing" policy and joined the Thebans and the League as Boeotian soldiers (*symmachoi*).⁶¹ In this way their independence was broken around 370, and henceforth—till 364—their position could be compared with that of the Tanagraeans and of the other Boeotian cities (Fig. 3). In 364 they revolted.

An example of defection as an alternative way of escaping "syntelic" dependence is provided by an incident of the year 338. Shortly before the battle of Chaironeia Demosthenes proposed to the Athenians to ally themselves to the Thebans and to support them in exercising leadership over the Boeotians, the leadership that had been so bitterly attacked by Agesilaos in 371 and of which Demosthenes had been no supporter himself.⁶² Under the threat of Philip II of Macedon he proposed "if a [Boeotian] city (*polis*) defects from the Thebans, the Athenians are to help 'the Boeotians in Thebes'" (ἐάν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, Aeschines *In Ctes.* 142). Defection must have meant breaking the vow of *synteleia* to a suzerain Thebes, of Boeotians who had pledged to acknowledge its hegemony.

We may be accustomed, like the ancient Greeks, to follow a two-tier model: on the one hand "city-states" (*poleis*), on the other tribes and tribal confederations of cities (*ethne* and *koina*), but the model is incomplete.

⁵⁹Diod. 15.79.3–6.

⁶⁰Diod. 15.57.1. Orchomenos Boeotian: Thuc. 4.76.3 (second half of the fifth century).

⁶¹For *symmachoi* and *symmachia* see above, n. 51.

⁶²Dem. *Megalopol.* 4–5, 24–26 (353 B.C.).

Gschnitzer has pointed out that in between these extremes of territorial organization there was a third tier, that of the *abhängige Orte*, of territories which because of their dependence belong to neither category. These dependent cities, towns, or regions had not necessarily fallen victim to the ambitious expansion of a superior city. Often, protection could be warranted in this way to small, weak neighbours.

For the Thebans taking responsibility as leaders of the communities around them the implementation of hegemonial power took a federal form. There were three important instruments of power in Theban political and military life of the fourth century: (1) the college of "boeotarchs," seven of them,⁶³ (2) the federal Boeotian *damos*, and (3) the federal Boeotian army. Instead of being a façade, the tight federal structure built by the Thebans in the years 379/8–366 was the consummation of their *ethnos* policy such as they had pursued it ever since the sixth century, a policy of uniting the Boeotians. By presenting the unification of the country as "Boeotian" the Thebans, in a sense, obliterated themselves, even if all the land was now "Theban."

To round off, the Theban-Boeotian relationship may be compared with other "hegemonial" situations in the context of an *ethnos*. The city of Elis functioned as the *hegemon* of its homonymous *ethnos* but there was no *koinon* as far as I know. The role of Sparta as the *hegemon* of the Lacedaemonians has already been referred to; there was no *koinon* in Laconia either, not before 200 anyway. The position of Demetrias within the *koinon* of the Magnesians, especially after 167, may be the closest parallel. As Thebes had annexed Plataeae (373) and Orchomenos (364) so Demetrias, at its foundation, "synoecized" a part of the Magnesian *chora*.⁶⁴ In North Magnesia the city of Homolion and perhaps one or two other cities remained independent.⁶⁵ The *koinon* of the Magnesians consisted of only a few cities. The hegemonial power of Demetrias was so dominant that Strabo wrote, "it commanded the pass of Tempe because both Pelion and Ossa were under its control" (9.4.15 and 9.5.15).⁶⁶ However, that was the situation of the second century. The political experiment of the fourth-century Boeotian Thebans, a *koinon* arranged around a hegemonial city, was apparently unique at the

⁶³Their number is fairly certain but, as remarked above, n. 4, we do not know according to what principle they were elected. For fourth-century Boeotia there is no precise testimony on the numerical implementation of the constitution. For this period the existence of *mere*, "sections" (n. 17) or "units" (Buckler 23–24), is not attested.

⁶⁴Strabo 9.5.15; Plut. *Demetr.* 53.7; *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Demetrias.

⁶⁵Homolion an independent Magnesian city: R. Herzog and G. Klaffenbach, "Asylie-urkunden aus Kos," *AbhBerl* 1952 Heft 1, inscription no. 5A (at 13–15), line 18 (Ὁμο[λιέων]; 242 B.C.), and *SEG* 31.576 (second century). Meliboea was perhaps independent too.

⁶⁶A manuscript of M. Holleaux on the *koinon* of the Magnesians was never published: see his *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* 1, ed. L. Robert (Paris 1938) 247, n. 1.

time. It is true that the citizens of the dependent cities were subjects of Thebes, but they were full participants in the Boeotian army and in the popular Boeotian assembly, the *damos*. The Theban-led Boeotian League can be classified amongst the interesting political experiments which the Greeks attempted. If harsh on its aristocrats and oligarchic factions and on local pride, it worked effectively as a regional democracy. Eventually the Thebans took a great risk in trying to thwart Macedonian expansion, and they lost. The decision to resist King Philip (338) and his son King Alexander (335) became their undoing. First their power was cut short by Philip;⁶⁷ three years later Alexander destroyed the city. After it had been rebuilt by Cassander in 316 it never regained the hegemony it had exercised over Boeotia in the decades before the battle of Chaironeia. In the Boeotian League of Hellenistic times Thebes was just one among the many Boeotian *poleis*.

III CONCLUSION

Finally, a last question is to be answered. It is agreed that in the fourth century the Thebans extended the vote to the other Boeotians in the *damos*. It has further been remarked that the hegemony which the Thebans exercised over the Boeotians was not too strict provided that the latter were prepared to submit to the Theban leadership.⁶⁸ If, nonetheless, Thebes was the *hegemon* for the Boeotians, the question remains, which constitutional body or college was invested with this hegemonial power? We have seen that the concept of hegemony cannot be brushed aside as irrelevant and insignificant. The "hegemony" of the Thebans was real and strong, and it had been gained through their military and political initiative in the coup of 379/8 and through their sustained military actions and pressures in the subsequent Boeotian War (379/8–371). We have seen that for the "peri-oecic" communities now following the Theban lead a political existence as independent cities was no longer possible:⁶⁹ they were not, for instance, present at the peace conference of 371 in Sparta. We have also seen that for the Thebans themselves a political existence in the Greek world is amply

⁶⁷ After the battle of Chaironeia Philip effected radical changes in Boeotia. To begin with, he gave Oropos back to the Athenians: Paus. 1.34.1. The *poleis* of Plataeae, Thespieae, and Orchomenos were probably restored: see J. R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism* (London 1976) 201. Thus Thebes lost an important part of its own territory (of the land it had comprised since 364) and a considerable part of its "syntelic" possessions. This note concerns the years 338–335.

⁶⁸ The fate of opponents, be they aristocrats or cities, was severe. The histories of Plataeae, Thespieae, and Orchomenos, and of their exiles illustrate the point, although it should be kept in mind that the Thespians were not treated quite so harshly as the Plataeans in 373 and that initially (ca 370) great restraint was exercised at Orchomenos.

⁶⁹ In the Roman period they had the status of *municipia*, a word with the same semantic content as *synteleia*, *munus* equalling *telos*.

attested in the historiographical and epigraphical sources of the period. But where exactly was their "hegemony" rooted *formally*? The answer is probably, in the college of "boeotarchs" (and in some other governmental bodies and committees). Considering the lasting Theban leadership, I believe that "hegemony" may have meant that the high officials of the fourth-century Boeotian *koinon* were all of them Thebans, including the "boeotarchs," in the same way as in the fifth century the right to conduct the affairs of the Athenian Empire was reserved for the Athenian officials. Unfortunately, on present evidence this issue cannot be decided *contra*⁷⁰ or *pro*.⁷¹

The main task of this article was to define the nature of the superiority of the Theban *chora* and its citizens with respect to the surrounding Boeotian cities and their citizens. I have argued that the origin of Theban power is to be found in its exercising a "hegemony" over Boeotia, but that this was not an absolute leadership because of the full participation of all the Boeotians in voting and fighting.

For two centuries the centrally located city of Thebes⁷² had been the initiator of the unification of "the Boeotians."⁷³ Taking into consideration that the Thebans were permanently deprived of their hegemony in 338 and that they were extinct between 335 and 316, they were the ones who had laid the foundations of the successful unification of the country as it ultimately found expression in the Boeotian League of the Hellenistic period. Hardly ever were the *poleis* of Boeotia degraded to "demes" or to *komai*,⁷⁴ not even in the fourth century.⁷⁵

⁷⁰In the fifth century there had been eleven "boeotarchs." The proposal of Busolt and Swoboda 1429 that in the fourth century the Orchomenian and Thespian four (two plus two) were eliminated, that of the remaining seven four were Thebans, and that a further three were contributed by the small cities of Boeotia, was followed by Roesch, *Thespies* 46, and "Un Décret inédit" 50, and by Buckler 23.

⁷¹Personally, I wonder what else "hegemony" can mean but precluding the rest of Boeotia from active leadership. The hypothesis that in the fourth century all the "boeotarchs" were Thebans may be worth testing; cf. Larsen 176. To my knowledge "boeotarchs" from Boeotian cities other than Thebes are not on record for the period 379/8–338. *SEG* 25.553, a proxeny decree which mentions a "boeotarch" from Thespieae (line 14) and which was dated to the mid-fourth century when it was found (*Deltion* 19 [1964] *Chronika* 200–201), probably belongs to the years after 338 for it opens with the words ἔδοξε τοῖς κοινοῖς Βοιωτῶν instead of ἔδοξε τοῖς δῆμοις; it can also be argued that in proxeny decrees of the Theban hegemony the "boeotarchs" were listed without the name of their cities; see Roesch, *Études* 271–272, cf. Knoepfler 379.

⁷²Heraclid. Cr. 1.12: "Thebes . . . the city lies in the middle of the land of the Boeotians."

⁷³For a history of the word "Boeotians" see S. C. Bakhuizen, "The Ethnos of the Boeotians," in Beister and Buckler 65–72.

⁷⁴An exception: Mykalessos, which was a *polis* in the fifth century (Thuc. 7.29.3, 29.5, 30.2), was a village, *kome*, in the Hellenistic period (Strabo 9.2.11, 14).

⁷⁵*Poleis*, fourth century: Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3; Diod. 15.38.4, 51.3; Paus. 9.13.2.

APPENDIX I THEBAE CORSIAE (PLINY HN 4.8)

In 1969 Professor Fossey made a number of pertinent remarks about the Boeotian paragraph in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, in which cities, towns, villages, springs, and mountains of the country are listed (4.25–26).⁷⁶ Naturally, Pliny mentions Thebes, "Boeotian Thebes" as he calls it, "a place not second in renown to Athens" (*nec cedentes Athenis claritate quae cognominantur Boeotiae Thebae*). There were many places called Thebe or Thebae in the ancient Greek world. In book 4.29 for instance Pliny refers to "Thessalian Thebes," *Thebae Thessalae*, which is also known as Phthiotic Thebes. But, surprisingly, a second Boeotian Thebes turns up in another Pliny paragraph (4.8). Let us look carefully at the context in which that other Thebes is found: "Close to the Aetolians live the Locrians; they are called Ozolian" (*proximi Aetolis Locri cognominantur Ozolae*). This is the second time that Pliny uses the word *cognominare* before introducing an epithet. He does likewise for the Epicnemidian Locrians (4.27, *Locri deinde Epicnemidii cognominantur*).

Pliny arranged his description of Greece in the manner of a *peripλους*. He moved eastward along the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulf; then he just touched on Boeotia, before turning in south-western direction in order to discuss the Peloponnesos. Here he refers to "the Sea of Boeotia," *mare Boeotiae*:

... and then, close to Mt Helicon, in the innermost part of the Gulf, the waters lap a corner of Boeotia with the towns of Siphae and of Thebes which is called Corsian; a third town in the area of this Boeotian Sea is Pagae ...

... *deinde in intimo sinu angulus Boeotiae adluitur cum oppidis Siphis, Thebis quae Corsiae cognominatae sunt* [again *cognominare*] *iuxta Heliconem montem, tertium ab hoc mari Boeotiae oppidum Pagae* ... (4.8)

In Pliny's words there existed not only a Thessalian Thebes and a Boeotian Thebes but another Thebes with the epithet "Corsian." Yet his haste in collecting toponymical information misguided him here. He was so intent on distinguishing one Thebes from another—to that end he used the word *cognominare* and distinctive appellations—that inadvertently he put a mention of "Theban Corsiae" on one of his annotation slips in the opposite order of "Corsian Thebes," and by doing so he gave life to a place which in reality never existed. Corsian Thebes is a mirage, as will be generally admitted. But it is not necessary to discard Pliny's remark straightaway, for in itself it contains a valuable piece of information. Corsiae or Chorsiae, as seen above, was a small town in south-western Boeotia; today the

⁷⁶J. M. Fossey, "Notes on the Text of Pliny's *Natural History*," *Euphrosyne* NS 3 (1969) 215–223 (= *Papers in Boiotian Topography and History* [Amsterdam 1990] 3–11).

site is called the Kastro of Khostia.⁷⁷ In two ancient texts the town is referred to as a *polis* (see above, 316), precisely during the forty-year period between 379/8 and 338. Pliny must have read somewhere that C(h)orsiae was Theban, in the same sense as Hyria was said by Strabo (9.2.12) to have been Theban. In the Hellenistic period the cities and towns of south-west Boeotia were all of them independent and could not have been described as Theban. The designation of C(h)orsiae as Theban must belong to the Classical period.

APPENDIX II WAS SYNTELEIA A WORD FOR "CONFEDERACY"?

There are passages in Greek authors of Roman times, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Pausanias for instance, where it might appear that *synteleia* approached the meaning of "confederacy," but on close inspection it becomes clear that the word cannot be stretched to that translation and interpretation. I would draw the line at the meaning of "(administrative) district." Some relevant occurrences of the word in various periods will now be examined.

(1) King Minos and King Rhadamanthys unified Crete: Diod. 5.80.3, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν ἰσχύσαντας ὑπὸ μίαν ἀγαγεῖν συντέλειαν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ("... that Minos, Rhadamanthys, and their men became powerful and that they brought the tribes of the island under one [μίαν] association [of tribes which acquitted themselves of the offices due to the Kings]"). *Synteleia* indicates that now the tribes of the island bowed in obedience to the will of the sovereigns, the Kings. The unification is expressed by μίαν.

(2) In the middle of the fifth century the hellenized Sicel leader Douketios made an attempt at uniting the Sicels of Central Sicily into a local kingdom. Diodorus reports (11.88.6): τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας τὰς ὁμοεθνεῖς πλὴν τῆς Ὑβλας εἰς μίαν καὶ κοινὴν ἤγαγε συντέλειαν ("all the towns that shared the ethnic identity with the exception of Hybla he brought under one [μίαν] common [κοινὴν] association [of towns which acquitted themselves of the duties with respect to the king]"). *Synteleia* indicates that now the Sicel towns bowed to the will of their sovereign, King Douketios of the Sicels. The unification is expressed by μίαν and by κοινήν. For Boeotia the language in Diodorus is similar (15.50.4): Θηβαῖοι ... τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἄγοντες συντέλειαν ... ("the Thebans, who were trying to bring the Boeotians under one [μίαν] association [of Boeotians who acquitted themselves of their duties together with the Thebans]"). *Synteleia* indicates that now the Boeotians followed

⁷⁷See P. Roesch, "Korseia, Chorsiai et la III^e Guerre sacrée," *Cahiers d'Histoire* 15 (1970) 374-376.

the wishes of the suzerain city, Thebes. The unification of the country is expressed by *μίαν*.⁷⁸

(3) Ca 459 the Aeginetans were coerced to accept the hegemony of the Athenians: Diod. 11.78.4, *ἡναγκάσθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συντέλειαν καταταχθῆναι* ("they were unwillingly classified [*κατατάττεσθαι*] together with those who carried out their duties in accordance with the leadership of the Athenians"). *Synteleia* indicates that Athens was a hegemonial city and that a number of cities followed its lead. Compare the expression *τὴν Ἀθηναίων συντέλειαν* with the words *τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων συντέλειαν* (Diod. 15.38.3, cf. 4, and 15.50.4). In my view the word does not connote "federalism," though the notion of dependence is present.⁷⁹

(4) Shortly before the outbreak of the Achaean War the Roman pro-praetor Metellus (Macedonicus) dispatched envoys to the Achaeans: Paus. 7.15.2, *ἀφιέναι κελεύων σφᾶς συντελείας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πόλεις ἄλλας ὁπόσας εἴρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων* ("urging the Achaeans to discharge the Lacedaemonians and other cities mentioned by the Romans from the duty of associating with them"). *Synteleia* here indicates that Sparta and other cities had complied with an Achaean leadership. In the same way the Elean city of Lasion was united with the Arcadians (fourth century): Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.12, *ἐν ... τῷ παρόντι συντελοῦντα εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν*.

(5) An interesting example of a political alliance is the "*synteleia* of Patrae," *Πατρέϊς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τούτων συντελικόν*, at Polyb. 38.16.4 (146; the "syntelic" towns of Patrae were the three Achaean communities of Dyme, Pharae, and Tritaea, cf. Polyb. 4.60.4 [219] and 5.94.1 [217; with F. W. Walbank's *Commentary*], *τῆς συντελείας τῆς Πατρικῆς*).⁸⁰ In 219 the four cities "had come to an agreement among themselves to stop contributing the federal *eisphorai* to the Achaeans" (*συνεφρόνησαν ἀλλήλοις εἰς τὸ μὲν κοινὰς εἰσφορὰς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς μὴ τελεῖν*, Polyb. 4.60.4 and 9). The financial element is clearly present here.⁸¹

⁷⁸See also Diod. 15.38.3: *Θηβαίων ... τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων συντέλειαν ταπτόντων* ("... the Thebans who were putting all of Boeotia [*ἅπασαν*] under the *synteleia* of the Thebans"), the idea of unification not being inherent in *synteleia* but made explicit in *ἅπασαν*; Diod. 15.50.4: *ἐν τῇ καθ' αὐτοὺς μιᾷ συντελείᾳ*, also pertaining to the Boeotians and the Thebans: again "one" (*μιᾷ*).

⁷⁹The aspect of dependence is also present in Plut. *Phil.* 13.8: *οὐ συνετέλουν* (subject: "perioecic" settlements in the vicinity of Megalopolis; beginning of the second century), and *Compar. Phil. et Flam.* 1, "he [Philopoemen] detached the 'perioecic' dependencies" from Megalopolis (*ἀφείλετο τὴν περιοικίδα συντέλειαν*).

⁸⁰Thus *synteleia* received the meaning of "(administrative) district"; see, e.g., *OGIS* 565 (Roman Principate): the *koinon* of the Lycians honouring M. Aurelius Apollonius of Oinoanda for having been *archiphylax* *ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ* (a mountain) *συντελ[εία]*.

⁸¹See J. A. O. Larsen, "The Rights of Cities within the Achaean Confederacy," *CP* 66 (1971) 81–86, at 84–86; also F. W. Walbank, "Were there Greek Federal States?,"

(6) In the Athenian tribute lists of the fifth century a group of small Carian towns that were sometimes known collectively as the Chersonesians (of Loryma)—in a later age they were part of the Rhodian *peraiā*⁸²—was described as “*poleis* belonging in *synteleia* to the Chersonesians” (Χερρονεσίοις συντελεῖς ὅσαι: *ATL* 1, list 27 [of the year 428/7], column 3, lines 31–32). In that year some of the Carian communities (*χαῖδε τὸν πόλεον*), e.g., the Amians, paid separately instead of paying as invisible, contributive members of the Chersonesians.⁸³ Here we are dealing with payments of *phoros*, *telein* having its specific meaning of “paying.” The Athenian inscription does not justify the interpretation of “league,” but the definition of Harpokration s.v. *synteleis* applies: συντελεῖς· οἱ συνδαπανῶντες καὶ συνεισφέροντες· τὸ δὲ πρῶγμα συντέλεια καλεῖται (“‘joint contributors’: ‘those who defray expenses jointly,’ ‘those who pay their tax contributions jointly’; the system is called ‘paying jointly’ [*synteleia*]”).

Consequently, both financial-administrative and political contexts for the word *synteleia* can be found in the sources, but though the term may mean “district,” I have found no examples where it means a confederacy of cities or towns. The political texts reviewed here document the “syntelic” dependence on a king (Minos, Rhadamanthys, or Douketios), or on a central power such as the Athenians, the Thebans, the Arcadians, the Achaeans, or the city of Patrae.

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Scripta Classica Israelica 3 (1976–1977) 27–51, at 36–37 = *Selected Papers, Studies in Greek and Roman History and Historiography* (Cambridge 1985) 20–37, at 27.

⁸²For the Carian Chersonesos see P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (London 1954) 65–68, 96–97, two maps after the plates; towns apart from Loryma: Amos, Kastabos, Kyrnos, Syrna; there was also a region called Bybassos.

⁸³The towns paying together with Erythrae, the so-called Erythraean “syntely” (the term: *ATL* 1.272, 4.40, 121), hardly enrich the documentation; only one letter is preserved χ[συντελεῖς], *ATL* 1, list 22 (of the year 433/2), column 1, lines 48–49.