

CENTRAL GREECE AND THE POLITICS OF POWER IN THE FOURTH CENTURY BC

The streams of Greek history in the fourth century are highly controversial. Sandwiched between the Classical fifth century and the Hellenistic period, the era has invited various readings, most prominently the verdict of decrepitude and decline. Recent discoveries, however, indicate that the period was not simply illustrative of the political, social, and economic weaknesses of the Greek city-state.

This book examines the fourth century from an area with its own regional dynamics: central Greece, a region often considered a backwater for macropolitics. The authors disclose a vivid tension between regional politics in Boeotia and its adjacent territories and Greek affairs. They provide a meticulous and, at times, microscopic investigation into the region's military and political history, together with detailed analyses of the topography of the places "where history was made." The result is a dazzling account of Greece's power-transition crisis on the eve of the Macedonian conquest.

JOHN BUCKLER, Emeritus Professor of Greek History, specializes in the history of Greece during the fourth century BC. His publications include *The Theban Hegemony*, 371–362 BC (1980), *Philip II and the Sacred War* (1989) and *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century BC* (2003).

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To Paul Cartledge



Pelopidas Epaminondas greetings



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Preface

Throughout the twentieth century and now into the twenty-first, Athens and Sparta have largely dominated Classical Greek scholarship. In recent years, however, wider perceptions of the Greek world have become increasingly prominent. While the merits of studying Athens and Sparta remain unchallenged, the critical look beyond them has generated a truly multifaceted picture of Greek political culture. At the same time, interest in, if not obsession with, the *polis* as *the* form of Greek statehood is now being balanced by growing research on the *ethnos*. Scholars explore patterns of constructing collective ethnic identities, expressions of such identities in material and immaterial culture, and their interaction with relation to the rise of urban communities that fostered the development of distinct, and exclusive, city identities. These approaches, in turn, all make their individual contributions to understanding the vexed question of the relationships prevalent in *polis*-politics.

This book reflects both changes. It focuses on a region that we believe decisively shaped Greek affairs of the Classical period. Conceiving of central Greece and its core Boeotia as an area with its own regional dynamics, this collection of essays attempts to examine Greek history in a test tube: while paying particular attention to regional patterns of interstate relations, we also hope to disclose the interaction between regional politics and Panhellenic affairs. This approach should add to the rising interest in a period in Greek history that still widely lacks understanding.

As the title indicates, we emphasize power in its broadest sense. Just as politics and diplomacy play major roles in the discussion, so do military affairs. History does not benefit from narrowly separating one from the others; indeed, any approach that divides them leads only to an imperfect account. Necessity calls for one further note. As can readily be seen, pitched battles played a significant part in this era of Greek history. No battle



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receives treatment here without personal investigation of and attention to the battlefields themselves.

Several chapters of this book have been published before, some in standard journals, others in – at times, remote – conference proceedings and collections. As so often, it took much longer than anticipated to collect and rework those articles, to add new ones, and to put them into what is hopefully a coherent perspective. To accommodate the widest audience we also decided to transliterate, whenever possible, the Greek passages for easy reading. For simplicity and convenience, we likewise included a glossary to explain technical terms that lack English equivalents.

An unalloyed pleasure of scholarship springs from the opportunity to thank those who have helped us along the way. Our gratitude, "a gift that is a light and dear one" (Odyssey 6, 208), we offer to all those who improved the book. Foremost among them stands Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp who liberally devoted his time and learning to bring the manuscript to press. He freely shared with us his valuable suggestions, and resources, to see this project successfully to completion. Ingo Witzke and Vinzenz Borchert (Cologne), Andreas Schneider (Frankfurt) and Andrew Swidzinski and Connie Galatas (Montreal) lent their efforts to the task of putting the manuscript into publishable form. Caroline Buckler kindly translated the typewritten documents into a form that the computer could read. She always willingly discussed not simply the manner of presentation, but also the content of the material. S. C. Buckler lent his own idiosyncratic help. Since we wholeheartedly believe in William Blake's sentiment that "He who would do good to another must do it in minute particulars" (Jerusalem 55-56), we list those particulars in the accompanying acknowledgements. To all we offer heartfelt thanks.

> J. B. Dry Run Creek, Indiana H. B. Montreal



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Acknowledgments

in Transitions to Empire. Essays in Greco-Roman History, 360–146 BC in Honor of Ernst Badian (Norman, 1996).

Hans Beck provided the inspiration for this project. He realized that many of the papers had first appeared in scattered journals and acta of international congresses not easily available to many Classical scholars. He further saw the value of collecting them and adding other pieces to weave them into a coherent whole. To enhance their usefulness, he divided them into three major interrelated themes, thereby bringing unity to them all. Finally, he saw the whole project through from start to submission to Cambridge University Press. Without his vision and energy, these essays would never have taken the form of a book.

J.B.



Abbreviations

ΑΔ 'Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον

AHB Ancient History Bulletin. Revue d'histoire ancienne

AJAH American Journal of Ancient History
AJArch. American Journal of Archaeology
AJPhil. American Journal of Philology

Anc. Soc. Ancient Society
AncW The Ancient World

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt

Ant. Class. L'Antiquité classique

Antichthon Antichthon. Journal of the Australian Society for

Classical Studies

Arch. Anz. Archäologischer Anzeiger

Athenaeum. Studi periodici di letteratura e storia

dell'antichità

BICS

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique

BICS

Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies

BMCR Bryn Mawr Classical Review

BSA Annual of the British School at Athens

CAH Cambridge Ancient History

Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte

Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen

Archäologischen Instituts

CISA Contributi dell' istituto di storia antica

Cl. Ant. Classical Antiquity

C&M Classica et Mediaevalia. Revue danoise de

philologie et d'histoire

CPh Classical Philology
CQ Classical Quarterly
CR Classical Review

CSCA California Studies in Classical Antiquity

ΧV



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> Abbreviations xvi

DNPDer Neue Pauly EAEpigraphica Anatolica

EMCClassical Views. Echos du monde classique Emerita Emerita. Revista de linguistica y filología classica

Eranos Eranos. Acta Philologica Suecana

FDFouilles de Delphes

FGrH Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, ed.

F. Jacoby

G&R Greece and Rome

GRBS Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies Harv. Stud. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Hermes Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Hesp.

Classical Studies at Athens

Historia. Zeitschrift für die Alte Geschichte Hist.

Harvard Theological Review HThR**ICS** Illinois Classical Studies IGInscriptiones Graecae Iranica Antiqua **IrAnt**

Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. IHS

Journal of Hellenic Studies

JÖAI Jahreshefte des Östereichischen Archäologischen

Instituts

Klio Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Kodai Kodai. Journal of Ancient History LCM

Liverpool Classical Monthly

Greek-English Lexicon. Compiled by H. G. Liddell LSJ

and R. Scott, revised and augmented by H. Stuart

Iones

MDAI (A) Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen

Instituts. Athenische Abteilung

Meiggs-Lewis Meiggs and Lewis 1988

Mnemos. Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batavia

Neue Jahrbücher für Antike und Deutsche Bildung

Numismatic Chronicle Num. Chron.

 OCD^3 The Oxford Classical Dictionary, third edition **PAPhS** Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society **PCPS** Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society Phoenix Phoenix. The Journal of the Ontario Classical

Association



More Information

Abbreviations

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PSQ Political Science Quarterly

Pulpudeva. Semaines Philippopolitaines de

l'histoire et de la culture de Thrace

Quaderni di storia Quaderni di storia. Rassegna di antichità

RE Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen

Altertumswissenschaft

Rev. Ét. Anc. Revue des études anciennes Rev. Ét. Grec. Revue des études grecques

Rev. Hist. Revue Historique

Rh. Mus. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
Rhodes-Osborne Rhodes and Osborne 2004

Riv. Fil. Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica

SCI Scripta Classica Israelica
SdA Die Staatsverträge des Altertums
SEG Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum

SIG see Syll.³

Syll.³ Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed.

W. Dittenberger

Symb. Osl. Symbolae Osloenses auspiciis societatis

Graeco-Latinae

TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association Teiresias Teiresias. A Review and Continuing Bibliography

of Boiotian Studies

Tod Tod 1949

Wien. Stud. Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für Klassische

Philologie und Patristik

YCS Yale Classical Studies

ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik