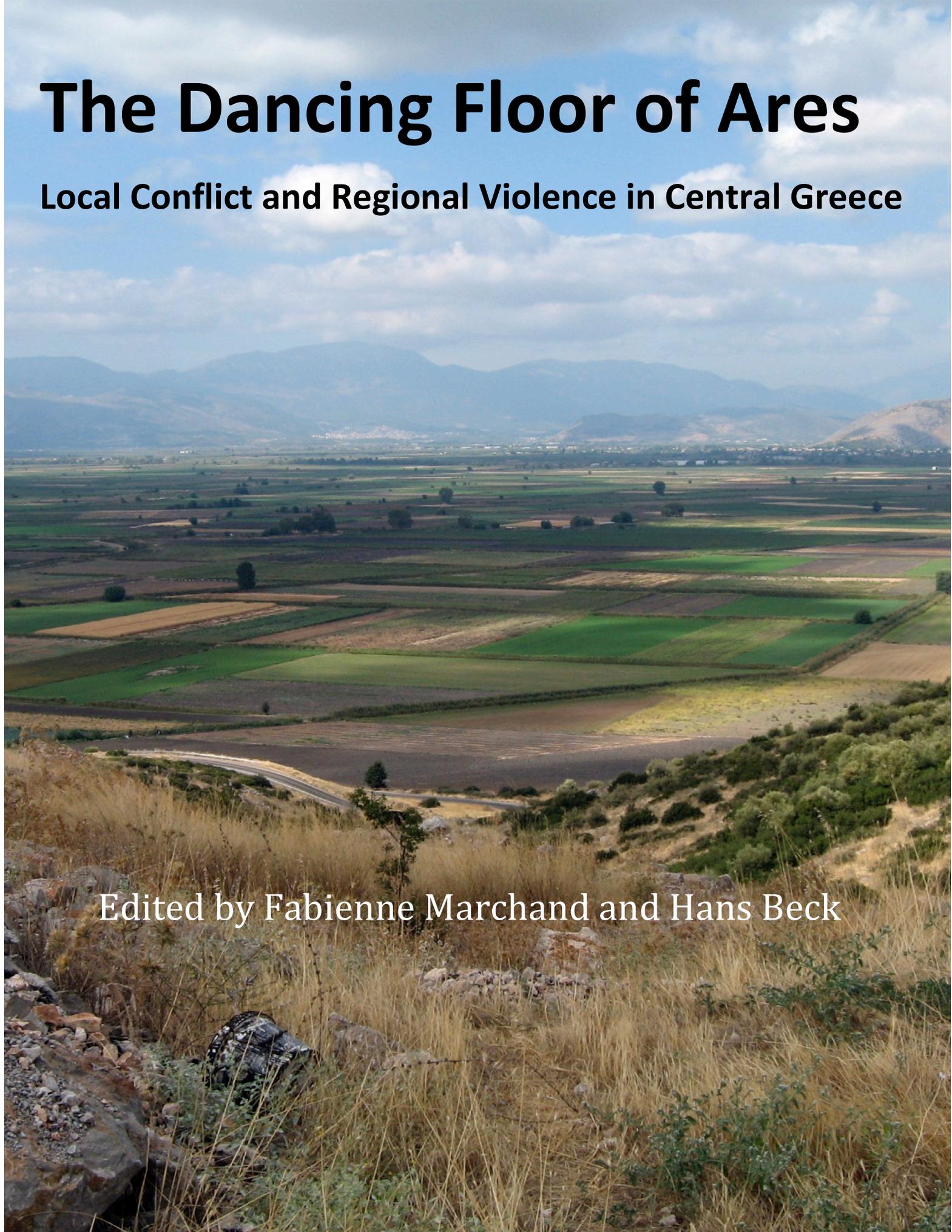


The Dancing Floor of Ares

Local Conflict and Regional Violence in Central Greece

Edited by Fabienne Marchand and Hans Beck



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Preface

The present collection of papers stems from two one-day workshops, the first at McGill University on November 9, 2017, followed by another at the Université de Fribourg on May 24, 2018. Both meetings were part of a wider international collaboration between two projects, the *Parochial Polis* directed by Hans Beck in Montreal and now at Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, and Fabienne Marchand's Swiss National Science Foundation *Old and New Powers: Boiotian International Relations from Philip II to Augustus*. The collaboration was further facilitated by a Swiss National Science Foundation Short Visit Fellowship that brought Fabienne Marchand as a Visiting Professor to McGill University in the fall of 2017.

Famously dubbed, according to Plutarch, the “Dancing Floor of Ares” by the 4th century Theban general Epaminondas (Plut. *Life of Marcellus* 21.2), the region of Boiotia hosted throughout Antiquity a series of battles that shaped the history of the ancient world, such as the battle of Plataia – which ended the Persian Wars in 479 – and the battle of Chaironeia, won in 338 by the Macedonian king Philip II and his son Alexander the Great over a coalition of Greek states. The present volume is devoted to different dances of Ares. Rather than discussing seminal battles through the lens of military history, it investigates regional conflicts and local violence in Central Greece, with a particular focus on the region Boiotia, through the complementary approaches, conceptual approaches and synergies offered by the two research projects. This double perspective allows us to explore the crucial role played by conflict in the shaping of the Boiotian experience. At the same time, the region's relations with various foreign powers (the Achaian *koinon*, the Macedonian kings, the Romans among others) as well as with its neighbours, such as Athens, Lokris, and Euboea, become visible. Organised as a series of thematic studies involving mythology, genealogy, federalism, political institutions, and geopolitical strategies, our inquiry starts with the Mycenaean period, and runs down through the Classical and Hellenistic periods to conclude with the involvement of the Romans in Central Greece.

The Montreal workshop received funding from the Anneliese Maier Research Prize that was awarded to Hans Beck by the German Humboldt Foundation, as well as from the John MacNaughton Chair of Classics, which he held at McGill University at the time. The Fribourg workshop was supported by the Université de Fribourg Fonds du Centenaire and the Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines. The respective teams of research assistants in Montreal and Fribourg did a magnificent job to turn both workshops into a wonderful experience: Corey Straub, Cyrena Gerardi, Emilie Lucas, Daniel Whittle, and Roy van Wijk. As the papers were prepared for publication, we received insightful comments from the anonymous peer-reviewers. Tim Howe offered helpful advice to improve the manuscript of this first volume in the new AHB Supplement Series. To all we offer our heartfelt thanks.

Fabienne Marchand and Hans Beck

May 2019

Kai polemou kai eirenes:
Military Magistrates at War and at Peace in Hellenistic Boiotia
Alex McAuley

Abstract: Our current understanding of the Boiotian military in the Hellenistic Period is characterised by something of a paradox: on the one hand, a wide array of ancient sources attest to the size and complexity of the Boiotian League's military machine, but on the other hand, this military apparatus is largely assumed to have been either inactive or ineffective during the third century in particular. This paper re-examines prevailing suppositions of Boiotian civic decline (and thus military enfeeblement) in the third century by considering the practical role of local military magistrates in Hellenistic Boiotia. Beginning with an overview of the idiosyncratic office of *polemarchos* in Boiotia, I examine the practical duties of these magistrates in the civic communities of the region, both in the domestic sphere when at peace, and in the military sphere when the army is in the field. In order to determine precisely who these magistrates were, I turn to a detailed case study of the military catalogues of Hyettos dating from the late 230s to 175, and observe several patterns in the sequence of office-holders. By identifying both recurrent individual office-holders and tracking the careers of their descendants over time, I argue for the continuing prominence and activity of these local military magistracies in Hyettos and, by extension, elsewhere in Boiotia.

Keywords: Boiotia, Polemarch, Hyettos, Military Catalogues, Magistrates, Prosopography

Introduction

In Boiotia there is something of an apparent contradiction in our understanding of local warfare.¹ On the one hand, we have hundreds of inscriptions from throughout the region that attest to the intricate military machinery and institutional structures of its *polis* communities large and small. For instance, *I.Thespiai* 84 – the “Great Stele of Thespiai” dating to around 210 – outlines the intricate military structures of this particular community in granular detail as it

¹ I would like to thank Prof Fabienne Marchand (Fribourg) and Prof Dr Hans Beck (WWU-Münster) for having organized this fascinating gathering in Fribourg, as well as the participants in the colloquium for their invaluable feedback and discussion. My thanks go as well to the editors and peer reviewers for their comments and feedback.

records all of the city's magistrates over the course of two years.² Following the inscription's opening lines which name Thespi'ai's chief civic magistrates, it then lists the commanders of the city's diverse military units ranging from the young *epheboi* to the elite veterans of the *agema* and the *epilektoi*, as well as the common *peltophoroi* (infantrymen with sarisa), *pharetritai* (archers), and *sphendonatai* (slingers).³ The sheer scale of this community's military apparatus is striking, as is the fact that citizens young and old would have been enrolled in these various units, which would themselves have been commanded by the officers listed in the stele in service of the federal army. Judging from this inscription, a community such as Thespi'ai would typically be considered a highly militarised society, given the fact that there are nearly as many military magistracies as civic positions. By all accounts the military of Thespi'ai was alive, well, and active in c. 210 BC, and epigraphic evidence from elsewhere in Boiotia attests that it was not unique in this: a victory dedication by victorious citizens of Koroneia at the games of the Pamboiotia outlines precisely the same regimental structure as found at Thespi'ai, thus it is safe to conclude that cities throughout the Boiotian *koinon* shared this elaborate military organisation.⁴

But on the other hand, according to the old *opinio communis* regarding the Greek Mainland as a whole and Boiotia in particular which prevailed until only recently, the Hellenistic Period was characterized by the weakening of the ties that bound these *polis* communities. The assumption of Glotz (1928: 448) and Tarn (1952: 79) that the rise of Hellenistic Monarchy spelled the death of Classical civic culture continues to be echoed by Giovannini and others.⁵ A primary consequence of this perceived civic impoverishment is that Hellenistic cities were weakened in the military sphere as well, as a result of the economic decline of a given city and the ambivalence of its citizens towards the old culture of civic engagement. Greatly outclassed by the power of first the Macedonians and then the Romans, the local militaries of Greek *polis* communities suffered from the same decline as other civic structures. Recent research, however, has begun to overturn this characterization. Angelos Chaniotis' 2005 monograph begins with an illustrative discussion of the ubiquity of war in the Hellenistic mainland, and later discusses the persistent culture of participation in warfare as a civic duty of individual citizens, and the prerogative of autonomous *polis*-communities.⁶ The defence of the community in particular was an invaluable element in augmenting the prestige of a given

²The text of the inscription which follows here is from *I.Thespi'ai* 84, with emendation proposed by Roesch 1982: 382-384, and Roesch 1965: 3-28. See especially his notes and discussion on each of the magistrates and units in Roesch 1965: 22-23, and the discussion of each unit by Post 2012: 90-96. See also the discussion of each unit by Chatzopoulos 2001: 62-84, and Feyel's comments here at 1942: 200-206.

³These listings are found in l. 16-30 of *I.Thespi'ai* 84, and discussed by Post 2015: 92, Feyel 1942: 200, Roesch 1965: 3-27.

⁴SEG 3.354.

⁵Glotz 1928: 448 on the death of the Greek city. Tarn 1952: 79 echoes this sentiment. The notion that the Hellenistic Period is simply the afterthought to the Classical is, and in many ways remains, endemic in scholarship. Giovannini 1993: 266 writes most forcefully of the decline of Classical civic culture, which he views as having been diminished in the face of royal power. See also his discussion of scholarship surrounding the Hellenistic *polis* at 1993: 264-272. More recently, Shipley 2004: 22 writes that the expansion of Greek culture 'took place after the decline of the major Greek states'.

⁶See chapters 1 and 2 of Chaniotis 2005 on this specifically, especially section 2.4.

community's elites.⁷ In the same vein, John Ma's 2009 article shifted the perspective of Hellenistic warfare away from the large dynastic empires and their armies and towards *polis*-communities, which he demonstrated to be highly active in the realm of local warfare during the period.⁸

These overarching revisions to our understanding of Hellenistic warfare, however, have yet to trickle down into the region of Boiotia. In no small part this is due to the persistent legacy of a contemporary commentator, Polybius, and his account of the state of affairs in the region. Writing of roughly the same time as our inscription from Thespiiai, Polybius criticizes the Boiotians for being lazy, corrupt, and ineffectual. He paints a vivid picture of the collapse of Boiotia's culture of civic participation and thus the collapse of its military and political influence as a region:

τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν εἰς τοσαύτην παραγεγόνει καχεξίαν ὥστε σχεδὸν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντ' ἔτων τὸ δίκαιον μὴ διεξῆχθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς μήτε περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν συμβολαίων μήτε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν φρουρὰς παραγγέλλοντες τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἱ δὲ στρατείας κοινὰς, ἐξέκοπτον αἰεὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν: ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ μισθοδοσίας ἐποίουν ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἐξ ὧν ἐδιδάχθη τὰ πλήθη τούτοις προσέχειν καὶ τούτοις περιποιεῖν τὰς ἀρχάς, δι' ὧν ἔμελλε τῶν μὲν ἀδικημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων οὐχ ὑφέξειν δίκας, προσλήψεσθαι δὲ τῶν κοινῶν αἰεὶ τι διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων χάριν.

But public affairs in Boeotia had fallen into such a state of disorder that for nearly twenty-five years justice, both civil and criminal, had ceased to be administered there, the magistrates by issuing orders, some of them for the dispatch of garrisons and others for general campaigns, always contriving to abolish legal proceedings. Certain *strategoí* even provided pay out of the public funds for the indigent, the populace thus learning to court and invest with power those men who would help them to escape the legal consequences of their crimes and debts and even in addition to get something out of the public funds as a favour from the magistrates.⁹

It is noteworthy that Polybius singles out the city's *strategoí* – which may well be the Achaian historian's classification of Boiotian *polemarchoi* – for particular scorn.¹⁰ His allegations

⁷ Chaniotis 2005: 29-42.

⁸ Ma 2009, and note *infra*.

⁹ Pol. 20.6.1-6, trans. W. R. Paton.

¹⁰ This remains a point of philological debate, and one that allows for an alternative reading of part of this passage. Post 2012: 122, following Roesch 1965: 116-117, Feyel 1942, presumes that the magistrates Polybius refers to as “ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν” must be the same as the magistrates he previously referred to τῶν ἀρχόντων, and thus should be identified with the Boiotarchs. Most translations, including that quoted here, tend

are clear: the military and civic establishment of the region was pre-occupied with the advancement of their own station, while the military was reduced to either guarding the countryside or taking part in pointless expeditions. All the while, these officials curried favour among the poor at home through their largesse. If the armies of the region's cities were weak, the logic follows, then they certainly were not fighting – and this idea that local communities were not militarily active in the Hellenistic period is something that recurs in Boiotia and elsewhere.¹¹ Polybius has perhaps unintentionally cast a long shadow over our understanding of Hellenistic Boiotia in general, and its civic and military structures in particular, as generations of scholars have taken the testimony of Polybius *au pied de la lettre*.¹² It is perhaps unsurprising that more weight would be given to the dramatic accusations of Polybius than the rich epigraphic *corpus* of communities like Thespiiai. Rostovtzeff latched on to Polybius' accusations of demagoguery and then passes the entire account through a Marxist filter: “the class struggle reaches its culmination in Boeotia at this time. The mob ruled. They were represented by generals whose decisions were determined by their desire to rule the proletariat”.¹³ Feyel explicitly approaches the region's epigraphic data through the lens of Polybius' accounts, naturally concluding that the former corroborate the general state of affairs described by the latter.¹⁴

This presumption of Hellenistic decline continued to influence scholarly perceptions of the region's economy, its demography, and agricultural productivity.¹⁵ Recently, however, this

to assume that τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν refers explicitly to the *koinon* of the Boiotians, rather than a more general translation which would render this as “the common affairs of the Boiotians”. Given that Polybius uses τῶν ἀρχόντων twice but then singles out the *stratego*i for scorn regarding their use of public funds to pay the needy, it would seem that the *stratego*i are a distinct group of magistrates from the *archontes*. It has been rightly noted that the term Polybius uses to describe this public largesse, μισθοδοσία, generally refers explicitly to military pay rather than a more general public benefaction, so this along with the specific reference to the *stratego*i makes it more likely, in my option, that Polybius is referring to the *polemarchoi* here, and that the more generic *archontes* elsewhere in this passage refers to the Boiotarchs. The fact that the *stratego*i give this military pay to the soldiers from the public treasury would seem to indicate the mix of political and civic prerogative that came with the office of *polemarch*, which we shall discuss below. See also Walbank 3.72 for his commentary on this passage. The time frame to which Polybius is referring is generally accepted as c.217-192/1 BC, following Walbank.

¹¹ Ma 2009 has done a great deal to turn this assumption on its head, as had the previous work of Chaniotis on warfare and local confrontation among cities cited *supra*. Nevertheless, the assumption of demographic and economic decline in Hellenistic Boiotia remains, and the corollary assumption of military decline is often implied.

¹² Most explicit in this methodological approach is Feyel 1942, who as a matter of objective reads contemporary epigraphic evidence through the lens of Polybian allegations. Yet in Feyel's work, the WWII-backdrop against which he was writing, his personal involvement with it, and the parallels he draws between figures such as Philip V and Hitler should be borne in mind when considering his analysis. See Müller 2013's discussion of this ideological backdrop to his analysis.

¹³ Rostovtzeff 1941: 611-612.

¹⁴ Feyel 1942: 13-14, discussed by Migeotte 1985: 103-106 and Müller 2013: 267-268.

¹⁵ On the economy of the region, Migeotte 1985: 106, in which certain decrees “illustrent donc les embarras financiers des cités béotiennes à cette époque et s'accordent avec les nombreux autres témoignages sur les difficultés sociales et économiques des régions voisines”; on demography, Bintliff 1996: 198 “the general

has been increasingly called into question. The historicity of this passage of Polybius was challenged by Christel Müller, who convincingly argued that this passage and indeed all of Polybius 20.4-7 should be viewed as a literary *topos* rather than a faithful rendering of the contemporary state of affairs in the region.¹⁶ Prior to her study, Ephraim Lytle's 2010 analysis of a decree regulating fish prices noted discrepancies between the local economic conditions in Akraiphia and Polybius' allegations of economic stagnation throughout the region.¹⁷ Price regulation decrees such as this, he argued, need not automatically be taken as indicative of economic instability, but "were a normal feature of the economy".¹⁸ Lytle's re-consideration of the broader evidentiary picture of Akraiphia presents a fairly different situation than that described by Polybius, one in which this corner of Boiotia regulated its local economy in order to protect visitors to the increasingly-popular Ptoion sanctuary from the predations of overeager fishmongers.¹⁹ In the same vein, earlier studies by Léopold Migeotte argued that epigraphic attestations of civic debt and the exchange of fairly large sums by external creditors was not implicitly a symptom of the failing economy described by Polybius, but was rather a normal feature of the annual agrarian economy's rhythms of liquidity.²⁰ In the religious sphere as well, recent re-examinations of the latter half of the third century have revealed the expansion and renovation of sanctuaries, as well as their associated games, in what Knoepfler described in 1996 as "une réactivation très remarquable des cultes civiques".²¹ While our understanding of many aspects of Boiotian society in the third century has been revised by a more nuanced reading of Polybius, the conclusions of Chaniotis and Ma regarding military activity in the Greek Mainland have not yet been brought to the shores of Lake Kopais. Our understanding of Boiotian military history has yet to escape the grasp of Polybius.

Against the backdrop of this revised picture of Boiotian history on the one hand, and Hellenistic military activity in the Mainland on the other, we shall re-consider the old suppositions of military decline and inactivity through the lens of local military magistracies. It has long been noted that the member states of the Hellenistic Boiotian League all shared essentially the same structure of civic and military magistracies, and prominent among this standard set of officials we find a board of three annual magistrates called the *polemarchoi* who are served by a *grammateus*. There is a vast body of epigraphic (and otherwise) attestations of the *polemarchoi* in Boiotia in the third and early second centuries, but the question of what precisely these military magistrates did remains rather more obscure. There has not as yet been a consideration of their status, their roles and responsibilities, and their activities on the local level in the Hellenistic Period. It may seem like a fairly facile line of enquiry, but a thoughtful consideration of precisely what these *polemarchoi* and other military magistrates

demographic and economic malaise that is seen in almost all regions of mainland southern Greece in the late Hellenistic Period finds its correspondence in the Valley of the Muses".

¹⁶ Müller 2013.

¹⁷ Lytle 2010.

¹⁸ Lytle 2010: 293, and also 295 on the rise of new forms of wealth in the region.

¹⁹ Lytle 2010: 295-297.

²⁰ Migeotte 1985: 104-105.

²¹ Knoepfler 1996: 166.

did during their terms of office will hopefully help us to resolve some of the more general questions regarding local military activity and civic culture in this region.

To address these practical considerations, we shall begin with a general overview of the roles and responsibilities of the *polemarchoi* both at peace and at war in Boiotia. To determine what kind of Boiotian citizens discharged this office in the Hellenistic Period, we shall then turn to a detailed case study of Hyettos, a corner of Boiotia for which there is a large *corpus* of military catalogues dating to the late third century and early second. A prosopographical examination of the names and patronymics listed in these military catalogues allows us to reconstruct the family, status, and background of this city's Hellenistic *polemarchoi*, and the relationship between the *polemarchia* and other civic magistracies. Finally, we shall put this reconstruction of the military life of Hyettos back into the broader regional context and determine what functions and duties the city's soldiers and officers would have performed in service of their city and *koinon*. Taken together, all of this adds further nuance to our understanding of the culture of military participation in the region. I shall argue that the prestige and aristocratic associations of military magistracies had not been discarded as irrelevant in response to the realities of the Hellenistic Period, but endured at the top of a militarised society in which citizens were, as they had been for centuries, remarkably active in the military life of their communities, both at peace and at war.

Reconstructing the *Polemarchia*

To outline the practical duties and responsibilities of the Hellenistic *polemarchia* we must reach back somewhat further into Boiotian history and begin our reconstruction in the fourth century. As is well-attested, in the unique institutional context of Boiotia, the chief military officials of a given city were not *stratego*i as elsewhere in the Greek world, but instead *polemarchoi* – the martial character of the office is implicit in the name. Equating the duties of the third and second century *polemarchoi* with their Classical-period predecessors is plausible given Albert Schachter's observation of Boiotian institutional conservatism, and the region's penchant for reviving older offices subsequently with minor modification.²² It would thus seem safe to presume that the outline of a *polemarchos*' duties found in fifth and fourth century attestations would be roughly equivalent their function in the third and early second centuries.

In the more general ancient tradition outside of Boiotia, the word *polemarchos* is used by literary sources from the Hellenistic through to the Imperial period to refer to a “commander in chief”, “general”, or something along the lines of a magistrate with *imperium* in Apollodorus

²² Schachter 2016a: 207-209. Schachter's argument is particularly relevant to my supposition that we can equate the duties of the Hellenistic polemarchs with their Classical antecedents. Schachter argues that the military contingents of the region's Hellenistic *koinon* were revivals of much earlier units: the *agema* of the third and second centuries was a direct descendant of older corps of *lektoi* and *epilektoi* attested in the region in the fifth and sixth centuries. If this conservatism is true of the units of the military, it follows logically that it would be true of their commanders as well.

and Plutarch.²³ The same meaning of the word is found in Classical lyric poetry as well. In Bacchylides 17, Theseus refers to Minos as the polemarch of Knossos twice, which is usually translated as warlord or commander.²⁴ Exactly how old the institution is in the Boiotian context has been a topic of long debate: although not directly attested until the fourth century, Busolt, Swoboda, Schäfer, and Roesch all argue that it is an old archaic institution that survived throughout nearly all of Boiotian history.²⁵ Schäfer went so far as to argue that the *polemarchoi* were the assistants of the Theban kings who commanded a section each of the citizen army, making them something akin to generals or brigade commanders in the field.²⁶

John Buckler and Hans Beck have discussed the fourth century functions of the official in detail in 2008; drawing from their extensive work, only an overview of the functions of the *polemarchoi* is necessary here.²⁷ From the fourth century through to the Imperial period the picture of local Boiotian government is very consistent: in the institutional structure of large cities such as Thebes down to the smallest *poleis* we find a board of three *polemarchoi* who act as executive magistrates of the community, supported by a *grammateus*. In the federal construct, these *polemarchoi* were inferior in status and power to the federal Boiotarchs, but were nevertheless influential in the local context. From the fourth century onwards, we do not find evidence of *polemarchoi* acting in interstate affairs, so they seem to be very much local magistrates who presided over a domestic sphere of responsibility centred on their native city but also involving them in regional affairs.²⁸

Given the name of the office, it is clear that at least part of the role entailed military command in the field, and given the fact that *hipparchoi* are not permitted to command infantry, it would seem that *polemarchoi* are the highest officers of local contingents of infantry and cavalry from a given city; precisely how this civic command structure integrates with the federal level is uncertain, particularly when it comes to the active deployments of units under their command. The “international” (i.e. outside the region) activities of Boiotarchs in the fourth and third centuries, however, imply that although the *polemarchoi* were prominent domestic officials, they did not have sole command military forces outside the League’s territory without federal oversight.²⁹

As with the office of the Boiotarch, it appears that what was initially a military office gradually became concerned with civic affairs by the beginning of the fourth century. In describing the events of the 380s and early 370s, Xenophon describes the *polemarchoi* as having something akin to police powers, including the right to arrest and arraign criminal suspects,

²³ Plut. *Pel.* 17; Paus 2.14.2, 4.20.10, 7.1.9; Athen. 6.27

²⁴ Bacchylides 17, 35-45, addressing Theseus, especially lines 39-41: τῷ σε, πολέμαρχε Κνωσίων, κέλομαι λύστονον ἐρύκεν ὕβριν.

²⁵ This scholarly tradition around the *polemarchia* is drawn from Buckler and Beck 2008: 89-90 and especially notes 10-14. The ancient literary sources mentioned *supra* are analysed by Buckler and Beck 2008: 88.

²⁶ Discussed at Buckler and Beck 2008: 89, who draw on Schäfer *RE* s.v. “Polemarchos”.

²⁷ See the full discussion of Buckler and Beck 2008: 88-102 with extensive references. Also see the discussion of Schachter 2016b: 216-222 *passim*.

²⁸ Buckler and Beck 2008: 97.

²⁹ Buckler and Beck 2008: 94-97.

and in certain circumstances they would even determine the guilt or the punishment of a given case.³⁰ They conducted their business from a specific building, the aptly-named *polemarcheion*.³¹ More generally, in the Theban context the *polemarchoi* are tasked with public security, law enforcement, and their oversight in the local realm. It is clear that their specific powers relate to the realm of legitimate violence, punishment, and the maintenance of public peace. It is easy to surmise how the monopoly on local violence and justice within a community that was held by the *polemarchoi* is derivative of their earlier military capacity, especially given the more general connection in the Archaic period between military prowess and political power.

Elsewhere in the Greek world, we find that many aspects of the polemarch's authority and public function are directly tied to military action, and here we can perhaps establish a parallel with Thasos. The famous Agathoi Decree from 360-350 provides a snapshot of the local duties of these mid-fourth century *polemarchoi*.³² Judging from the inscription and Hamon's interpretation, they figured prominently in sacrifices and festivals of the city that were linked to commemoration of its war dead. The *polemarchoi* are in charge of dispensing and overseeing civic funds given to support the widows and orphans of citizens who fell in battle.³³ As in the Boiotian instance discussed above, here in Thasos the duties of the polemarch in the religious and economic realms are ultimately derived from the fundamentally military character of the office. This mixed civic and military character of the magistracy required an appropriate skillset among those who would be elected to it: Hamon writes that "Il est évident qu'elle [the *polemarchia*] requérait de la part des candidats à la fois du prestige personnel et des compétences militaires pour diriger l'armée civique, fantassins et marins, et assurer la défense du territoire." It was precisely this character of the *polemarchia* that made it a desirable office for those seeking greater prestige within the city. As shown in the decree, this group of five *polemarchoi* feature prominently in the public life of the city; when combined with the unique access to the structures of civic power such magistrates enjoyed, this highly influential role gave each *polemarchos* a unique chance to leave their mark on the community.³⁵ This potential is not limited to Thasos, either, as the work of Pierre Fröhlich has identified the political influence of military magistrates in several other Greek communities during the fourth century.³⁶ We can safely presume that the same would have been the case in Boiotia as well. The heights of civic influence, however, were not open to all: Hamon notes that the *polemarchoi*

³⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 25; 5. 2. 32, 5. 4. 2, 7. 5. 4, 7. 3. 4-6, discussed by Buckler and Beck 2008: 88, 96-97 and notes 39-42, as well as pp. 168-169.

³¹ Mentioned by Xen. *Hell.* 5. 4. 6 and Schäfer, *RE* s.v. "Polemarchos".

³² The Agathoi Decree was published in Pouilloux 1954, no. 141, and see also the edition of Fournier and Hamon 2007. The most recent discussion of the decree and the magistrates identified in it is Hamon 2010, on which the following observations are based.

³³ Hamon 2010: 314-316.

³⁵ Hamon 2010: 314. Whether or not the magistrates of Thasos had the right to convene the assembly, as the *stratēgoi* of Athens did, is unknown, but nevertheless they would have had prime access to the assembly, other citizen bodies, and indeed their fellow civic magistrates during their time of service.

³⁶ Fröhlich 2008: 423-441, especially pp. 436-438 on the right of military magistrates to convene civic assemblies. Hamon, based on the work of Fröhlich, assumes that in Thasos the *polemarchoi* would have the same rights of convening the assembly as elsewhere in the fourth century.

of Thasos were recruited from the same elite social milieu as the city's other magistrates, especially the *archontes* and *theoroi*, and competition for such offices among elite families was fierce. On the *cursus* of a *polis* such as this, the *polemarchia* would have been the second or third most influential – and thus prestigious – office to hold. By all accounts this was the case in Hellenistic Boiotia as well.

Although the data we have discussed thus far in re-creating the roles of the Boiotian *polemarchoi* dates to the fourth century and thus before the Theban Hegemony, the Boiotian penchant for institutional consistency mentioned above permits a parallel between the magistracy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods. As with local *boulai*, the *polemarchia* survived the dissolution of the Boiotian League, so there is no reason to think that their local executive function would have changed with the collapse of the Theban Hegemony. In large part the picture of *polemarchoi* derived from Hellenistic sources aligns neatly with this mixed civic and military role that we have seen in the fourth century. The broad sphere of influence of these officials is noteworthy, as there are several attestations of *polemarchoi* being involved in the economic life of their city. An inscription from Coroneia discussed in detail by Migeotte documents an episode in which a wealthy man named Antigenidas gave funds to the city which were to be used for the purchase of grain that would then be re-sold to the people of Coroneia at a reduced price.³⁷ The public visibility of the polemarchs in this process is noteworthy: Antigenidas gives the funds to the city's *polemarchoi* in the presence of the assembly (l. 7-9), who are then supposed to oversee the purchase of grain at a price they deem to be appropriate. The *polemarchoi* are given instructions to execute this transaction before the month of Pamboiotios, and they are also tasked with supervising the sale of a certain amount of this grain to the public per day for as long as they supply lasts.³⁸ They are ordered to present their accounts to the city after a reasonable amount of time (l. 13-15), and present a report to the assembly and the *grammateis* (l. 24-26) before their term of office came to an end.³⁹ As at Thasos, it is easy to see how such a magistracy would be a desirable office for a member of the city's elite: here in Coroneia the *polemarchoi* were seen receiving this donation to the city and they too were the public face of the distribution of Antigenidas' largesse; in essence, they profit from his generosity as the executors of the benefaction in the eyes of the people. The social capital that came with such a magistracy is not difficult to imagine.

This economic prominence of the *polemarchia* was not limited to Coroneia. There are a variety of other *testimonia* of the economic prerogatives of the polemarchs in communities throughout the Boiotian League in the third century.⁴⁰ In Oropos at roughly the same time as the Antigenidas decree, the polemarchs are tasked with supervising the re-modelling and renovation of the sacred objects of the city's sanctuary. In Haliartos between 230-220, they were in charge of finding a bull for one of the city's sacrifices. In Orchomenos, they oversaw the reimbursement of a loan made to the city. In Thespias and Akraiphia, the polemarchs are in

³⁷ The inscription is SEG 42.205, discussed in detail by Migeotte 1993.

³⁸ Migeotte 1993: 335-336.

³⁹ This process of *euthynai* is outlined by Migeotte 1993: 33, 337-341.

⁴⁰ This list is derived from Roesch's discussion of the economic role of the polemarch in Roesch 1965: 162-167, and this synopsis of Hellenistic epigraphic testimonia follows Migeotte 2014: 67-69, with notes.

charge of purchasing *stelai* for public decrees, and in Thisbe between 200-190, they must be present for the repayment of the debt of Chorsiai in the presence of the assembly.⁴¹ In Thespiiai, the polemarchs are heavily involved and personally liable in the Nikareta episode, and interestingly in this whole affair the contracts that are struck with Nikareta are between her and the polemarchs themselves, who as a corporate body represent the city. Throughout Boiotia, the *polemarchoi* are often tasked with commissioning the inscription and display of a given decree or governmental decision in public.⁴² Again, the common strands that run through these various attestations are the civic prominence of the *polemarchoi* in their respective *polis*, their visibility in public, and the wide range of official duties with which they are entrusted. Although as with all civic magistrates they were accountable to the *demos*, the station of the *polemarchoi* placed them in the highest tiers of civic society.

In the midst of these numerous attestations of the civic duties of Hellenistic *polemarchoi*, we must not lose sight of the fundamentally military character of the magistracy. The epigraphic habit of the Hellenistic Boiotian League's members has produced rich evidence for their involvement in non-military affairs, and it can indeed be tempting to view this as indication that a once-martial magistracy had devolve into a civic functionary by the third century. But this conclusion overlooks the fact that the majority of their actions in the military sphere would not have been commemorated epigraphically in the same manner as their civic functions, thus our evidence steers us towards over-emphasizing one half of the *polemarch's* role at the expense of the other. As we have seen in the Great Stele of Thespiiai, the *polemarchoi* were at the top of a military hierarchy that existed in parallel with the hierarchy of civic magistracies. Military capability, particularly experience in the field as a soldier then a commander, would have been the *sine qua non* of eligibility to hold this office. Although the *polemarchia* opened up the avenues of civic influence to a given office-holder, this rested on a base of military expertise. A final point about the office itself, however, needs to be made: Polybius would have us believe that this civic influence of military magistrates was exploited by the region's *stratego*i (read: *polemarchoi*) in the third century, who abused the prominence of the office in the pursuit of their own demagogic ends. The *polemarchoi*, in other words, controlled and manipulated the structures of the *polis*. The epigraphic evidence, however, describes the opposite state of affairs: in each of the episodes discussed above, the *demos* commands the *polemarchoi* and entrusts them with a given sphere of influence. The influence of the magistrates is ultimately delegated to them by the *demos*, and there are strict systems of oversight and accountability at work. It is difficult to square the corruption alleged by Polybius

⁴¹ In Akraiphia, polemarchs are tasked with inscribing public decrees both in the city and in the Ptoion, for instance in *BCH* 60 (1936), p. 15 and *IG* VII 4130 and 4131. The same situation of polemarchs being tasked with public inscriptions appears in Oropos, namely in *I.Oropos* 17, 24, 27, 52, and 167, among many others. In Boiotia alone there are 276 epigraphic attestations of the polemarchs that date to this period, based on the inscriptions I have encountered thus far. Interesting, the public function of the polemarchs seems to persist after the collapse of the *koinon*: in Akraiphia as late as 146 they are still inscribing decrees at the Ptoion, as in *IG* VII 4131.

⁴² These wide-ranging duties of the polemarchs in Hellenistic Boiotia has long been noted by scholarship, as early as Foucart 1880 in the context of Orchomenos. Several contributions to *Papazarkadas 2014* discuss new and intriguing evidence for the diverse public roles of polemarchs, especially Schachter 2014, Knoepfler 2014, and Grenet 2014 – the latter of which has a particularly interesting discussion of the polemarchs vis-à-vis manumission.

with the scrupulous financial oversight of the *polemarchoi* while in office.⁴³ As with all public magistracies, although the *polemarchoi* had no small measure of power during their term in office, the *demos* was always their sovereign master.

Among the rather more mundane duties of the *polemarchoi* in the annual administration of the city was the compilation and publication of the *polis'* military catalogues, i.e. the list of the city's young men who had completed the *ephebeia* and were now being enrolled in the federal hoplite ranks. This particular activity is very well attested throughout the region, and with the broader role of the *polemarchoi* in Hellenistic Boiotia having been established, we shall now consider what sort of citizen would have held this office by examining the epigraphic records of this administrative process in Hyettos.

Climbing the Ladder: The *Polemarchoi* of Hyettos

The northern Boiotian city of Hyettos is significant for a variety of reasons beyond having been allegedly founded by its eponymous *ktistes* after having fled from Argos.⁴⁴ Situated north of Lake Kopais, the city was critically positioned near the northern border of the Boiotian League and controlled the mountains of the region's northern border with Lokris. In the context of our examination of the *polemarchia*, the city is particularly valuable for having produced a large *corpus* of military catalogues, 24 inscriptions, that date to the period of the late 230s through to the 160s BC.⁴⁵ Although dozens of such catalogues have been found throughout Hellenistic Boiotia – indeed their production seems to be a federally-mandated habit at this point – Hyettos is unique for the size of its *corpus* and the relatively good preservation of the lists themselves, which permits the partial reconstruction of the *peltophoroi*, *polemarchoi*, their *grammateus*, and the city archon over a fairly precise period of time.⁴⁶ The principal study of these military lists was published by Étienne and Knoepfler in 1976, and their work remains authoritative in terms of the reading of the texts. Étienne and Knoepfler were more interested in the relation of these decrees to the sequence of Boiotian federal archons, and while they put forward many prosopographic observations in their

⁴³ On the general mechanisms for oversight of Greek magistrates, see McAuley 2013.

⁴⁴ Paus. 9.36.6.

⁴⁵ See Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 67-112 for the full list of military catalogues, which are IG VII 2809-2830 and SEG 26.501-523. See the attached appendix for a concordance of SEG, IG, and Étienne and Knoepfler references to and dates of these inscriptions. The dates of some inscriptions with relation to the federal archon were revised by Knoepfler 1992, and the dates provided in the appendix are taken from the online edition of the LGPN, which includes this and other revisions. The dates provided by the LGPN can be considered representative of the most up-to-date consensus.

⁴⁶ See McAuley 2018 for the *corpus* of similar inscriptions at Megara, for instance, as well as I.Thespiai 93 and IG VII 1750 from elsewhere in Boiotia. Military catalogues as a mechanism are discussed by Roesch 1982: 342-345 and 307-354. On the military catalogues of Chaironeia, see Kalliontzis 2007, and for a similar inscription from Haliartos see Müller 1997. Schachter 2016b also discusses several catalogues from Akraiphia.

commentary on individual inscriptions, there is work yet to be done.⁴⁷ The chronology of some these decrees was revised in their *SEG* editions and later by Knoepfler in a 1992 article, whose chronology I follow here as indicated in the *LGPN*. I shall complement their specific readings of individual inscriptions by treating the *corpus* as a whole, and further examining the possible relationships among the individuals attested.

As with all such contemporary military catalogues, each of the decrees begins with a consistent formulary listing the federal archon, the city archon, then the three polemarchs, followed by the *grammateus*, before moving on to provide a list of the men enrolled in the federal *peltophoroi* for that year – i.e. those who have left the *ephebeia* and are enrolling in the military corps of Hyettos that then serve in the federal army.⁴⁸ When the catalogues are considered in relation to one another, a detailed local picture of this city's succession of magistrates emerges. I have examined each of the catalogues in turn and compiled the names of the magistrates listed – city archon, *polemarchoi*, *grammateus* – and dated them by cross-referencing each inscription with the chronology established by Étienne and Knoepfler's initial publication and subsequent revisions.⁴⁹ From then, examining the corpus of these catalogues brings some patterns to the fore. When the catalogues are arranged chronologically by approximate date, the sequence of names and patronymics as they are attested in the role of city archon, polemarch, *grammateus*, and even sometimes enrolment in the *peltophoroi* permit the reconstruction of two things: first, the careers of individual citizens of the city; and second, the successive generations of magistrates that come from a particular family. This prosopographical approach, particularly when it comes to examining successive generations of a given family, is enabled in no small measure by Albert Schachter's observation of the Boiotian habit of naming sons after their grandfathers, thus presenting the repetition of a small set of male names and patronymics in a given family over several generations.⁵⁰ When these recurrent names appear in subsequent generations as an alternating patronymic, the progress of some of the city's families through the ranks of its civic and military magistracies can be tracked.⁵¹

Several noteworthy observations emerge from this reconstruction of the sequence of *polemarchoi* in Hyettos that in turn colours our understanding of the office throughout Boiotia. The first and perhaps most obvious remark that emerges from the epigraphic corpus is that individuals could and indeed did hold the office of polemarch more than once, often holding

⁴⁷ The list of federal archons with which I have related these decrees is found at Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 349-350.

⁴⁸ While most of the region's military catalogues begin with reference to the federal archon, the catalogues of Chaironeia only list the civic archon, as discussed by Kalliontzis 2007.

⁴⁹ See note above, notably in the *SEG* edition of these inscriptions and the *LGPN* entries regarding the individuals attested.

⁵⁰ Schachter 2016b: 220, who discusses this practice in the context of several generations of magistrates attested in Akraiphia. His discussion is eminently relevant to this similar pattern observed here in Hyettos. The Boiotian tendency for the patronymic alternation was also identified by Feysel 1942: 23, and is discussed by Étienne and Knoepfler 1976 in their analysis of individual inscriptions.

⁵¹ See Müller 1997's conclusions for a recapitulation of the long scholarly debate regarding Boiotian formulations of the patronymic, namely a genitive or a patronymic adjective.

office twice within a relatively short amount of time. Whenever the same personal name and patronymic is found in more than one inscription within a relatively short time frame delineated by the federal archon and along with different colleagues as *polemarchoi*, it is safe to assume that this represents one individual holding the office twice. This occurs in the case of Damonikos son of Aristolaos, who was polemarch twice in c. 235-230 under different city archons (SEG 26.521 and 502). He held the office twice along with his colleague Kallichareis son of Epitimos (SEG 26.521 and 502), and they are listed in the same order in both inscriptions but with a different third colleague. Thrasoulaos, son of Kallidamos, held the office thrice in the closing decades of the third century. He is first listed as third polemarch in SEG 26.509 (205 BC) and then again as first in SEG 26.506 (214-210 BC), then as second polemarch in SEG 26.503 (203 BC), and as first in SEG 26.506 (214-210).⁵² Although we cannot be entirely sure given that city archon's patronymic is not listed in such catalogues, there is another Thrasoulaos attested as city archon in SEG 26.505 dating to c. 235 BC, so it seems likely that another relative of his had held high office in the preceding generation.⁵³ This trend of repeat office holding is not limited to the third century, as in the period stretching from 207-c.190 we find Timasion son of Timasithios holding the office thrice (SEG 26.508, 26.510, 26.515).⁵⁴ It seems also that a fairly long interval could exist between repeat terms of office: Damagathos son of Mnasippos, served as polemarch in 206 and then again roughly fifteen years later in 190-185 (SEG 26.507 and 26.516).

Interestingly, based on this epigraphic sample the office of *polemarchos* seems to have been the only one that could be repeatedly held by a given individual: there is not an attestation of the same person serving as city-archon twice, or as *grammateus* to the *polemarchoi* twice. It would seem, then, that there was no limit on serving as *polemarchos* repeatedly, though the lack of precise dating of some inscriptions on which this observation is based does not allow us to speculate whether there was a minimum period of time between terms as *polemarchos*. The question of collegiality is equal parts intriguing and impenetrable. The opening formula of these inscriptions establishes a clear hierarchy in the civic structure of the city and indeed the *koinon*: the federal archon is listed first, then the highest-ranking magistrate in the city (the civic archon), then the next highest-ranking magistrates (the three *polemarchoi*), then their

⁵² Note that there is a lacuna in the inscription SEG 26.509 at the patronymic of the third *polemarchos*. Although the first name Thrasoulaos is clearly legible, the patronymic is missing, but the letter spaces allow for a restoration of Καλλιδάμω as the patronymic, as accepted in the IG version of the text.

⁵³ The *demos* of Hyettos seems to have at times found the omission of the city archon's patronymic to be a cause of confusion as well, and in order to distinguish magistrates with the same personal name we find that distinguishing epithets are used as well, instead of simply adding the patronymic. SEG 26.513, for instance, lists the city archon as "Thrasoulaos the Later" (Θρασουλάω τῷ οὐστέρῳ), while SEG 26.506 refers to the city archon as "Timasithios the Second" (Τιμασιθίω τῷ δευτέρῳ). The obvious implication to this is that there was more than one man with the same name involved in the upper echelons of civic politics in the same generation, further arguing that this system was a small, semi-closed competitive arena for aristocrats. This pattern of distinguishing archons with the same name is also found in contemporary inscriptions from Chaironeia discussed by Kalliontzis, especially no. 5, and has previously been discussed by Knoepfler 1992: 496-497, and Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 275 note 33. The ordinal adjective, by all accounts, serves to distinguish the same name rather than repeat terms of office. The adjectives attested as the second, the later, and "the third" also appear in Tanagra, as discussed by Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 275 with the scholarly history of this observation also at note 33.

⁵⁴ See the attached appendix for the date ranges of these inscriptions.

subordinate *grammateus*, then the citizens themselves. It is tempting to wonder if the order in which the *polemarchoi* are listed suggests an internal hierarchy within the college: is the most senior or established *polemarchos* listed before his more junior colleagues and then their *grammateus*, or is the order in which they are listed insignificant? There are some indications in this *corpus* that would lead us to think the former is the case: Timasion son of Timasithios is listed third in what seems to be his first term as *polemarch* (SEG 26.508 – 207 BC), and then first in his subsequent two terms (SEG 26.510 and 26.515 – c.205 and 190, respectively). Given that there seems to be no alphabetic order in the listing of federal archons, it would seem plausible to assume that they are listed in order of seniority, however, this *corpus* is still too lacunose to permit a stronger conclusion.

The second observation regarding these military catalogues proceeds from the fact that their relatively close chronological sequence permits the reconstruction of the military and civic careers of individuals over the course of several years. Epaminondas, son of Warmichos, is an interesting case in point: although we lack the precise date of his enrolment in the *peltophoroi*, after what must have been at least some years of military and civic service he then went on to serve as *polemarch* twice in the decade 170-160 (SEG 26.522 and 523).⁵⁵ Given the usual *cursus magistratus* of a Boiotian city such as this, presumably he would have served as *grammateus* at some point before his service as *polemarchos*, but this is not explicitly attested. Considering the career of Epaminondas son of Warmichos in the context of the federal *ephebeia* as outlined by the Sostratos decree from Thespiiai permits a rough estimation of what age he would have been when he appears in the epigraphic record.⁵⁶ The Sostratos Decree states that in accordance with a law of the *koinon* the young men of the city are trained in various military skills from ages 12-18 before being enrolled as *epheboi* for two years.⁵⁷ When they finally leave the *ephebeia* and are enrolled in the military ranks of the city and the *koinon* these young soldiers would have been roughly twenty years of age.⁵⁸ Our Epaminondas son of Warmichos would thus have been around 20 when he was enrolled in the *peltophoroi*, and if we place his attestations as *polemarch* in the 160s BC, he would have been over thirty by the time he

⁵⁵ Note that throughout I am rendering the digamma in the Latin alphabet as a semi-vocalic “W”.

⁵⁶ *I.Thespiiai* 29, SEG 32.496. The inscription was revised by Roesch 1982: 322-346, and more recently Chankowski 2010: 160-164 and Post 2012: 98-102. A recent updated text is in the epigraphic dossier of Mackil 2013. On the Hellenistic *ephebeia* more generally, see Chankowski 2010 and the detailed catalogue of Kennell 2006.

⁵⁷ The relevant lines are 10-16 of the inscription:

Ἐπειδὴ νόμος ἐστὶ ἐν τοῖς κοι-
νοῖς Βοιωτῶν τὰς πόλεις παρεχόμεν
12 διδασκάλως οἵτινες διδάξονται
τῶς τε παιδᾶς κῆ τῶς νιανίσκως
τοξευόμεν κῆ ἀκοντιδόμεν
κῆ τὰ δδδοσθη συντάξις τὰς περὶ
16 τὸν πόλεμον

⁵⁸ The technical term used is often εἰς τὰ τάγματα as in *IG VII* 27, l. 10. For a reconstruction of the Boiotian federal *ephebeia* as it appears in Megara, see McAuley 2018: 221-228, with a full discussion of the correlation between the terms used to identify certain groups and their ages.

achieved this higher office.⁵⁹ If we presume that he was *grammateus* before serving as polemarch, the office of *grammateus* would thus have been open to men who were serving in the army but lacked both the age and experience to serve as *polemarch* – perhaps then the office becomes equivalent to the Roman *quaestor*. While it is impossible based on this *corpus* to pin down a precise age minimum for Boiotian *polemarchoi*, it is plausible that they would either by convention or mandate have been men in their thirties with at least ten years post-ephebic experience and perhaps prior service as a *grammateus*.

The career of Pouthogeneis son of Damonikos further suggests that the office of *grammateus* was something of a pre-requisite to holding the office of *polemarchos*. Pouthogeneis is attested as *grammateus* (SEG 26.502) in a catalogue dating to around 235-230, and then as third polemarch shortly thereafter in SEG 26.513 in 225 BC. This succession from *grammateus* to polemarch, though, does not seem to have been a *fait accompli*, as there are several attested *grammateis* who do not go on to serve as polemarch, in this *corpus* at least. There may well have been some sort of glass ceiling to advancement that was determined by capability, favour, lineage, or a combination thereof. In the same vein, not all sons of a given family were automatically destined for service in a high office by virtue of their birth: a man named Lileis seems to have had at least two sons, Tharson and Ariston. Ariston is enrolled in the *peltophorois* in the 235-230 BC (SEG 26.501) but does not re-appear as a magistrate in this *corpus*. His brother Tharson, however, went on to serve as *grammateus* in 221 (SEG 26.512), so the *cursus* seems to have been somewhat self-selecting. Advancement would have been guided by more than just aristocratic lineage.⁶⁰

Competition for offices seems to have intensified as one worked one's way higher up the hierarchy. Only a select few of the citizens of Hyettos attain all of the offices in the city. Thrasoulaidas, son of Kallidamos, is such a case: he was *grammateus* in 235-230 (SEG 26.501), then is attested as city archon in 216 (SEG 26.514). Presumably he would have held the office of polemarch at some point in the intervening years. Another man named Thrasoulaos, also son of a Kallidamos, was *polemarchos* twice between 214 and 205 BC (SEG 26.509 and 506). While it is tempting to surmise that the office of *polemarch* was a pre-requisite for service as city archon, the limited sample of this *corpus* does not permit this to be decided conclusively. That being said, however, the repetition of certain family names in the *corpus* of inscriptions leads us to believe that a combination of career advancement and family lineage led to eligibility for the archonship.

This familial dynamic brings us to the third and perhaps most intriguing observation to arise from these military catalogues, namely the manner in which the high civic and military offices of the city tend to be held by a small group of elite families who dominate office-

⁵⁹ Based on the possibility discussed above regarding the seniority of *polemarchoi* and the order in which they are listed, it is perhaps possible to surmise that SEG 26.522, in which he is attested as the third *polemarchos*, dates to a few years before SEG 26.523, in which he is listed first.

⁶⁰ This situation of brothers serving in the same contingent of the *peltophorois* is also found in Chaironeia, Kalliontzis 2007: 490, inscription no. 5, in which two sons of the same man appear in the same military catalogue – Θιόδωρ[ος] Λάκρωνος and Κάλλων Λάκρωνος. Kalliontzis suspects that, as seems to be the case here, the brothers were either very close in age or twins, given that they appear in the same annual group of the city's ephebic contingent.

holding over subsequent generations. This is very much like a pattern identified by Albert Schachter in Akraiphia and noted by Roesch, Étienne, and Knoepfler, and we certainly find it in the local world of Hyettos as well.⁶¹ This man Thrasoulaos who was polemarch twice and whose relative was previously city archon was from a long line of magistrates and was certainly neither the first nor the last of his lineage to figure prominently in the public life of Hyettos. Before him there is a man listed as “Thrasoulaos *ousteros*”, “Thrasoulaos the Later”, as archon in 225 BC, who presumably was related to Thrasoulaos. The very use of this adjective suggests that there was another man named Thrasoulaos, perhaps of the same family, who was a prominent citizen of the city at the same time.⁶² Such adjectives specifying men with the same name who served in the same magistracy is not unique to Hyettos, but is found elsewhere in Hellenistic Boiotia.⁶³ Another man we have encountered above, Thrasoulaidas, son of Kallidamos, is likely from this family as well.⁶⁴

Another lineage, which we can label the family of Tharson, produced an impressive group of magistrates over subsequent generations: Tharson son of Lileis was *grammateus* and polemarch, another Tharson was a city archon, Kalliklidas son of Tharson was another polemarch descended from this line, while a later generation also has a polemarch named Kalliklidas son of Tharson.⁶⁵ This would seem to be another case study of the Boiotian habit of naming sons after grandfathers, allowing for the fairly recurrent alternation of names over subsequent generations mentioned previously, given that the city archon named Tharson does not appear until the 160s BC in *SEG* 26.522. We see this occur again in another family who also ascended to high office: Eumeilos son of Dason was polemarch in 202 BC (*SEG* 26.504), then his son Dason, son of Eumeilos, was polemarch in 190-185 BC (*SEG* 26.516), and then we find another Eumeilos serving as city archon in 180-175 (*SEG* 26.519). The alternation of names and the recurrent presence of the family in higher office in every generation are both clear in this case.

One of the other figures we have discussed above, Epaminondas son of Warmichos, is also from a well-established family of the city. Two men who could have been his grandfather had previously served in the upper ranks of the city roughly a generation or two previously: Warmichos son of Pithoullos, was polemarch before him in the 230s BC (*SEG* 26.521), while another Warmichos, son of Warmichos, was polemarch at roughly the same time (*SEG* 26.501 – 235-230 BC). Epaminondas, likely the grandson of these men or at the very least descended from the same family would then go on to serve as polemarch twice nearly fifty years later (*SEG* 26.522 and 523). In 221 BC, a man named Pithoullos son of Warmichos was admitted into

⁶¹ See Schachter 2016b, *loc. cit.* and his discussion of aristocratic lineages of magistrates at Akraiphia, and his references to the previous work of Roesch, Étienne, and Knoepfler.

⁶² Thrasoulaos the Later: city archon in *SEG* 26.513, for the career of Thrasoulaos son of Kallidamos see above.

⁶³ See note 53 *supra*.

⁶⁴ As mentioned above, he held the office of *grammateus* in *SEG* 26.501, and city archon in *SEG* 26.514.

⁶⁵ Kalliklides son of Tharson: polemarch in *SEG* 26.503. Also polemarch in *SEG* 26.513, polemarch in *SEG* 26.516; Tharson son of Lileis was *grammateus* in *SEG* 26.512 and in *SEG* 26.512, another member of the same family was polemarch in *SEG* 26.522 much later, when another man Tharson was also city archon. See the discussion of Étienne and Knoepfler on each of these individuals as well in their discussion of each inscription.

the *peltophoroï* (SEG 26:512); he was presumably named after his grandfather as well, and could have been the son of the men we have encountered previously. The family of Mnasinos is another impressive magisterial lineage, producing three *grammateis*, two *polemarchoi*, and a city archon over a span of only two or three generations.⁶⁶ The list indeed could go on, but even from this limited sample this local aristocratic structure is clear.

In sum, the picture that we have of the military and civic elite of Hyettos is one of a small group of elite families who have come to dominate patterns of office holding among themselves in a fairly exclusive manner – it is not, in a sense, dissimilar from patterns of office-holding in the Middle Republic. As Hamon noted in the context of Thasos, this office was indeed an object for the most politically active and ambitious citizens, and they certainly did need a combination of civic prestige and military ability to hold the office. Not all members of a given family ascend to the higher ranks of civic and military office, and out of them only a few held the city archonship, so it is certainly a competitive, and largely exclusive system of aristocratic participation and competition. Lineage mattered, but it was not an automatic guarantee of office-holding. Given the uniformity of military and civic structures throughout the member states of the League in the late third and early second centuries, there is no reason to think that the situation at Hyettos is exceptional. Other contemporary catalogues of other cities in the region align with the pattern of office-holding found in Hyettos: Albert Schachter identified three generations of magistrates hailing from the same family in Akraiphia who served as *grammateis* and *polemarchoi* in the second century.⁶⁷ Like many of the examples from Hyettos cited above, their family also alternates personal names over subsequent generations. A similar situation is also found in Chaironeia: even though the series of catalogues from this city is less complete than those of Hyettos, Kalliontzis nevertheless identified several elite lineages and common onomastic patterns among the city's citizens and magistrates.⁶⁸ The extent to which elite families dominated a given city's institutions, the number and influence of them, and the precise interrelation between civic prestige and military prowess would have varied in response to the local political climate of each *polis*, but the general picture, it would seem safe to say that Hyettos is indicative of the broader culture surrounding the *polemarchia* throughout Hellenistic Boiotia.

Conclusions: Reconstructing the Polemarchia at War and Peace

Having established the domestic roles of the polemarch and examined the question of precisely who these men were in the local context of Hyettos, by means of conclusion we must return to the considerations posed at the beginning of this paper, and place the reconstructed role and identity of the Hellenistic *polemarchoi* back into the broader military picture of the region. This revised understanding of the activities of the *polemarchoi* in turn confirms the

⁶⁶ *Grammateis*: SEG 26.513, 503, and 517, all having either the first name or patronymic of Mnasinos. *Polemarchoi*: SEG 26.514, 515, and city archon in SEG 26.509.

⁶⁷ Schachter 2016b.

⁶⁸ Kalliontzis 2007, especially inscription nos. 4 and 5 in his collection, pp. 486-490.

broader conclusions of Chaniotis and Ma regarding local military activity in the Hellenistic mainland, and adds further nuance to our reading of Polybius' accounts of the region's history.

Based on the hereditary reconstruction of Hyettos' military magistrates outlined above, it is tempting to view the *polemarchia* as something that was transmitted more by aristocratic lineage than by personal merit. But this is only one side of the coin, and the practical military duties of the elite must be borne in mind as well. Chaniotis' general conclusion regarding the necessary combination of lineage and military prowess for leadership in the broader Hellenistic world rings true in Boiotia as well, as he writes "to a great extent, military expertise and political experience were transmitted within the family or within a circle of friends".⁶⁹ A clue to reconstructing the sort of military expertise Boiotian office-holders would have acquired lies in the time gap between periods of office-holding, for instance in the careers of the aforementioned Tharson and Warmichos from Hyettos. In the case of both men at least five or ten years of service elapsed between being enrolled in the *peltophoroi* of the city, and then serving as *grammateus* and later polemarch. In the interim periods, these men must have been involved in the military affairs of the city, especially given the broad-ranging powers of the polemarchs while in office. They would have continued to have been enrolled in the military contingents of Hyettos, as indeed their fellow citizens of Boiotia were enrolled in their local regiments and contingents that served in the Boiotian federal army. It would be something of a disservice to presume that these local military formations were inactive and not engaged in combat during this period of 230-180. The work of Ruben Post has gone a long way towards disproving the old assumption of Feyel that the Boiotian military was not really active at period of time.⁷⁰ Instead, in Post's reconstruction of the reformed Boiotian military following its defeats in the mid third century, we find Boiotian soldiers engaged in routine patrols around the countryside, carrying out raiding expeditions into neighbouring territories to deter incursions, rigorously organizing and seeing to the defence of the countryside, especially in times of harvest, and standing guard in border areas against raiding incursions.⁷¹

It is certainly logical to assume that the soldiers of Hyettos would have been involved in many of these local and federal military operations, and that those who served in the ranks of the army would have seen a substantial amount of service and combat during their careers. Given that there are no forts or watch posts near the rocky terrain around Kopai and Hyettos, we must assume that the army would have been regularly patrolling the countryside, especially defending the regional border to the north. As mentioned, the city lies at a critical choke point leading from Lokris to the North through the mountains near Hyettos to the Boiotian heartland around Lake Kopais. This was an area of critical strategic importance, and it is unlikely that the city's military corps was an inactive group of soldiers. In the same vein, we know that some of the *peltophoroi* would have been chosen to serve in the *epilektoi*, the elite

⁶⁹ Chaniotis 2005: 39.

⁷⁰ Post 2012: 84-85, Pol. 20.4.4-6, Plut. *Arat.* 16.1, in discussion with Roesch 1988 and Chankowski 2010 on the timing and precise nature of these reforms. Feyel 1942: 192 and 302 provided mixed dates for the reforms themselves.

⁷¹ Post 2012: 87-108 for the re-organised structure of the Boiotian military and its regular roles in conjunction with the federal army. Also see Beck and Ganter 2016 for the history of the Boiotian League in the third century.

troops who formed the core of the federal standing army. The elite standing troops of the *agema* were active on the local level as well, and all the while we have the regular rhythm of local and regional games in which a city's prestige was won through the military prowess of its citizens in competitions with their peers from throughout Boiotia.

In short, there were a variety of military formations in which future *polemarchoi* like Tharson and Warmichos would have gained the experience needed for the office they would later occupy. They would not have been alone or unique in having such experience: career progression within this system would have required a great deal of practical talent and military prowess, as well as long service as a basic prerequisite. Given this wide base of experience, it was not a *fait accompli* that a man who had served a decade in the military would have risen to the office of *grammateus*, or that all *grammateis* would have gone on to serve as *polemarchoi* as the epigraphic record reveals. Military capability was the indispensable base on which the future civic careers of the *polemarchoi* were predicated, but family lineage was also prerequisite.

This military activity in Hellenistic Boiotia must be viewed in the context of the extensive reforms of the Boiotian in response to Aitolian hegemony in the 240s. The complete overhaul of the Boiotian army was undertaken precisely because it had not been mobilised since the 270s, and many federal troops had been inactive – leading to the region being caught off guard in the middle of the century.⁷² The complex structure that we find in Hyettos, as throughout Boiotia, is only one of many products of this far-reaching process of military reform. When combined with other epigraphic *testimonia* from throughout the League, a picture of a highly militarised region snaps into focus: according to standard federal structures and laws, the citizens of the league were trained for several years in the *ephebeia*, then served in the *peltophoroi*, then perhaps also as *epilektoi* and soldiers of the *agema*, and out of them some perhaps went on to serve as *grammateus* and polemarch.⁷³ If and when they did, they brought the full breadth of their military experience to bear on an institution that wielded considerable civic and economic power in the domestic sphere, and was thus an invaluable asset in the incessant competition for *kleos* and *time* that were sought through the office of polemarch both at war and at peace.

Such complex local military structures are not the product of a society that has fallen into the inactivity described by Polybius, or the military and political disillusionment attributed by Rostovtzeff, Feyel, and others. Instead through the local lens of Hyettos we find a vibrant culture of civic participation in this corner of the Greek world, one in which a long-standing local elite continued to dominate military magistracies through a combination of family lineage and personal prowess. This state of affairs in the city was not unique in Boiotia: the conclusions of Kalliontzis regarding the contemporary epigraphic habit of Chaironeia is equally true of Hyettos, and indeed many other cities in the region: “le fait que la gravure de catalogues militaires et de décrets ne soit pas abandonnée montre que le sentiment

⁷² Post 2012: 80-88.

⁷³ On the law of the *koinon* mandating this ephebic programme see McAuley 2018, as well as Post 2012: 100-105 and Roesch 1982, chapter 3.

d'appartenance à une communauté civique était toujours vivace”.⁷⁴ The military sphere was not the only realm in which this civic community was still vibrant: the revised economic picture of Hellenistic Boiotia as well as the revitalization of local religious sanctuaries and their festivals discussed at the outset of this paper confirm the same trend.

The allegations of Polybius regarding Boiotian corruption and inactivity should be viewed with the same skepticism in the military sphere as well as in other aspects of the region's society. Discarding the assumption of Hellenistic decline informed by predominantly literary sources and instead considering the epigraphic data on their own merit presents a very different state of military affairs in the Hellenistic Dancing Floor of Ares. The army of Hyettos, as was the case with so many of its fellow Boiotian communities, was not sitting idly by as the armies of the Hellenistic kings fought in the farthest reaches of the Greek world. Its citizens remained highly active in the military structures that guided the course of civic life, they competed with another for achievement, prestige, and advancement, as they had for centuries. Some reached the heights of military and civic power in their community, others did not, but all remained intimately engaged in the defence of the Dancing Floor of Ares.

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⁷⁴ Kalliontzis 2007: 512.

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Appendix I: Military Catalogues from Hyettos

| Inscription SIG | Etienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. | Inscription IG VII | Date (following LGPN) | City Action | Polemarch 1 | Polemarch 2 | Polemarch 3 | Secretary |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 26.521 | 109 | 2830 | 235-230 | Murias | Damonikos son of Aristobolos | Kalichareis son of Epithimos | Warnichos son of Pithoulios | Eumelios son of Dason |
| 26.502 | 84-85 | 2810 | 235-230 | Philippos | Damonikos son of Aristobolos | Kalichareis son of Epithimos | Masippos son of Damagathos | Pourthogeris son of Damonikos |
| 26.513 | 99 | 2821 | 225 | Thrasoulaas the Later | Nikason son of Thunarchos | Kalikkidas son of Tharson | Pourthogeris son of Damonikos | Timason son of Timasithos |
| 26.501 | 82-84 | 2809 | 235-230 | Maronticos | Warnichos son of Farmichos | Kalonikos son of Klithrenis | Thrasoulaas son of Aristokrateis | Thrasoulaas son of Kalildamos |
| 26.512 | 97-99 | 2820 | 221 | Mikrion | Kilon son of Empedon | Kalon son of Kalon | Atharadoros son of Philomelidas | Tharson son of Ilietis |
| 26.514 | 99-100 | 2822 | 216 | Thrasoulaidas | Amphilikes son of Telesippos | Damon son of Moukrinos | Polioukleis son of Masasinos | Thunarchos son of Amounias |
| 26.522 | 109-110 | 2831 | 171-160 | Tharson | Dakon son of Timon | Tharson son of Ilietis | Epaminondas son of Warnichos | Xenoklidas son of Timon |
| 26.523 | 110 | 2832 | 171-160 | Peron | Epaminondas son of Warnichos | Philokritos son of Timon | Philip son of Kalon | Timason son of Theispon |
| 26.506 | 91 | 2814 | 214-210 | Timaschos the Second | Thrasoulaas son of Kalildamos | Ilietis son of Tharson | Simon son of Eiarchos | Timason son of Chetippos |
| 26.509 | 92, 4 | 2817 | 205 | Masasinos | Nikason son of Thunarchos | Timon son of Kalon | Thrasoulaas son of Kalildamos? | Philistratos son of Telesippos |
| 26.503 | 85-87 | 2811 | 203 | Aristogion | Kalikkidas son of Tharson | Thrasoulaas son of Kalildamos | Thiophaneis son of Simon | Polioukleis son of Masasinos |
| 26.505 | 89-90 | 2813 | 235-185 | Thrasoulaas | Damoxenos son of Propidas | Kalonikos son of Klithrenis | Polioucharis son of Damocharidas | Propidas son of Damoxenos |
| 26.507 | 91 | 2815 | 206 | Eumelios | Waranandros son of Dionousodoros | Damagathos son of Masippos | Ismerias son of Ismerias | Poulthodoros son of Hermaionidas |
| 26.504 | 87, 3 | 2812 | 202 | Amnobleis | Propoidas son of Teleklidas | Timason son of Timon | Eumelios son of Dason | Hermaios son of Agasias |
| 26.508 | 91-92 | 2826 | 207 | Nikason | Pourthogeris son of Damonikos | Philistratos son of Telesippos | Timason son of Timasithos | Kaphisias son of Poliourmelios |
| 26.516 | 107-109 | 2829 | 190-185 | Poliouklidas | Waranandros son of Dionousodoros | Damagathos son of Masippos | Propoidas son of Damoxenos | Milton son of Aristogion |
| 26.516 | 101-102 | 2824 | 190-185 | Andrion | Dason son of Eumelios | Ilietis son of Tharson | Kalikkidas son of Tharson | Dionousodoros son of Waranandros |
| 26.510 | 95 | 2818 | 205-173 | Timokritos | Timason son of Timasithos | Kapon son of Timon | Damocharidas son of Polioucharis | Damatarios son of Philostratos |
| 26.515 | 100-101 | 2823 | 190-175 | Pourtharagos | Timason son of Timasithos | Polioukleis son of Masasinos | Warichas son of Sokrateis | Damocharidas son of Polioucharis |
| 26.517 | 103, 5 | 2825 | 200-190 | Propoidas | Damon varat | Kalon son of Kalon | Kenias son of Kaphispon | Damagathos son of Masippos |
| 26.519 | 105-107 | 2827 | 180-175 | Eumelios | Antikrateis son of Amounias | Atharadoros son of Philomelidas | Eumelios son of Aristogion | Archon son of Archias |
| 26.511 | 95-97 | 2819 | 214-210 | Phrasaridas | Dionousodoros son of Waranandros | Thiodoros son of Damonikos | Simon son of Eiarchos | Xendamos (no patronymic) |
| 26.520 | 107-109 | 2828 | 171-160 | Thiokritos | [---] son of Dionousodoros | [---] son of Kalichareis | Eumelios son of [---] | Kalon son of [---] |