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WITH OR WITHOUT A *KOINON*.
THE *LONGUE DURÉE*
OF TWO REGIONAL FESTIVALS.
II. THE PAMBOIOTIA AND THE BASILEIA
FROM THE HELLENISTIC TO
THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

3. The Third and the Second century BC: The Rise of
the Pamboiotia and the Explosion of the Basileia¹

At the end of the fourth century BC, there is no evidence on the fate of Pamboiotia, whereas the creation of Epameinondas, the Basileia, survived its creator. The third century BC sees the Pamboiotia coming to rise as national games of the Boiotians and the Basileia attracting competitors from further distances. As in the early beginnings of this combined story, both these festivals returned to represent Boiotia abroad. This degree of representativity lasted until the second century BC. We will now address first the fate of the Pamboiotia and then proceed to consider the explosion of the Basileia.

The evidence on the Pamboiotia in the Hellenistic period is only indirectly literary and mostly epigraphic. Historians concentrate on the importance of Koroneia and its festival. An important source as Polybius recalls the fierce reproaches of the Boiotians against the Aetolians, in 220 BC, at the meeting of the Hellenic League (4. 25. 2: ἐγκαλούντων δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν ὅτι συλήσαιεν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰωνίας ἱερὸν εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούσης). The Aetolians had attacked the Itonion in Koroneia, between 224 and 227 BC,² and this εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούσης, despite the peace (probably a sacred truce).

During the First Macedonian War, Flamininus had to move against Akraiphia and Koroneia in 196 BC. Here, some Roman soldiers had been killed and Flamininus asked for the guilty parties and a fine. Yet (so Livy 33. 29. 8–9):

¹ See Part I (Tufano 2022b), Section 2.

² Walbank 1957 *ad* 4. 3. 5.

(8) quorum cum fieret neutrum, uerbis tantum ciuitates excusarent nihil publico consilio factum esse, missis Athenas et in Achaia legatis qui testarentur socios iusto pioque se bello persecuturum Boeotos, (9) et cum parte copiarum Ap. Claudio Acraephiam ire iusso, ipse cum parte Coroneam circumsidit, uastatis prius agris [...].

In 191 BC, the consul M. Acilius Glabrio attacked Koroneia, when he saw there a statue of Antiochos III (Liv. 36. 20). He then stopped the pillaging, since such a decision could not depend on the sole Koroneians: the erection of the statue had been a common decision of the Boiotians (*cum communi decreto Boeotorum posita esset statua*).³ These anecdotes explain how relevant, from the outside, the Pamboiotia might look, since the Boiotians decided to place here a momentuous dedications as the statue of Antiochos, although Thebes was the actual ‘capital’ of the *koinon* (Liv. 33. 1).

The Pamboiotia were the festival held in the spot where most of the federal decisions were made, in the third century BC. This situation might explain why the temple of Athena Koroneia might have sought ἀσυλία in the sixties of the third century BC (*FD IV 358, 266/262 BC*):⁴

[...][ἔδο-]
ξε τοῖς Ἀμφικτί]οσιν τὸ ἱερὸ[ν]
[τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς] Ἰτωνίας τὸ
[ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἄσυ]λον εἶναι.

The collocation of the Itonion in the inscription is an integration. Yet, Polybius (4. 25. 2), with the reference to a sacred truce, supports the view that the sanctuary enjoyed this inviolability between the third and the second centuries BC.⁵ Only in the third century BC, therefore, one sees a renewed interest in this sanctuary and, apparently, in the festival.

As anticipated in the Introduction (Part I), preserved lists of victors show that only Boiotians participated in the Pamboiotia. We can now

³ On this episode, see Müller 1996a, 134 and Thornton 2014, 112–113.

⁴ *SEG* 18. 240 = *FD IV 358, 266/262 BC*. Cf. Schachter 1981, 123 and n. 6. It was assumed (Kowalzig 2007, 362 n. 70) that the ἀσυλία preexisted the 3rd cent. BC, since in 394 BC a few Boiotians took refuge in the temple (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 3. 20; Plut. *Ages.* 19. 2; Polyaen. 2. 1. 5; Paus. 3. 9. 13). However, only Pausanias calls these defeated Boiotian ἰκέταις. All the other sources report that Agesilaus let them leave the temple, without forcing it. If so, it was more a royal decision than the actual technical status of ἀσυλία which acted at this stage.

⁵ See Rigsby 1996, 55–59 and Mackil 2013, 224.

add that these lists are actually lists of teams and that their composition goes parallel to those of the military subunits which were training in these decades. There was a “unified system of military organization and training for the *poleis* of the Boiotian League”:⁶ the participation of teams was a means of displaying their effective capacity.

In the late third century BC, a victorious team of Koroneians made a dedication to unknown deities (*SEG* 3. 354, 230–200 BC):

τὸ ἄγειμα κὴ τὸ πελταφόρη κὴ τὸ ἐπίλε[κτο] κὴ τὸ
φαρετρίτη κὴ τὸ σφενδονᾶτη Κορωνείων
τῷ τέλειος νικάσαντες τὰ Παμβοιώτια τῆς θεῆς.

This group was led by the first mentioned subunit, the ἄγειμα: the noun ἄγειμα normally defines an infantry formation of attack, especially the Macedonian ἄγημα. However, it could also describe a specific elite group, similar to the Theban ἱερὸς λόχος.⁷ Both readings might coexist: the Macedonian derivation of the infantry corps could explain the commemoration of other local elite units, renamed now after the Macedonian model. The other Koroneian victorious subunits were the πελτοφόροι (boiot. πελταφόροι), a group of light infantry, the ἐπίλεκτοι, whose vague denomination might indicate another elite formation, possibly on constant call, and two specific subunits: the archers (φαρετρίται) and the slingers (σφενδονῆται).

In a similar way, the “Great Stele of Thespiiai” (*IThesp* 84_{20–29}, 210 BC),⁸ a magistrate list, records the following infantry regiments:

λοχαγὸς τῷ ἀγείματος Κλέων Αὐτον[ό]μω·
[ἀ]γεμόνες πελτοφόρης Δαμόκ[ρ]ιτος Ἀρισ[τ]ο-
[μ]άχω, vac.
vac. ἐφείβαρχος Πουθίων Πουθίωνος· ἀγεμόνε[ς]
ἐπιλέκτους Πειλεκλίδας Εὐκλείος, Στρότω[ν]
Ἀπολλοδώρω· φαρετρίτης Ἀγίας Ἀγα[θ]οκλείος·
σφενδονάτης vac. ἀρχικ[ου]ναγὸν
Ἐράτων Εὐτούχω, Πράξων Σωστράτω, Λοχαγ[ό]ς
Ἀφη[στίων]ος(?), Φιλώνδας Σωκλείος, ν λοχαγὸν ὀπλί-
της Εὐθύνοιο Τίμωνος vac.

⁶ Cf. Grigsby 2017, 121 and Kalliontzis 2020, 89–95.

⁷ Relationship with the Macedonian unit: Feyel 1942, 201–202; Kalliontzis 2020, 92. Connection with the Theban Sacred Band: Schachter 2016, 208.

⁸ See Kalliontzis 2020, 93 on the leaders in this list.

Some elements as the ἄγεια (l. 20) and the light infantry (l. 21) are in common with the aforementioned dedication, whereas others only mentioned here, as the leader of the mandatory military education (l. 23, ἐφείβαρχος) and the chief-huntsman (l. 26, ἀρχικούναγος), suggest occasional variations in the formation of these units which participated to the Pamboiotia.

Among the extant inscriptions of this period, we find the same pattern ἄγεια–ἐπίλεκτοι–πελτοφόροι–φαρετρίται in another dedication of a victorious team at the Pamboiotia from Thespiiai (*IThesp* 201, ca. 230 BC), which lists the single leaders of these subunits: here, however, the slingers are substituted by simple soldiers (l. 13: τὸ πεδδύ).

The few surviving dedications confirm the participation of teams and a close connection between these and the different τέλη of the Boiotian army, whose composition reflected the seven τέλη of the Hellenistic *koinon*.⁹ The relationship between these teams and their place of origin is always remarked: sometimes, as in the aforementioned inscription from Koroneia (*SEG* 3. 354), the whole τέλος takes pride in the victory; on other occasions, for unknown reasons, single poleis of the τέλος (Lebadeia, Koroneia, and Thisbe) chose to make explicit the different contributions of these subunits of the geographical τέλος.¹⁰

A single polis could also participate, perhaps independently of its τέλος, as in the case of Lebadeia, whose horsemen made their own dedication, after the horse-race won at the Pamboiotia (*IG* VII 3087, 255–250 BC):

τοὶ ἱππότη Λεβαδεϊῶν ἀνέθιαν Τρεφώνιοι,
νικάσαντες ἱππασίη Παμβοιώτια, ἱππαρχίοντος
Δεξιπῶ Σαυκρατεῖω, φιλαρχιόντων Μύτωνος
Θρασωνίω, Ἐπιτίμω Σαυκρατεῖω.

The Hellenistic Pamboiotia distinguish themselves for this collective organization, in contrast with the individual participation of the Classical period.¹¹ In the third century, the new military character of the games allowed them to dwell on the national memory of the Boiotians: Koroneia, as a federal sanctuary, had survived the dissolution of the Boiotian League (338–287 BC).

⁹ On the τέλη of the Hellenistic κοινόν, see Knoepfler 2001; Müller 2011; Mackil 2013, 225. On the link with the festival, see now Kalliontzis 2020, 89–90.

¹⁰ See e.g. *SEG* 26, 551, from Koroneia, where we find these three ethnics at ll. 14–16.

¹¹ See Section 1 (Part I).

The local teams of military units had to exhibit their training. The aforementioned horsemen of Lebadeia (*IG* VII 3087), for instance, won the ἵππασίη at the Pamboiotia: this race could consist of a spectacular exhibition of horses, of a fake tournament and performance of complicated moves, not very different from the ἐπίδειξις described by Xenophon (*Hipp.* 3. 10–13).¹² Perhaps there was a form of historical performance, in such a competition, as in the contemporary historical carousel of the *carabinieri* in Italy: this exhibition of grandiose manoeuvres of horses was established during fascism (1933) to celebrate the army and each of the units wears a uniform of the victorious units in specific moments of the past. Could it be that the ἵππασίη had the task of combining sport with history, in Boiotia, a land well-known for its horses¹³ – in other words, that it was an agonistic form of thinking about the past?

Even simple soldiers could participate in the Pamboiotia,¹⁴ which also included a specific competition for armed men, the εὐοπλίη:¹⁵ this military performance of the horsemen was similar to the εὐανδρία included in the contests of the Athenian Panathenaia.¹⁶

Performances of *poetae vagantes* could also occur at the Pamboiotia. Zotion of Ephesus, an otherwise unknown tragic poet, was honoured sometime in the middle of the second cent. BC (*SEG* 57. 443₁₋₆):

[..... ἄρχοντος] ἔδοξε τῷ συνένδρῳ κῆ τῷ δάμῳ τῶν
[Κορωνίων· ἐπιδεῖ Ζ]ωτίων Ζωτίωνος Ἐφέσιος, τραγαῶδι-
[ων ποιεῖτὰς κῆ σατο]ύρων, κῆ πρότερον μὲν ἐπιδαμείσας ἐν
[τὰν πόλιν ἀμίων τ]ὰν ἀναστροφὰν ἐποείσατο εὐσχεῖμονα κῆ καθί-
[κωσαν τῇ πόλιν κῆ αὖσαντ]ῷ, κῆ κατὰ τὸν παριόντα κηρὸν ἀκροάσις
[ποισάμενος τῶν πε]πραγματευμένων αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς ποείσιος

¹² See Olivieri 2010–2011, 89–90. The parallel helps our understanding of the agones, but we should always remember Robert's remark: "on combat pour vaincre, pour être déclaré et proclamé le premier et, plus souvent, il n'y a même pas du second. [...] Cet effort agonistique est le contraire d'une activité ludique. L'agôn, le concours, se distingue radicalement aussi de l'épideixis, récital, représentation, sans concurrent" (Robert 1984 [in: *Πρακτικά του Η' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής και Λατινικής Επιγραφικής, Αθήνα, 3–9 Οκτωβρίου 1982*], 36 = Robert 2007, 268).

¹³ Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 146; Herakleides Kritikos *JCV* (*FGrH* V) 2022 F 13 A and Arenz 2006, 203; Kalliontzis 2020, 93–94.

¹⁴ *SEG* 3. 355.

¹⁵ Moretti, 1953, 102–103.

¹⁶ Suggestion: Pappadakis 1923, 230–231, with Lalonde 2019, 162 n. 300. Other equestrian contests occurred at the Athenian Theseia: on this festival, see Parke 1977, 81–82, Kyle 1993, 40–41; Kennell 1999.

The proxeny decree suggests that, by the time this text had been produced, the *koinon* had already been dissolved.¹⁷ I doubt that the Pamboiotia in their traditional form continued after 171 BC: Zotion is honoured for performing his pieces in Koroneia, and it is highly possible that the festival only continued as a local one. Possibly they were now managed by a group of *ναποιοί*, as two victors' lists of the first century BC confirm.¹⁸ In other words, the proxeny decree for Zotion does not explicitly allow us to argue for a continuity of the festival, unless we postulate a reduction of the agonistic element.

The Pamboiotia might seem more dangerous, from the outside, than the Basileia. Koroneia was one of the Boiotian cities more constantly and vehemently aligned with the Macedonians during the Macedonian Wars.¹⁹ After 171 BC, i.e. after the dissolution of the Boiotian Hellenistic *koinon*,²⁰ there are no more federal archons, and the survival of games could only apply to specific games where “a sublimation of the militaristic self-expression” would be limited to specific cases: the Basileia included an armed race, but it was nothing like the open field competition among teams of soldiers at the heart of the Hellenistic Pamboiotia.²¹

The Boiotians could keep a sense of regional identity through the festivals, in the period between the end of the Third Macedonian War and the re-emergence of the *koinon*. The Basileia survived, in a local form, with a new name (see Section 4). The exception of the Pamboiotia could depend on the strong military connotations of the festival, as it had been rethought and reorganised in the third century BC: Boiotia had displayed an ambiguous position during the Macedonian Wars, and the energies of the cities (and a Roman prohibition?) might have warned against a continuation of a festival where military units showed their military training.

While the Pamboiotia were a festival open to teams, the Basileia remained individual competitions in the third and second century BC; there are isolated mentions of musical contests, which might have

¹⁷ See Schachter–Slater 2007.

¹⁸ *IG* VII 1764 (ca. 60 BC; Schachter 1981, 125–126 and Müller 2014, 128) and *IG* VII 2871 (late 1st cent. BC; see Section 4): on these texts and their value for the theory of a reorganization of the Pamboiotia in the 1st cent. BC, see Knoepfler 2020, 202–206.

¹⁹ See esp. Müller 1996a.

²⁰ On this episode, see now Müller 2021.

²¹ Quotation: Grigsby 2017, 137. Cf. Müller 2014, 122 and 136.

occurred on an irregular basis.²² Once again, the difficulty to give a full and detailed program of the Basileia depends on the selective materials, exclusively epigraphical for the period under consideration (third and second centuries BC).

Most information on the origin of the winners at the Basileia and at the later Trophonia actually dates to the second and to the first century BC: until the third century BC, which represents a turning point in the organization of this festival, a growing number of athletes celebrating their victory at the Basileia often came from other Greek cities.²³

Zeus Basileus and Hera Basileia became two of the four representative Boiotian gods in the external self-presentation of the Boiotians,²⁴ and this will have raised the interest of the other Greeks for the context: in 281/0, the Athenian taxiarchs could claim that visiting the Basileia at Lebadeia equated a foreign embassy to the Boiotian League (*IG* II/III³ 1. 4. 882₉₋₁₁: *περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ ἀποσταλέντε|ς τῶν ταξιάρχων εἰς τὰ Βασίλεια ὑπὲρ τῆ|ς θυσίας ἧς ἔθυσαν*).²⁵

Between the early third and the beginning of the second century BC, we have eight documents on the catchment area of the Basileia.²⁶ Apart from a chronologically slippery text from Klazomenai (*IG* VII 3102),

²² In the case of the Basileia, a musical competition in the 3rd cent. BC might be inferred from *IG* II² 3779: this is a list of victories of the κῠθαρωδός (so Paus. 1. 37. 2) Nikokles of Tarentum. The man won in three contests named Basileia: one in Macedonia, one in Alexandria, and one not specified and possibly in Lebadeia, but the inscription would be the only witness for this period (Knoepfler 2008, 1439). The presence of heralds, in this period (*IG* VII 530, ca. 250 BC), later in time (*IG* II² 3158a, 1st cent. AD), and in the imperial celebrations (see Section 5), does not imply that the Basileia were an ἀγὼν μουσικός, as correctly underlined by Knoepfler (2008, 1456 n. 120).

²³ The reference epigraphic catalogue for the Basileia is Turner 1996. A turning point was represented by Knoepfler 2008; further indications on the epigraphic dossier of the Basileia are in Müller 2014.

²⁴ See *IG* IX² 1170 (ca. 270 BC), with Schachter 2016, 188 and n. 31.

²⁵ On this document as proof of the good relationship between Athens and Boiotia, see Kalliontzis 2020, 112.

²⁶ Ariston of Plataea: *IG* VII 1711 = *Leb.* 4 (early 3rd cent. BC: Manieri 2009; 2nd cent. BC: Schachter 1994). Kallistratos of Sicyon (*MAFAS* 578): *IG* IV 428 (260–220 BC). Damatrios of Tegea (*MAFAS* 276): *IG* V 2. 142 (late 3rd cent. BC). Two winners from Thebes: an anonymous man, *IG* VII 2487 (late 3rd / early 2nd cent. BC: see Knoepfler 2008, 1443 and n. 74) and Athanichos, *IG* VII 4247 = Ebert 70 (late 3rd / early 2nd cent. BC). Anonymous from Argos: *SEG* XI 338 (200–180 BC). Anonymous from Klazomenai: *IG* VII 3102 (probably ‘Hellenistic’: Turner 1996). Anonymous from Lebadeia: *IG* VII 3079 (‘Hellenistic’: Turner 1996).

other two victories are by Theban athletes (*IG* VII 2487 and 4247), whereas two cases must be signalled: Kallistratos of Sicyon (*MAFAS* 578) and Damatrios of Tegea (*MAFAS* 276) record their victories at the Basileia of Lebadeia in a long record of victories at stephanitic as well as at local contests.²⁷ These were extremely successful men, like the Theban Athanichos (*MAFAS* 223; *IG* VII 4247₁₋₄) who died during a military campaign:

[πάμμα]χος ἐν Νεμ[έ]αι νικῶ καὶ τρις Βασίλεια
 [π]αῖς καὶ ἀνήρ. καὶ πύξ τὸν τ[ρίτ]ον [ά]μ[φ]εθ[έ]μην
 [θν]ήσκω δ' [έ]μ [π]ρομάχοις Ἄρεως δορὸς ἡγεμονεύων
 [κλ]εινὸς Ἀθάνιχος, ὃν θοῦρος Ἄρης δ[ά]μ[α]σεν.

The data on the catchment area document a festival with federal management and a still narrow impact beyond its region. The situation can be better understood if we concentrate on what had happened in Lebadeia in the second half of the third century BC, with the plan to erect a new sanctuary for Zeus Basileus. We have eight *συγγραφαί* on the construction, never finished, of this temple.²⁸ One of these contracts indicates the names of two archons of the Boiotian League, Andronikos and, probably, Potidaichos (221/220 BC).²⁹ These names appear in a context which refers to an advanced stage of the project and therefore represent a *terminus ante quem* for the decision to start the construction of this new temple, located on the hill of Prophitis Ilias near modern Livadia.

A *ναοποικὸς νόμος*³⁰ lists the architects, the boiotarchs and the financial board of the *κατόπται* who worked with the newly established college of the *ναοποιοί*. These people oversaw the erection of the new sanctuary of Zeus Basileus as a federal venture: it will remain the only federal institution, after the dissolution of the *koinon* in 171 BC, despite the abrupt end to the works on the temple.

The intervention of the Boiotian League in Lebadeia also concerned other aspects, such as the request of *ἀσυλία* for the new project of the temple. The proof of this is a document (*IG* VII 4136) describing

²⁷ An overview of these winners s. in Knoepfler 2008, 1440–1441.

²⁸ *IG* VII 3073–3076; *AM* 22 (1897) 179; *BCH* 20 (1896) 318; *BCH* 64/65 (1940/41) 37 n. 23; *JHS* 15 (1895) 92.

²⁹ See the new edition of the text by Pitt 2014. On Potidaichos, cf. Kalliontzis 2020, 23–24 and 173 (Inscr. 13).

³⁰ *IG* VII 3073_{87–89}. See Schachter 2016, 389 and n. 39.

a consultation of the oracle of Trophonios and found in a dossier with two other texts concerning the Ptoia of Akrephia:

Καλλικλείδας Λοκρὸς ἐς Ὀπόεντος καταβάς ἐν Τρεφώ-
νιον ἀνάγγειλε Λεπάδειαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ ἀνθέμεν
κῆ τῷ Τρεφωνίῳ κῆ Ἀκρήφια τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πτωίῳ κῆ μὲν
ἀδικῶμεν μειδένα οὕτως. οὕτως δὲ ἀγίρεμεν ἀμφοτέ-
ρως τὰ ἱερὰ χρεῖματα κυνῇ ἐφ’ οὐγὴ κατὰ πᾶσαν χώ-
ραν, κῆ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἱερὸν καταγγελλέμεν. ὅστις δέ κα τῷ
Διὸς τῷ Βασιλεῖος ἐπιμελειθεῖται τῷ ναῷ, τὸν στέφανον
ὑσέτη.³¹

This text raises several questions that cannot be fully addressed here;³² for our understanding of the historical evolution of the Basileia of Lebadeia, however, it is important to stick to the letter of this document. The man, probably paid by the Boiotian League,³³ descended to the cave on matters related to the Ptoia of Akrephia and the temple of Zeus in Lebadeia. The sacred funds are to be solicited ‘throughout every land’ (ll. 5–6) and the cities have to proclaim ‘the sacred agon’. The singular form of this expression and the fact that the text was found in a dossier with the decree of the Amphiktyony confirming this *καταγγελία* (IG VII 4135) are sure evidence that the agon here alluded to are the Ptoia. The descent of Kallikleidas was not related to a reform or a change of the festival of the Basileia: the word to be spread regarded the *ἀσυλία* of the temple of Zeus Basileus.

We anticipated that other Greek communities were aware of the existence of the Basileia during the third century BC, before the new works at the sanctuary. The documents between the late third and the first century BC do not challenge this relatively narrow catchment area

³¹ See Schachter 2016, 381–396. The area of the temple of Zeus Basileus is unfortunately poorly published: see Gadolou 2008 [A. Γκαδόλου, “Ἡ πρόσφατη αρχαιολογικὴ ἐρευνα στο ναὸ τοῦ Διὸς Βασιλέως στη Λιβαδειά”, in: B. Αραβαντινός (ed.), *Επετηρὶς τῆς Εταιρείας τῶν Βοιωτικῶν Μελετῶν: Δ’ Διεθνὲς Συνέδριο Βοιωτικῶν Μελετῶν (Λιβαδειά, 9–12 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000)*] and Kanellou-Partida 2021. On the dossier (IG VII 4135–4137), see Müller 2020, 65–66 on its importance for the Ptoia.

³² To the points addressed in the text, one may add the unconventional choice to credit the reestablishing of the cult to a foreigner, Kallikleidas from Opous. The current understanding is that Opous did not belong to the Boiotian *koinon* at this stage (see Kalliontzis 2020, 101–144).

³³ See Schachter 1984.

of the winners:³⁴ the winners come from Athens, Delphi, Rhodes, Larisa, Potidaia, and Megara. Only in one highly fragmentary inscription from Chaeronea (*SEG* 3. 368, early second century BC) there is a winner from Antiochia ad Pyramum (l. 6)³⁵ and a Χρυσαιορεύς (l. 13).

The variety of the contests, as anticipated in Section 2 (Part I), includes gymnastic contests that cannot easily be presented in their program.³⁶ The only innovation was the choice of an ἀγωνοθέτης from any city of the confederation. This figure is better known for his duties thanks to documents of the first century BC: the task of managing the festival with the sacred funds might have implied a personal intervention.³⁷ Before the late third century BC, we have the salient ἀγωνοθεσία of the Theban Neon, son of Askondas (*IG* VII 3091):³⁸

Νέων Φασκόν[δαο]
ἀγωνοθετεί[σας]
τὰ Βασίλεια
τὸ ἐληοχρίσ[τιον]
ἀνέθεικε τοῖ [Δι]
τοῖ Βασιλε[ῖ] κ[ῆ] τῇ
πόλι.

This act recalls the similar introduction of an ἀγωνοθέτης in the organization of the Ptoia after 221 BC:³⁹ the Boiotians were willing to transform a successful regional festival into a better organized, federal organization of this event.

³⁴ *SGDI* II 2961 (170–130 BC); *IG* XII 1. 78 (2nd cent. BC); *IG* IX² 614a (2nd–1st cent. BC); *SEG* 14. 478a (100 BC); *ID* 1957 = *MAFAS* 695 (120 BC); *IG* VII 47 (196–86 BC); *SEG* 3. 368 (2nd cent. BC). *ID* 1957 and *IG* VII 47 are listed among the ‘Trophonia Monuments’ by Turner 1996 because they refer to the Trophonia. In light of the interpretation followed in this text, however, it is legitimate to consider these texts in the same context.

³⁵ On this winner, see Manieri 2009, 154 and Kalliontzis 2020, 38.

³⁶ See Robert 1936, 22. The three categories of age attested for the Basileia are παῖδες (“boys”), ἀγένειοι (“beardless youths”), and ἄνδρες (“men”). They probably ran different distances in the running contests, but it is not certain whether Plato’s description of these distances (*Leg.* 8. 833 c) applied to all the festivals (see Schöpsdau 2011 *ad* Plat. l. c.).

³⁷ See Migeotte 2006 and Section 4.

³⁸ See Knoepfler 2008, 1441 on this figure.

³⁹ Müller 2020, 66–67.

4. The First Century BC

The first century BC sees a profound renewal of the *Basileia*, which will be addressed in the first place, and the reprise of the *Pamboiotia*. Both these innovations are connected with the new Boiotian κοινόν, no more a federal institution, but an organization that recovered most of the previous regional legacies and used the festivals as carriers of this antiquarian project.

Since a series of documents from the late second and the early first century BC, and to the full third century AD, report the existence of *Trophonia* in *Lebadeia*, it was once believed that the *Basileia* and the *Trophonia* were two different, and possibly coterminous, festivals: the issue has now lost most of its pregnancy, after the new studies of the inscriptions on the festival of *Lebadeia* of the second and the first century BC. A reappraisal of a series of notes by Louis Robert allowed Denis Knoepfler to link the evolution of the *Basileia* with the history of the κοινόν, which was dissolved by the Romans in 171 BC and would only re-emerge in the first century BC, after the Battle of Chaeronea (86 BC).⁴⁰ This survival is in line with the redating of the *Amphiareia Rhomaia*: by antedating *I. Oropos* 521 to 149–146 BC, Kalliontzis showed the continuity of this festival and its precocious ‘Romanization’.⁴¹ In the case of the *Amphiareia*, the likely establishment of the festival in honour of Rome in 148 BC was how *Oropos* reacted to the historical events; in the same decades, the inhabitants of *Lebadeia* were opting for an alternative, by renaming their previous contest.

From the end of the second century BC, the *Basileia* of *Lebadeia* are mentioned under the name of “*Trophonia*”: a telling document of this stage is the prize list of Menodoros of Athens (*MAFAS* 695) who won around 120 BC (*ID* 1957, a₁₋₂; b³_{26; 29, 5}):⁴²

Μηνόδωρον Γναίου Ἀθηναῖον, νικήσαντα τὴν περίοδον καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας,

Δημήτριος Ἀπολλοδότου Ἀντιοχεύς, Ἀπόλλωνι. [...]

Τροφώνια

τὰ ἐν

Λεβαδεΐα

ἄνδρας

πάλην [...]

παγκράτιον.

⁴⁰ Knoepfler 2008 and 2020.

⁴¹ Kalliontzis 2016.

⁴² On the date, see Knoepfler 2008, 1430–1432. The prize list is preserved on two copies, from Delos (*ID* 1957 = *LAG* 51) and from Athens (*IG* II/III² 3147).

Only in the first century BC did the Trophonia reappear as Basileia. Whereas the Pamboiotia, with their strong political semantics, had not been celebrated in full in the years between 171 BC and the birth of the new *koinon*, we can postulate a different situation for the Basileia that continued under a more local lead. It was only in the first century BC, with the new Roman *koinon*, that the Basileia could be systematically reorganised by a regional board. For a period, the festival appears under a different name, but was still celebrated in Lebadeia.⁴³

To an external observer, nothing had changed, in the daily life of the Basileia: writing in the forties of the first century BC, Diodorus asserts that the festival introduced by Epameinondas is the one carried out in his own times (15. 53. 4: ταύτην ποιοῦσι τὴν πανηγύριν). A contemporary of Diodorus, Didymus, in commenting on Pindar's Βοιωτίων ἀγῶνες ἔννομοι, seems to juxtapose Basileia and Trophonia.⁴⁴ The juxtaposition, however, can only emerge from the point of view of a scholar who is aware of the existence of the two names (no variation is attested by Diodorus): Knoepfler observes that the two games were never celebrated together.⁴⁵

One can only speculate on the reason for the change of name: a possible indication are the imperial inscriptions, in which the Basileia, once again, are replaced by the Trophonia. It might be that the Basileia, after the dissolution of the *koinon*,⁴⁶ sounded too 'monarchic', under the Roman government. The last document falls shortly before the Roman measure of 171.⁴⁷ The ambiguous echoes of the name of the festival made it an uneasy cultural thorn for the Romans. A possible

⁴³ *IG* VII 3078 = *Leb.* 11 (80–51 BC); *SEG* III 367 = *Leb.* 12 (mid. 1st cent. BC); *BE* (1973) 213 (1st cent. BC); *IG* VII 3095 (first half of 1st cent. BC); *IG* VII 1764 and 2871 (1st cent. BC). This further low-dating by Müller 2014 is however doubted by Knoepfler (*BE* 2015 n. 249).

⁴⁴ F 13 Braswell, on which see Section 1 (Part I).

⁴⁵ Knoepfler 2008, 1462.

⁴⁶ Müller 1996a and 2002.

⁴⁷ *SGDI* II 2961, late 170s BC. For a discussion of this document, see Knoepfler 2008, 1443–1445. The last winner, Eudokos of Delphi, was the grandson of Praxo, a woman who granted hospitality to Evander of Crete and to three Macedonians, vested by Perseus with the mission to kill Eumenes of Pergamon (Liv. 42. 15–17: on the entire plan, see Thornton 2014, 145–146). Two other possibly coterminous documents are a stele for Agasias of Chalkis (*BE* 1979 n. 116) and a dedication of a Messenian boxer, considered earlier by Knoepfler (2008, 1445 n. 80) and later by the editors of the *SEG* (59. 417).

survival or re-appearance of the contest could only happen under a new, less compromised term. The exact relationship between the local hero Trophonios and Zeus Basileus⁴⁸ remains unexplained, but the decision of Epameinondas, in 371, to call this agon the ‘Basileia’ must not have sounded irrational to the attendants of the site. Conversely, the original fame of Lebadeia as an oracular site might explain the choice of the local organizers to adopt a more locally coloured name (Trophonia), in the period between, roughly, 146 BC and the first quarter of the later century, to adopt a more locally coloured name. The focus on the local hero might have been an idea of the ναοποιοί, the board which survived the dissolution of the *koinon*: the change of administration, in other words, coincided with the decision to return to focus on a local deity. It was always the same festival, but the different dedicant gave it a new allure and diminished its political implications.

Only after the resurrection of the political federation could the Basileia regain their original name and a federal administration. The ἀπολογίαι of the first century BC record the activity of ἀγωνοθέται who declare their expenses and are managers of a festival which is once again a regional event.

The Basileia were organised, on behalf of the college of the ναοποιοί, by an ἀγωνοθέτης, who was presumably chosen by a body representing all the Boiotian cities and elected at a local level. The ἀγωνοθέτης remained in office from the end of the previous edition of the Basileia, during the month of Panamos, to the month Pamboiotios of the next year, when he declared his expenses (ἀπολογία).⁴⁹

We have three ἀπολογίαι of ἀγωνοθέται of the first century BC: one by Xenarchos of Lebadeia,⁵⁰ the second by Prokles,⁵¹ and the third by Sostratos of Tanagra.⁵² Here are three relevant lines of this last inscription (A_{26–29}):

⁴⁸ See esp. Schachter 1994, 88–89 and Bonnechere 2003.

⁴⁹ The noun ἀπολογία is common in Boiotia to indicate the list of expenses of a magistrate at the end of his mandate; the corresponding Attic word is ἀπολογισμός (Rougemon–Rousset 2005, 123).

⁵⁰ *IG* VII 3078 = *Leb.* 11: see Knoepfler 2020, 194–195.

⁵¹ *SEG* 3. 367 = *Leb.* 12. A new fragment belonging to this ἀπολογία was published by Knoepfler 2020, 215–216.

⁵² Matthaiou–Papazarkadas 2020 [A. Π. Ματθαίου, Ν. Παπαζαρκάδας, “Ἀπολογία ἀγωνοθέτου τῶν Βασιλείων ἐκ Λεβαδείας”].

Ἀπολογία ἀγωνοθέτου τῶν Βασιλείων [Σ]ωστράτου Ἑροτίωνος
Ταναγραίου·
Πανάμου· λῆμμα παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ὃ εἰσήνεγκαν ἀφ' ἐκάστου τέλους
εἰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἀλώματα· πα[ρ]ὰ Λεβαδέων ἀργυρίου|
Λευκολλείου ΙΓC-XF [...]

These documents probably represent an abridged version of the actual sums involved in the organization of the festival; moreover, the ἀπολογία of Xenarchos (*Leb.* 11) is preceded by an agonistic catalogue of winners and followed by a list of delegates sent by the Boiotian cities and by an account of the procedure raised by Xenarchos against his predecessor Platon (*Leb.* 11 C₄₂₋₄₆):⁵³

[...][εἰσαχθεῖ-]
σης τῆς κατ[ὰ Πλάτωνος]
ζημίας, ἐπέ[κριναν οἱ ἀ-]
πὸ τῶν πόλ[εων παραγε-]
γονότες ἐ[γκριταί].

The last published fragment of the ἀπολογία of Prokles⁵⁴ and the new ἀπολογία of Sostratos⁵⁵ confirm the relevance of the ἐγκριταί. These jurors were three from each town and some towns provided twice this number, as Orchomenos.⁵⁶ The ἐγκριταί were sent to Lebadeia to judge the competitions in the first place and the further need to govern other trials confirms the tie between this festival and the supervision by the *koinon*. The provenance of the judges attests to a “pattern of widespread representation”.⁵⁷

From the ἀπολογίαι we learn that the financial administration mostly rested on the rental of sanctuary lands and on the εἰσφοραί of the Boiotian cities which decided to participate.⁵⁸ Xenarchos (*Leb.* 11)

⁵³ See Manieri 2009 *ad loc.* and Rougemont–Rousset 2005 n. 22. On the restitution ἐ[γκριταί] (l. 46), see Knoepfler 2020, 224 n. 140.

⁵⁴ Knoepfler 2020, 216₅₋₈: οἱ ἀπὸ τῶ[ν πό-]|λεων παραγενέμενοι ἐγκριταί.

⁵⁵ Matthaiou–Papazarkadas 2020 B₁₈₋₁₉: παρεγε<v>ήθησαν ἐν-|κριταί εἰς τὰ Βασίλεια.

⁵⁶ Orchomenos: Matthaiou–Papazarkadas 2020 B₂₂₋₂₇. On the ἐγκριταί, see Rougemont–Rousset 2005, 124; Papazarkadas 2019, 208–209; Knoepfler 2020, 227–228; Matthaiou–Papazarkadas 2020, 181–182.

⁵⁷ Papazarkadas 2019, 209.

⁵⁸ On the administrative aspects of the festival during the 1st century BC, see Knoepfler 1988; Fröhlich 2004, 469; Müller 2014, 126–127; Schachter 2016, 189–190; Knoepfler 2020.

recalls renting the hippodrome and the stadion (l. 21) and managing the sums for games that did not occur (l. 22); moreover, he took care that all the Boiotian cities delivered their εἰσφορά (l. 23) and ‘personally’, as an act of euergetism, paid for the sacrifices and the agon (25). In the same document, we also learn that the people who rented these spaces were from Lebadeia.

Despite the richness of details on the festival, these ἀπολογίαι do not make mention of any attempt to commemorate previous winners or to claim an alignment with the big games of the περίοδος. At the same time, the agonistic catalogues of the first century BC and the other contemporary documents shed light on a sensibly wider catchment area. On the one hand, we have athletes from Rome in two ἀπολογίαι (*Leb.* 11 and 12);⁵⁹ on the other hand, others came from Greece, Asia Minor, and the Near East.⁶⁰

The presence of a Ptolemy, identified with Ptolemy XII Theos Philopator Neos Dionysos (80–51 BC),⁶¹ is an interesting chapter in the history of a local festival that had long been attended mainly by Boiotians and by other Greeks. According to Papazarkadas, this wide international catchment area may depend on kinship ties sought by the Boiotians, since every city or region outside Greece may be linked to different episodes of mythical history of Boiotia.⁶² If this scenario were true, one could recognize here a further aspect of the political implications of the Basileia. The Boiotians were probably using such a festival – where two regional boards, the ναοποιοί and the ἐγκριταί, coexisted⁶³ – to look for an external confirmation of this antiquarian revival. Based on the preserved ἀπολογίαι, it is hard to claim when exactly the new *koinon* was born: the current certain points are that this must have been after the Mithridatic

⁵⁹ The presence of P. Licinius in the apology of Prokles (*Leb.* 12) may help postdate this inscription to the last third of the first century BC (Müller 2014, 127). On the expansion of the community of the Romans in Boiotia in this period, see Müller 2002.

⁶⁰ Epidamnos: *IG* VII 3078A, 1. Anthedon: *IG* VII 3078A, 11. Opous: *AD* (1971) n. 34–40, 7. Nicaea of Bithynia: *IG* VII 3078A, 3; *AD* (1971) 34–40, 19. Bargylia: *SEG* 3. 367, 11. Tyre: *IG* VII 3078A_{23, 27}; *AD* (1971) 34–40, 5. Seleucia on the Tigris: *AD* (1971) 34–40, 9. 11. 13. 15. Cf. also the chart by Papazarkadas 2019, 211. The new ἀπολογία of Sostratos (Matthaiaou–Papazarkadas 2020) only includes winners from Boiotia.

⁶¹ See Manieri 2009 *ad Leb.* 11.

⁶² Papazarkadas 2019.

⁶³ The two bodies possibly performed different tasks (Knoepfler 2020, 230).

wars (86 BC), possibly in the first years of the diffusion of the silver coins known as ἄργυριον Λευκολλείου mentioned in the ἀπολογία of Sostratos (Matthaïou–Papazarkadas 2020 A_{28–29}).⁶⁴

While the kind of competitions performed at the Basileia did not change – not even now, it seems, did it include a musical section, – in the first century BC the Pamboiotia underwent a new change: there were not the previous military τέλη, whereas there were now athletic and equestrian contests. The first century BC is also the last period when the Pamboiotia reappear in our epigraphic evidence. The reorganization was part of this more general “antiquarian revival”:⁶⁵ the same body of ναοποιοί, which had been created at a federal level in the late third century BC to oversee the construction of the temple of Zeus Basileus, now organised both the Basileia and the Pamboiotia.⁶⁶

While the Basileia, however, had survived the shock of the Roman dissolution of the *koinon*, through a period of local management under a different name, the Pamboiotia are not attested between the end of the Third Macedonian War and the years of Sulla and Lucullus. It is unlikely that it is a matter of pure lack of evidence, despite the general inferiority of documents related to the Pamboiotia, in contrast with those on the Basileia/Trophonia.

For the period under consideration here (first century BC), we have only three, possibly two documents on the Pamboiotia.⁶⁷ Among these, it is worthwhile to recall one attesting a Roman participant such as Aulus Castricius (*IG* VII 2871_{1–4; 14–15}):⁶⁸

⁶⁴ As summarized by Knoepfler 2020, 242–243, it is hard to tell whether these coins refer to M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (cos. 73 BC: *MRR* II 109) or his brother L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74 BC: *MRR* II 100–101). The latter has been endorsed, in light of Plut. *Luc.* 2. 1–2 and of the actual responsibility for these emissions (cf. Marsura 2015 and Assenmaker 2017), but there are still doubts and the former option is defended by Grandjean 2023, that is also currently the best and fullest account on the *nummi Luculliani*. Since the preserved ἀπολογίαι date from 58/7 BC and 40 BC, a slightly later date for the reinstitution of the *koinon* and the Basileia in the 60s, rather than in the immediate aftermath of the Mithridatic Wars, should be preferred (see Müller 2020, 80).

⁶⁵ Schachter 2016, 189.

⁶⁶ See Mueller 2014, 125–126a.

⁶⁷ *IG* VII 1764 (2nd/1st cent. BC, but the festival is unclear: see Grigsby 2017, 195–196); *SEG* 28. 456 (Koroneia, single winners); *IG* VII 2871.

⁶⁸ The list presents single winners from different Boiotian cities (Thebes, Orchomenos, Thespiiai), as well as a group (l. 17: τέλος) from Thespiiai (see Papazarkadas 2019, 209 and Matthaïou–Papazarkadas 2020, 166–167 on the

ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀκραϊφίοις Ἴππονίκου,
 γραμματεύοντος τῶν ναοποιῶν
 Μνασάρχου τοῦ Χαρίτωνος, τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ
 κ]αὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ τῆς πανηγύρεως, οἶδε ἐνείκ[ων]
 [...] Αὔλος Καστρίκιος Αὔλου υἱός
 τελέφῳ δίαυλον.

This final document also allows us to move to the next period with two preliminary observations: first, the re-foundation of the Boiotian *koinon* coincided with the reprise of the Basileia and the Pamboiotia and they were both managed by the new regional *koinon*; secondly, the fate of the Basileia, that were only temporarily substituted by the Trophonia in the first decades of the Roman government of Greece, sheds light on the abandonment of the Pamboiotia in this same period. While the Basileia had survived as a local festival, the Pamboiotia were perhaps perceived as unequivocally regional in their nature and were possibly only restarted when the *koinon* was re-founded.

5. The Boiotian κοινόν and its Festivals after Augustus

The Roman Boiotian κοινόν was “an institution with religious overtones”.⁶⁹ The Itonion became its heart, and an ἐπιμελετῆς τῆς πανηγύρεως (*IG* VII 2871₄) signalled the different fate of the Pamboiotia in contrast with the Basileia. A possible precedence of the reorganization of the Basileia over the Pamboiotia might be posited: the epigraphic documents related to the Pamboiotia – despite the risks of any argument based on documents preserved and not preserved – are slightly later than the documents on the Basileia.⁷⁰ Moreover, Diodorus (15. 53. 4), in the forties, knows that

secretary of the board of the ναοποιοί in this inscription). The document was dated by Gossage to around 75 BC, but Müller (2014, 128–129) placed it in the first decades of the 1st cent. AD. Her main arguments are the similarity between this text and two other texts which mention the Pamboiotia (*SEG* 38. 380 and *IG* VII 2711), and the fact that the family of the single non-Boiotian winner recorded by *IG* VII 2871, Aulus Castricius, belongs to a family well-attested in Thespiiai in the early 1st cent. AD. This Aulus, the sole non-Boiotian winner ever attested at the Pamboiotia, might be the same Aulus Castricius of *CIL* III 7301 (14 AD). The Castricii appear in Thespiiai at the end of the 1st cent. BC and might have been *negotiatores* previously living in Delos (Müller 1996b, 162–163).

⁶⁹ Müller 2014, 129.

⁷⁰ Müller 2014, 129–130.

the Basileia are still carried out. Strabo (9. 2. 29), instead, says about Koroneia that ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὰ Παμβοιωτία συνετέλουν. Strabo seems to have lived after Diodorus and maybe he was just copying a source.⁷¹ It is not impossible, however, that Strabo did not know of the new Pamboiotia yet, or maybe the festival was still in the process of being re-organised.

The name of the new Boiotian body, τὸ κοινόν, is reflected in sources that show how it was seen from an emic perspective. The first occurrence (33/2 BC)⁷² is in striking line with all those documents where the κοινόν is linked with the administration itself of the Roman Pamboiotia. Expressions such as τὸ συνέδριον Βοιωτῶν⁷³ or τὸ κοινόν Παμβοιωτῶν συνέδριον⁷⁴ confirm how the Boiotian body viewed the agonistic dimension as an indissoluble part of the new union.⁷⁵ Besides, the dossier of Epameinondas of Akraiphia (37 AD), an εὐεργέτης who lived under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, locates the choice to collocate the record of a collective decision in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia to the first imperial period.⁷⁶ The Boiotians still met there in Pausanias' time (Paus. 9. 34. 1–2.) One wonders whether the historical scenario of another *Love Story* by Plutarch (4) also refers to an imperial setting.⁷⁷ Here, a girl joins the celebration of the Pamboiotia (*Am. narr.* 774 E: τὴν τῶν Παμβοιωτίων ἑορτήν), because she is looking for justice against thirty violent pretenders: the Boiotians on the spot listen to her and are furious with the men. Despite the fictitious nature of the story, the idea that the Itonion could act as a central spot to present one's allegations is in line with the notion that, in the second century AD, Boiotians routinely met at Koroneia. The fact that she presents herself as Ἰκέτις might corroborate the fact that at this stage the sanctuary still enjoyed *asylia*, but we lack further evidence on this.

⁷¹ Schachter 1981, 124 n. 4. Among modern editors of Strabo, only Meineke (1877 *ad loc.*) corrects the unanimously transmitted συνετέλουν in συντέλουν. The passage of Strabo is reprised, with the same verbal tense, by Eustathius (*Il.* 410, 11 van der Valk). Strabo is here commenting on the Boiotian places in the Homeric *Catalogue of the Ships* and a Hellenistic commenter would have already been wrong in considering the Pamboiotia a past event. It remains therefore likelier that Strabo was responsible for the choice of the verbal tense.

⁷² *IG* II² 4114.

⁷³ *IG* VII 2711.

⁷⁴ *IG* VII 2712.

⁷⁵ See also *IG* VII 2878, with Knoepfler 2012, 240–246.

⁷⁶ On this dossier, see Oliver 1971; Chaniotis 2008, 67–87; Grigsby 2017, 207–213; Tufano 2022a, 80–81.

⁷⁷ Schachter 1981, 124 n. 3.

The Pamboiotia lost their military dimension in the first two centuries of the Roman empire, but regained a political meaning, insofar as such a meaning could be had under the Roman administration.⁷⁸ While the Pamboiotia became a fossil of the ethnic imagery of the Boiotians, the Basileia were still celebrated.

In the early imperial period, the herald Onetor dedicates golden apples to Apollo in Delphi:⁷⁹

Σοὶ τὰδ' Ὀνήτωρ μῆλα, πατρώιε, σήματα νίκης
 Πυθώης ἱερῆς τ' ἀντίθεμ' εὐεπίης,
 τὸν Νεμέη Θήβη τε καὶ εὐρύχορος Λε[βάδεια]
 [...]

The herald won crowns at Nemea, at Thebes and at εὐρύχορος Λε[βάδεια] (l. 3). If there were certain proof that the Basileia included a contest for heralds, we might consider this in the record.⁸⁰ All we can claim is that Onetor was proud of a victory at Lebadeia. The mention of the name of the city sufficed to refer to a prestigious contest.

Between the second and the third century AD, the Basileia are called once again Trophonia.⁸¹ Perhaps there had been a previous transitional phase in which both names were used, although the story of the agon hinders the likelihood of this possibility. The board of the ναοποιοί and the activity of the *koinon* are certain facts for the second century, and it is therefore unlikely that the conditions for the existence of the Basileia were lacking.

⁷⁸ The Boiotian *koinon* of the Roman times had boiotarchs, well attested in the 2nd cent. AD, for instance in a letter of Hadrian to Naryka recently published (*SEG* 51. 641: cf. Knoepfler 2012, 224–228). The date and number of the imperial boiotarch(s) are uncertain: see Knoepfler 2012 and Tufano 2022a.

⁷⁹ *IG* II² 3158₁₋₃ = *Leb.* 14 in Manieri 2009 and *Delph.* 81 in Della Bona 2017.

⁸⁰ So Manieri 2009 (= *Leb.* 14). The victory of a herald at the ‘agon of Zeus’ mentioned by a previous inscription may refer to the Basileia: *IG* VII 530, mid. 3rd cent. BC (see *IAG* 38 for the view that these are the Olympia). Before *Leb.* 14, therefore, only *ID* 2552 = *Delph.* 79 (1st cent. BC; see Knoepfler 2008, 1456–1457) seems to confirm the participation of a herald to a festival in Lebadeia, although the absence of the exact name on this document makes its use quite tricky. The chronology of the inscription is not clear: Peek (1941, 416) noted that the imperial date of *I.Délos* may be anticipated to the 1st cent. BC, which is now accepted also by Della Bona (2017, 201).

⁸¹ Cf. *SEG* 26. 258 and 263, both from Athens and dated to the 2nd cent. AD.

In the early third century, Flavia Laneika is defined ἀρχιερεία κοινοῦ Βοιωτῶν τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς;⁸² a procession might still take place in Koroneia, but there is not positive evidence that the Pamboiotia were still taking place. On the contrary, a few decades later, we have again epigraphic attestations of victories at the Trophonia.⁸³ Two of the four extant documents are for heralds (*Delph.* 119–120), but there is no proof on the program of the Trophonia at this stage. Since the four documents are for single winners, one can only suggest that individual competitions happened, but only for a winner, Valerius of Sinope (*Delph.* 120; 253–257 AD), we know that the man was active as an athlete (*Delph.* 121).

What can we make of this new change of name at Lebadeia? So far, we have tried to link the history of the Basileia and the Pamboiotia with the history of the Boiotian region. Is it possible, then, that the *koinon* was once again dissolved, in the third century, and that Lebadeia decided to continue the old festival, under a more parochial name? We lack positive evidence that the *koinon* was once again dissolved in this century. On the whole, the idea of a shift of the festival from the exhibition of regional identity to a return to local celebrations might hold:⁸⁴ a good hint in this direction is the composition of the *Panhellenion* created by Hadrian and the success of the civic identities in the second century AD.⁸⁵ The particularism of the third century AD might be part of the explanation, while Boiotian identity resurfaced in other forms, such as the curious occurrence of a βσιώταρχος active in the 250s.⁸⁶

The situation is maybe more complex than what a single explanation can offer: the ναοποιοί disappear together with the festivals, but it is likely that their original function was inherited by the boiotarch(s).⁸⁷ An often-mentioned document in relationship with the Basileia, in fact, does not record the name of the festival, but can be included in their dossier. This text mentions Drusus, Tiberius' son (*IG* VII 3103, 14–23 AD):

⁸² *IG* VII 3426; On this document, see Knoepfler 2012, 237–240 and Tufano 2022a, 101–103.

⁸³ *FD* III 1. 550 = *Delph.* 108 (early 3rd cent. AD); *IG* VII 49 = *Delph.* 119 (post 242 AD), *IG* II² 3169/3170 = *Delph.* 120 (ca. 253–257 AD); *FD* III 1. 555 (ca. 250 AD). Cf. Grigsby 2017, 239.

⁸⁴ Cf. Grigsby 2017, 238–239.

⁸⁵ Cf. Gordillo 2012.

⁸⁶ See Tufano 2022a.

⁸⁷ Disappearance of the ναοποιοί and loss of documentation: Schachter 2016, 145 n. 25.

Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβα-
 στοῦ Γερμανικοῦ υἱὸν Καίσαρα
 Δροῦσον Γερμανικὸν
 Σκύλαξ Σωσικράτους Λεβαδεὺς
 ἀγωνοθετήσας Καισαρήων καὶ
 [-----]

The ἀγωνοθέτης of the text cared about the Καισάρεια καὶ [...] another festival, which is not preserved. Very likely, the name of the festival at this stage had to be still Basileia.⁸⁸ The cult of the emperors was quite popular in Boiotia and, in the case of the Ptoia, the noun Καισάρεια substituted the original name of the festival, Ptoia: the re-foundation by Epameinondas of Akraiphiai of τὰ μεγάλα Πτώια καὶ Καισάρηα⁸⁹ was a renovation of a festival no longer held for economic problems.

We have evidence for the imperial cult in Lebadeia; elsewhere in Boiotia more than one festival was rebranded in favour of the emperors during the first century AD.⁹⁰ We should wonder why the Trophonia still bear this name in the third century AD, while the Basileia had been subsumed under the Kaisareia. In the absence of explicit indications of the name of the festival for the period of the first two centuries, I suggest that the Basileia had been subsumed in the imperial cult, and that the festival could only re-emerge as Trophonia in the third century AD: the Lebadeian Kaisareia are attested in the first century AD and between the second and the third century AD.⁹¹

It could be that the imperial denomination had elicited an obliteration or that the double name (Καισάρεια [καὶ] Βασίλεια) was simply shortened or not recorded. This seems a specific strategy to grant the survival of an agonistic tradition while realizing that historical conditions demands a change; in other words, “the horizontal action of these festivals, in bringing these cities together, was combined with the vertical action of positioning them in relation to their new rulers”.⁹²

A further hint of this overlapping of the Basileia and the Kaisareia might be the ambiguity of the status of Cn. Curtius Dexippus, the son of Flavia Laneika who had dedicated a statue to his mother (*IG* VII 3426₂₋₆):

⁸⁸ So Knoepfler 2008, 1457–1458.

⁸⁹ *IG* VII 2712₅₆₋₅₉ and Müller 2020, 88.

⁹⁰ On the imperial cults in Boiotia, cf. Camia 2011b, 125–128.

⁹¹ *IG* VII 3103, *IG* VII 3106; on the date of *IG* VII 3106, and the imperial festivals in Lebadeia, see Camia 2011b, 127 and n. 527.

⁹² Van Nijf–Williamson 2015, 108.

Φλαβίαν Λανείκαν τὴν ἀρχιέριαν
διὰ βίου τοῦ τε κοινοῦ Βοιωτῶν τῆς
Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ Φω-
κέων ἔθνους καὶ τῆς Ὀμονοίας τῶν
Ἑλλήνων παρὰ τῷ Τροφονίῳ [...].⁹³

Her son Dexippos was a βοιωτάρχης (l. 9), a λογιστής of Chaeronea (l. 11), and ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου τῶν Σεβαστῶν (l. 9–10). These ἀρχιερεῖς could work at the same time for the imperial cult and for local demands (thence, the nexus with Athena Itonia):⁹⁴ even if the current example only refers to the imperial cult of Chaeronea, it remains likely that it was this overlapping of local and imperial festivals that caused the apparent oblivion of the local festivals in our documentation.

Conclusion

The study of the Pamboiotia and the Basileia continues to suffer from a limit of documentation that often only allows hypotheses: “we are very much at the mercy, not only of what has or has not survived, but also of what may or may not have been inscribed in the first place”.⁹⁵ These two festivals were able to unify and represent the Boiotian region to a point that Didymos’ confusion on the identification of Pindar’s ἀγῶνες ἔννομοι Βοιωτῶν as either the Basileia or the Pamboiotia does not seem completely unsound.

The Pamboiotia were the perfect stage to exemplify why Epameinondas would call his land ‘the dancing floor of Ares’:⁹⁶ their location at Koroneia in the fifth century BC linked forever the festival with a capital victory of Boiotian history. No wonder that the later redesigning of the Hellenistic period could transform the religious meeting into a military venue and that, from then on, the athletes would be marching under a national agenda. This was not a celebration that the Romans could accept or like, or, more probably, the dissolution of 171 BC made their survival completely impossible, in light of the strong

⁹³ On this woman, see Siekierka *et al.* 2021, 309.

⁹⁴ On these ἀρχιερεῖς, see Camia 2011b, 165–166 and 166 nn. 746–747; Knoepfler 2012, 237–240.

⁹⁵ Schachter 2016, 350 n. 17.

⁹⁶ Plut. *Marc.* 21. 3 and *apophth.* 193A; on the Boiotian military culture of the 3rd cent. BC, cf. Ma 2005.

federal administration of the event. Only under the new *koinon* of the late republic could the Boiotians regain this regional manifestation and place of public decision-making: maybe the games were still held under the first three centuries of the empire, but now the meeting had a more religious aspect.

The Basileia were, at first, the festival of the golden years of the Theban hegemony: for a long time, it remained a regional event. The catchment area of the winners sensibly expanded only in the first century BC. Under the Hellenistic κοινόν the recollection of that great time of effective power, however short-lived, probably inspired the implementation of the site, with the beginning of the construction of that never completed Temple of Zeus Basileus. Trophonios, with his oracle and his sacred shadow over the competition, had always been there and the fame of the oracle will have helped the contextual success of the festival; besides, the ναοποιοί, initially designed to oversee the constructions, became an ideological weapon when the new *koinon* of the first century BC was born. Had such a plan remained in their hearts? The short season of the Trophonia, between the last two centuries BC, suggests that Lebadeia alone had organised the festival, in the first decades after the Roman expansion in Greece; but now, after Sulla's arrival – and Trophonios' good oracles for the *dictator*,⁹⁷ – the ναοποιοί could certainly be seen as a befitting body of Boiotians who could also care for the reorganization of the Basileia.

From the age of Augustus, the story of the Basileia and of the Pamboiotia, combined for a few years, diverges again: the Pamboiotia probably remained popular, thanks to the link with the Itonion, whereas the Basileia might have been hidden by the contextual cult and festival for the emperor. What happens between the first and the third century AD can only remain in the realm of the hypothesis, but no one will doubt that the strength of the *koinon* lay on other grounds by now.

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⁹⁷ Plut. *Sull.* 17, with Grigsby 2017, 192–193. Sulla might have assigned the tax revenues to the temple of Zeus and this could be a sign of special treatment, but this has not necessarily consequences on the festival in itself (on the possible assignment of tax revenues, see Larsen in Frank 1938, 307–308 and Rigsby 1996, 83).

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The paper offers the second half of a comprehensive survey of the two most important Boiotian regional festivals, i.e. the Basileia of Lebadeia and the Pamboiotia of Koroneia. The author contends that these competitions had a regional impact and were performed independently of the existence of a federal government in Boiotia. This article, in particular, addresses the Hellenistic and Roman periods of these festivals. The third and the second centuries BC (Section 3), before the dismantlement of the Boiotian *koinon* in 171 BC, saw the great success of both the Basileia and the Pamboiotia. The Basileia were an individual competition and the federal government decided, around 221/0 BC, to declare this a sacred festival. The Pamboiotia became, from the early third century BC, a military event, because there were contests for military units and these could perform their training. This difference explains why, after 171 BC, the Pamboiotia disappeared and the Basileia continued as a local festival with a new name, Trophonia (Section 4). The first century BC saw a new regional organization, in Boiotia, with the reprise of a *koinon*. The Roman *koinon* was not a political body but could manage regional festivals and the Boiotians as a whole decided to rename the Trophonia with their original name and to re-start the Pamboiotia. The author claims that the Roman government strongly influenced the choice to abandon the military aspects of the Pamboiotia. The external influence also explains why, in the imperial period (Section 5), the Basileia were probably renamed Kaisareia and substituted by the imperial cult in Lebadeia. The late, short fate of the new Trophonia in the third century AD is exceptional and could indicate that the Boiotian *koinon* now chose to focus more on the Pamboiotia as a regional festival. The cult in Koroneia is still important in the imperial period; the last clear signs of individual contests in Koroneia date to the first century AD and in the II Century AD Koroneia was mostly a meeting point for the Boiotians. The study demonstrates that the *longue durée* of the Pamboiotia and the Basileia (fifth/fourth cent. BC – third cent. AD) depends on the Boiotian use of these regional festivals as carriers of collective memory.

Статья представляет собой всесторонний исторический обзор двух наиболее важных беотийских региональных празднеств – Басилей в Лебадее и Памбеотий в Коронее. Автор утверждает, что эти состязания имели региональное

значение и проводились вне зависимости от существования в Беотии федерального правительства. Вторая часть посвящена эллинистическому и римскому периоду существования празднеств. III–II вв. до н. э. (раздел 3), до упразднения Беотийского союза в 171 г., – время расцвета как Басилей, так и Памбеотий. Басилей, на которых проводились индивидуальные соревнования, федеральные власти ок. 221/220 г. решили провозгласить священными. Памбеотии с начала III в. становятся военным празднеством, на них соревнуются воинские отряды, показывая результаты своих тренировок. Этим различием объясняется, почему после 171 г. Памбеотии исчезли, а Басилей продолжили свое существование как локальный праздник под новым именем – Трофонии (раздел 4). В I в. до н. э. вновь возрождается Беотийский союз. Это объединение римского времени не имело политического значения, но могло организовывать региональные празднества, и беотийцы как единое целое решили вернуть прежнее название Трофониям и снова начать проводить Памбеотии. По мнению автора, исчезновение военных черт в праздновании Памбеотий объясняется влиянием римских властей. Такое же внешнее влияние объясняет, почему в эпоху империи (раздел 5) Басилей, вероятно, были переименованы в Кесареи и поставлены на службу культу императора в Лебадее. Существование новых Трофоний в III в. н. э. продолжалось совсем недолго, и это позволяет предположить, что Беотийский союз предпочел сосредоточиться скорее на Памбеотиях как региональном празднике. Культ в Коронее сохраняет свое значение в эпоху империи; последние недвусмысленные свидетельства индивидуальных состязаний там относятся к I в. н. э., и во II в. Короней – преимущественно место собраний беотийцев. В статье доказывается, что необычайно длительное (с V/IV в. до н. э. по III в. н. э.) существование Памбеотий и Басилей связано с тем, что для беотийцев они стали носителями коллективной памяти.

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