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NEWS

46I.0.01 Teiresias Supplements Online



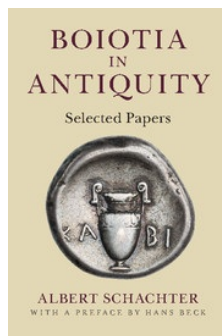
Teiresias has recently launched a new supplementary series, **Teiresias Supplements Online** (<http://teiresias-supplements.mcgill.ca/index>), an open access venue for the publication of high-end research in Classical Studies. The mission of the series is to foster research on Central Greece and its core region Boiotia. At the same time, the supplements have a wider geographical range, branching out into the history and culture of the Greek mainland and the Peloponnese, from the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity.

Publications appear as peer-reviewed monographs or edited volumes, with extensive coverage of scholarship in Ancient History, Classical Philology, Archaeology, and Epigraphy. The series also invites submissions in related special disciplines such as, for instance, Historical Topography, Onomastics, Prosopography, or Environmental History. The journal *Teiresias* continues to be distributed free of charge ever since its inception and, since 1991, has also been made available electronically. **Teiresias Supplements Online** is faithful to this spirit of knowledge advancement. The series makes a bold, pioneering move in the publication of

specialized Humanities research. Maintaining the highest standard of peer-review, the supplement series reduces price barriers and delays in the production process, while allowing authors to maintain copyright over their intellectual output thanks to a CC-BY-NC license. This includes the upload of contributions to academic platforms such as academia.edu, if authors wish to do so. As open access supplements, the series embraces a sustainable publishing model that benefits researchers and their multiple audiences.

Teiresias Supplements Online now welcomes submissions of proposals. It offers a swift two-step reviewing process. A detailed proposal will be examined in the first instance by the international advisory board, and, if successful, the editors will welcome the submission of the whole manuscript for peer-reviewing. All inquiries and submissions should be directed to the series editors, Hans Beck (hans.beck[at]mcgill.ca) and Fabienne Marchand (fabienne.marchand[at]unifr.ch).

461.0.02 **Boiotia in Antiquity**



Our former editor Albert Schachter has recently published a selection of his articles in a book entitled *Boiotia in Antiquity* (CUP 2016, see 461.01.07), with a preface by Hans Beck.

<http://www.cambridge.org/ch/academic/subjects/classical-studies/ancient-history/boiotia-antiquity-selected-papers?format=HB>

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Le nouveau musée de Thèbes a été inauguré le 7 juin 2016 après plusieurs années de travaux. Ces derniers ont été lancés par M. Vassilis Aravantinos. Ils ont été continués et enfin achevés par l'actuelle directrice de l'Ephorie de Béotie, Mme Alexandra Charami, qui a également participé à la préparation de l'étude muséologique du nouveau musée après avoir travaillé sur celle du musée de Schimatari qui a ouvert ses portes en 2006. L'Ephorie des antiquités byzantines de Chalcis – sous la direction de Mme Ch. Koilakou, puis de Mme Eug. Gerousi et enfin de Mme P. Kalamara – a collaboré avec l'Ephorie des antiquités préhistoriques et classiques à la nouvelle exposition. Le nouveau musée a été construit selon les plans de l'architecte M. Souvatzidis et a bénéficié de financements de l'Etat grec et de l'Union Européenne.

Grâce à ce projet les surfaces d'exposition ont pu être agrandies, et plusieurs nouvelles salles ont été ajoutées à celles de l'ancien bâtiment qui a été incorporé dans le nouveau musée (fig. 1).

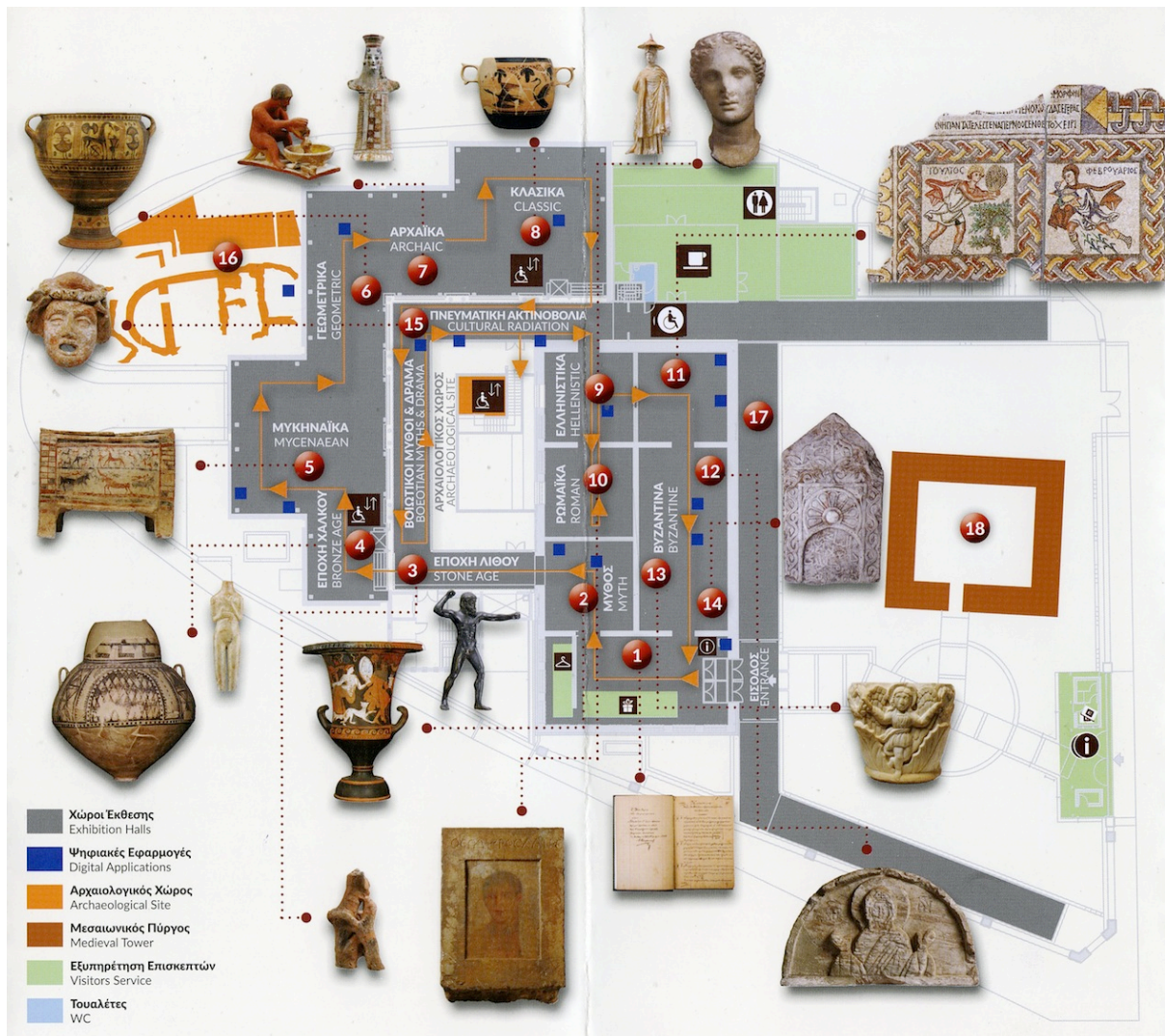


Figure 1: plan du nouveau Musée de Thèbes

Le site archéologique datant de l'Age du Bronze mis au jour pendant les travaux de construction du nouveau musée a été inclus dans la nouvelle muséographie (fig. 2).



Figure 2: le site de l'Age de Bronze mis au jour lors des travaux et intégré à l'exposition

En plus de la nouvelle exposition qui suit un ordre chronologique, trois salles sont dédiées à des aspects importants de la civilisation béotienne à savoir la mythologie, le théâtre et le rayonnement culturel. L'exposition chronologique commence avec le Paléolithique, et se poursuit avec l'Age du Bronze. L'un des points forts de la nouvelle exposition est évidemment la salle consacrée à l'époque mycénienne (fig. 3), dans laquelle sont exposées les découvertes provenant des palais mycéniens. Plusieurs objets sont présentés au public pour la première fois, notamment des peintures murales provenant de la Cadmée, d'Orchomène et de Gla.



Figure 3: la salle mycénienne

L'exposition se poursuit avec la salle consacrée à l'époque géométrique et à ses riches trouvailles provenant surtout des nécropoles de Thèbes. Suivent des objets de l'époque archaïque, probablement l'époque la plus importante pour l'art béotien (fig. 4). Dans cette section sont présentées les différents types des dédicaces provenant du sanctuaire d'Apollon au Ptoion, notamment des *kouroi*, des bases d'offrandes inscrites et des objets en bronze. Des découvertes récentes y sont également présentées, telle la petite colonne découverte à Thèbes par V. Aravantinos portant la dédicace des Thébains après la guerre contre les Athéniens en 506 av. J.-C. et les trois tablettes en bronze inscrites mises au jour au même endroit qui fournissent de nouvelles informations relatives à l'histoire de Thèbes à la fin du VIe s. av. J.-C. Sont exposés pour la première fois plusieurs artefacts provenant de la très riche nécropole d'Akraiphia fouillée par Mme A. Andreiomenou, et de la nécropole de Rhitsona, qui elle était déjà présentée dans l'ancien musée.



Figure 4: la salle consacrée à l'époque archaïque

Plusieurs monuments célèbres de l'époque classique sont exposés, comme l'épigramme en l'honneur de Xénokratès, Théopompos et Mnasilaos, ainsi que les stèles gravées représentant des soldats provenant de Tanagra et de Thèbes. On a également l'opportunité d'examiner pour la première fois d'autres monuments très importants comme la base de statue portant la signature de Praxitèle provenant de Thespies, trois des stèles du *polyandreion* de Thespies, et le nouveau décret en bronze avec la mention d'un béotarque récemment publié par V. Aravantinos. Une autre série d'objets présentés pour la première fois provient des nécropoles de Thèbes fouillées pendant les années 1990. Il s'agit de statuettes et des vases qui présentent parfois des types nouveaux.

L'époque hellénistique est représentée par plusieurs inscriptions comme l'épigramme en l'honneur d'Eugnotos d'Akraiphia, tombé lors d'une bataille contre un roi de Macédoine, le décret en l'honneur des juges de Thespies envoyés à Delphes et l'*apologia* des comptes de l'hipparque Pompidas. Dans la même unité sont également présentés des objets provenant des cimetières de Thèbes et Tanagra.

La salle dédiée à l'époque impériale met en évidence plusieurs sculptures et inscriptions présentées pour la première au public. Parmi eux se distingue le cippe peint récemment mis au jour à Thèbes orné du portrait de Théodoros.

Les dernières salles sont dédiées aux époques paléochrétienne, byzantine et ottomane, dans lesquelles sont présentés des sculptures byzantines de Thèbes, des fragments des peintures byzantines provenant des églises fouillées par l'Ephorie, de même que des objets témoignant des différentes occupations de la Béotie par les Francs et les Ottomans.

L'une des sections les plus intéressantes du nouveau musée est sa cour, au cœur de laquelle la tour Saint-Omer – admirablement restaurée par l'ancienne éphorie des antiquités byzantines de

Chalcis – accueille des panneaux consacrés à l’histoire de la Thèbes médiévale et franque (fig. 5). Dans les hangars sont exposées des sculptures et stèles provenant de différentes cités de Béotie comme Thespies, Thisbé, Orchomène et Haliarte. Parmi elles la base des Muses découverte au Val des Muses et reconstruite pour la première fois, et une lettre de l’Empereur Hadrien à propos de travaux d’endiguement à Coronée. Au centre de la cour sont présentés pour la première fois au public des lions funéraires provenant de Thèbes et de Thespies récemment restaurés.

Tous les objets présentés dans la nouvelle exposition ne peuvent évidemment être énumérés ici. Le nouveau musée est innovateur à plusieurs égards. Il s’agit d’un musée diachronique qui couvre environ 4’000 ans d’histoire de la Béotie. Il figure parmi les rares musées en Grèce à présenter toutes les périodes du Paléolithique à l’époque ottomane. Un autre aspect exceptionnel du nouveau musée est la présentation pour la première fois au public d’objets jusqu’ici préservés dans les dépôts ou de matériel provenant des fouilles récentes effectuées par l’Ephorie. Nous espérons que le nouveau musée illustrera l’intérêt de l’archéologie béotienne et encouragera de nouvelles recherches sur l’archéologie et l’histoire de cette région.



Figure 5: vue aérienne du nouveau musée et de la cour

WORK IN PROGRESS

461.0.04 Christel Müller (Paris Ouest), Conference announcement: “La Béotie de l’archaïsme à l’époque romaine: frontières, territoires, paysages” – “Boeotia from the Archaic to the Roman period: borders, territories, landscapes”, 9-10 December 2016. Organizers: C. Müller, T. Lucas & A.-C. Panissié

Depuis plusieurs dizaines d’années déjà, la Béotie antique est l’objet d’une activité scientifique importante. L’épigraphie, en particulier, s’est trouvée au centre des préoccupations des chercheurs. En parallèle, les recherches archéologiques menées depuis de nombreuses années sous la forme de *surveys* se sont poursuivies et on a désormais une vue d’ensemble remarquablement précise du territoire béotien et de son occupation. La constitution d’une identité collective au sein du *koinon* a donné lieu, dans le cadre des recherches sur l’ethnicité, à des publications novatrices portant avant tout sur l’époque archaïque. Plus largement, le phénomène fédéral en Grèce a fait l’objet de plusieurs ouvrages ou articles récents qui accordent, comme on s’y attend, une place de choix à la Béotie. Dernier signe de cette vitalité

des études béotiennes, ces dernières années ont vu la mise en place de plusieurs projets destinés à actualiser des fouilles ou des corpus anciens : on doit ainsi mentionner la réfection des *Inscriptiones Graecae VII*, ou encore différentes missions de relevés topographiques.

Conçu comme un point de convergence de ces recherches, le présent colloque adopte une approche susceptible de favoriser le croisement entre les sources disponibles, qu'elles soient matérielles ou textuelles. Au centre de cette approche se trouvent les notions, résolument spatiales, de territoires, de frontières et de paysages, dont l'articulation devrait permettre d'appréhender l'espace béotien en tant qu'il est l'objet d'une appropriation politique, religieuse ou économique, et ce en combinant plusieurs échelles, des cités au *koinon* dans son ensemble. Aux deux premiers termes, « territoires » et « frontières », qui renvoient à une historiographie plus classique, il a paru important d'ajouter celle de « paysage », traduction française du concept anglo-saxon de *landscape*, concept complexe, mais essentiel depuis le *spatial turn* des années 1980.

Notre objet sera donc de poursuivre l'étude du lien entre l'histoire des paysages et les notions d'ethnicité et d'identité en nous interrogeant sur la façon dont les *landscapes* rendent possible la construction d'une identité, au-delà des questions institutionnelles *stricto sensu*. L'interrogation portera ainsi non seulement sur les rapports traditionnellement admis entre pouvoir et territoire, mais aussi et surtout sur la dimension spatiale de l'ethnicité et la dimension identitaire du paysage, dans une perspective qui oscillera entre le local et le régional.

Programme provisoire

9 décembre

9h-9h30 Accueil des participants

9h30-10h *Introduction*, T. Lucas & A.-C. Panissié (doctorants Paris Ouest)

10h-13h: **Session 1 – présidence: Christel Müller** (Professeure, Paris Ouest)

- *Pausanias et les paysages béotiens*, D. Knoepfler (Professeur Collège de France)
- *Regards croisés sur Chéronée*, C. Chandezon (Professeurr, Université Paul Valéry)
- *Survey and Landscape: the case of Tanagra*, J. Bintliff (Professeur, Leiden)
- *Les paysages funéraires béotiens: régionalismes et influences*, F. Marchand (Professeure, Fribourg)

13h-14h30: déjeuner

14h30-17h30: **Session 2 – présidence: Roland Etienne** (Professeur émérite, Paris I)

- *Le paysage religieux du Ptoion: mise au point et perspectives*, A.-C. Panissié (doctorante Paris Ouest)
- *The epigraphy-scape of Lebadeia sanctuary*, R. Pitt (British School at Athens)
- *Le paysage de la guerre en Béotie*, Y. Kalliontzis (Dr, Ecole française d'Athènes)
- *La frontière entre Attique et Béotie: un paysage entre deux identités*, T. Lucas (doctorant, Paris I-Paris Ouest)

10 décembre

9h30-12h30: **Session 3 – présidence: Denis Knoepfler** (Professeur, Collège de France)

- *Le territoire numismatique de la Béotie entre niveau local et niveau régional*, C. Grandjean (Professeure, Tours)
- *titre à définir*, N. Papazarkadas (Professeur, Berkeley)
- *Mégare, la Mégaride et la Béotie*, A. Robu (Dr., Fribourg)
- *Les Béotiens dans le paysage épigraphique de Delphes*, D. Mulliez (Professeurr, Paris IV)

Conclusion: Christel Müller

461.0.05 Yannis Kalliontzis, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Central Boiotia*

This project aims to prepare a new edition of the corpus of inscriptions from central Boeotia, comprising the cities of Thebes, Plataea, Thisbe, Coronea, Haliartos, Lebadeia, and the port towns of Anthedon, Siphai and Chorsiai. The old corpus edited by W. Dittenberger and published in 1892 in the series of *Inscriptiones Graecae* Berlin is now obsolete due to the large number of inscriptions discovered after this date as well as a wealth of more recent studies on the epigraphy and history of this region.

The number of Boeotian inscriptions has increased from nearly 4000 in Dittenberger's corpus to around 10,000 today. It should be noted that the central region of Boeotia – and in particular the city of Thebes – is one of the most researched and epigraphically rich areas in Central Greece. This area also includes the three major federal sanctuaries of Boeotia, namely the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos near Haliartos, and the Alalkomeneion and the Itonion of Coronea. Most of the inscriptions discovered after 1892 are published in various periodicals, often difficult to access and written in several languages. The epigraphic bibliography on central Boeotia is disparate, a fact that discourages the writing of synthetic works on various aspects of the history of this region.

The new edition will include the corpus of the great city of Thebes, as well as Plataea, Thisbe, Coronea, Haliartos, Lebadeia and smaller cities such as Anthedon, Chorsiai and Siphai. The corpus of inscriptions from central Boeotia will include a systematic presentation of philological and epigraphic sources on the region, and will be accompanied by a database containing a catalogue of the inscriptions posted and updated online, allowing researchers working in the area access to modern tools for the study of this rich and varied epigraphic material. A corpus of this region containing numerous unpublished inscriptions will prove a major contribution to the history of Boeotia and in particular the history of the Boeotian confederacy from the archaic period until its dissolution in 171 BC.

This project will be under the auspices of two institutions that have long traditions in the study of epigraphy and especially that of central Greece and Boeotia: the *Inscriptiones Graecae* of the Berlin Academy, and the French School at Athens. The new edition of the corpus of Boeotia is a priority for *Inscriptiones Graecae* but until now it has not been part of their regular scientific program; it will form a major addition to its activities in Central Greece.

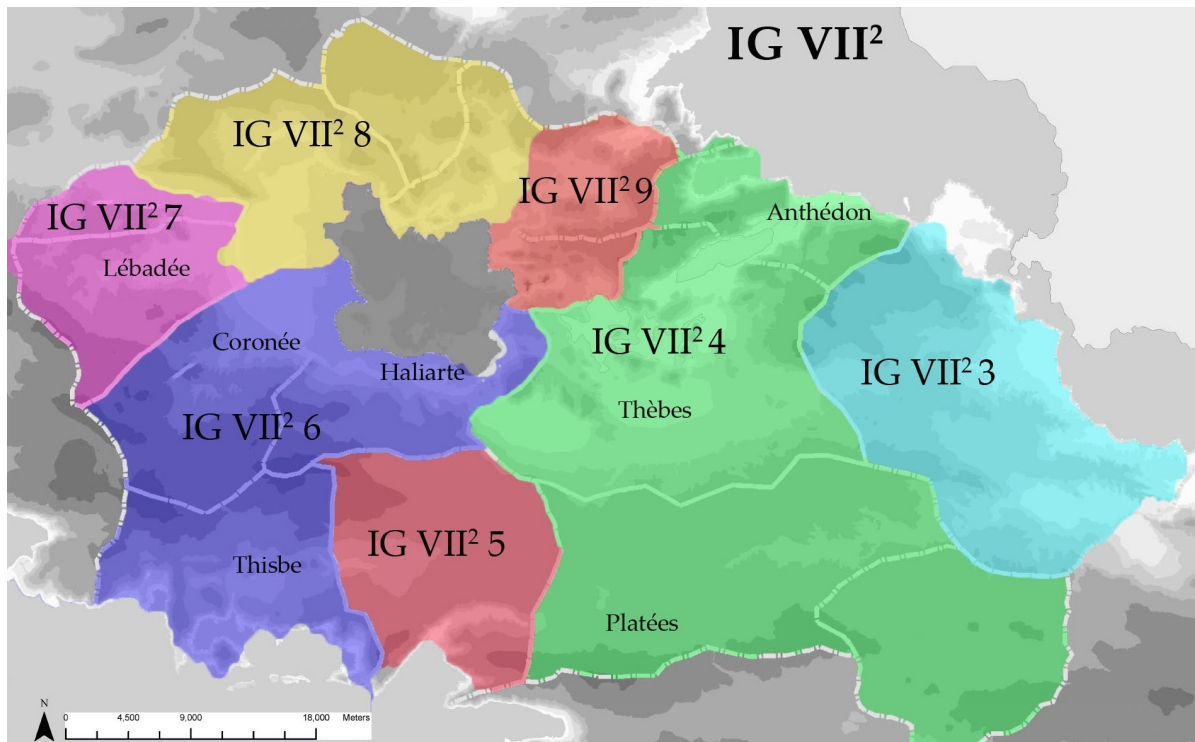


Figure 6: The fascicles of the new edition of the corpus of Boeotian inscriptions [map adapted from E. Farinetti, *Boiotian Landscapes* (2011)].

461.0.06 Thierry Lucas (Université Paris 1) *L'organisation militaire de la Confédération béotienne du V^e au II^e siècle av. J.-C.* (supervisors: Profs. Francis Prost and Christel Müller)

My PhD thesis, which has started this year, is focused on the military organization of the Boeotian League between the 5th and the 2nd centuries B.C. As this research has just begun, only an outline is offered here. Its aim is to explore all aspects of the Boeotian military, including its social, political and spatial dimensions. For this purpose, a long-term approach is necessary, covering all three main moments of the Boeotian *koinon*: the Classical League, the period of the Theban hegemony, and the Hellenistic *koinon*. For the first period, the evidence is mainly historical, with the crucial record of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, as well as Thucydides and Xenophon. For the Theban hegemony, our evidence is patchier. The main issues revolve around the central figure of Epameinondas and the legend that surrounded him. Although historical records for the Hellenistic period are scarce, research will benefit from extensive epigraphic data from different Boeotian cities, which will provide direct evidence of the military organization of the *koinon*. D. Knoepfler's research on the institutions of the Hellenistic *koinon* has demonstrated that each of the seven territorial districts provided a boiotarch. Nevertheless the full extent of the military organization of the Hellenistic League is yet to be fully explored, and I intend to carry out this research in a substantial chapter of my PhD thesis. When needed, the Archaic League and the religious *koinon* of Roman times will be taken into consideration, but they will not be central to the research, which will remain focused on the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

All sources available will be used to complete this study: historical records of course, but also epigraphic evidence. A spatial approach that could account for the different scales implied in the analysis, the *koinon*, the sub-regions or federal districts, and the various *poleis* of Boeotia, will also be offered. Thanks to these various types of documents, the deep connections of the military with various topics such as demography, religion, society and politics of the *koinon* will be fully investigated. Another substantial chapter will deal with archaeological data and the military architecture of Boeotia, following important works by J. Fossey on the defensive network of Boeotia. There will also be discussed a recent hypothesis arguing that some places traditionally attributed to Athens (Eleutherai and Aigosthena) could be in fact understood as Boeotian fortifications from Epameinondas' time. More generally, the idea of a Boeotian fortification "style" needs to be investigated and questioned, and, in order to avoid the interpretations based on superficial comparisons that have prevailed to this date, technical analysis based on a clearly defined method will need to be applied.

This interdisciplinary approach should allow an insight into the importance of the military domain in the organization of the *koinon* and of the *poleis* of Boeotia, and in their political strategies and social life, even in times of peace.

461.0.07 Anne-Charlotte Panissié (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense) *A contribution to the Religious Institutions of Boeotia from the Archaic to the Roman period* (supervisor: Prof. Christel Müller, UMR 7041 – ArScAn, Université).

It has become a truism to say that Boeotia is long known for its political model: the *koina* (or Boeotian Confederacies) that extended from the 6th century B.C. down to the Roman period, which were the one of the first and most complete examples of a federal state in the Ancient Greek World. If Boeotia is still at the core of political studies as we can see with the recent publications on federalism¹ and ethnicity² that have brought a renewal on that topic in the last

¹ Among the most recently published works, see: MACKIL, Emily Maureen, *Creating a common polity: religion, economy, and politics in the making of the Greek koinon*, Berkeley, 2013; FUNKE Peter and HAAKE Matthias (éds.), *Greek federal states and their sanctuaries: identity and integration*, Stuttgart, 2013; BECK, Hans, and FUNKE, Peter eds. *Federalism in Greek antiquity*, Cambridge, 2015. And on the Boeotian districts: KNOEPFLER,

decade, there is clearly a lack in the Boeotian bibliography and historiography concerning its religious system, except for one major exception: A. Schachter's vast opus on Boeotian cults. One cannot but be surprised by this statement, given that the Boeotian territory was marked out with many cult places, had one of the most important density of oracular sanctuaries in the Greek world, counted three federal sanctuaries and had had such a long and lively cultic tradition that the dissolution of the Hellenistic *koinon* by Rome (171 B.C.) could not ruin it in its entirety. Moreover, the abundance of epigraphic,³ archaeological⁴ and literary sources cannot be the reason for such an obvious lack of interest.

Considering all these aspects, I decided to concentrate for my PhD on this lacuna, working both on religion, my favourite field for years, and Boeotia which I had become in addition very familiar with after three epigraphical and topographical missions carried out there (2012-2015), hence the idea of a «contribution to the Religious Institutions of Boeotia, from the Archaic to the Roman period».

If Albert Schachter's monumental work⁵ must be of course the starting-point of any study on Boeotian religion, if this topic has also been worked on recently for its mythical aspects⁶ and even though the new questions on federalism and ethnicity have emphasised the role of religion in the ethnogenesis process of the *koina* and its perpetuation, reassessing its importance, it occurs nevertheless that, unlike what happens in the neighbouring regions,⁷ religion in Boeotia has barely ever been considered in a «pragmatical» way nor as a whole system, that is to say neither fully looked at in its own operating mode nor on the way this religious process has been working and evolving at different scales of the *koinon* – as part of the «Network studies»⁸– along the centuries.

It is precisely this gap I intend to fill, focusing first on the specificity, regarding the other fields, of Boeotian religious norms (which include studies of the *nomima*, *patria*, *hieroi nomoi* and all the «religious regulations» at both civic and federal levels) and the religious institutions that arose from them. Using mostly epigraphic sources, crossed with literary ones when it is possible, my contribution is mostly going to concentrate on the cultic agents, in order to build a catalogue of cult magistracies and charges at different scales, studying the evolution of the careers and their prosopography when this happens to be possible. The aim is then to put forward the connections and the articulations, or their absence, between the different levels of religious institutions that are at stake in the Boeotian *koinon*, from the Archaic period – though the scarcity of the sources makes it difficult to study – down to the Roman period, and investigate their evolution.

Denis, “La loi de Daitôndas, Les femmes de Thèbes et le collège des Béoarqueues au IV^e et au III^e siècles avant J.-C.” In *Presenza E Funzione Della Città Di Tebe Nella Cultura Greca. Atti Del Convegno Internazionale*, Urbino 7-9 luglio 1997, 345–66, Pisa, 2000.

² KÜHR, Angela, *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam: Polis und Ethnos im Spiegel thebanischer Gründungsmythen*, Stuttgart, 2006; LARSON, Stephanie L., *Tales of epic ancestry: Boiotian collective identity in the late archaic and early classical periods*, Stuttgart, 2007.

³ On the importance epigraphic discoveries in Boeotia over the past 20 years, cf. PAPA-ZARKADAS, Nikolaos, *The epigraphy and history of Boeotia: new finds, new prospects*, Leiden, 2014.

⁴ Many sanctuaries are being excavated nowadays, such as the Ismenion in Thebes between 2011-2014 (ASCSA, dir. A. Charami, P. Kalamara, K. Daly et S. Larson), the sanctuary of Poseidon in Onchestos by the University of Columbia since 2014 (dir. Pr. Mylonopoulos) or the renewal of the studies on Thespias: MÜLLER, Christel, «Les recherches françaises à Thespias et au Val des Muses», in A. Hurst et A. Schachter (eds.), *La montagne des Muses*, Genève, (1996), p. 171-183 and the topographical missions carried out there by the French School at Athens.

⁵ SCHACHTER, Albert, *Cults of Boiotia*, London, 1981-1994 (4 vol.). We shall not forget the surveys led within the frame of the «Boeotia Project» (dir. Prof. J. Bintliff).

⁶ See LARSON, Stephanie L., *Tales of epic ancestry: Boiotian collective identity in the late archaic and early classical periods*, Stuttgart, 2007 and KOWALZIG, Barbara, *Singing for the gods: performances of myth and ritual in archaic and classical Greece*, Oxford, 2007.

⁷ For Athens, see: HORSTER, Marietta, and Klöckner, Anja, (eds.) *Civic priests: cult personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic period to late Antiquity*, Berlin, 2012; ISMARD, Paulin, *La cité des réseaux: Athènes et ses associations, VI^e-I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.*, Paris, 2010; for Thessaly, see MILI, Maria, *Religion and society in ancient Thessaly*, Oxford, 2015.

⁸ MALKIN, Irad, CONSTANTAKOPOULOU Christy, and PANAGOPOULOU, Katerina, (eds.), *Greek and Roman networks in the Mediterranean*, London, 2009.

This article is based upon a dissertation that is currently in preparation at the University of Cologne in the framework of DFG Research Training Group 1878 ‘Archaeology of Pre-Modern Economies’, which is a joint project of the Archaeological Institutes of the University of Cologne and the University of Bonn (<http://www.wirtschaftsarchaeologie.de/>). The doctoral thesis is supervised by Prof. Dr. Michael Heinzelmann (University of Cologne), Prof. Dr. Martin Bentz (University of Bonn), and Prof. Dr. John Bintliff (University of Edinburgh) (working title: ‘Shaping regionality in complex economic systems. Late Hellenistic – Late Roman pottery production, distribution and consumption in Boeotia, Central Greece (150 BCE – 700 CE)’).

‘Same same but different’ - An introductory statement on approaching the Late Hellenistic-Late Roman (150 BCE – 700 CE) economies of Boeotia at the intra-regional level through ceramic production, distribution and consumption

This contribution is based upon a dissertation that is currently in preparation and thus literally ‘work-in-progress’. In this light, this short article should be seen as a statement illustrating and introducing some important lines of thought that are, from the perspective of the author, highly relevant for approaching ‘the’ ancient economy. While giant debates regarding the actual nature of the ancient economy generally, and often forced by necessity, focus on a broader geographical and theoretical level, the potential of analysing ancient economic ‘performance’ and ‘structures’ on a local/regional scale is aimed to be shown in this article. While it should be emphasized that the principle aim of this article is not on the interpretative side of the coin, the reader will be provided with some methodological issues and snapshots showing the potential of the approach for an extensively studied region like Boeotia.

The nature of the ancient economy, and the Roman economy in particular, is by tradition one of the giant debates in history and archaeology. On a higher theoretical level, schools of ‘formalists/modernists’ and ‘substantivists/primitivists’ argue whether the economy was driven by integrated market forces or if we should see self-sufficiency and the demand and actions of the state as the flywheel of the Roman economy, making the functioning of the ancient economy comparable or less comparable to modern economic systems. While archaeology, as well as ancient history and other related disciplines, certainly can contribute to debates regarding ancient ‘economising’, scholars have become more and more aware of the complexity of the nature of the ancient economy itself and the range of proxies we use for reconstructing changes or stability in economic systems, in particular. In the light of all this complexity, it is important to emphasize that ancient society, as well as the economy which is involved in many aspects of daily life in Roman society, should not be regarded as static entities; not on a yearly, seasonal or even daily basis. Society and the economy were continuously changing, requiring the input of energy, adapting to new circumstances, and essentially fluid, both in space and time (Jongman 2014, Poblome 2014). In analysing ancient economies in the mid- and long term, change, rather than stability, seems to be the norm.

While keeping the complex formation of the archaeological record in mind, a better understanding of this dynamic nature of Roman society and economy can be gained by turning towards the ‘performance’ of the Roman economy (e.g. production, consumption, input-output), complemented by an analysis of these aspects in the light of ‘structures such as institutions, technology, ecology, demography, and ideology’ (Morrisson 2012, 4). By taking this lead, this doctoral research wishes to map and evaluate this ‘performance’ through a detailed contextual analysis of the production, distribution, and consumption of material culture, and ceramics in particular, to shed light on the functioning of economic structures and dynamics at the (intra-)regional level, balancing the changes in everyday life documented through the rise and fall of towns and rural settlements with developments in local industry and trade. Through turning to these local and regional economic systems, instead of approaching the Roman economy as a whole, a proper understanding can be gained of how localities and regions should

be defined and how they worked from *within*, as societal dynamics and structures may diverge considerably, reflecting case-specific adaptations to particular circumstances (Terlouw 1996, Holt-Jensen 1999). Evaluating past activities in their own context is, therefore, crucial to get a better understanding of the complex dynamics that were influencing past actions on the very local scale and shaping intra-regional variation in time (Dodgshon 1998). In the last couple of decades, a realization or, let's say, appreciation of local and regional differences in the nature and functioning of ancient economic systems is clearly present in archaeological studies with a turn from 'analysing "the" economy' to 'analysing ancient economies', reflecting apparent complexity and variation in the ever increasing body of archaeological data (e.g. Reger 1994). Through not approaching this variation exclusively as the crow flies, but taking a more fluid theoretical stance, which is for instance argued for by Koder in his evaluation of Middle Byzantine regional networks in Asia Minor (2012), a better understanding of the historical geographical debate on how we should define 'local' and 'regional', as well as applying these terms to the archaeological record in the reconstruction of pre-modern economies, can be gained. In reconstructing local/regional economies the dynamics between cities and their hinterlands play a key role. While cities often provide a certain locally entangled and socially embedded infrastructure for the daily or periodic exchange of local, regional, and imported goods, these exchanges could also take place in their agricultural hinterlands and, as such, a 'simple' hierarchical relationship between city and hinterland should not be taken for granted (Bang 2008, de Ligt 1993). While arguing for a more contextual and dynamic approach to get a firmer grip on how complex adaptive systems, like the ancient economies, worked at the local/regional level, the region of Boeotia should be regarded as an excellent case-study, as the area has been studied intensively, following high methodological standards, by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project since 1978, through the method of intensive archaeological field survey (cf. Bintliff *et al.* 2007). Furthermore, the region has a rich account of epigraphical and historical sources, which offer important insights into the respective political and societal backgrounds of Boeotia and the cities and their hinterlands within this region (e.g. Papazarkadas 2014 for a recent volume and further references).

The Roman province of Achaea, including Boeotia, can be regarded as an unusual province in many respects. While studies of Roman Greece have traditionally been caught within the cultural-historical paradox of the fall of the 'gifted' Greeks and subsequent rule over the area by a 'lesser' Roman civilization, archaeologists have long struggled with defining the impact of Rome on daily life and broader societal dynamics in the mid- and long term. The rapid increase in the application of the method of intensive archaeological field survey in Greece since the 1970s, however, proved to generate invaluable data, which by necessity are to be understood from a broad spatial and chronological perspective, to gain a better understanding of the impact of Roman rule and the reconstruction of societal dynamics. In this light, the work carried out by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project in Central Greece since 1978 is exemplary in studying past activities across several ancient cities and sites in their hinterlands from prehistory to early modern times, and its contribution to the conceptual debate on creating meaning from such specific collections of material culture (e.g. Bintliff *et al.* 2007). By *inter alia* drawing on the data generated by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project, Susan Alcock's evaluation of Early Roman Imperial Greece, highlighted and discussed several aspects and changes the Roman province of Achaea saw from roughly 200 BCE to 200 CE (Alcock 1993). Exemplary, is her effort to recover the 'people without a history' in the countryside, which provides an ample basis and understanding of land use and agricultural practice. Interestingly, however, a degree of agricultural intensification that is often predicted and observed in other 'provincial' areas that have been incorporated into the Roman Empire seems to be lacking or is not that visible from an archaeological point of view for Early Roman Greece (Alcock 1993, 91). That Greece was also shaped and influenced by developments in the economy and the organisation of society that were operating at a Mediterranean level is clear, being well-illustrated by the arrival and presence of *negotiatores* (Roman 'men of business') in more fertile areas, which is clearly a major disruption (Müller 2002). A more detailed look at the archaeological evidence, however, suggests a more nuanced picture in which individual regions, like Boeotia and Aetolia, seem to

take different demographic and economic trajectories on the mid- and long term, and Roman period in more detail (Bintliff 1997). As is also argued by Izdebski, Bonifay and Lund, on the basis of patterns in ceramic production and circulation in coastal and inland regions of Late Roman Anatolia, Late Roman Africa, and Hellenistic-Roman Cyprus respectively, generalizing explanatory models, which for instance only focus on the key-role of Constantinople in Late Roman economic networks, are often difficult to apply on a regional level, as (intra-)regional economies seem to be way more complex and influenced by a range of local and regional societal and geographical factors (Izdebski 2015, Bonifay 2015, Lund 2015). By trying to get a grip on economic ‘performance’, which should be echoed by an ample archaeological proxy, and evaluating these economic aspects in the light of local/regional societal and political ‘structures’ and developments, as well as broader ‘external’ political and societal developments in the Late Hellenistic-Late Roman world (150 BCE-700 CE), a proper and more nuanced understanding of *how* and *why* local and regional variation in the operating of economic systems was shaped.

In this doctoral research, Late Hellenistic to Late Roman ceramics (150 BCE-700 CE) will be taken as a proxy to map and evaluate the nature of local/regional economic systems, as variation in the production and consumption of material culture is believed to reflect potentially different meanings in varied spatial, temporal, and social contexts. Although it should be emphasized that pottery is generally regarded as a ‘cheap’ good and some pots might indeed have acted as replacements for more ‘expensive’ materials like glass and bronze, ceramic vessels were, at least for the region under consideration, an essential part of the daily life of people living in Late Hellenistic to Late Roman times and often the only identifiable markers of past activity on the surface of the Boeotian landscapes. As such, this class of material culture has the potential to function as a useful tool to provide a (quantitative) snapshot on the processes, dynamics, and nature of Late Hellenistic-Late Roman and, by extension, pre-Modern systems of production and exchange. Turning towards pottery to achieve these aims, is very much in line with a movement to examine the Roman economy from a quantitative perspective in the last decades and a need for proper archaeological data to evaluate economic explanatory models and provide statistics (Bowman and Wilson 2013, Jongman 2014). To use ceramics as a proxy to shed light on economic and societal dynamics on the mid- and long term, however, a proper theoretical and methodological framework is needed to give meaning to the past usage of this class of material culture, as sherds do not speak for themselves. Pottery acquires meaning by being used, and through evaluating this class of material culture in the light of the spatial, temporal, and social contexts in which it is found, a better understanding can be gained on what this usage may reflect regarding the reconstruction of local and regional industry and trade (Lucas 2012).

As several Boeotian cities and their respective hinterlands, which provide a range of chronologically and functionally diverse sites, have been studied extensively by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project since 1978, a very large body of ceramic data are currently available. Both the field survey and pottery studies have been carried out according to high methodological standards, reflected by numerous contributions to debates on survey-methodology and conceptual debates on creating meaning from the material culture collected through this method of examination. During the last decade, the Late Hellenistic-Late Roman pottery from several Boeotian cities (Hyettos, Koroneia, Tanagra, and Thespieae) and their hinterlands have been or are currently restudied by Prof. J. Poblome, Dr. P. Bes, Dr. M. van der Enden, and the author, to catch up with recent ceramological insights. While *each* single sherd that was collected in the field is ascribed morphological, functional, and chronological information in a database on the basis of both the fabric, which is the processed clay, and morphology of the pot, the methodological standards and availability of tens of thousands ceramic entries from several cities and respective hinterlands *within* one region make these datasets exceptionally suited to quantitatively examine and pursue a better understanding of local/regional economies.

Evaluating large collections of data can contribute to a better understanding of what the production and consumption of this material culture may reflect on the level of the entire past

community, as is exemplified by Roth's study (2007) on changes in the production and consumption of black-gloss tableware vessels on the Roman Republican sites of Volterra and Capena in Italy, highlighting the meaning of changes in social representation and the role of exchange. A similar contextual approach was taken by Willet in his evaluation of the locally/regionally produced tablewares in the region of Boeotia within the framework of his Ph.D. thesis on 'The socio-cultural context of the concept and use of tableware in the Roman East (2nd c. BC – 7th c. AD)' (Willet 2012). Methodologically elaborating on Roth, Willet showed the potential of making use of the societal contexts in which ceramics were produced and consumed, illustrating that individual settlements seem to have been inspired by case-specific societal factors and processes in their choice for the consumption and production of tablewares. While Roth and, especially, Willet touch upon and provide some important insights on the complex relationship between the production and consumption of tablewares and site-specific circumstances, the proposed research aims to examine the production, distribution, and consumption of the *whole* functional range of Late Hellenistic-Late Roman ceramic vessels (amphorae, jugs, tablewares etc.). This step towards examining the whole range of vessels that was used at individual sites is needed to get a better understanding of how local/regional economies functioned and were affected by local, regional, and inter-regional cultural, political, and social aspects and processes, as different classes of ceramics may, literally, move differently in the same economic system; amphorae were, generally, exchanged over larger areas and in more substantial numbers than, for instance, cooking vessels, potentially reflecting different economic factors and processes.

This research focuses on the cities Hyettos, Tanagra, and Thespieae and their respective hinterlands (fig. 1). While the largely landlocked region of Boeotia is *inter alia* characterised by main topographic features like ridges and furrows in a predominantly North-Western/South-Eastern orientation, the cities of Hyettos, Thespieae, and Tanagra, which are respectively situated in Northern, Central and South-Eastern Boeotia, are each characterised by (slightly) different topographical settings and suitability for agricultural purposes; while the plains around Hyettos are only partly suitable for agricultural purposes, the hinterlands of Thespieae and Tanagra can be regarded as amongst the most fertile areas in Boeotia (Farinetti 2011). As the ceramics that were retrieved at these sites were (largely) restudied in the last decade, they provide a solid basis for the aims of this study. Evaluations of the bodies of ceramics from these cities hint at (slight) differences in chronology, which at first glance seem to be paralleled on rural sites in their hinterlands, and provide interesting insights on the development and fate of individual sites from the Late Hellenistic to the Late Roman period. Alongside these chronological differences and different topographical settings, local/regional lines of pottery production are attested at or in the vicinity of Hyettos, Tanagra, and Askra/Thespieae by the presence of production waste, misfired pots, and the macroscopical identification (with the naked eye and a hand lens) of local and/or regional clays, which are characterized by a specific set of clays, (mineral) inclusions, and firing circumstances, in the assemblages of ceramics (Bes and Poblome *in press*, Bintliff *et al.* 2008, Gerousi 2014, Vroom 2003). Although the actual kilns in which this production took place are, in most cases, not archaeologically identified yet, these locally produced ceramics are ascribed a chronology by stylistically cross-referencing these sherds with pottery that was retrieved during excavation at, for instance, Corinth or Athens, providing a ceramological perspective on the chronology of individual sites and the activities carried out in this context (e.g. Slane and Sanders 2005, Rotroff 2006). On the basis of both the fabric and shape of ceramics, individual sherds are grouped under the umbrella of functional categories (e.g. cooking pots, pots used for food consumption), making functional comparisons between assemblages of ceramics and, by extension, evaluations of the functional nature of individual sites possible.



Figure 1. Map of the areas that were intensively surveyed by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (source: Peeters et al. in press; after Farinetti 2011, 47)

Following this line of research, this doctoral study, firstly, strives to create a chronological and functional overview of the ceramics that were produced at Hyettos, Tanagra, and Askra/Thespieae. Secondly, it aims to evaluate how this local production compares to the total range of ceramics that was retrieved on these sites and their hinterlands, including the appearance of other Boeotian and imported vessels. Hypothetically, a community could, for instance, not be making its own tablewares but only use imported vessels for food consumption, or the other way around. A more realistic, and at the same time more complex, scenario for the localities under examination, however, is that local production of a certain functional class of ceramics went hand in hand with the exchange of pottery that was made elsewhere in Boeotia or the Mediterranean at large. While more general patterns in the appearance of locally produced ceramics and wares of a different provenance on individual sites can be highlighted by 'simple' descriptive statistics, more subtle functional and chronological similarities and differences can be illustrated by the application of chi-squared and correspondence analyses. The strengths of applying such techniques to large datasets that were generated on the basis of find assemblages have been shown recently by Pitts for Roman Britain (2010 and 2014), highlighting meaningful associations of material culture in relation to the societal and functional contexts in which it was encountered. Changes and developments of the local lines of pottery production in Hyettos, Tanagra, and Askra/Thespieae, as well as the distribution and consumption of pottery on these sites and the range of rural sites in their respective hinterlands, will be evaluated on the mid- and long term, trying to highlight and reconstruct *how* intra-regional variation was shaped from roughly 150 BCE till 700 CE, from a ceramic perspective. The chronological depth that is needed for such an analysis is offered by the individual sherds that were retrieved on individual sites and zones of activity. Admittedly, not every individual sherd can be dated as precisely as aimed for on the basis of cross-referencing and one of the challenges that is, and has to be, accepted in this research is to evaluate *both* sherds with a relatively precise date-range in the same light as those vessel fragments that can only be dated more broadly. By evaluating the

distribution and consumption of the *whole* functional range of Late Hellenistic-Late Roman ceramics in parallel with the local production of pottery at such sites a better economic and geographical perspective on the spatial and temporal development of this region can be offered. Through specifically focusing on site-specific functional ceramic variation and changes in production, distribution, and consumption through time and relating these observations to specific societal, political, and cultural processes, this research specifically aims to shed light on *why* intra-regional variation in the retrieved ceramic assemblages was shaped and *how* this reflects the operating of local/regional economic systems.

The potential of using ceramics to generate meaningful patterns that can be used to reconstruct the functioning of the local/regional economies and systems of exchange in Boeotia, is recently illustrated on the basis of the spatial and chronological distribution of imported Late Hellenistic-Late Roman pots in the Boeotian cities Hyettos, Koroneia, Tanagra, and Thespieae and their hinterlands (e.g. Bes accepted, Bes and Poblome in press, Peeters *et al.* in press). While remarkable intra-regional variation was, for instance, illustrated by the varying chronological trends in the distribution of African tablewares in the cities Tanagra and Thespieae, especially after 400 CE (fig. 2), the echoing of these chronological patterns in the respective hinterlands of these cities, even on sites that are argued to be non-elite residential sites, strengthens the view that city and hinterland cannot be seen as separate spatial entities, but were, at least in the case of the distribution of African tablewares, part of the same sphere of interaction (Peeters *et al.* in press).

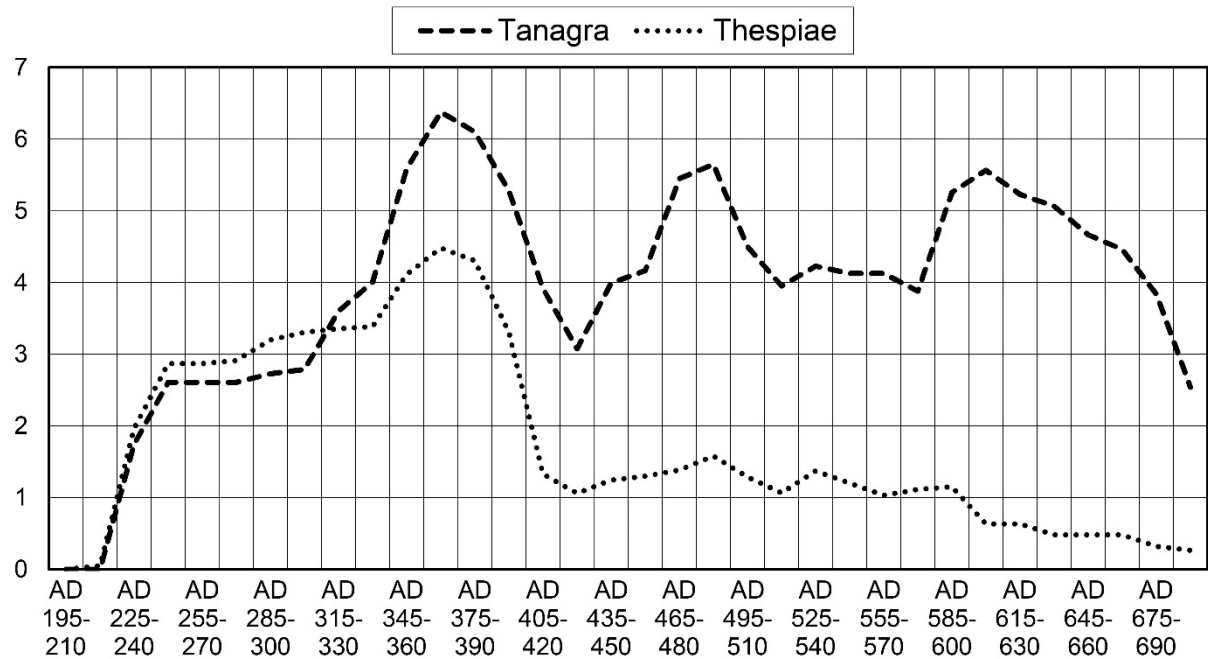


Figure 2. The chronological distribution of African Red Slip Ware in the cities of Tanagra and Thespieae on the basis of the 'linear distribution method' (source: Peeters *et al.* in press)

While the chronological differences in the presence of imported Mid- to Late Roman tablewares between these Boeotian cities are clearly apparent, (preliminary) examination of the *whole* functional range of imported ceramics that was distributed to Hyettos, Tanagra, and Thespieae hint at substantial differences in the distribution and consumption of pottery as well (Bes accepted); the city and hinterland of Tanagra receive substantial amounts and a large variety of imported ceramics, especially amphorae, until the Late Roman period (400-700 CE), while the other cities, as well as their hinterlands, do far less so or less visibly from a ceramic point of view, showing different degrees, and probably also differences in the nature, of participation in larger systems of exchange. While the location of Tanagra along the Asopus-river and its good access to the Aegean at its port Delion could have played a role by connecting the site to larger inter-regional networks of exchange, Thespieae also had a harbour at the Gulf of Corinth potentially serving the same purpose. Although it should be stressed that

geographical and so-called ‘external’ factors are certainly of importance for giving meaning to the apparent patterning, these differences in space and time should especially be evaluated against their local and regional societal, political, economic and cultural backdrop. By evaluating the published epigraphical, historical, and numismatic sources for Boeotia and the timespan under examination in detail, which are par excellence proxies of local/regional societal contexts, further steps can be made towards a more nuanced understanding *why* this regionality in ceramic production, distribution and consumption was shaped. The implementation of complementary sources of evidence is also needed to link and test the shaping of regionality in Boeotia to broader debates and models regarding the Late Hellenistic-Late Roman economy. One of the models worth testing, in the light of the seemingly increasing intra-regional differences in the Late Roman period, is Sarris’ model of the Late Roman economy, who argues that by Late Roman times the introduction of new systems of tax-collection was accompanied by a polarization of wealth and increasing agricultural specialization and/or intensification, laying a basis for the feudal and manorial systems that are characteristic for Medieval Europe to develop (Sarris 2004, 2011). While this model is largely based upon literary sources recovered in Egypt, a material culture perspective analysing the local/regional agricultural production in Boeotia in the mid- and long-term can be offered through the examination of the production, distribution, and consumption of pottery on a local and regional level. Of particular interest for evaluating this model are the local/regional production and consumption of amphorae, as markers of agricultural activity used to store and/or transport olive oil, wine, and other produce, potentially illustrating the increasing agricultural specialization and intensification that is argued for.

By applying this methodological pathway on the remarkable datasets of the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project and placing appearing chronological and spatial patterns in the production, distribution, and consumption of pottery within a framework of broader and site-specific societal, political, and cultural dynamics, a far firmer understanding of the complex and dynamic nature of local and regional Late Hellenistic-Late Roman economies, and by extension, pre-Modern economic systems is aimed to be gained.

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461.0.09 Roy van Wijk (University of Fribourg), *Old Powers in Action: Athens and Boiotia in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Periods*

This project, starting in October 2014 under the supervision of Prof. Fabienne Marchand at the University of Fribourg, is meant as a contribution to her project on the history of Boiotia and its foreign interactions, in this case with their powerful southern neighbour, Athens. Chronologically the project will focus on the Archaic and Classical Period as it in these periods that both actors were able to pursue an independent political course. Instead of placing 'power-relations' at the core of their disputes, it will be argued that their relations were affected by a larger range of factors that influenced their relations in an attempt to shy away from 'Realist' interpretations of interstate relations that emphasise the catalytic function of 'power relations' and rationality in political decision-making.

Part 1 concerns the diplomatic and military engagements involving both antagonists, either as enemies or as allies. Several key topics that were important in their relations will be addressed, such as 'medism', *cleutheria* and 'pan-hellenism'. Moreover, it will apply several new studies on interstate relations in the ancient world that emphasise the complex nature and character of inter-Greek affairs. Finally, the resonance of the various interactions will be analysed to see how previous conflicts or collaborations played an important role in the political decision-making.

Part 2 focuses on the territorial aspects of the rivalry and how it affected their responses and strategies. The dealings of both powers in Euboea can offer an interesting insight in the ways these differences were fought out beyond the confines of Boiotia and Attica, as it offered an access point to the Aegean as well as control over the important trade axis that was the Euboean strait. Another aspect of geo-political considerations lay in the opportunity Boiotia offered Athens as a gateway to the Korinthian Gulf. On a more local level this involves the border

region and the fortifications, but more importantly, the two areas most disputed between Attica and Boiotia: the regions around Plataia and Oropos. The Amphiareion situated in the latter region also provides an excellent case study for the ways wherein both powers attempted to shape the (religious) landscape of the borderlands.

The final part examines the various ways wherein both regions commemorated their interactions, either through cults, orations or dedications. In this analysis, modern ideas such as social memory and ‘intentional history’ will play an important part. The way both antagonists interacted through their dedications, either at their own sanctuaries or at the so-called ‘pan-hellenic’ sanctuaries will help to clarify the way these communities remembered past clashes or collaborations.

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