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Salvatore Tufano

# Boiotia from Within

The Beginnings of Boiotian Historiography



T S O

T E I R E S I A S  
S U P P L E M E N  
T S O N L I N E

**Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster**  
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## Series Preface

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Starting with this volume, Teiresias Supplements Online has moved from McGill University in Montréal to Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. The move reflects Hans Beck's career change from Canada to Germany. The new TSO domain is accessible at [teiresias-supplements.org](http://teiresias-supplements.org).

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# **Boiotia from Within**

## The Beginnings of Boiotian Historiography

Salvatore Tufano

Teiresias Supplements Online, Volume 2

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## Preface and Acknowledgements

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The present book is based on a revised version of my PhD dissertation, defended in July 2016 at Sapienza University of Rome. It aims at putting together two interests which have rarely been studied together: Greek local historiography, a genre that is finally gaining more attention in recent years; and the “dancing floor of Ares”, Boiotia, in the moment of its highest international prestige in antiquity (404–362 BCE). Here, the region is seen for the first time from the perspective of the historiography of this period, and not merely as the birthplace of the military talents of Epameinondas and Pelopidas.

In its three main sections, I offer an interpretation of the relationship between the rise of Boiotian local historiography and the historical context of these years. The Introduction (1) lays the theoretical framework of my investigation, which consists of a political reading of the fragmentary texts of Boiotian local historiography and the re-evaluation of the emic perspective for the reconstruction of Boiotian history. The main body of the work is formed by the chapters on Hellanikos (2), Armenidas (3), Aristophanes of Boiotia (4), and Daimachos of Plataia (5). These four authors represent the best of this genre and offer a unique insight of Boiotian self-awareness in the years between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the Battle of Mantinea. Finally, the Conclusions (6) aim both at summarizing the main trends of this production and to align them with specific themes, such as regional myths and kinship ties with Thessaly. It is my hope that this instrument helps us re-evaluate the place of a class of evidence, fragmentary historiography, that lies too often hidden in footnotes or as secondary, minor sources after other names. The three Appendices (7) address two different audiences, one interested in the philological side of some issues, like the debate on local historiography (7.1; 7.2), and one in search of a clearer perspective on historical issues such as the Theban naval campaign (7.3). Of course, the structure and goals of the present monograph are to challenge any opposition between those two kinds of readership, in order to offer a holistic approach of the realm of *historie*.

Despite the topical meaning of the expression, whose frequency often makes its repetition meaningless, I need to state in advance that any responsibility for mistakes, faults, and shadowy points of the book remain mine. This point is central, as I was particularly lucky to work on this book in a variety of contexts and with the kind and exquisite help of so many experts. Indeed, this would be a very different work without their assistance. First of

all, I would like to thank my supervisor Pietro Vannicelli, who has encouraged and supported me during these years, with his mastery of Greek historiography and his matchless patience: his expertise and recommendations contributed to improving and expanding my passion and my study of ancient Greek history. Feedback from the examiners of my PhD dissertation was extremely constructive and helped me to improve many parts of my arguments: I therefore owe Jean-Jacques Aubert, Luisa Prandi, and Simonetta Segenni my sincerest thanks. Luisa Prandi also kindly assisted me during the revision of the text.

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In the final stage of my PhD, I spent a short period at the Fondation Hardt in Vandœuvres, where I developed some of these conclusions and where I received useful comments from the other guests. In general, the audiences of the places where I offered the preliminary results of this research were always supportive and offered interesting perspectives: I would like to remember here Sapienza University of Rome, the Institute of Classical Studies of London, McGill University, and the Université de Fribourg. I received valuable comments from Michael A. Flower, who offered useful advice on part of the work. Albert Schachter generously discussed, in electronic form and in person, some points of this text: I continue this dialogue with his reflections throughout the work. Nikolaos Papazarkadas replied to my questions and our short conversation was enough to allow me to develop one of my main avenues of research. I also have to recall fruitful discussions with three professors who, in Rome (Albio Cesare Cassio), in London (Paola Ceccarelli), and in Potenza (Aldo Corcella), were so kind to listen to my questions and to help me find a possible answer to them.

Ms. Chandra Giroux and Mr. Jordan Thomas Christopher generously and altruistically guided me to improve the language of the manuscript: our Boiotian interests built a friendship which I hope remains beyond the realm of Kithairon. I always specify ownership of the translations, but I have to warn the reader that these would have been sensibly less elegant (and/or simply wrong) without the invaluable support I received from Chandra, Jordan, and from the editors of this series. I do have to mention other people, whose precious advice and help supported me, in different ways, throughout the completion of the work: Ilaria Andolfi, Emma Aston, Lucio Bertelli, Luca Bettarini, Elisabetta Bianco, Francesco Gargiulo, Samuel Gartland, Claudio Giammona, Raffeliana Di Girolamo, Clizia Gurreri, Matthias Haake, Luigi Di Iorio, Yannis Kalliontzis, Lynn Kozak, Luca Macale, Martina Mampieri, Michiel Meeusen, Marco Merafina, Dario Morabito, Michele Napolitano, Roberto Nicolai, Giovanni Palermo, Marcel Piérart, Alessio Sassù, Martina Scarcelli, Sebastian Scharff, Marco Sferruzza, Tullia Spinedi, Marco Vespa, Roy van Wijk, and Giuseppe Zarra.

As with any effort that requires time, this achievement would have been impossible without the unending support of my beloved family and friends. I was lucky to receive more love than I could ever reciprocate, both in word and deed. In the book's final stage, life dealt me an ideal hand. For all this, I know I will eternally be buying coffee for all those pillars who supported me each day, but I would like to dedicate these pages to my granddad: you did not see the end of all of this, but there would have been no success without you.

Rome, December 2018

SALVATORE TUFANO



## Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow the lead of the fourth edition of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD<sup>4</sup>) for authors and books, of *L'Année philologique* for journals, and of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG) for inscriptions. Unless otherwise stated, “F” refers to a fragment; in the absence of another name, I refer to the corpus of fragments in the present book (Aristophanes F 3 = third fragment in the present edition; see 8.1 *Conspectus fragmentorum* for crossreferences). The following list includes the differences from the OCD and the aforementioned resources:

<i>ALGRM</i>	<i>Ausführliches Lexikon der römischen und griechischen Mythologie</i> , ed. W.H. Roscher, Leipzig 1884–1937.
<i>Arr. Ind.</i>	Arriani Ἰνδικά.
<i>DELG</i>	Chantraine, P., <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> , Paris 1999 <sup>2</sup> (1968 <sup>1</sup> ).
<i>DELL</i>	Ernout, A. and A. Meillet, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine</i> , Paris 1959 <sup>4</sup> (1939 <sup>1</sup> ).
<i>FGrHist</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (= Jacoby 1923a–1955b).
Fowler,	Fowler, R.L., <i>Early Greek Mythography</i> , Oxford 2000–2013.
<i>EGM</i>	
<i>Historiographia antiqua</i>	<i>Historiographia antiqua. Commentationes Lovanienses editae in honorem W. Peremans septuagenarii</i> , Leuven 1977.
<i>JC</i>	Jacoby Continued ( <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> IV–V).
<i>K.–A.</i>	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , eds. R. Kassell and C. Austin.
<i>LGGA</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity</i> .
<i>Mélanges Glotz</i>	<i>Mélanges Gustave Glotz</i> . I–II, Paris 1932.
<i>Plut. de E apud Delph.</i>	Plutarch, <i>de E apud Delphos</i> .
<i>Plut. de Hdt. mal.</i>	Plutarch, <i>de Herodoti malignitate</i> .
<i>Str.</i>	Strabo.
<i>Storiografia locale</i>	<i>Storiografia locale e storiografia universale. Forme di acquisizione del sapere storico nella cultura antica</i> . (Bologna, 16 – 18 dicembre 1999), Como 2001.
<i>ThGL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Graecae Linguae</i> , ed. H. Stephanus, Paris 1572 <sup>1</sup> ; 1831–65 <sup>3</sup> .