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What's in a federal name? The denominations of membership in the Boiotian Confederacy during the Classical and Hellenistic Periods

Christel Müller

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THE *KOINA* OF SOUTHERN GREECE

Historical and Numismatic Studies
in Ancient Greek Federalism

edited by Catherine Grandjean



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THE *KOINA* OF SOUTHERN GREECE:
HISTORICAL AND NUMISMATIC
STUDIES IN ANCIENT GREEK
FEDERALISM

edited by Catherine Grandjean

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WHAT'S IN A (FEDERAL) NAME? THE DENOMINATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE BOIOTIAN CONFEDERACY DURING THE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS

Christel Müller

POSITION OF THE PROBLEM

If one concept is falsely familiar in studies of the ancient Greek world, it is that of confederacy or confederal organization: it takes a great deal of work to understand precisely the indigenous terms and categories, such as *koinon* or *sympoliteia*, and then to make a comparison with contemporary systems at the right historical distance. Several teams of historians have been working on this task with renewed impetus since the 1990s, particularly in Italy, Germany and of course in France and in the French-speaking world,¹ in parallel with the development of the European Union. This is evidenced by the volume published in 2015 in Cambridge under the direction of Hans Beck and Peter Funke, *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, which will remain as the most complete successor to Jakob Larsen's synthesis, *Greek Federal States*, published in 1968.

The editors of this massive book rightly recall that one of the key notions, and almost the initial question in the analysis of Greek confederal systems, has been that of citizenship, and more precisely of double citizenship, *Doppelbürgerrecht* or more precisely *Gesamtbürgerrecht*,² as Emil Szanto had already defined it in 1892 in his opuscle entitled *Das griechische Bürgerrecht*. As the latter wrote, "*in solchen Sympolitien (i.e., confederal sympolities of the Achaean type), muss es ein Einzelbürgerrecht und ein Gesamtbürgerrecht geben und die Existenz beider Arten von Bürgerrecht ist ein ausreichender Beweis für eine solche Sympolitie*".³ The aim was then to examine the processes of granting local and federal citizenship and the various rights from an institutional and structural point of view, including what was then (and unfortunately still is) called anachronistically the civil rights to which membership at both levels gave access.

Subsequently, the confederal question was enriched by a series of reflections, born of various historiographic traditions crossing the *koina* route: for example, on the organization and division of territories which led, for example, to the discovery at the end of the 1990s by Denis Knoepfler and Thomas Corsten of the districts (*tele*) in the Boiotian *koinon* of the Hellenistic period;⁴ this type of study in turn has resulted in long analyses on the distribution of the population within these subdivisions, but also on representativeness and the rules of proportionality, a theme whose heuristic potential has not yet been thoroughly examined, with the exception of a few very recent studies;⁵ secondly, on ethnic identity and the link between *ethnos* and *koinon*, which has been the subject of much debate, particularly on the origins of the confederations from the point of view of ethnogenesis: one thinks of Emily Mackil's thesis published in 2013 and,

* I am very grateful to both Madalina Dana and Émeline Désolé-Priol for their careful reading of this article. All mistakes remain mine.

¹ One thinks of the work of G. Daverio-Rocchi (Daverio-Rocchi 1993), H. Beck (Beck 1997) and T. Corsten (Corsten 1999) and especially of D. Knoepfler, a pioneer for Boiotia (e.g. Knoepfler 2000, 2001b, 2013). To this should be added the work in French of A. Rizakis on the Achaean *koinon* (Rizakis 1990, 2008 and 2012) and the very recent work of Ch. Lasagni on the *koina* of Western Greece (Lasagni 2019), as well as the brief leaflet on *Greek federal terminology* by J. Rzepka (Rzepka 2017), which was "written as a part of a research project entitled *The language of federalism in the ancient Greek federal states* sponsored by the Polish National Science Center in the years 2011-2014" (p. 7).

² Beck & Funke 2015a, 6: "The key-notion of their [Busolt and Swoboda] investigation revolved around the idea of double citizenship, which soon became the heuristic tool with which to define a Greek federal state".

³ Szanto 1892, 111.

⁴ Knoepfler 2000 and 2001b; Corsten 1999; Müller 2011.

⁵ One will see now Kalliontzis 2020 and Lucas forthc.

before her, the work of Stephanie Larson⁶ and Angela Kuhr;⁷ lastly, and more recently, on confederal coinage, which this conference presents through the ANR-DFG KOINON project directed by Catherine Grandjean and conducted from a fundamentally historical perspective on shared structures and identities as they can be perceived through monetary production and circulation.

REVISITING THE ISSUE OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

These different research topics tended to at least partially obliterate the question of citizenship, which was probably thought to have been resolved, because a fairly clear idea of the rights and duties of a Boiotian, Achaian or Aitolian citizen had been acquired. However, the issue has somehow resurfaced in the 2010s, most clearly illustrated by Athanase Rizakis' work⁸ on citizenship in the Achaian Confederation at a conference on multiple citizenships held in Tours.⁹ Moreover, civic *politeia* itself has been the subject of innovative works, such as that of Josine Blok, which culminated in the publication in 2017 of her book on Athenian citizenship in the classical era,¹⁰ a theme that might seem hackneyed, but which the author has been able to renew to a large extent by observing more closely the role of women in the system,¹¹ as well as the place held by cultic activities in the very definition of this *politeia*. We shall also refer to other more distant but equally stimulating works on the theme of citizenship, such as Victor Farenga's *Citizen and Self in Ancient Greece*, published in 2006, which addresses the *politeia* in terms of performance. In order to understand what the notion of performance (now widely used in the contemporary historiography of Ancient Greece) brings to the question of citizenship, I will give here an example of what I mean by this expression, taking the case of the famous courtesan Neaira, mentioned in the eponymous discourse of the Pseudo-Demosthenes.¹² This is, of course, an extreme example, but a very evocative one, since the character begins as a slave in Corinth and ends up as a quasi-citizen in Athens married to an Athenian, Stephanos; above all, her daughter Phanô, who married an *archon basileus*, became in a way a citizen because she acted like a citizen and was recognized as such: of course, the whole judicial issue here lies in the dissociation (and in fact the contradiction) between a legal status that is not that of a citizen according to the accusation and a behaviour that is that of a citizen and is accepted as such by the community until denunciation; the interest of my argument is that citizenship is in this case highlighted as being based in equal parts on a status (perhaps fraudulent, but it doesn't matter) and on a behaviour and gestures (in short, a performance) recognized as being those of a citizen.

Coming back to the *koina*, it seems to me that it is time to revisit the question of double or multiple federal citizenship from the perspective of the anthropology of politics, *i.e.* in terms of practices and representations rather than through the sole structures and institutions in a restrictive meaning, in line with the work of the anthropologist Catherine Neveu on contemporary citizenship.¹³ It is well known today that the possession of rights and duties never automatically leads to their implementation (one only has to look at the percentage of French citizens who voted in the European elections in 2019): the statement of these rights is therefore only ever part of the description of the mechanisms of citizenship. The general question on which my remarks will be based is therefore the following: what does it mean to be a citizen in a Confederacy in terms of actions, practices and rituals? What does one do over time when one enjoys dual membership, as in the case of Europe where European citizenship is defined as "superimposed citizenship" in relation to the national citizenship? It is clear that voting and political participation in the narrow sense of the term are no longer sufficient to provide a definition, a perspective that resonates with the current demands of European citizens, who are no longer

6 Larson 2007.

7 Kuhr 2006.

8 Rizakis 2012.

9 Heller & Pont, ed. 2012.

10 Blok 2017.

11 See also Sébillotte-Cuchet 2016 on how to reintegrate women's issues into policy analysis.

12 Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*. See now Müller 2018.

13 Neveu 2004 and 2005.

WHAT'S IN A (FEDERAL) NAME?

content to simply cast their votes or to contribute financially to the works of Brussels through their States, but sometimes ask for and obtain different modes of participation.

Here is a key word that has now been dropped: participation. No term is more accurate than this one to define the Greeks' idea of *politeia*: it is a matter of *meteinaí*, “to be with”, and *metechein*, which can be translated as “to stand with”. These terms, roughly equivalent at a semantic level, are constantly found in epigraphic sources, especially honorific decrees and treatises, to refer to the process of aggregation by which such and such a group or individual may benefit from a specific privilege: among many other examples, that point is evidenced by a decree of Keos for the Aitolians in the last third of the IIIrd century BC.¹⁴ It could be objected, with regard to the sources, that the inscriptions referred to here are precisely normative documents and that the legal analysis applied until then in an extensive, even exclusive way, is a consequence of such a situation. However, the prescriptions contained in these texts are not simply above-ground statements whose applications, or even applicability, should be measured: they are also productions of the social body like any other and the sign of an appropriation of a problem by citizens within political institutions. In other words, they in turn say something about practices, in the same way as literary texts or archaeological sources do. I will therefore not artificially dissociate here the evocation of norms from that of practices on which they are based and vice versa. Nor will I forget one of the questions that is being asked of us through this conference, that of a possible conflict between the federal and the civic levels, with regard to the citizen's leeway. Finally, it is unthinkable, of course, to offer an exhaustive analysis of all the testimonies relating to the use of federal *politeia*. The main part of my contribution will therefore relate, through epigraphic sources, to the *koina* that I know best, those of Classical and Hellenistic Boiotia, although I will not refrain from making comparisons, particularly with Achaia and Aitolia.

THE NAME ONE GIVES (ONESELF): FEDERAL ETHNICS

The question of double *politeia* involves a series of practices, numerous in number, the first of which concerns the way of naming others and naming oneself. It is on this question of naming, in relation to the action that motivates it, that I will focus my remarks from now on. As one knows, the mark of a dual belonging can be seen in the ethnic worn by the citizens of the *koina*.¹⁵ Far from being simply the trace of a more or less regulated legal system, ethnics reveal the behaviour and identity strategies of those who wear them or the representations conveyed by those who give the name. In short, everything depends on the context of enunciation: the cases that interest me therefore concern the way in which individuals are presented or present themselves within their *koinon* or outside of it.

The case considered the most ordinary by historians is the one, well-studied by A. Rizakis for the Achaian Confederacy,¹⁶ which presents the juxtaposition of the federal ethnic and the political one, for example *Achaïos Olenios*, “Achaian from Olenos”, which appears in a list of military contributions from the end of the vth or beginning of the ivth century BC.¹⁷ But the federal ethnic is more generally followed by an indication that works as a political ethnic, “coming from such and such a city”, as in the formula Achaian ἐξ Αἰγίου, “Achaian from Aigion”, in a *politeia* decree of the Aitolian *koinon* for an Achaian citizen dated 272/271 BC.¹⁸ The formula is exactly the same for the Aitolian *koinon*, as seen in an inscription from Delphi, where the Phocidian city grants privileges to an “Aitolian ἐκ Τιτραίων”, “Aitolian from Titrai”¹⁹

14 IG XII, 5,532 + add. p. 321 (Keos, Karthaia), l. 6-8: δεδόχθαι Κείων τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ | εἶναι Αἰτωλοῖς πολιτεῖαν ἐν Κέῳ καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων | μετέχειν αὐτοῦς πάντων ὧν περ καὶ Κεῖοι μετέχουσιν, “be it resolved by the Council and the People of Keos: the Aitolians will get *politeia* in Keos and the right to acquire land and a house and the right to take part in all the privileges in which the Keians take part”. On this text, see Buraselis 2015, 369-370.

15 On these “expanded ethnics”, see Fraser 2009, 119-145.

16 Cf. Rizakis 2012, 27, n. 20, who reminds that the standard examples are very numerous.

17 SEG 39,370, l. 6: Ἀχαιὸς Ὀλέγι[ι]ος, with the commentary by Rizakis 2012, 24-25.

18 IG IX, 12, l. 14-18: τὸ κοινὸν Αἰτωλῶν ἔδωκεν Ἀγία Κλεοσθένεος Ἀχαιῶι ἐξ Αἰγίου | αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνις προξενίαν κτλ., “the *koinon* of the Aitolians gave Agias son of Kleosthenes Achaian from Aigion, for him and his descendants *proxenia* etc”.

19 FD III, 3,199 (c. 265-260 BC): Βουθήραϊ Κουανθίου Αἰτωλῶι ἐκ Τιτραίων Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν | προξενίαν κτλ., “The Delphians gave Boutheras son of Kuanthios Aitolian from Titrai *proxenia* etc.”.

around 265-260 BC. These official external designations give unquestionable primacy to the large group to which *koina* nationals belong. In this formula, the truly political element is concentrated in the federal ethnic, while the second part, which is almost the equivalent of a *topikon*,²⁰ is more akin to a geographical notation, the mention of a homeland of origin.

What about the Boiotian case? Paul Roesch produced, in 1982 in his *Études béotiennes*, a very complete survey of the use of federal ethnics between 378 and c. 100 BC, which can still be used as a basis for analysis, even if it deserves to be completed and especially clarified in the statement of categories.²¹ In Boiotia, as in the other *koina*, the citizen can be presented as a *Boiotios* or *Boiotos* “coming from such and such a city”: this is the case in a shortened decree from Delphi granting at the end of the IVth or the beginning of the IIIrd century a whole series of privileges to a certain Python son of Empedon, “Boiotian from Coroneia”.²² But, as Peter Fraser has clearly shown,²³ the situation is much less stable in terms of denomination than in Achaia, for example. It is therefore probably more difficult than elsewhere to assess the behaviour of users in relation to an assumed rule. Nevertheless, ethnics remain manipulable objects of naming, especially when they are found in contexts where individuals name themselves. And their use cannot be regarded in such cases as totally neutral, or even random and insignificant, contrary to Roesch’s initial assertion that “it would be dangerous (...) to draw conclusions from documents of a strictly private nature, where characters are seen to act as mere private individuals”.²⁴ The interpretative danger would exist only in relation to an assumed institutional norm, which would be deemed unbreakable. It is therefore the uses that interest me here through the examination of three examples. These are taken in a broad time span, at the limits of the Classical and Hellenistic *koina*, and involve three types of inscriptions whose stakes and purposes differ: a dedication, victors’ lists and proxeny decrees.

THREE BOIOTIAN CASES

Epiddalos

The first example is that of Epiddalos, in fact Epizalos,²⁵ forgotten from Paul Roesch’s tables, perhaps because it does not fit in his theory according to which the epigraphic use of the ethnic “Boiotian”, both in singular and plural, is confined to a period from 338, date of the battle of Chaeronea (which for a long time caused the historiographic ravages that we know), until 171, date of the dissolution of the *koinon* by the Romans.²⁶ In the sanctuary of Delphi, Epiddalos consecrated a statue to Apollo, presenting himself as “Boiotian from Orchomenos” in an inscription in Boiotian alphabet, generally dated from the 470s.²⁷

20 On the formation and uses of ethnic, ktetic and *topikon*, see Fraser 2009, 15-59.

21 Roesch 1982, 441-500.

22 *FD* III, 3.102 (end of IVth or beginning of IIIrd century BC), l. 2-4: Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Πύθωνι [Ἐ]μπ[έ]δων[ος] Βοιωτῶτι [ἔ]κ Κορωνείας αὐτῶτι καὶ ἐγγόνοις προξενίαν κτλ., “The Delphians gave Pythôn son of Empedôn Boiotian from Coroneia, for him and his descendants, *proxenia* etc.”

23 Fraser 2009, 124: “it is difficult to be convinced that a stable ethnic formula for individual and collective citizenship either of the *koinon*, or of cities outside the *koinon* existed” (about Boiotia).

24 Roesch 1982, 442. According to Rzepka 2017, 83, double or expanded ethnics had basically two meanings: either they had a “purely informative value (distinguishing homonymous cities)” or simply offered “a precise reference to the legal status”. This is a way to neglect all the non-institutional uses of ethnics and of the way in which individuals and communities are likely to appropriate denominations.

25 *FD* III, 1. 574.

26 Roesch 1982, 441: “If ethnics were ever just a simple notation of geographical origin, we could not explain why there is no Βοιωτῶτι before 338, why there is not one after 172”.

27 *FD* III, 1.574 (with a photograph of the consecration pl. XII, 1). This date is based on paleographic criteria, as Mulliez 2019, 272 recalls. D. Knoepfler, in *Bullep* 2015, 250 cites this dating (in connection with Beck 2014) without discussing it.

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Ἐπίδδαλος τόπό [λλονι] Βοιότιος : ἔχς Ἐρχ[ομενῶ] [h]υπατόδορος : Ἄρισστ [ογεῖτον]	Epiddalos to Apollo Boiotian from Orchomenos Hypatodoros, Aristostogeitôn
4 ἔποεσάταν : Θεβαίο	4 Have made, the Thebans

Hans Beck and Angela Ganter were right to underline, in the synthesis of the “New Larsen” devoted to Boiotia, the way in which this character emphasized, in terms of identity, his boiotianity before his local belonging.²⁸ The case is all the more interesting here because, while the dedicant proclaims his double belonging, the sculptors Aristostogeitôn and Hypatodôros call themselves exclusively “Thebans” with their civic affiliation used in the dual to designate the pair they form. No doubt they are known as such rather than as “Boiotians” and it is as such that they confer glory on their homeland. But the double ethnic under which Epiddalos presents himself is an embarrassment to historians. It is typical of the double appellation already mentioned and, if we follow Roesch’s point of view, should be proof of the very existence of the Boiotian *koinon* and, within it, of a federal *politeia* in the legal sense, at a date as high as the first half of the 7th century BC, which is not generally accepted.²⁹ The *koinon*, as an institutional entity as known by the Oxyrhynchus historian,³⁰ probably began its existence in 446 BC after the Battle of Coroneia, which put an end to the Athenian claims on the region.³¹

The situation becomes clear if one considers, as Stephanie Larson has already done without drawing all the consequences, that the proposed date is far too high, including in terms of paleography.³² The sculptors of this statue are also the authors of the group of the seven Argive chiefs against Thebes, known by Pausanias and which could celebrate the victory of Oinoe in Argolis over the Lacedemonians in 456 BC.³³ If the statue of Epiddalos is to be placed at about the same time, *i.e.* in the middle of the 7th century BC (rather than in the second half of the century), then the pieces of the puzzle fall into place. Epiddalos is a member of that elite of Orchomenos who welcomed the Boiotian exiles during the period of Athenian domination between 457 and 446 and was so essential to the revolt against Athens that these exiles and their followers were said to be “orchomenizers”.³⁴ His gesture in Delphi must be understood not as a simple geographical or identity indication in a period when the *koinon* was not in place, but as a strong claim not only to Orchomenos’ place in the *koinon*, but to the very process of structuring the *koinon* in the years right before or after its establishment. There is a definite performative effect in this way of proclaiming oneself loud and clear as “Boiotian from Orchomenos”: the *koinon* exists all the more and all the better as those who make it say it exists. It will be said that 446 constitutes a *terminus ad quem* rather than *post quem* for the date of the inscription, from the moment one ceases to adopt a strictly legalistic position on the use of the double ethnic. It is less a question here of the exhibition of a binding institutional denomination than of a voluntary ideological position in favour of the establishment of the Confederacy in a context of opposition to the Athenians. It is clear, in fact, that the mention of the ethnic is the object of a personal choice, since the sculptors, for their part, choose to emphasize their civic affiliation for undoubtedly cultural reasons.

²⁸ See Beck & Ganter 2015, 140. Beck 2014, 29-30 provides little evidence for the reasoning.

²⁹ Except by Lazzarini 1976, 67, for whom the expression clearly indicates that there was an active *koinon* in Boiotia at that time (228, n° 374).

³⁰ *Hellenic Oxyrhynchus*, 19, 2-4 (ed. Chambers 1993).

³¹ This event would have inspired the local elites from both sides of lake Copais to establish an entirely new *koinon*. (Beck & Ganter 2015, 141). Mackil 2013, 337: “The formal political institutions that emerged in the aftermath of the battle of Coroneia in 446 established the Boiotian *koinon* as a state characterized by the voluntary participation of member *poleis* and their equitable representation in the central government”.

³² Larson 2007, 148, who wrongly quotes Marcadé 1953, I, 8 (and pl. 4.1) in support of his reasoning: M. never proposed any date other than the “7th century BC” without further precision. Larson also makes very different hypotheses about the origin of the character who would live in Orchomenos while being a citizen of another Boiotian city, which is pure fantasy (why not mention his origin under these conditions?). Kansteiner *et al.* 2014, 538-542 date the inscription of Epiddalos “um die Mitte des 5. Jhs. v.Chr.” (539), while the two sculptors are placed in the second quarter of the 7th century BC (538).

³³ Paus. 10.10.3-4, commented on by Marcadé 1953, I, 8: the dedication was “re-engraved in the last quarter of the 7th century BC”. See also Mulliez 2019, 287. These two sculptors are also cited as authors of the seven Argive chiefs against Thebes mentioned by Paus. 10.10.3-4 (see Mulliez 2019, 272 and n. 17; 274 and n. 31).

³⁴ For this term, see Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4 F 81; Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 407; Aristophanes, *FGrHist* 379 F 3. The battle of Coroneia is recounted by Thuc. 1.113.2. A clear account of Boiotian affairs between 457 and 446 BC can be found in Mackil 2013, 35-38.

Winners in contests

As one would expect, outside of Boiotia, for example in the Delphic *Sôteria*, athletes are designated by their federal ethnic, *Boiôtios*, and the latter alone without the civic ethnic.³⁵ Among many others, Charès son of Chairiôn, *Boiôtios*, who appears twice in the category of “children’s choir”, can be cited.³⁶ Even for the *auletai*, it is indeed the federal ethnic that is expressed, while the Theban school was particularly well-known and, as Paul Roesch points out, “it was more glorious to be named by the ethnic Θηβαίος –which immediately evoked for the reader the most famous of the flute schools–, than the ethnic Βοιώτιος which had only a political meaning”. The use of the *Boiôtios* ethnic, which does not leave room for any exception for the *Sôteria*, also appears systematic in other non-Boiotian competitions, as we can see in the *Panathenaia*,³⁷ the *Eleutheria* of Larissa,³⁸ or the *Asklepieia* of Cos.³⁹

The interesting point in this external use of *Boiôtios* alone, which has hardly attracted the attention of historians, is that it’s generally used next to the double ethnic for other confederations. As proof of this, one can cite the presence, among the winners of the *Panathenaia* in the aforementioned catalogue, of a Μέν[ανδ]ρος Μενίππου Ἀχαιὸς ἀπ’ Ἄργους, “Menandros son of Menippos Achaian from Argos” (l. 16-17), alongside the twice-named Boiotian Akastidas. Likewise, in the *Eleutheria* of Larissa, the Larisseans are said to be Thessalians from Larissa, while the Boiotians are simply Boiotians. In other words, being named by their federal ethnic by Boiotians outside of Boiotia is a choice that is not imposed here by the organizers of the competition, although it cannot be said that it is left to the decision of each individual athlete, since all bear the same.⁴⁰ There is clearly a collective will to appear as *Boiôtioi*, apparently obliterating against all expectations the local belongings.

An identical phenomenon can be observed within Boiotia for the Hellenistic *koinon*, i.e. before 171 BC, in the case of the only two contests that left catalogues prior to the dissolution: the *Basileia* of Lebadeia and the *Mouseia* of Thespiiai. One should not be surprised by such a denomination in the first contest, which is played at the federal level in honour of a god, Zeus *Basileus*, who in turn became the protector of the *koinon*.⁴¹ But such a use for the Thespian *Mouseia*, a civic competition *a priori*, is less expected. As D. Knoepfler rightly pointed out in his seminal article on the *Mouseia*, it should be interpreted as a willingness on the part of the Thespians to give a federal anchorage to their local contest, by imposing this ethnic on all the Boiotian winners. Such an anchoring, obviously acquired during the reorganization of the contest during the years 230-220 BC,⁴² is obvious in the heading of one of the catalogues where the federal archon Lykinos “in Onchestos” follows the mention of the local archon Philon, probably around 190-180 BC.⁴³ The mention “in Onchestos” refers, in fact, to the sanctuary of Poseidon, which is the federal headquarters of the Hellenistic *koinon*. In

35 The catalogues were compiled by Nachtergaele 1977.

36 Nachtergaele 1977, 413-416, n° 7 (*CID* IV, 47, 256/5 or 254/3 BC) and 416-419, n° 8 (*CID* IV, 48, 255/4 or 252/1 BC). N° 7, l.16-21: παῖδες χορευταὶ | Ἡρακλειδῶδωρος Διογεῖτονος Βοιώτιος, | Νίκων Θεομένου Ἀθηναίος, | Ἴσμηνοδῶδωρος Μικιῶνος Βοιώτιος, | Ἀντιγένης Βουλευτοῦ Χαλκιδείου, | Χάρης Χαίριωνος Βοιώτιος, “children’s choir: Herakleiodôros son of Diogeitôn Boiotian, Nikôn son of Theomenes Athenian, Ismenodôros son of Mikiôn Boiotian, Antigenes son of Bouleutes Chalcidian, Chares son of Chairiôn Boiotian”.

37 Athens: *IG* II², 2314, col. I, l. 8-11 (182 BC, see *SEG* 41, 114), ἀγνεύειους στάδιον | Ἀκαστίδας Κλεομνάστου Βοιώτιος | πένταθλον | Ἀκαστίδας Κλεομνάστου Βοιώτ[ιος], “stadion of the beardless youths Akastidas son of Kleomnastos Boiotian, pentathlon Akastidas son of Kleomnastos Boiotian”.

38 Larissa: *IG* IX.2.525, l. 4-11 (193/2 BC according to R. Plug and B. Helly, see *Bullep* 2013, 224 and *SEG* 61.458): σαλπιστάς | Νικόδρομος Ναυστράτου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης | κήρυκας | Φιλιστίων Δημοφῶντος Βοιώτιος | ἀλύγητάς | Ξένιος Διονυσίου Βοιώτιος | κιθαριστάς | Θεόδωτος Θεοδότου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης | κτλ., “trumpet Nikodromos son of Naustratos Thessalian from Larissa, herald Philistiôn son of Demophôn Boiotian; flute-player Xenios son of Dionysios Boiotian, citharist Theodotos son of Theodotos Thessalian from Larissa etc.”

39 Cos: *IG* XII, 4.2.453, l. 53 (218/7 BC according to *IG* editors): the winner of the “men’s pancrace” is Εὐκλέων Πολιάδου Βοιώτιος, “Eukleôn son of Poliadas Boiotian”.

40 According to Fraser 2009, 91, the ethnic is “a mark perhaps of both ethnic and civic pride, perhaps required by the stewards of the contests”.

41 See e.g. *SEG*. 3.368, dating from the end of the IIIrd or beginning of the IIrd century BC and in any case before 171 BC (on the date, see Müller 2020): three winners whose names are not preserved are said to be Βοιώτιος.

42 Knoepfler 1996, 165-167.

43 See *IThesp*. 161: list of victors in the Thespian *Mouseia* dated by the federal archôn Lykinos (l. 7). The date of the latter has been lowered: see now Kalliontzis 2020.

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the same way, there is a good chance that, if we had victors' lists for the *Ptoia* dating from the Hellenistic Confederation, these lists would mention in the same way the Boiotian victors with the sole federal ethnic.

In any case, the exclusive use of the federal ethnic for these winners in contests in or out of Boiotia seems to mean that participation and victory in such contests are a way of exercising one's federal *politeia*, by acting collectively for a common cause with the other Boiotian citizens (a way to "faire *koinon*" in French) and erasing any trace of local belonging: the Boiotians somehow team up although the contests are fundamentally individual or, in any case, the winners are clearly individualised. It may be argued that all this is perhaps only about Boiotian identity and *ethnos*, or about regional geography, as if ethnic identity were once again the elastic and vague form that a *koinon* takes when one doesn't want to look at it at a political level. But things look different if we admit that *politeia* and politics are not limited to participation in "political" institutions and that their scope extends beyond the *archè* and *krisis* in the sense of "power of magistrates and judges".

After 171 BC, when the Hellenistic Confederacy was dissolved, the Boiotian competitors bear only their civic ethnic, as shown by the large number of victors' lists of the 11th and 1st century BC, which makes this use in this case a good chronological marker.⁴⁴ The situation is more complicated in other *koina*, especially in Achaia, as shown by the presence after 146 BC (destruction of Corinth) of at least three Achaians from Sicyon in lists from the Late Hellenistic period in Boiotia. Thus, in a catalogue of the *Mouseia*, there is a mention of an actor, *hupokrites* [Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ] Σικυῶνος: although the federal ethnic is restored in the lacuna, the restitution seems very sure, given the presence of the *pi* before the mention of the *polis*. Similarly, in Oropos, in the catalogue of the first *Amphiaraia Rhômaia*,⁴⁵ the presence of two Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ ἀπὸ Σικυῶνος[ς] has been much talked about: it was considered an impassable *terminus ante quem* (146 BC) by Yannis Kalliontzis,⁴⁶ whereas all other indicators, especially prosopographic, tend to date it after the first Mithridatic war, that is to say after 86 BC. This mention of the double ethnic, especially in Oropos, whose inscription is easier to date than that of Thespiiai because of the evocation of the "first" contests of the category, raises a difficulty: other catalogues of the same contest give indeed simple civic ethnics, as for Πολυκράτης Ἀγεμάχου Ἀργεῖος, "Polykrates son of Agemachos Argian", at a date that cannot be very far from the previous list.⁴⁷ One might suggest that this use of the double ethnic means the resurgence of the Achaian *koinon* at the date of the inscriptions.⁴⁸ The existence, attested by a dedication found in Olympia, of a list of Achaian cities that took part in a battle against the Galatians alongside the Romans and that made a consecration to Zeus *Olympios* in 122 BC is unfortunately of little use here: among the 19 civic ethnic groups mentioned, there are neither Sicyon nor Argos, which does not rule out their participation in this possible resurrected *koinon*.⁴⁹ Numismatists have certainly much to teach historians on this issue! But it is not totally excluded either that the victors' lists from Oropos and Thespiiai use a federal ethnic that is in some way nostalgic or patriotic, just as the ethnic of the Olynthians or the Corinthians was still used long after the destruction of their respective cities in 348 and 146.⁵⁰

44 The presence of the federal ethnic is therefore a sure criterion for dating this type of document: Knoepfler 1996, 165 and n. 80.

45 *I.Oropos* 521, l. 20-21: [π]αῖδας δόλιχον | Φιλωνίδης [Φί]λω[νο]ς Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ Σικυῶνος[ς] and l. 42-43: ἄνδρας πένταθλον | [. . .]ας Μενεκλέους Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ Σικυῶνος[ς], "long children's course Philônides, son of Philôn Achaian from Sicyon" and "men *pentathlon* [--]as son of Menekles Achaian from Sicyon".

46 Kalliontzis 2016, 94: "the presence of the federal ethnic Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ leads us to date this catalogue before the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC and the dissolution of the Achaian *koinon*".

47 *I.Oropos* 528, l. 51-52: ἄνδρας πένταθλον | Πολυκράτης Ἀγεμάχου Ἀργεῖος, "*pentathlon* men Polykrates son of Agemachos from Argos".

48 This is the logical conclusion that reaches D. Knoepfler in his review of Kalliontzis 2016 (*BullEp* 2017, 265): the existence of a renovated *koinon*, certain after 86 BC, is probably even much earlier and must have taken place at a still undetermined date in the second half of the 11th century BC.

49 *SEG* 15.254, a list of Achaians most certainly dating from 122 BC, rather than 192 BC: the Cn. Domitius (Ahenobarbus) of the inscription has indeed all the chances of having been consul at the first proposed date rather than at the second (see Schwertfeger 1974, 27-40 and Hurllet & Müller 2020).

50 On this question, see Fraser 2009, 159-166 on what he calls the "posthumous ethnics", notably that of Olynthus ("many examples survive of the ethnic long after its destruction") or Corinth ("like the Olynthians and others, they had preserved their original inherited ethnic out of a sense of local patriotism").

Proxenoí

The last case is that of Boiotian citizens being granted *proxenia* among other privileges. The question is to know which story tells the use of their ethnic and what conclusions can be drawn from it. The naming of these *proxenoí* seems more complex than what P. Roesch suggested. *Proxenoí* can first be named by the federal ethnic, followed by the civic one. This practice is obvious on the so-called base of the “Boiotians in Delphi”, which includes some thirty proxeny decrees granted by the Delphians between the end of the IVth and the middle of the IIIrd century BC.⁵¹ *Proxenoí* are generally named according to the model [Ὁμ]ολώιχος Ἑρμαιίσκου Βοιώτιος ἐκ Κορωνείας, “Homolôichos son of Hermaiiskos, Boiotian from Coroneia”.⁵² The only ones distinguished by the absence of a federal ethnic are the Thebans, at least during the period when the city was not yet part of the Hellenistic *koinon*, i.e. before 287 BC.⁵³ In any case, the civic ethnic is mentioned, since it constitutes the “address” of the *proxenos*, as it were, to which the citizens of the city that issued the decree could go. The value of the indication then seems essentially topical, as it is intended to “locate the citizen in Boiotia”.⁵⁴ The Aitolians follow the same principle, but with an even more radical practice in the majority of the cases noted: as shown by the lists of *proxenoí* found at the federal sanctuary of Thermos, they identify by their civic ethnic the foreigners to whom they grant the proxeny as a *koinon*, as is the case of Διογείτων Ηστάμμειος Ὁρχομενίος.⁵⁵ The naming system is exactly symmetrical when it is the Boiotian cities or the *koinon* that grant proxeny: one can see this in the federal decree for a Rhodian probably dated 201/200,⁵⁶ as in the Orchomenos decree for Sôsibios of Alexandria.⁵⁷ The result of this practice is a form of asymmetry in diplomatic relations since the *poleis* and the *koina* then address the cities directly, independently of the *koinon* to which the *honorandus* belongs. As shown by the database, although incomplete, elaborated by W. Mack,⁵⁸ there are very few *koinon*-to-*koinon proxenoí*: is this a form of competition or even conflict between the civic and federal levels in decision-making? This is an important question, if one wants to avoid over-interpretations: it is not certain that the Greeks themselves saw any difficulty in this.

The geographical logic of this practice can be explained, indeed, as Mack reminds us, by the fact that it endorses in general links between *poleis*, without it being possible to observe a weakening of these links during the Hellenistic period.⁵⁹ Moreover, the presence or even the enhancement of civic ethnics, particularly in the lists of *proxenoí* found in various cities, contribute to the very assertion of the existence of the cities to which the *proxenoí* belong and of their capacity to take their place within diplomatic networks and interrelations.⁶⁰ Under these conditions, one may wonder about the need to specify that such and such an Orchomenian or such and such a Thespian was also a Boiotian, a need from which some like the Aitolians easily freed themselves, as we have seen. The precision of belonging to the

51 P. Roesch gave a detailed presentation of this base and its inscriptions in Roesch 1982, 447-462, while announcing a new study of the texts which has never appeared to my knowledge, apart from the architectural study published two years later: Roesch 1984. See also Mulliez 2019, 289-290.

52 FD III, 3.95 (text amended by Roesch 1982, 456), end of the IVth-early IIIrd century BC, which mentions all the advantages received by the person with the proxeny: *promanteia*, *proedria*, *ateleia*, *prodikia* and all the other usual privileges of *proxenoí*.

53 This point was masterfully demonstrated by Knoepfler 2001c, who shattered P. Roesch's ruinous interpretation of the chronology of the reintegration of Thebes into the *koinon*.

54 Roesch 1982, 498.

55 IG IX, 1².25, l. 34 (245-236 BC).

56 I.Oropos 34, l. 3-6: πρόξενον εἶμεν κῆ εὐεργέταν τῷ κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν | [Ἀρι]στήωνα Ἀριστέως Ῥόδιον κῆ αὐτὸν κῆ ἐγγόνως κτλ., “shall be *proxenos* and benefactor of the *koinon* of the Boiotians Aristiôn son of Aristeus Rhodian, him and his descendants etc.”, dated by the federal archon Charopinos, in 201/200 BC according to Kalliontzis 2020.

57 Honored in IG VII 3166 (decree of Orchomenos, dated from the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopatôr, 222-204 BC), l. 3-5: Σωσίβιον | Διοσκορίδαο Ἀλεξανδρεῖα πρόξενον εἶμεν | κῆ εὐεργέταν τῆς πόλιος Ἐρχομενίων κτλ., “Sôsibios son of Dioskoridas Alexandreian shall be *proxenos* and benefactor of the city of the Orchomenians etc.” On this character, see Knoepfler 2001, 323-327, n° 19 [SEG 51.119]).

58 <http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk>

59 Mack 2015, 52: “However, given that, as an institution, *proxenia* was capable of encompassing atypical cases, what matters is whether there were more specific, expected norms. The evidence overwhelmingly suggests that there were and that *proxenia* was and continued to be conceived of as a primarily inter-*polis* institution”. Before Mack, see already Gauthier 1985, 134-149.

60 See Mack 2015, 195: “Viewed in the context of the declarative theory of state identity, *polis* ethnics were important in that they encapsulated the claims of the community to be a *polis*/state”.

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koinon on the Delphic list has no practical significance: in particular, it is not here to allow the distinction between homonymous cities that are not so numerous. It therefore has another function that brings us back to the previous reflections concerning the Boiotians in the catalogues of winners: there is a strong influence of the federal *politeia* which means that in Boiotia one is first and foremost a citizen of the *koinon* before being a citizen of such and such a city, a claim that should be stated loud and clear, the question remaining to know what influence the beneficiary of the decree has in this particular case on his own denomination. Whatever answer is given to this question, it seems to me that the strength of the bond between members of this community can be measured in this usage, which may seem superfluous. One could even say that it is as a Boiotian that one can be a *proxenos* in one's city. Going even further, if we want to re-establish a function of the federal ethnic that is not purely ideological, we will say that its mention implies that the honored figures have (or are perceived as having) potentially a power of action throughout the entire territory of the *koinon* through their political importance and their notoriety among the elite, which goes beyond the borders of their own *polis*.

This case is therefore not so different from that of the *proxenoi* who are identified, the second case, by their federal ethnic alone.⁶¹ We will take as an example among many others Bacchôn son of Niketas, "Boiotian" and nesiarch of the League of Islanders in the years 280 BC, honoured both by the League and by several Aegean cities.⁶² Perhaps this name reflects the League's interest in the character's federal experience, while other Boiotians, who were probably part of his team,⁶³ were at the same time simply named Thebans.⁶⁴ In fact, in such a situation, as D. Knoepfler had already suggested in his corpus of Eretrian proxenies or, more recently, W. Mack in his own work,⁶⁵ we can think that these are individuals who no longer reside in their city of origin, but enjoy a regional reputation and exercise their *euergesia* from elsewhere, for example from a royal court or even from the city that honours them: this, of course, changes the meaning and practice of the proxeny institution while the euergetic dimension remains intact.

CONCLUSION

I will make two concluding remarks on a subject I've only scratched the surface of here.

The first relates to the private or public nature that one often wants to assign to documents in order to determine what would fall under an objective official name or a subjective individual name. It is clear that the situation is much more complex than this simple dichotomy, as denomination depends on what will be called the context of enunciation (who speaks for whom?): it is usually the result of a negotiation or compromise between the one who is named and the community that names him, in short, between the emic (indigenous) and etic (exogenous) perspective, to use the classic distinction established by anthropologists. This is the case, in my opinion, even in funerary inscriptions where many

61 See for Boiotia the cases recorded by Roesch 1982, 475-481 for the period 288-172 BC.

62 Delos, *IG XI*, 4.1126 (and also 1125): οἱ νησιῶται τὸν νησιάρχον Βάκχῳ Νικήτου Βοιωτίου ἀνέθηκαν, "the Nesiots have dedicated (the statue of) the nesiarch Bacchôn son of Niketas Boiotian". All the inscriptions related to Bacchôn can be found in *PP* 15038 (cf. Peremans *et al.* 1968).

63 See Buraselis 1982, 181, n. 8 ("möglicherweise gehörten diese Thebaner zu dem Personal des aus Böotien stammenden ptolemäischen Nesiarchos Bakchon") and 184, n. 22.

64 *IG XI*, 4.1040, l. 3-4: the two honorands are named Ὑπατόδωρος Μίκκου καὶ Καφ[ισό]δωρος Ἀρχίου Θεβαῖοι, "Hypatodôros son of Mikkos and Kaphisodôros son of Archias Thebans". The date given by Tréheux 1992 (c. 275-260 BC) seems too low, if one takes into account the fact that the Thebans were reintegrated into the *koinon* in 287 BC, after which they were usually called Boiotians from Thebes (Knoepfler 2001c). But the case might be that they had been known as Thebans long before the reintegration and remained called as such when granted *proxenia*. Another Hypatodôros son of Mikkos is recorded in a proxeny decree from Delphi (*FD III*, 1.359), but he should be the grandson of ours, as he is dated from the end of the IIIrd century BC (220-210 BC), if one agrees with Oulhen 1998's complicated argument about the *archôn* Herakleidas of the Delphic inscription. See already Roesch 1982, 483, who thinks that the two characters are just one and give a low date for both the Delphic and the Delian inscriptions (last third of the IIIrd century BC).

65 Knoepfler 2001, 428-430. Mack 2015, 55: "There are apparent exceptions, cases where we infer that an honorand was appointed *proxenos* for reasons that had little to do with the *polis* to which he belonged although the decree in question contains no supplements of this sort. The most obvious examples are where non-*polis*, regional ethnics were used of individuals". There are even stateless *proxenoi*, as Knoepfler 2001, 428 points out.

Boiotians who died abroad are simply called *Boiôtoi* because it is the ethnic they received while residing in a certain city or region, just like Athenians abroad are called Athenians and not through their demotic.⁶⁶ Moreover, if the person who receives a label (Boiotian, Akraiphian, etc.) does not always have the choice of this label (if the denomination is constrained), it results less from an official denomination which would be imposed by a State of origin than from the perception of this State by those who give the name. I therefore do not believe that there is any “regulation of the name”, or even a true general rule of usage: that implies a case-by-case analysis of all contexts, with the risk of not being able to understand all the names because we do not have all the contexts of enunciation at our disposal. It is true that the federal ethnic in Boiotia shows a global tendency to disappear after 171 BC, for example in agonistic catalogues, which collaterally allows us to set a chronological limit, but this is a usage and not the result of a binding act. On the other hand, it is not certain that all documentary categories are concerned by a general return to civic ethnics after the end of the Hellenistic *koinon*, especially the epitaphs, which are therefore very difficult to date.

The second remark concerns the use of ethnics. This use is based on a dual, non-exclusive logic, certainly political and ideological on the one hand, but also pragmatic as much in the noble sense of *praxis* as in the trivial sense of practical daily habit. Thus, the federal ethnic, which is the place of expression of the federal *politeia*, shows the link of an individual with a *koinon*, which can be a very strong link, both displayed by the individual or the community he represents (this is the case of athletes, for example) or by the receiving community that confers the name (we think of the Delphic proxenies of the IIIrd century BC): here lies the ideological scope of the ethnic which means that the person feels or is perceived first as a member of a *koinon*. But this ethnic, in its pragmatic scope, also indicates the action or capacity for action (real or supposed) of the individual within his *koinon*, whatever the field of action of this citizenship which cannot be reduced to political and judicial participation: being a Boiotian also means being a *proxenos* in his city, in his *koinon*, in all the interpolitical and inter-federal networks, but it also means “teaming up”, forming a community with the athletes of his *koinon* at home and elsewhere. The essential thing is to reaffirm that the two ideological and pragmatic levels of this logic of participation are not mutually exclusive.

66 According to a remark made by J. Roy during the conference, this use would in a way be similar to the one found in Xenophon in the *Anabasis* about the Boiotian mercenaries, who when they are not better known would be called Boiotians, but who, when they are better identified, would carry their civic ethnic. However, the most famous case, that of Proxenos generally called “the Boiotian” in Xenophon (three occurrences) and once the Theban (*Anabasis*, 2.1.10), does not seem to particularly confirm such an assertion. In fact, the *strategoï* who command Greek mercenaries are rather called by their regional ethnic, as a passage in the text shows (*Anabasis*, 2.5.31-32), οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἴσω, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, Μένων Θεσσαλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάδας, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιοίς, “the *strategoï* were called from within: Proxenos the Boiotian, Menôn the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, Clearchos the Laconian, Socrates the Achaian”): no doubt this is because they had to command soldiers from different cities within each *ethnos* and, as a result, were recognized as having what can be called a “regional scope”. They are therefore closer, in my opinion, to the case of Bacchôn among the Nesiots.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BCD *Coins of Peloponnesos: the BCD Collection. Auction LHS 96, May 8-9, 2006*, LHS Numismatics Ltd., Zürich, 2006.
- BMC *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, 1873-1927*.
- CH *Coin Hoards*, Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1975-2010.
- IGCH M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm and C. M. Kraay, ed., *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York, 1973.
- LGPN *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford (vol. III. A *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, Magna Grecia*).
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 1981-2009.
- RP I A. Rizakis and S. Zoumbaki, ed., *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman Personal Names in their Social Context*, *Μελετήματα*, 31, Athens, 2001.
- RP II A. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki and C. Lepenioti, ed., *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman Personal Names in their Social Context*, *Μελετήματα*, 36, Athens, 2004.
- RPC *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London-Paris, 1992-.
- SNG *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*.

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