

Universität Münster Münster, Germany 2024



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Published by Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Universität Münster Domplatz 20-22, 48143 Münster. https://www.uni-muenster.de/Geschichte/AlteGeschichte

ISSN: 2751-6946

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# Teiresias Journal Online 3.2 (2024)

# **Obituary Albert SCHACHTER (1932–2024)**

The editors of Teiresias Journal Online are shattered to learn about the death of Albert Schachter on November 29, 2024. Albert has been the doyen of Boiotian Studies for more than five decades. His research has fostered the exploration of the region and its people across antiquity, from Mycenean to later Roman times, like that of no other scholar. Everyone who has had the pleasure of knowing him in person realizes, however, that Albert would not have wanted to hear such praise.

Albert founded "Teiresias. Online Review and Bibliography of Boiotian Studies" and served as its co-editor and, from 1980, sole editor for almost the entire stretch of the journal's initial series. In 2015 he entrusted Fabienne Marchand with this task but continued to advise the journal whenever approached. In this capacity as progenitor of Teiresias – an open-access journal avant la lettre geared toward the exchange of knowledge and dissemination of scholarship on the study of ancient Boiotia – he also assisted with the transfer of the journal from McGill University to the University of Münster and journal relaunch under its new label Teiresias Journal Online. In the 1970s, he was the co-editor of Teiresias' Epigraphica section. Albert also served as co-editor and then sole editor of the first Teiresias supplement series and as honorary board member of the new Teiresias Supplements Online.

Teiresias was established at a time when Ancient Historians were typically fascinated with the grandeur of Athens, its democracy and empire, and Sparta as the all too obvious adversary to all that. Greek history beyond Athens and Sparta was neither of interest to the mainstream of scholarship of the 1970s, nor was it actually considered possible to delve into non-Athenian

realms in any substantiated sense. Regionalism and ethnic identity were mostly uncharted territories, and Boiotia and its people – thanks to an ancient saying – were regarded as backwards. Albert was well familiar with the spirit of the day and yet he chose a different route. Born in Winnipeg, he went on to study at Jesus College in Oxford where he graduated in 1956 and earned his PhD with a thesis on "Cults of Boiotia," written under the tutelage of David Lewis. The PhD experience put Albert on a pioneering path. If sources, or the lack of the same, were the problem, it required a hard-wired collection of all of the available evidence. From 1981 to 1994, four volumes of "Cults of Boiotia" (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplements) were published, a thoroughly organized and extremely laborious collection of all sources that spoke to the conduct of religion and ritual in ancient Boiotia. When ethnic identity formation became a key topic in Ancient History from the 1990s, "Cults of Boiotia" was the indispensable go-to item for everyone who was interested in regional cross-fertilization and notions of ethnic belonging – and for everyone who engages in those conversations today. "Cults", in many ways, was among the most foundational books in Greek history at the time.

Maybe "Cults" was also indicative of the fact that full-fledged monographs were not Albert's favorite research format to publish his findings. In 2016, his publication "Boiotia in Antiquity. Selected Papers" (Cambridge UP) assembled some of his most important articles, including several original contributions. Although at the time Albert insisted that the book was not a monograph, nor even a quasi-monograph, it was remarked that the collection was a history of Boiotia in pieces. If Albert's approach to Boiotia was holistic in that he fully covered and interpreted all epigraphic testimony, archaeological data, numismatic evidence, and literary tradition, "Boiotia in Antiquity" put this type of scholarship between two bookends. Thematically, virtually all major topics of Boiotian history were covered from the beginnings to the end of antiquity, presented in compelling intellectual fashion, and in Albert's unique narrative style, refreshingly immune to jargon.

Albert taught at McGill University in Montreal from 1951 until 2001. Hiram Mills Professor of Classics and a two-time head in the Department of Classics, Albert chaired the curriculum committee for the Faculty of Arts and served as its Associate and Acting Dean. After his retirement, he relocated to Oxford with his wife, where they lived a quiet, but not secluded life.

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A familiar visitor to the Bodleian library and weekly attendant at the Monday Epigraphy Workshop, Albert's scholarly voice and advice were heard and respected long after his retirement from McGill; university politics had never been his thing to begin with. At Oxford he enjoyed welcoming academic friends and junior scholars, sharing his stupendous knowledge and expertise with them in his modest, warm-hearted manner, and passing on his enthusiasm for Boiotia to the academic generations after him.

Albert Schachter is survived by his loving wife June. His scholarship, generosity, and kindness are missed by everyone in the Teiresias family. He lives on in scholarship and in our hearts.

The TJO editors



# Teiresias Journal Online 3.2 (2024)

# **Obituary John Michael FOSSEY (1945-2024)**

Teiresias Journal Online is saddened to announce the passing of John Fossey on December 1 2024. John has been the co-founder of the Teiresias enterprise. He has served as co-editor of the journal from 1971 until 1979, co-editor of the first supplement volumes (1972 and 1979), and co-editor of the epigraphic appendices (1976 to 1980). Beyond Teiresias, he was the editor of five volumes of Boeotia Antiqua (1989-1996), a lively set that was published through the series "McGill University Monographs in Classical Archaeology and History". The contribution to Boiotian Studies for which he will no doubt be remembered most was, however, the landmark monograph "The Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia" (2 vols., 1988).

A PhD from Lyon II (1976) and specialist in Greek archaeology, epigraphy and topography, John has taught at McGill University for 32 years, where he has created and supervised several archaeology programs. His archaeological interests went far beyond the Greek mainland, with field work in the Black Sea, focusing his efforts in Bulgaria and Georgia. Research engagement in these areas is captured in "Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times" (2 vols., 1988). In 2000, he was elected into the Royal Society of Canada.

From the 1990s, John's academic interests gradually steered him away from Boiotia and its community of scholars. After his retirement from McGill in 2001 he started a new career as museum curator in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and as independent consultant. He did publish two further volumes on the field, "Epigraphica Boeotica II. Further Studies on Boiotian Inscriptions" (2014, Teiresias 2014.441.1.03) and "Boiotia in Ancient Times. Some Studies of

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Its Topography, History, Cults and Myths" (2019, Teiresias 2020.501.1.04). The latter, based on research mostly carried out in the 1970s, was announced in the preface as John's very personal swansong in Boiotian studies.

John Fossey is survived by three children and eight grandchildren.

The TJO Editors



# Teiresias Journal Online 3.2 (2024)

Section 1 Excavation Reports

John BINTLIFF (University of Leiden)

# **Leiden University Research Report 2024**

The Boeotia Project continued with restudy of the ceramic finds from earlier surface seasons in the Thebes and Thespies Museums (fig. 1). In the field Lieve Donnellan (Melbourne University) and John Bintliff prepared for a future monograph on the Palaeopanagia rural district by taking drone photographs of all 33 sites discovered in the 1980's. This technology gives an unparalleled view of how ancient sites lie in their immediate landscape and in relation to each other. This particular district is highly fertile and Greek and Roman estate centres sit close-packed within view of each other.

It is probably of interest to inform the readers of another Leiden University archaeological project which has been running since 2012, when Professor Luuk de Ligt of Ancient History and John Bintliff in Archaeology were awarded an ERC grant, called 'An Empire of 2000 Cities.' This project had the very ambitious aim of cataloguing every city in the High Roman Empire and analysing their location, number, size and geographical setting (our current total is 5888 urban centres). A team of 6 PhD students and 3 postdoctoral fellows have been employed, each set a number of provinces to research (fig. 2). From the research group 5 books have appeared and another 3 dissertations, a conference volume and a preliminary overview article. The project directors are writing a summary volume to appear in the near future.

As field training for the research team into ancient urbanism (fig. 3 and 4), they have all taken part in two NIA-sponsored field seasons in Boeotia, here at the ancient city of Haliartos, and

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here at ancient Hyettos city (fig. 5 and 6), where they were taught in the laboratory and the field to undertake then interpret extensive geophysical survey, in fieldschools run by Professor Apostolos Sarris from Rethymno University in Crete.



Figure 1

# The ERC 'Empire of 2000 Cities' Project Team

Directors: Prof. L. de Ligt, Prof. J.L. Bintliff



Post-Docs: Dr. R. Willet, Dr. M.S. Hobson, Dr. M. Karambinis







PhDs: D. Donev, P.H.A. Houten, P. Kloeg, K. Pazmany, F. Pellegrino













IT: B.J. Noordervliet

External PhD: P. de Graaf

Figure 2

# TJO 3.2 (2024) - Section 1: Excavation Reports

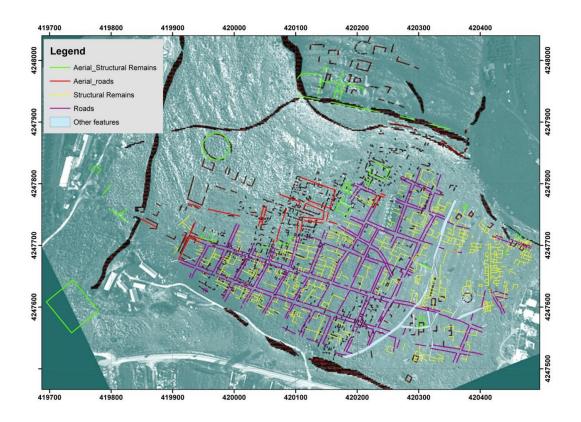


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

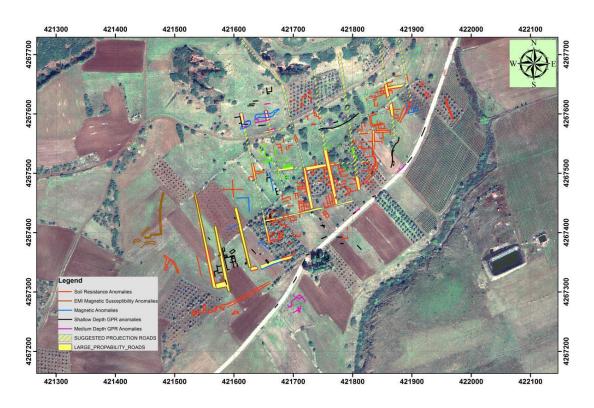


Figure 6



# Teiresias Journal Online 3.2 (2024)

Section 2 Work in Progress

Ioannis MITSIOS (University of West Attica)

# Tracing Autochthony in Athens and Boeotia: A comparative Case Study<sup>1</sup>

Boeotians<sup>2</sup> and Athenians,<sup>3</sup> among several other Greek states — including the Arcadians<sup>4</sup> and the Sicanians<sup>5</sup> — considered themselves of autochthonous origin. Autochthony was a widespread ideology during the classical period, serving different purposes and scholars have examined different aspects of autochthony (with more emphasis in Athens), including: i) myths,<sup>6</sup> ii) politics,<sup>7</sup> iii) Attic drama,<sup>8</sup> iv) gender,<sup>9</sup> v) the work of particular authors, e. g. Herodotus<sup>10</sup> and Plato<sup>11</sup> and vi) iconography.<sup>12</sup>

In terms of the city of Boeotia, there are several traditions regarding the autochthonous (or not) nature of the Boeotians. Hecateus of Miletus (*FGrH* 1 F 119) and Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 119)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This publication serves as an introductory presentation of my upcoming work on the cultural interactions between Athens and Boeotia, as attested in myth, history and archaeology.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the ideology of autochthony in Boeotians, see Zeitlin 1990 and Detienne and Jones 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The bibliography on the ideology of autochthony in Athens is massive (see also the following notes for further references), with most important and extensive studies being those of Loraux 1981a;1981b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the ideology of autochthony in Arcadians, see Rosivach 1987, 305, Scheer 2010; 2011 and Roy 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For the ideology of autochthony in Sicanians, see Kennedy et al 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Loraux 1981a;1981b; Montanari 1981; Rosivach 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Blok 2009a; 2009b; Pelling 2009; Forsdyke 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Saxonhouse 1986; Meltzer 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Nimis 2007; Calame 2011; Räuchle 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Thomas 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Pappas 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Shapiro 1995; 1998; 2008; Clements 2015; Mitsios 2018.

attest that — at an early stage — Boeotia was occupied by barbarian tribes: the Aones, Temmikes, Hyantes, Leleges and Pelasgians, while Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 94) states that the Aones invaded Attica — instead of Boeotia — during the kingship of mythical Kekrops. Some ancient authors, such as Pausanias (9.5.1) and Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 94), present these tribes as Boeotian, while Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 119), connects the Aones and Temmikes with Attica and more specifically the area of Sounion. Some effort has been expended by scholars to connect the word "Aones" with the one of "Iones" — suggesting a misspelling of the name — but with no great success. <sup>13</sup>. Given the testimonies, especially the one of the sixth-century B.C. author Hecateus of Miletus, there is good evidence to suggest that the traditions regarding the origins of the Boeotians may already have existed during the Archaic period. On top of that, no matter of the Athenian or Boeotian origin of Aones, and the migration "from" or "to" Attica, there is some vaguely remembered cultural link connecting the early history of the neighboring cities of Athens and Boeotia.

With regard to Attica, Herodotus (8.44) and Thucydides (2.15.1) — among several other ancient authors — name Kekrops<sup>14</sup> as the first autochthonous king of Athens, while Pausanias (1.2.6) names Actaeus<sup>15</sup> as the first one, followed by Kekrops. Just like the case of Boeotia, there are several traditions regarding the early genealogy of the city's kingship.

Pausanias (9.5.1) names Ogyges, the king of Ectenes, as the first autochthonous king who occupied Boeotia and also attests that Ogygia was an epithet for the city of Thebes. The term Ogygia is applied to Thebes by other sources as well — such as Lycus (*FGrH* 380 F3) and Lysimachus *FGrH* 382 F1) — and we also know that one of the gates of Thebes was called Ogygian.

Hellanicus of Lesbos (*FGrH* 323A F10) and Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 92) present Ogyges as the first, or one of the earliest earthborn kings of Attica, while Pausanias (1.38.7) names him as the father of the hero Eleusis. Just like the case of Thebes, Athens is also called Ogygia by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For references and criticism on the proposal, see Buck 1979, 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> For extensive studies on Kekrops, see Kron 1976, 84-103; *LIMC* VI 1992 s.v. Kekrops, 1084-1091 (Kasper-Butz I. and I. Krauskopf); Gourmelen 2004; Mitsios 2018, 167-211; 2023; 2024; forthcoming a); forthcoming b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> For the "shady" figure of Actaeus (and the limited literary and iconographic evidence), see *LIMC* I 1981 s.v. Aktaios I, 469-470 (Berger-Doer).

several ancient authors, such as Aeschylus (*Persians* 975), Antiochus (*FGrH* 333 F3), Charax (*FGrH* 103 F30) and Thalius (*FGrH* 256 F2). Given the similarity on the literary sources, it has been noted by scholars that Ogyges is a hero common to both Attica and Boeotia, a shadowy, vague figure, connected with the early kingship of both neighboring cities.<sup>16</sup>

Other examples of mythological interactions between the Athenian and Boeotian kingship exist, the more characteristic ones being king Thespius and king Kekrops. Diodorus Sicilus (4.29.2) and Pausanias (9.26.6) attest that Thespius was the son of the Athenian king Erechtheus and queen Praxithea who founded the Boeotian city of Thespiae. According to Pausanias (9.33.1), the mythical Athenian king Kekrops had a shrine in Boeotia, in the area of Aliartos. It has to be noted, though, that no shrine of Kekrops has been found on Aliartos but again, the area has not been widely excavated and the examination of the local pottery shows a clear Attic influence.<sup>17</sup>

The fact that the literary sources name the same autochthonous heroes for Athens and Boeotia and the same tribes immigrating from one city to the other, may indicate some kind of interaction and there is a possibility that the identical mythological motifs may be historical reflections of cultural interactions. It is true, though, that none of the literary traditions can be relied upon for the validity of any particular incident or of any chronological sequence and together they provide little more than contradictions of one another's surmises, but a closer look on the archaeological evidence, may suggest a possibly historicity behind the mythical tradition.

In terms of archaeological evidence, the early Geometric pottery, mainly deriving from the neighboring areas of Vranesi and Orchomenos, on the north-western shore of Lake Copais, shows a clear interaction between Athens and Boeotia. In fact, the resemblance to Attic products is so striking that the Protogeometric pottery from these sites is hard to distinguish from its Attic models.

Proto-geometric amphorae, oenochoae and cups from the area of Vranesi, dating to 10<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Buck 1979, 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Austin 1931-1932, 190.

B.C., appear to represent Athenian influence. <sup>18</sup> The decoration of a neck-handled amphora — with semicircles on the shoulder — as well as the decoration of a trefoil lipped oinochoe — with dog-tooth round the belly — both reflect Athenian influence, which is further confirmed by a cup with high conical foot that was probably imported from Athens. <sup>19</sup>

The same applies to findings from Orchomenos, including oenochoae, amphorae and skyphoi, dating to 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., which bear striking similarities to Attic works.<sup>20</sup> The decoration of two shallow skyphoi and oinochoae — with enclosed panels containing meander or multiple zig-zag — proves that the Attic style was closely imitated at this time.<sup>21</sup>

Other archaeological evidence of Athenian influence during the Geometric period, although surviving on a notably lesser scale, is traced in the pottery of Oropos,<sup>22</sup> Panakton<sup>23</sup> and Aliartos.<sup>24</sup> Besides pottery, the same connections apply to metalwork, such as fibulae, which also show a clear Attic influence.<sup>25</sup> The Boeotian fibulae appear to be larger than the Attic ones and the most usual type — with square catchplate and uninterrupted convex bow — is of Athenian origin and it seems that it was adopted by the Boeotians at about the time when it died out in Attica.<sup>26</sup>

Given that the archaeological findings from Boeotia during the Geometric period show a clear Attic influence, they have even been interpreted — by some scholars — as a reflection of an Athenian expansion and migration from Athens to Boeotia during the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the lack of evidence of local pottery, earlier than the Attic, at the sites of Vranesi and Orchomenos seems to point on that direction.<sup>28</sup> Strong Athenian influences continued in Boeotia during the Archaic period, with Athenian vase-painting surpassing all other regional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Desborough 1952, 197-198, 299; 1972, 202; Coldstream 1968, 196-197; 1977, 38; Snodgrass 1971, 69-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Desborough 1972, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Desborough 1952, 198, 299; 1972, 202. Coldstream 1968, 196-197; 1977, 38. Snodgrass 1971, 69-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Coldstream 1977, 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For the examination of pottery from Panakton, see Munn and Zimmermann-Munn 1989; 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> For the examination of pottery from Oropos, see Vlachou 2010, 369-370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For the examination of pottery from Aliartos, see Austin 1931-1932, 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Athens, National Museum 8199; London 94.7-19.10. Coldstream 1977, 202-204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Coldstream 1977, 202-204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Desborough 1952, 198, 299; Coldstream 1968, 337, 343; Buck 1979, 80, 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Desborough 1952, 198, 299.

schools combined, a fact that shows a clear continuity of Athenian cultural influences.<sup>29</sup> By examining these similarities from a holistic perspective, which takes into consideration the literary and archaeological evidence, as well as the historical context, my upcoming work aims to trace the mythological, cultural and historical interactions between Athens and Boeotia and provide a possible interpretative model of their context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 597.*BAPD* 300133. Kilinski 1990, 44-45. See for example the technique of the Istanbul Painter that seems to be influenced by the painting style of the (Athenian) Gorgon Painter.

#### **Abbreviations**

BAPD: Beazley Archive Pottery Database.

FGrH: F. Jacoby, Fragmente der griechischen Historiker Berlin.

LIMC: Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Zürich and Munich.

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# Section 3 History

# **Books**

#### 2024.2.3.01

Agudo, M. 2024. Filipo de Macedonia. Madrid. (ISBN 9788412744385)

# 2024.2.3.02

Bantim de Assumpção, L. F. 2024. Esparta e suas redes políticas, no reinado de Agesilau II. Vassouras.

(ISBN 9786587918822)

# 2024.2.3.03

Braun, B. 2023. Commemorating classical battles: a landscape biography approach to Marathon, Leuktra and Chaironeia. Oxford. (ISBN 9781789259353)

# 2024.2.3.04

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