Index

Note: all numbers between () imply a date. A further note concerns the use of 'Athenians' or Athens. For political or military actions undertaken by a polis, look for 'Athenians, the'; when it concerns a physical space in the polis, such as the Cadmeia, look for 'Thebes, Cadmeia'.

Acanthians, the	Aioladas
support from the Spartans, 124	family, 329
Acharnai	Aitolians, the
Ares cult, 161	targeted by Athenians (426), 252
Ephebic Oath, 272	Akraiphnia
Oath of Plataia, 352	dedication at temple of Apollo Ptoios, 304
Aeginetans, the	inclusion in Athenian Empire, 28
kinship tie Thebes, 17	kouroi at temple of Apollo Ptoios, 303
undeclared war on Athens, 18	re-arrangement kouroi at Apollo Ptoios
Aegospotami, Battle of, 33	temple, 307
commemoration, 291-6	temple of Apollo Ptoios, 303
Aeschines	temple of Apollo Ptoios peaking, 305
Against Ctesiphon, 156	third century fish pricing list, 255
on Atheno-Theban alliance (339),	Alcibiades, 89
156	Alcmeonid clan, 107, 305
capture of Phyle an example, 347	Alcmeonides
criticism of Atheno-Theban alliance	dedication at temple of Apollo Ptoios,
(339/8), 159	Akraiphnia, 304
honorary decree for Phyle, 347	Alexander I of Macedon, 21
original golden shields at Delphi dedicated,	Alexander III of Macedon
297	alleged death (335), 70
turned tables on Amphissans, 67	ascension, 69
Aeschylus	death, 72
Eleusinians, 315, 342	decree for Theban exiles, 134
Persai, 316	homogenised memory Persian Wars, 284
Persai as historical tragedy, 317	initial leniency to Thebes, 70
Seven against Thebes, 317	quell Theban rebellion (336), 69
Agamemnon	returns Oropos to Athens (335), 223
emulation by Agesilaos, 37	sponsorship Plataia, 242
Agasikles	Alyzia, Battle of, 46
of Aioladas' family, 330	Amphiareion. See Oropos, Amphiareion
Agesilaos, 122	adjustment spatial dynamics, 372
Aulis, 37, 254	apobates competition, 376
Boiotian campaign (378), 45	Athenian ephebes dedicate, 378
emulation of Agamemnon, 37	Athenocentricity of Amphiareia festival,
insistence on autonomia clause, 40	377
Koroneia (394), 38	Boiotian cult regulations, 370
Panhellenism, 37	changes payment, 369
protection Phoibidas, 43	contracts, 368

Amphiareion. (cont.)	Antalcidas, 39
crowning of Amphiaraos, 374	Anthedon, 243, 253, 255
damnatio memoriae on Athenian	Apollodorus
dedications, 379	Plataians only Boiotians fighting at
decree of Pandios, 368	Thermopylai, 355
decree of Pandios indicating Athenian	Aravantinos, Vassilis, 183
control, 369	Argives, the
dedication Athenian Council, 377	alliance with the Athenians (421), 89
dedicatory inscription stoa, 372	alliance with the Corinthians (421), 87
early history, 365	Athenians fighting for Argive benefits
epimeletai, 374	according to [Andocides], 145
honours for Phanodemos, 375	mercenaries for Peisistratus, 13
honours for Pytheas, 375	negative portrayal in On the Peace, 147
income, 369	support Athens at Battle of Tanagra (458),
lack of Boiotian presence at sanctuary (366-	27
338)?, 370	support at Battle of Tanagra (458), 264
lands in the Oropia, 376	unmentioned on Serpent Column and Zeus
Lycurgan programme, 375, 378	Statue lists, 286
new temple under Theban dominance, 371	Aristophanes
organisers of Amphiareia among Athenian	Clouds, 343
elite, 377	Pax, 83
Oropian proxeny decrees (338-335), 373	Ploutos, 347
placement decrees and honours, 375	portrays Boiotians as obstacle to peace, 83
political landscape post 379	Aristophanes of Boiotia, 20
priest, 369	Aristotle
regulations on sacrifice (387/6), 366	Politics on border territories, 172
stoa, 371	remarks on democracy in Thebes after
use of Pentelic marble, 368	Oinophyta, 120
water works and political control, 375	Arkadians, the
Amphictyonic Council	walking out of peace conference (367/6), 55
possible exclusion medizers, 103	Arrington, Nathan, 314
amphictyons, 67	Artaxerxes
Amphipolis	stipulations King's Peace (387/6), 39
Athenian claim allegedly vindicated, 220	aryballoi
Athenian desideratum, 53	found at Cave of Antiope, 181
Athenians war with Philip of Macedon, 60	found at Mount Parnes, 181
Brasidas' campaign (424), 266	Asopodorus, 319
claim acknowledged by Persian King?, 55	Asopos, 206
Amphissans, the	boundary Thebes Plataia, 228, 230
charge Athenians with impiety at Delphi, 67	demarcation border increases stability, 231
**	Parasopia, 225
illegal cultivation of sacred plains near	progeny, 13
Cirrha, 67	visibility, 230
[Andocides] On the Peace a Hellenistic forgery?, 140	Athenian Akropolis memorial landscape, 313
On the Peace historical errors, 140	quadriga, 307, 311, 324
Possible Peace Conference in Sparta (391),	space for commemorating perseverance
141	against foreign invasion, 311
reference to Theban speech (395), 110	Athenians, the
andrapodismos, 28	373 breaking point in Theban alliance?, 49
Androkleidas, 43, 109	acceptance of Theban control of Plataike
assassination in Athens, 125	(395), 238
flight to Athens (383), 123	Alcmeonid coup (511), 80
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

alliance with the Boiotians (395), 36 financial pressure (375), 46 alliance with Delphic Amphictyony, 27 five-year truce with Spartans (451-446), 28 alliance with the Argives (421), 89 focus on Battle of Marathon alliance with the Boiotians (395), 38 commemoration, 290, 315 alliance with the Chians (384), 124, 148 fourth-century stability, 53 aloofness at Theban revolt (335), 133 friendly Boiotia a deterrent for invaders, ambushed by Orchomenizers near Koroneia (446), 28 grievances over Spartan violations of annually at war, 4 autonomia, 92 arbitration at Olympia (470s), 25 guardians of Common Peace? (371), 51 backlash over cleruchy on Samos (366), 56 help for Thebans (378), 44 blocking Spartan return via Corinthian Gulf honours for Boiotian exiles after Cadmeia's (458), 263capture (382), 126 Boiotian alliance accepted 'unanimously' ideal situation prior to Leuktra (371), 93 (395), 113 ignore contested borderlands for Boiotian Boiotian alliance treaty (395), 112-13 alliance (395), 266 Boiotian campaign (446), 28 importance of Assembly in accepting Boiotian rapprochement post Persian Wars, Plataians' plea, 78 102 - 8inauguration of general of the countryside, border dispute with Megarians, 203 219 campaign in Thessaly (450s), 28 incarceration of every Boiotian (431), 31 change in defensive mentality with Persian inclusion into Peloponnesian League (404), Wars (480-79), 262 change in perception of Boiotians, 326 internal divisions (458), 116 changes foreign policy after Chaironeia intervention in Corcyra, 49 (338), 68invasion 508/716 charis relationship with Spartans (369), 100 invite Thebans to peace conference (371), collaboration not restricted to democracies, 120 involvement Cyprus and Egypt, 144 confiscation property citizens involved in Ionian ideology, 105 Profanation of the Mysteries and irresponsible pursuit of capturing Mutilation of the Herms, 33 Amphipolis, 53 contra 'land empire' after Oinophyta (458), keeping war from Attica (395-386), 268 lack of neighbourly war, 5 cultic connections. See Plataia, Eleusinian loss of democracy (322), 72 Demeter loss of Oropos (322), 72 decisions on deme status borderlands, 188 loss of Samos (322), 72 Delian League, 23, 35 Lycurgan programme, 223 Demaneitos affair, 38 Marathon monument Delphi, 292 disbandment of Second Athenian marched in full force to Tanagra (458), 264 Confederacy (338), 69 memory of medism, 19, 29, 290-1, 355 divine justice in quadriga epigram, 313 memory of Myronides, 318 economic burdens, 370s, 217 mythologising Persian Wars, 317 efforts to restore Theban alliance and buffer New Persians, 335, 341 (370s), 269 obsessions with Persian Wars in mid-fourth embassies to Macedon (347/6), 64 century, 298 embassy to Antipater (323), 274 only competitor Thebans after Leuktra ephebes at Amphiareion, 378 (371), 53Overthrow of the Thirty, 36 exchange Plataia for other assets, 237 execution of generals supporting Theban overthrow tyranny, 16 exiles (379), 132 panic at Macedonian takeover expulsion of moderate elements by Thirty Thermopylai, 64 (404), 35participation in Theban games, 26

Index

Athenians, the (cont.)	Spartan alliance (369), 90-101
partitioning of Oropian lands (335), 223	subjugation Euboian revolt (446), 29
paying two thirds of cost of war (339), 159	success at Pylos (425), 32
period of conservatism after Thebes' sack	support Boiotian exiles (378), 130-3
(335), 71	support for Ionian revolt (499), 18
Persian Wars monument understate	swap Plataia and Oropos for Boiotian
medism, 290	protection (339), 273
Plataian Alliance, 74-83	takeover of Oropos c. 216, 368
Plataian cleruchy in Skione, 237	takeover of Oropos not to detriment of
possible aims in Corinthian War (395-387/	Theban alliance, 218
6), 145	'ten-day truces' with the Boiotians, 86
possible alliance with the Chalkidians of the	Theban alliance (339/8), 67
Chalkidike, 124	Theseus acting as representative of Athens,
possible protecting of unjustly persecuted	138
people, 78	Tribute Lists, 27
possible public support for Theban exiles	tyranny. See Peisistratus
(379), 130	undermining Boiotian prestige at Delphi,
possible subjugation Aitolia (426), 252	300
potential alliance with Corcyrans, 251	Athenocentrism, 8
prefer Boiotian alliance over Plataian	Athens
alliance, 240	Agora, statues of Philip and Alexander of
prisoner exchange, 85	Macedon, 69
promise of new arche by Theban	Akropolis display of decree, 126
ambassador (395), 112	Akropolis display of treaty, 44
prostates of autonomia, 49	Amphiareion. See Oropos, Amphiareion
protection of Heraclidae, 97	Athena Itonia, 168–70
quadriga focused on overcoming internal	Athena Itonia sanctuary?, 168
foes, 313	Battle of Delion commemoration, 341–3
realisation Boiotia's buffer role (323), 274	Boiotian buffer, 260-74
reasons for quick settlement with Boiotians	Boiotian diaspora (338), 133
(446), 29	Boiotian diaspora (380s), 43, 123, 126-30
receive Oropos from Alexander III (335), 71	Boiotian proposal to raze (404), 34
re-dedication of quadriga (458), 323	borderlands, 175–8
refrained from helping Theban rebellion, 70	bronze prize vessels from Thebes?, 26
rejoice over Boiotian alliance (395)?, 146	City Dionysia, 15
remember Thebans as defender of	cultic connections. See Eleutherai, Dionysos
eleutheria, 362	Eleutherios
reputation as guardian of autonomia (378),	decree for Erythrai, 350
152	decree for response to Mytilenean embassy
reputation in Theban eyes (339), 157	(369/8), 99
response to Aeginetan raiding, 18	defending Boiotian liberty at Tanagra
response to Thebes' destruction, 71	(458)?, 119
restoration of pro-Athenian exiles (450s),	defensive structures protecting fertile
120	surrounding lands, 260
role in supporting Theban exiles, 126	demosion sema, 350
Rule of the Thirty, 35	dependance on grain imports, 177
Second Athenian Confederacy, 153	destruction 231
separate Theban alliance (379), 151	Dionysios Eleutherios, 163–71
Seven against Thebes mentioned in	Dionysos sanctuary, 15, 163
Assembly, 97	epigram for Chaironeia, 361
sixth-century border war with Tanagraians,	epigram for Delion, 342
189	food supply, 195
Social War (357–55), 60	'Fortress Attica' hypothesis, 177, 261
	/r,,

fourth-century wealth, 159 grain supply, 253 'Greater Attica', 182	attikismos, 79 Aulis, 254–5 Agesilaos' sacrifice, 37
individuals' social capital through decrees,	harbour, 243, 253
154	military harbour koinon, 254
invasion 508/7, 185–6	sanctuary, 37
issues with reconstruction of decree for	synoikism with Thebans, 236, 254
exiled Boiotians (382), 129	Autokles, 50, 92
Law on the Lesser Panathenaia, 223	criticism of Spartans seizing Cadmeia, 149
limited territorial expansion during	speech at peace conference (371), 149
Peisistratid era, 184	autonomia, 140, 148–50
Long Walls, 112, 268	ambiguity of the term, 40
Long Walls destroyed (404), 35	Athenian interpretation of the term, 148
Nea territory in Oropos?, 223	combined with eleutheria, 150
near completion of Long Walls, 145	fluidity of the term, 92, 148
new studies decree for Phyle, 348	goal of the Second Athenian Confederacy,
Panhellenic conference? (440s), 30	150
peace conference (371), 94	axioma, 360
Periclean defensive strategy, 260	
perimeters of psephisma supporting Theban	Badian, Ernst, 18
exiles (379), 133	Bakewell, Geoff, 317
Plataian exiles, 238, 239	Barbato, Matteo, 91, 380
plots to invade Boiotia, 122	Basileia festival
polyandreion for Delion, 341	comparison with Delia, 337
population. See population calculations,	Beck, Hans, 244, 319
Attica and Boiotia	Bizard, Léon, 306
presence Theban exiles' memory (382), 349	Boedeker, Deborah, 162
Profanation of the Mysteries and	Boiotia
Mutilation of the Herms, 33	buffer function, 274-7
proposal to turn into sacred grazing	connecting Northern and Southern Greece
territory (404), 34	174
pro-Spartan plot (458), 115	dependance on grain imports, 177
Prospectus of the Second Athenian	fortification network, 53
Confederacy, 45	harbours connected to Sicily, Adriatic and
quadriga (508/7), 310–13	Ionic Sea, 246
quadriga appropriating aristocratic	harbours with links to Hellespont, 174
symbolism, 312	local rivalries, 21
quadriga divine justice, 325	memorial landscape, 364
quadriga epigram perception of Boiotians,	originally an Ionian population?, 105
312	part of Athenian empire again (395)?, 267
re-arrangement <i>quadriga</i> epigram, 324	population. See population calculations,
re-invention through building programme,	Attica and Boiotia
30	Boiotian games, 26
Spartan garrison, 35	Boiotian Wars (379–371), 46, 53, 253
Tatenkatalog, 30	Boiotians, the
Theban alliance (339/8), 153–60	adaptation Ionic script, 55, 356, 371
	admiral in Aegospotami monument, 293
Theban provincity a larger threat than	
Theban proximity a larger threat than	advantageous position in Peace of Nicias
Lacedaimonians, 96	negotiations, 85
Thrasybulus' tomb, 350	alliance with Athenians (395), 36, 38
Tribute Lists, 27	anti-Athenian support in Sicily, 33
Attaginus, 21	assertiveness and control in acting as buffer
attempts to broker a peace treaty (392), 38	275

Boiotians, the (cont.)	measure of naval scheme's success, 59
Athenian honours for exiles after capture of	medism, 19
Cadmeia (382), 126	mercenaries for Persian King, 62
Athenian and Macedonian embassy (339),	military harbour at Aulis, 254
155	monetary fine after Persian Wars (480-79),
Aulis as base for naval scheme (360s), 177	26
boiotarchs intervening with Agesilaos'	naval scheme, 56-60
sacrifice, 37	naval scheme (360s), 258
bridge with Euboia (411), 258	occupation of Herakleia Trachis (420), 86
broken treaty with Philip of Macedon, 69	Panhellenic prestige, 276
changed perception of Athenians, 327	participation in invasion Attica (507/6) a
claim to prominence at Delphi, 299	matter of revenge, 82
clause to prevent future liberation of	passive resistance to Spartan campaign
Oropos or Thespiai (339), 273	against Olynthus (383), 42
Commemoration Third Sacred War, 355	perception of Athenians after Delion, 341
communal games after Persian Wars (480-	possible alliance with Locrians, 14
79), 26	possible degradation to second-rank status
dedication Herakles statue Delphi, 299	(421), 89
dedicatory practices at Delphi, 294	possible lack of successes due to lack of
defenders of eleutheria, 335	personal ties, 61
dejection at Spartan abandonment of	prisoner exchange, 85
Central Greece (480), 275	pro-Athenian proxenoi, 29
diplomatic undermining of Athens (366-4),	proposal to raze Athens made by small
57	hostile clique? (404), 35
dismay at exclusion earlier negotiations	prostates of Common Peace, 54
(421), 85	reasons for willingness to act as a buffer,
economic links with Peloponnesian allies,	274
61	reclaim autonomia (446), 29
elevation of status through bilateral Spartan	refusal to supply reinforcements against
alliance (421), 88	Athens, 36
elite participation in Panhellenic games	refuse Orchomenians their autonomia?,
after Persian Wars, 26	143
excluded from armistice negotiations	reject Argive alliance (421), 87
(423)?, 85	rejection of Peace of Nicias (421), 85
expelling Macedonian garrison Nicaea	renting ships (364), 58
(339), 153	reputation in Athenian eyes (395–387/6)?,
federal council, 109	147
fighting in Siciliy, 33	resilience against Spartans, 146
help for Megarians (424), 32	strained relationship with Spartans (404),
inclusion in Athenian Empire, 27	34
independent members of Peloponnesian	support anti-Athenian revolts in Asia
League, 82	Minor, 33
insistence on bilateral alliance with	suppression Thespian 'atticising' revolt, 85
Spartans (421), 88	takeover Oropos (366) useful for naval
introduction of Achilles cult, 160	scheme, 219
involvement invasion Attica (507/6), 82	'ten-day truces' with Athens, 86
involvement in Lesbos' revolt (427), 32	Theban ambassador Athens (395), 276
isolated against possible Athenian attacks?	threat to Athenian stability, 33
(423), 85	tripodephoria to Dodona, 191
joint dedication with Halai, 14	willingness to act as Athenian buffer, 274
Koroneia (446) a defining moment, 333	Bommelaer, Jean-François, 293
lack of neighbourly war, 5	border sanctuaries
leadership changes (404-395), 109	places of negotiation, 163

borderlands a cultural unity?, 173 delineation of borders, 177 different mentality than city dwellers, 172	part of pro-Athenian plot (424), 121 strategic control Corinthian Gulf, 251 supposed Athenian take-over (424), 247 Chaironeia, Battle of, 68, 242, 273
economic exploitation, 176	Commemoration, 358-64
forests, 176	Chalkidians, the
hero-cults for local identity, 187	join Second Athenian Confederacy, 150
kioniskos ritual transfer of territory, 185	participate in invasion Attica (507/6), 16
lack of military structures before mid-fifth	Chalkidians of Chalkidike, the
century, 192	appeal to Spartans for help (383), 42, 165,
part of negotiations in alliance (339/338),	183, 190, 199, 208, 212, 257, 308
204	Athenian cleruchy, 208, 211
ritualised link, 188	charis, 139, 170, See interstate relations,
roads connecting centre and periphery, 187	reciprocity
routes, 174, 180	Chians, the
self-identification demes, 186	alliance with the Athenians (384), 124, 148
towers and forts, 180	Boiotian naval voyage, 56
Xanthus and Melanthus legend, 191	cessation Second Athenian Confederacy, 60
Brasidas	cult to Boiotian Demeter, 160
Thracian campaign, 266	join Second Athenian Confederacy, 44
Brauron, 14	possibly renting ships to Boiotians, 58
Bresson, Alain, 187	chora, 235, 242
Buck, Robert, 118, 122, 215	Chorsiai, 247–8
Buckler, John, 45, 110, 124, 244	close to Phocian border, 248
buffer strategy, 261	fortifications, 247
Byzantines, the	Phocian capture, 63
anti-Athenian support by Boiotians, 33	Cimon, 116
Athenian anti-Macedonian support, 66	Spartan sponsorship, 103
Boiotian naval voyage, 56	Cleigenes of Acanthus, 123
joining anti-Macedonian coalition, 66	Cleisthenes, 16
joins Second Athenian Confederacy, 44	reforms, 186, 188
possibly renting ships to Boiotians, 58	Cleomenes
revolt against Athens (364), 59	invasion Attica (507/6), 16
supporting rebels Second Athenian	personal ties with Thebans, 82
Confederacy, 60	referral Plataians to Athenians, 74, 76
syendroi bringing funds to Thebes, 62	refuses Plataians' supplication, 78
Byzantium	Coans, the
Athenian food supply, 57	supporting rebels Second Athenian
7,	Confederacy, 60
Cartledge, Paul, 36, 88, 120	coinage
Carystus	reflection self-image, 138
Athenian campaign, 24	Common Peace
Catalogue of Heroines, 13	(338), 69
Cave of Antiope, 181	(367), 54
Central Greece	344, 66
recalibration political landscape, 190	360s, 221
Chabrias	362, 60
trial, 220	366, 55–72
Chaironeia	387, 39–41
andrapodismos (446), 28	Arbitration. See Oropos
Athenian capture (446), 28	no polis acted as <i>prostates</i> (362/1), 60
lion memorial connected to Thermopylai,	standing, 54
363	stelai around Greece (387/6), 40
303	575777 WOUNG GIECCE (50770), 10

Common Peace (cont.)	decrees
terms. See autonomia	role in accumulating social capital, 154
Conon, 38	Dekeleia, 33, 212
consistency bias, 297	booty, 34
Corcyra	disputes over distribution booty, 109
stasis and Athenian intervention, 49	Delians, the
Corcyreans, the	did not return gilded statue of Apollo, 165
appeal to Athens (431), 30	Delion
Corinth	Delia a new festival or an alteration of older
meeting League of Corinth by Philip of	ritual, 337
Macedon, 69	fifth-century temple, 336
Corinthian Gulf, 246-7	not part of Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 166
Corinthian War	sacred harbour, 256
Athenian perception. See Andocides, On the	settlement only from Hellenistic period
Peace	onward, 256
Boiotia as a buffer, 266	Thucydides' description, 336
continuation of Peloponnesian War, 38	Delion, Battle of, 122, 265-6, 318
outbreak, 37	Commemoration, 334-43
Persian money, 37	involvement demigod?, 342
Corinthians, the	official character, 335
accepting Pelopidas' peace, 55	turning point, 32
alienation with Sparta (404–395), 37	Delos
alliance with the Argives (421), 87	Boiotian naval voyage, 258
appeal to Sparta (431), 31	connection Delion, 336
Athenian maritime goals in Corinthian	independence (404), 292
Gulf, 250	political connection Boiotians and
detached from Spartan alliance by the	Athenians, 166
Athenians, 144	religious heart Delian League, 292
dissolution union with Argos (387/6), 40	re-organisation Delia (426), 337
invasion Attica 507/6, 16, 76	retrieval statue Delion (470), 164
reasons for withdrawal from invasion	Delphi
Attica (507/6), 82	Aegospotami monument, 292
refusal to accept Peace of Nicias (421), 86	Athena Tritogeneia dedication by
refusal Theban-led Common Peace (367/6),	Boiotians, 295
55	Athenian dedication of golden shields, 66
settlement of Theban-Plataian	Athenian stoa, 301
dispute, 230	Boiotian dedicatory practices, 294
status within Peloponnesian League, 82	destruction mid-sixth-century temple, 305
'value' to Athenians in Corinthian War, 146	epigram Aegospotami monument, 294
withdrawal invasion Attica 507/6, 76	golden shields dedicated by Athens (340/
Coulton, John, 372	39), 296
Croesus	heated Amphictyonic Council meeting
	(339), 66
dedication to Amphiaraos, 209	
Cross, Nicholas, 61	Herakles statue, 299
cultic diplomacy, 160	late fifth-century Boiotian renaissance at
Cyclades	sanctuary?, 295
Boiotian naval voyage, 258	list of poleis on Serpent Column dedication, 285
D'Alessio, Giambattista, 167	locus for hegemonial claims, 283
Daly, Kevin, 182	Maraton monument, 292
Damophilos, 22	older Boiotian treasury?, 295
Datis	oracular response to Thebans, 17
return Apollo statue to Delion, 165	Peace Conference (368), 54
	(500), 51

political use of sanctuary, 27	Diadochoi, the profitting from earlier changes to Boiotia,
Serpent Column, 283 Serpent Column celebrates Plataia and	274
Salamis, 288	Diagoras of Rhodes, 332
*	Dinarchus, 134, 349
Serpent Column reinserintion, 285	
Serpent Column reinscription, 285	account of Athenian support Theban exiles
terms for usage of Apollo temple during	(379), 131
Peloponnesian War, 84	Against Demosthenes, 131, 349
visual competition Aegospotami and	recollection Theban help (403), 349
Marathon monument, 293	Diodorus Siculus
visual link Aegospotami monument and	account on Tanagra (458), 115
Aeginetan Salamis monument, 293	Battle of Tanagra Athenian initiative, 263
Delphic Amphictyony	description Athenian support Theban exiles
fine Athenians, 296	(379), 130
Lion Memorial Thermopylai, 340	enigmatic phrasing of Boiotian naval
Macedonian takeover. See Philip of	scheme's success (364), 59
Macedon, control of Delphic	exaggerated encomium of Oinophyta?, 325
Amphictyony	garbled chronology, 116
protection medizers, 103	inauguration Delia festival (424), 335
Theban leadership, 61, 62	inland move of Oropos (402), 214
Dema wall, 270	Plataians at fault for Theban take-over
Demades	(373)?, 239
embassy to Alexander III of Macedon, 134	refers to small Boiotian fleet (364), 58
Demaratus Spartan exile, 21	Doris
Demosthenes	Spartan expedition (458), 114
Athenian decrees empty rhetoric, 158	Dreher, Martin, 57
awareness of Boiotian buffer role, 272	Drymos, 107, 192
blames Boiotian generals, 360	Demosthenes' plea to protect it, 203
Boiotians better allies than Spartans, 272	possible Athenian cleruchy, 188
Boiotian's shame of medism, 359	possible location in Skourta plain, 179
clamours for restoration Boiotian towns,	prerogative aristocrats rather than
240	democrats, 107
compares Chaironeia to Persian Wars, 359	Ducat, Jean
different speeches Panhellenic and	date of Hipparchos' dedication, 306
Athenian audience, 361	
Funeral Oration, 359	economic specialisation, 6
juxtaposition Athenian and Theban	Elateia, 153
outlook, 355	base of Philip, 67
local interests vs. Greek interests, 354	Elden, Stuart, 186
mentions spurious or fabricated decree, 156	criticism of, 173, 186
On Behalf of the Megapolitans, 221, 240	Eleans, the
On the Crown, 359	rejection of Common Peace (371), 94
On the Symmories, 359	Eleusis
Oropos' status as a desideratum, 221	Boiotian counter-claim, 185
proxenos of Thebans, 154	capture 508/717
reconstruction of speech at Thebes (339)?,	Demeter cult. See Plataia, Demeter
153	Eleusinia
reference to Persian acknowledgement of	fortifications, 18
Athenian claim to Amphipolis, 220	hiera orgas, 203
Second Philippic, 66, 354	invasion 507/678
Theban's archetypical traitors, 354	roads, 195
two versions of Funeral Oration, 360	strategic crossroads Megarid and Athens,
Dexileos, 318	185

Eleutherai	Euboian Gulf
Athenian annexation, 15	50 meters from Boiotia, 208
Boiotian War, 270	bridge across (411), 258
construction of fortress, 201	network, 212
Dionysos Eleutherios, 163-71	Euboians, the
fortress built by Boiotians, 194	anti-Athenian revolt (446), 29
Herakles cult, 193	bridge with Boiotia (411), 258
lack of mentions in 360s and	collaboration with Thebes (360s), 219
350s, 200	exiles in Orchomenos (446), 28
pompe to Athens, 188	export commodities to Athens, 211
sympoliteia with Thebans, 185	influence Philip of Macedon, 66
κἐνίκασε hα πόλις hα Θεβαί ον	poleis join Thebans (371), 51
κέλευθεραίο[ν], 185	Euripides
	Bacchai, 317
eleutheria, 1, 30, 37, 69, 150, 359–62	
juxtaposition with tyranny, 151	hostile version Seven against Thebes, 342
lost after Chaironeia (338), 360	rejection Theban autochthony, 318
Plataia, 240	Suppliants, 315
term in Theban liberation (379), 151	Eurymachos
war cry for poleis oppressed by Athenians,	takeover of Plataia (431), 31
292	E 1 1 C 1 : 155 104 202
Engels, David, 119	Fachard, Sylvian, 175, 194, 202
Epameinondas, 41, 52	Finley, Moses, 6
naval voyage, 60, 258	First Peloponnesian War, 120, 249, 251, 263
Statue Thebes, 355–6	five-year truce Athenians and Spartans
ephebes	(451–446), 28
at Amphiareion, 378	Funeral Oration
Ephebic Oath, 272	norms, 360
Ephoros, 227, 243, 257	Funke, Peter, 207
Boiotians' lack of pedigree for leadership,	
61	Gartland, Samuel, 319
inspired by Boiotian naval scheme (360s),	geographical entwinement, 172
244	goals of fourth-century wars, 38
epiteichismos, 32	Gomme, Arnold, 85
Eretria	Gray, Vivienne, 110
influence on Oropos, 206	Green, Peter, 116
possession of Oropos?, 209	
tyrant, Themison, 218	Halai, 14
Eretrians, the	Haliartos, Battle of, 38, 268
takeover Oropos (366), 218	Harris, Edward, 141
Erythrai	hegemony
becomes part of Plataike, 230	claims made at Panhellenic sanctuaries, 283
Euboia	Hellenic League, 19, 21, 104
anti-Athenian rebellion (446), 265	Plataian inviolability, 231
Athenian cleruchies (446), 212	Hellenic War (323-2), 72
Athenian ferry fees with Oropos, 256	Herakleia Trachis, 34, 86
Athenian-Theban skirmish (350s), 61	Herakles
Boiotian influence, 257-9	accompanied by Athena on his labours,
close connection Boiotian harbours, 174	344
close connection Oropos, 177	cult Eleutherai, 193
export provisions for Athens, 243	cult Tanagra, 165
importance to Athenian survival (411), 213	foundation of Apollo cult in Delos, 167
liberation from Athens (411), 33	statue Delphi, 299
proximity to Boiotia, 257	statue Thebes, 343–50

Herodotus Hysiai	
Athenian protection medizing poleis, 105 becomes part of Plataike, 230	
Athenian <i>quadriga</i> , 324 gateway to Mazi plain, 225	
comments on inclusion on Serpent Column not part of Attica, 182	
list, 289 temple of Eleusinian Demeter and I	Kore,
compared with Thucydides' account on 162	
Plataian alliance, 75	
connecting Delion story to Battle of Imbros	
Marathon, 166 retained by Athenians in King's Pea	ce (387/
consistency bias, 21 6), 40	
defence Central Greece (480), 262 interstate relations	
demonstrates importance of choices in arbitration, 74	
Atheno-Plataian alliance, 74 avoidance of war, 74	
differentiation Athenians and Peisistratids, balance of power (lack of), 74	
border disputes, 173	
division books 5 and 6 artificial, 77 break with diplomatic norms, 93	
intextuality with Thucydides, 79 breaking with norms, 18	
portrayal of Aeginetans, 18 burial norms, 342	
portrayal of Alexander I of Macedon, 21 changing power structures, 23	
quadriga a monument of democracy's charis, 13, 170	
benefits, 312 choice for war not taken lightly, 74	
retrieval Apollo statue from Delos to clear agreements over disputed land	
Delion, 165 complexity of human interaction, 7	3
suggestion Oropos was Athenian in 490, 209 constitutional alignment?, 88, 120	
Theban contribution Persian Wars, 357 cultic connections, 160–70	
use of $\pi_{\text{IE}}\zeta\omega$, 228 divine wrath if untrustworthy ally,	96
Hipparchos emotional appeals, 78	
dedication at Apollo Ptoios sanctuary in epichoric interests, 114	
Akraiphnia, 81 fear, 87, 92, 99, 124, 150, 156, 222,	270
dedication at temple of Apollo Ptoios, flattery, 268	
Akraiphnia, 305 force, 2	
possible statue of Athena on dedication, 306 'immoral behaviour', 69	
Hippocrates, Athenian general, 32 inviolability, 231	
evokes importance of Boiotia for Athenian oath violations, 95	
defence, 265 oaths, 191, 234	
march on Tanagra and Oropos (424), 32 perceptions of hubris, 313	
speech Delion, 318 permission to cross territory, 261 Histiaia presbeis autokratores, 141	
Athenian cleruchy (446), 212 prestige, 103	
uprising Theban prisoners (378), 47 prisoner exchange, 85	
Histiaians, the <i>proxenoi</i> renewing truces, 86	
hagemonia treaty with Thebes, 47 proxenos, 102	
join Second Athenian Confederacy (375), Realism, 2, 87, 99, 199, 267	
48 Realpolitik considerations, 34, 271	
Hornblower, Simon, 21, 61, 76, 79, 85, 88, 117, reciprocity, 96, 111, 125–35, 155	
183, 382 regional rivalries?, 21	
Hunt, Peter, 41 reputation, 86, 97, 110, 115, 135–60	213
Hurst, André, 321 284	,, 215,
Hypereides risk calculation, 74	
Against Diondas, 154 self-image, 136	
Funeral Oration, 362 shame, 92	
new fragments, 157 standing, 53, 54, 88–9, 156	
reversal roles Thebans and Plataians, 362 subterfuge, 43	

interstate relations (cont.)	Kearns, Emily, 187
supplication, 74	Keesling, Catherine, 307, 324
surrender and territorial claims, 236	Kellogg, Danielle, 352
symbolic capital, 27	Keos, 258
territorial disputes, 6, 235	Kephalos
territory, 173, 198	anti-Spartan political outlook, 132
tools for claiming disputed land, 173	decree to support Theban exiles (379), 131
trust, 2, 86, 88, 112, 135, 140, 150, 158, 275	mover of decree to support Theban exiles
tyrants, 16	(379), 132
xenia, 101	Keressos, Battle of
xenia ties, 20, 21	controversies concerning date, 81
invocation of demigod in defeat, 342	King's Peace. See Common Peace
Iphikrates	Kleiteles of Corinth, 95
campaign in Peloponnese (370/69), 98	unjust Theban ravaging of Corinthian
Isagoras, 16	lands, 95
possible personal ties with Boiotians, 82	Kleombrotos, 45, 50
possible restraint in integrating	Kleon, 251
borderlands, 183	Knoepfler, Denis, 207, 216-17, 368
Ismenias, 36, 109, 138-9	Knopiadas
accusation of medism (382), 43	charioteer for Alcmeonides, 305
death, 42-3	Koroneia
execution after sham trial (382), 43	Battle of (394), 38
relationship with Thrasybulus, 113	Battle of (446), 28, 257, 265, 276
takeover, 136, 138-9	Commemoration of Battle of (394), 327
Isocrates	Commemoration of Battle of (446), 328-34
anti-Theban bias, 91, 239	Heroines at Thorikos, 169
Boiotia defends Attica, 270	Kreusis, 243-4, 246, 249, 253
contrasting versions of Seven against	pro-Athenian plot (424), 247
Thebes, 358	Thespiai's most important harbour, 247
indignation over 'Theban betrayal' after	Krisai, Bay of, 121
Corinthian War, 41	Kurke, Leslie, 332
less valuable for reconstructing Theban	
response after Athenian take-over	Laches, 58
Oropos, 217	Lalonde, Gerald, 168
Plataicus on concerns of Oropian society	Lamian War. See Hellenic War (323-2)
over Theban expanionism, 216	Larson, Stephanie, 13, 332
Plataicus filled with factual errors, 41	Laurion, 3
Plataicus private pamphlet, 91	silver supply cut off because of
Plataicus reliability on Theban ambitions,	Dekeleia, 33
216	League of Corinth, 69
reference to Ismenias' rise Thebes, 36	Leipsydrion, 80
refers to Boiotia as buffer, 271	Lemnos
	Athenian claim acknowledged (338), 68
Jung, Michael, 288	Athenian cleruchy in 386, 40
Justin	retained by Athenians in King's Peace (387/
ascribes Athenian culpability for Alexander	6), 40
III's Theban decree, 134	Leonidas, 20–1
	Leontiades, 41, 101
Kagan, Donald, 87	betrayal of Cadmeia, 42, 123
Kallias, 50, 92	loss of influence, 108
Kallistratos, 50, 93, 99	Leotychides. See Spartans, the, Intervention in
loss of influence (366), 100	Thessaly
tried after loss of Oropos, 219, 220	Leptines, 98

Lesbians, the	Mazi Plain, the
response to Athenian-Spartan alliance	border between Oinoe and Eleutherai, 193
(369), 99	Cave of Antiope, 181
Lesbos	fortifications no indication of hostility,
revolt (427), 32	179–278
Leuktra, Battle of, 38, 48, 50	increased habitation, 202
commemoration, 300, 301, 337	Megarian interest, 180
lasting Boiotian ties, 61	routes, 180
Theban response, 93	secondary settlements, 179
Lewis, David, 28, 288	separation of zones of influence, 193
Liddel, Peter, 158, 280, 368	strategic importance, 179–278
literary sources	thoroughfare between Attica, Megarid and
reliability, 8	Boiotia, 180
local histories	medism
Theban epigram, 357	
local sanctuaries	commemoration, 29–30, 168
	hesitation to publicly indict medizers post
prime loci for commemorating neighbourly	Persian Wars (480-79), 25
collaboration, 302	political decision, 19–21
localism	popularity in run-up to Peloponnesian
importance for self-image, 302	War, 30
Locrians, the	possible analogy with Germany post-1945,
exiles participate in revolt against Athens	24
(446), 28	retaliation, 26, 71, 104
possible alliance with the Boiotians, 14	unharmful term before Persian Wars (480/
Lucas, Thierry, 173	79), 19
Lysander, 35	Megakles, 107–8
Aegospotami monument, 293	opposing Athenian citizenry's
dedications at Delos and Athenian	interests, 107
Akropolis, 294	ostracism, 192
Lysias	Megara
client recollecting help from Theban	blocked by Athens, 263
friends, 349	harbours, 29
Funeral Oration praise for keeping war	hiera orgas, 203
from Athens, 268	Megarians, the
	anti-Athenian rebellion (446), 265
Ma, John, 362	border dispute with Athenians, 203
Macedonia	dispute with Eleutherai, 180, 184
overwhelming military power, 68	exiles occupy Plataia, 235
Philip's reforms, 63	refusal to accept Peace of Nicias, 86
succession crisis, 60	Meiggs, Russell, 288
takeover Greece celebrated by oppressed	Melissos of Thebes, 319, 332
poleis?, 68	memorial landscape
Macedonians, the	Athens. See Athens, memorial landscape
personal ties Thebes, 54	Boiotia. See Boiotia, memorial landscape
Mackil, Emily, 46, 214, 228, 244, 255, 331	local, 283, 303, 307, 323
·	Thebes. See Thebes, memorial landscape
Magnetto, Anna, 141	
Mantinea Battle of 50	_
Mantinea, Battle of, 59	memory
effects, 62	memory individual memory becomes part of
effects, 62 lack of impact on political landscape, 60	memory individual memory becomes part of collective memory, 280
effects, 62 lack of impact on political landscape, 60 Matthaiou, Angelos, 107, 184	memory individual memory becomes part of collective memory, 280 Messene
effects, 62 lack of impact on political landscape, 60 Matthaiou, Angelos, 107, 184 Mavrovouni	memory individual memory becomes part of collective memory, 280 Messene indepence re-established, 51
effects, 62 lack of impact on political landscape, 60 Matthaiou, Angelos, 107, 184	memory individual memory becomes part of collective memory, 280 Messene

Messenians, the	Athenian dedication of victory over
refugees settled at Naupaktos (456/5), 249	Tanagraians?, 189
Missiou, Anna, 143	Athenian dedications after capturing
Mount Kithairon	Lemnos, 314
mountain passes, 177, 225, 238, 253	internecine Boiotian dedications, 310
mountain range, 173, 175, 231	list of poleis on Zeus statue dedication,
Thebageneis. See Thebes, Thebageneis	285
Mount Parnes	metopes depicting Herakles and Athena,
Dema wall, 270	138
mountain range, 173, 175, 231	Zeus Statue, 283
Zeus shrine, 181–2	Zeus Statue celebrates Plataia and Salamis,
mountains	288
obstacles for communication?, 4	Olynthians, the
Munn, Mark, 107, 191-2	approach to Athenians and Thebans, 42
Mykalessos, 34	extension of influnce over Chalkidian
Athenian raid (413), 258	peninsula, 42
massacre, 108	Onchestos, 331
Myronides, 250	Opountian Locrians, the
Myronides, Athenian commander, 27	outbreak Corinthian War, 38
Mytileneans, the	Opuntian Locris
join the Second Athenian Confederacy, 44	hostages taken by Athenians (458), 27
response to Atheno-Spartan alliance (369), 99	Orchomenians, the, 14, 28
	autonomos in 391?, 143
Naupaktos, 251	detachment koinon, 143
settlement of Messenian refugees (456/5),	integration into koinon (371), 51
249	proxenoi of the Athenians, 29
Naxos, battle of, 46	Theban intervention (364), 59
Nicaea	Orchomenos, 14, 28, 48, 59, 154, 215, 240, 251,
Macedonian garrison (339), 153	319
Nicomedes, 114	attempted Theban attack (375), 90
Nikokrates	difficulty of interpretating 'belongs to
Oropos as Eretrian colony, 207	territory of the allies' (371), 51
Nisaia, 197, 236, 251	failed Theban takeover (375), 48
part of Thirty Year Peace, 29	Orchomenizers (446), 276
nomos, 358	proposed restoration, 240
	restoration, 68
oath-takers armistice (423), 84	restoration (338), 274
Ober, Josiah, 177, 260	Orchomenos, Athenian invasion (424), 121
Oinoe. See Mazi Plain	Orestes, Thessalian exile, 28
attack by Spartans in Peloponnesian War,	Oropians, the
196	arbitration (366), 56
betrayal to Boiotians (411), 198	different treatment by Boiotians and
identified by Boiotians through toponym,	Athens, 224
310	integration into koinon (402), 215
largest Athenian deme in surface area, 179	lack of deme status, 208
Oinophyta, Battle of, 27, 250, 323–8	revolt against Athens (446)?, 212
Commemoration, 328	Oropos, 206–25
Old Oligarch	a 'hidden' Athenian cleruchy (369/8), 217
Athenian pragmatism rather than ideology,	Amphiareia, 369, 375
120	Amphiareion, 365–80
Olympia	Athenian attack in second century, 225
arbitration Athens, Thespiai and Boiotians,	Athenian ephebic visit (122/1), 225
24	Athenian protectorate?, 211

Athenian takeover 374, 49	description Theban politics (395), 108
Athenians' loss in 411, 33	Ismenias' take-over through persuasion,
Boiotian claim acknowledged by Athens	136
(395), 216	Daga Jassica 14
Boiotian take-over through treason (411)?,	Paga, Jessica, 14
213	Pagai, 251
'Boiotianisation' (402), 215	part of Thirty Year Peace, 29
'Boiotianisation' cemented claim to the	Pagondas, 1, 329, 335
land, 215	Palatine Anthology
buffer against Tanagraian or Chalkidian	epigram for fallen of Chaironeia, 361
attacks, 211	Pamboiotia, 330, 332
claim of utility for Boiotian koinon (295),	a pan-Boiotian festival in mid-fifth
225	century?, 332
Delphinion (sacred harbour), 257	restricted access to non-Boiotians, 333
early history Amphiareion, 365	Pammenes, 53
economic benefits for Athens, 217	Panakton, 179
Eretrian colony, 206	Boiotian destruction fortification (421), 197
Eretrian possession before 470?, 207	Boiotian marauding (420s) and takeover,
external powers aware of influence on	196
Athenian opinion, 221	date of fifth-century fortification, 195
ferry fees with Euboia, 256	deme status, 186, 190
ferry to Euboia, 212	destitute state, 204
fertility an Athenian incentive to annex, 211	destruction of fortress (421), 191, 196-8
garrison free imposition by Alexander III of	fortification, 195
Macedon?, 224	fortification in ruins after Peloponnesian
granted independence (338), 274	War, 198
granted to Athens for aloofness Theban	lack of fortification, 200
revolt (335), 71	military equipment inventory, 203
harbours, 211–56	Peace of Nicias, 85, 237
independence (338), 222	possible Athenian cleruchy, 188
independence 338, 68	possible restitution to Athens (421), 88
independence 411 linked to <i>eleutheria</i> ?, 213	reoccupation, 200
independent after 387/6, 216	road to Athens, 195
inland move (402) because of Eretria, 214	Pandios
loyal buffer for Philip of Macedon against	anti-Theban Athenian, 368
Athens, 222	Panhellenic sanctuaries
Pandios decree (369) confirms Athenian	dearth of hostile neighbourly
control, 217	commemoration, 281
partitioning of lands by Athens (335), 223	used only for commemoration to claim
pine resin supply, 219	hegemony, 283
returned to Athens by Alexander III of	Panhellenism, 29, 145
Macedon (335), 223	
	Athenianss would help all of <i>Hellas</i> not just
sacred law, 366	Sparta (371), 98
stasis in 402, 213	credentials for hegemony, 283
surrender woodlands for Athenian	Delian League, 24
protection c.374?, 216	fourth-century traditions in later writers,
transport artery, 33, 116, 256	104
Osborne, Robin, 371	Plataia's role as lieu de mémoire, 239
Oxyrhynchus historian	Papalexandrou, Nassos, 228
account of Boiotian koinon (395), 214	Papazarkadas, Nikolaos, 169, 321, 356, 371
description koinon (395), 233	Parasopia, 239
description political situation Boiotia (403),	Athenian influence, 187
122	description, 225–6

Parasopia (cont.)	Peloponnesian War, 251, 265
disputed land, 182	Athenian hinterland destruction, 145
synoikism with Thebes, 215	commemoration, 292
Theban pressure, 228	initial fighting phase, 196
Theban takeover, 53, 235	Outbreak, 31
Parium Marble, 15	peplos
Parker, Robert, 164	Athenian appropriation of Boiotian ritual?,
Pausanias	28
Athenian <i>quadriga</i> , 324	Pericles, 29
autopsy, 118	Persian ideology, 58
Battle of Tanagra account, 116	Persian King
comments on Aegospotami monument's	accepts Boiotian claim Oropos, 220
sponsorship, 294	claims in Asia Minor acknowledged
Eleutheraian alliance etymology, 163	(362/1), 60
Herakleion Thebes, 344	endorsement Common Peace, 54
reliability, 287	involvement Boiotian naval scheme, 58
Spartan king. See Spartans, the, Pausanias	involvement Social War (357-55), 60
visit to Thrasybulus' tomb, 350	possible restrainment on intervening in
Peace Conference, 50	-
	Greek affairs (362/1), 60
Peace of Nicias, 32, 83–90, 236	rebellious satraps (366/5), 56
Peace of Philokrates, 65, 203	sponsoring anti-Macedonians, 70
return of Chorsiai, 248	summoning Greeks for peace conference,
strained, 66	46
Pegasos of Eleutherai	Persian War veterans
introduction Dionysos cult to Athens, 164	influence on memory of conflict, 102
Peisistratids	Persian Wars
control Oropos?, 207	commemoration, 29–30, 34, 79, 94, 103,
Cycladic expansion, 14	298, 317, 341, 351, 352
Dedication Ptoion, 305–7	differing goals in commemoration, 289
friendship with Thessalians at the expense	epichoric commemoration, 25
of the Thebans?, 81	impact on commemoration because of
Hipparchos, 16	passing of contemporary witnesses
Hippias, 16	354
indebtness to Thebans, 13	lack of revanchism after, 103
Plataian Alliance. See Plataians. the,	plurivocal commemoration, 103
Athenian Alliance	reintegration medizers, 24
Thracian interests, 14	Persians
tyranny, 16	Conon, 38
Peisistratus, 15	Greek exiles, 21
friendly elite relations, 14	othering, 19, 23
sponsorship Odyssey redaction, 13	rule in Asia Minor, 338
Pelling, Christopher, 14	switch sides Corinthian War, 38
Pelopidas, 41, 52	unmentioned on Serpent Column and Zeus
death, 59	Statue lists, 285
envoy to Susa, 56	Petropoulou, Angeliki, 370
exile from Thebes, 123	philanthropia, 97, 100, 126, 137, 139
Liberation Thebes, 150	Philip of Macedon, 60
peace conferences, 55	capture Athenian grain fleet, 66
Statue Delphi, 355	changes to Boiotia created pro-Macedonian
Statue Thebes, 356	enclave, 274
uses Thrasybulus as example, 348	Common Peace (344). See Common Peace
Pelopidas' Peace (366/5)	(344)
ratification explored, 55	control of Delphic Amphictyony, 65
	,

death (336), 69 different treatment Thebans and Athenians,	citizenship decree for foreigners, 348 designation as deme, 189
63, 69	identified by Boiotians through toponym,
embassies to Athens and Thebes (339), 67	310
Embassy Thebes (339), 153	not monumentalised, 189
expansion in Thrace, 64	refurbishment (334/3), 205
grant Oropos to Athenians?, 222	sixth-century attestation, 181
grants Oropians independence (338), 373	Pindar
guarantor of Common Peace, 69	avoids reference to Battle of Plataia?, 320
homogenised memory Persian Wars, 284	celebrates victory at Koroneia (446)?, 330
ignore pleas for help from Thebans (347),	composing for young Theban athletes, 318
63	Daphnephorikon, 329
League of Corinth. See League of Corinth	Hymn to Apollo, 167
New Persians, 351	Isthmian 4, 319
prostates of autonomia, 241	Isthmian 7, 326
Thracian expansion, 66	Isthmian 8, 319
transformation of kingdom, 63	place of performance, 320
Phocians, the	Pythian 8, 330
Athenian take-over (458), 27	Piraeus, 3
blocking Thermopylai pass (Third Sacred	sixth-century fortifications?, 18
War), 272	Sphodrias' raid, 45
cause of Theban financial penury, 62	Plant, Ian, 116
conduct in Third Sacred War, 299	Plataia, 225-43
defeat at Abai (Third Sacred War), 63	Athena Areia, 161
discussions for Peace in Peloponnesian	Athena Areia temple, 315
War, 84	Athenian reinforcements (431), 234
First Peloponnesian War (458), 114	Battle of (479), 22
naval base in Boiotia (347/6), 248	chora, 183
old friends of the Athenians, 91	Commemoration Delphi and Olympia, 286
Outbreak Corinthian War, 38	Daidala-festival, 22
restoration to power by Athenians, 28	Demeter Eleusinia, 161-3
rivalry with Thessalians, 21, 382	destruction, 32, 90
role in Third Sacred War, 61	destruction (373), 270
sacrilegious plunders Delphi, 299	destruction (480), 231
separate peace treaty with Amphictyony, 65	Eleutheria festival, 315
support for Macedon at Chaironeia (338),	expansion of walls after Persian Wars, 232
68	Hera Kithaironia, 22
unconditional surrender to Philip of	integrated into Theban chora (480), 231
Macedon, 64	inviolable territory after 479?, 23
Phocion	lieu de memoire, 232
negotiations with Antipater, 274	member of koinon (446-431)?, 233
Phocis	no help for Peisistratids, 81
Athenian control (458), 249	Oath of, 272, 352–4
focus of Theban efforts in 350s, 62	occupied by Megarian exiles, 235
Phoibidas	Peace of Nicias, 197
takeover Thebes, 123	Persian Wars, 21
Phyle, 179, See Skourta Plain	possible harbour, 229
annual celebrations, 348	proposed restoration, 240
Boiotian capture (507/6), 183	pro-Theban plot (431), 234
Boiotian marauding (420s), 196	refurbishment Hera temple by Thebans
capture by pro-democracy Athenian exiles,	(427), 235
36	re-organisation Daidala-festival (427)?, 235
capture by Thrasybulus references, 347	restoration, 41, 65, 68

Plataia (cont.)	contra Herodotus, 20
restoration (338), 274	Life of Themistocles, 103
restoration (386), 269	portrayal of Epameinondas as ideal
restoration (387/6), 238	philosopher-warrior, 41
Spartan garrison, 43, 252, 270	reliability, 104, 126, 137, 156, 163, 329
strategic importance, 225	remarks on influence of popular leaders,
Theban and Tanagraian interest in	103
territory, 226	writing aims, 41
Theban surprise attack (373), 239	Pohlenz, Max, 360
topos, 362	two versions of Demosthenes' Funeral
Plataians, the	Oration, 360
Athenian alliance, 16, 74-83, 230	Polinskaya, Irene, 164
Athenian alliance and issues with	polyandreion
Thucydides and Herodotus'	Athens, 334
accounts, 75	Athens (for Delion), 341
Boiotian koinon, 29	Tanagra, 338
centrality of Persian Wars in epichoric	Thespiai, 327, 338
history, 79	Polybius
cleruchy in Skione, 237	Spartan-Theban arbitration by Achaians
clinging to Spartan alliance (373), 49	(371/0), 94
difference Peisistratid alliance and Athenian	population calculations Attica and Boiotia, 177
alliance, 77	Preller, Ludwig, 214
early fifth-century dedication to Demeter,	presbeis autokratores, 141
162	primitivism, 6
execution Theban prisoners (431), 31	Prokles of Phlius, 90
exiles in Athens, 238, 239	speech at Athens (370/69), 95
importance of inclusion on Serpent	provisioning of armies, 261
Column list, 288	proxenos, 102
local rivalry with the Thebans, 21	Pylos
no initial border disputes with Thebans, 80	fortress swapped for Panakton, 85
participation in subjugation of Messenian	,
revolt (460s), 233	Raubitschek, Anthony, 325
Peloponnesian War, 31	Realism in interstate relations, 2, 73, 87,
pro-Theban plot (431), 31	199
reason to oppose Persians, 21	Realpolitik
refusal to τελέειν to the Boiotoi, 228	base for neighbourly rapprochement, 36
removal of <i>horoi</i> with Athens?, 162	Rhamnous, 3
self-image as Boiotians, 232	Athenian garrison (335), 224
Serpent Column, 289	monumental building, 187
shared cult with Thespians?, 22	monumentalisation, 208
surrender (427), 235	no longer Athenian border (335-323), 378
Theban pressure, 228	Rhodes, Peter, 141, 371
Plato	Rhodians, the
Battle of Tanagra account, 116	athletics. See Diagoras of Rhodes
description Battle of Tanagra reflects his	Boiotian naval voyage, 56
own time, 118	cessation Second Athenian Confederacy, 60
Laws, Interstate Relations, 73	join Second Athenian Confederacy, 44
Menexenus, 119	possibly renting ships to Boiotians, 58
Plutarch	Roberts, Jennifer, 38
Aeschylean fragments. See Aeschylus,	Roisman, Joseph, 116
Eleusinians	routes
comments on Aegospotami monument's	Attic-Boiotian borderlands, 174
sponsorship, 294	through Boiotia, 250, 269, 270

Sacred Law	Spartans, the
at Amphiareion, 366	abandon defence Central Greece (480), 262
Salamis, Battle of	acting as abrasive as Athenians, 37
in Aeschylus's Persai, 316	alliance with Athenians (369), 98
Samos	alliance with medizers, 30
Athenian cleruchy (366), 56	benefits of pro-Spartan Boiotia (382), 269
regain independence (322), 72	Boiotian campaign (378), 45
sanctuary	campaiging against Mantinea (380s), 41
border demarcation?, 162	campaign against Olynthos (383), 122
demarcating border?, 229	campaign in Asia Minor (397), 37
mirrors for neighbourly interaction, 279	cease invasions of Attica after earthquakes
negotiatory role, 181	in Laconia (426), 265
ritual norms, 37	challenge to honour, 31
Sardis	clandestine negotiations (421), 87
peace negotiations, 39	control over Hellespont (388), 39
Scafuro, Adele, 374	control Rhodes and Athenian grain supply,
Schachter, Albert, 24, 62, 165, 180, 189, 193, 305	39
Schröder, Janett, 338	criticism of seizing Cadmeia (382), 149
Scott, Michael, 291, 295	Delphic Amphictyony, 24, 104
Scyros	demand Athenians relinquish Corinthian
retained by Athenians in King's Peace (387/	Gulf harbours, 251
6), 40	Doris campaign (458), 263
Second Athenian Confederacy, 44-6, 65	enforcer of the King's Peace (387/6), 42
autonomia as a goal, 150	expedition to Doris (458), 114
chronology of inception, 45	five-year truce with Athenians (451-446),
defections, 58	28
disbandment (338), 69	forced into overland routes due to Athenian
formation through Atheno-Theban	intervention (450s), 249
collaboration, 133	goals inscribing lists at Delphi and
interpretation of clause 'in order to	Olympia, 289
persuade them of whatever good	incapacitated due to loss at Sphacteria
they can', 151	(426), 265
prospectus located next to Zeus	intervention in Thessaly, 104
Eleutherios altar in Athenian	of little help to Athens against Macedon,
Agora, 150	273
synedrion prefers Common Peace (344), 65	monument for Aegospotami, 292
Seven against Thebes	negative responses after take-over Theban
different versions, 315	Cadmeia, 43
Shrimpton, Gordon, 156	objective of Olynthus campaign to take-
Sikinnos, 105	over Thebes (382), 42
Siphai, 243-4, 246, 249, 253	offer Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros to
pro-Athenian plot (424), 32, 121, 247, 252	Athenians to disrupt neighbourly
Skourta Plain, the	alliance, 142
farmsteads, 179	Pausanias, 26, 285, 289
increase habitation late fifth-century,	plan to expel medizers to Persia?, 105
179–278	plan to resettle Ionians?, 105
oaths about exploitation, 191	population decline, 53
routes, 180	prisoner exchange, 85
Tsoukrati and Limiko towers, 205	propagandistic benefit of restoring Plataia
Sounion, 18	(387/6), 238
monumental building, 187	proxies for the Persian King, 40
Spartan-Athenian alliance (369)	proxy vote in Amphictyonic Council, 104
rotational scheme, 98	reasons for Doris campaign (458), 117
Totational scheme, 70	reasons for Doris campaign (450), 117

Spartans, the (cont.)	Oropian border, 210
recollection Athenian help against	polyandreion for Delion, 338
Messenians, 94	Skourta Plain, 182, 184, 189
recollection of help expulsion Peisistratids,	Spartan garrison, 270
94	Spartan garrison?, 43
recollection of rejecting Theban proposal to	Temple of Delion, 165
destroy Athens, 95	towers, 204
reference to 'tithing' the Thebans, 94	walls torn down by Athenians (458), 117
refusal to acknowledge Messene's	Tanagra, Battle of
independence (366/5), 56	Spartan initiative, 116
refusal to acknowledge Messenian	Truce after, 118
independence (368), 54	Tanagraians, the
removal garrisons from Boiotia, 48	Incorporation of Oropos, 215
reputational benefits from promoting	possible proxeny award for Athenian, 106
eleutheria, 135	rejection of status as pro-Athenian
response to expanionism in Central Greece	hegemon (458), 118
and Macedonia, 109	sixth-century border war with Athenians,
revanchism in Central Greece after Persian	189
Wars (480-79), 263	Tegyra, Battle of, 46
secured Peloponnese in armistice treaty	Tempe valley, 275
(423), 85	defence (480), 21
speakers in Athenian Assembly (370/69), 94	Thebans, the
status of Laconian peroikic towns, 94	373 breaking point in Athenian alliance?, 49
stigmatise medizers, 24	abstained from Common Peace conference
take-over Cadmeia worst excess Spartan	Athens (371), 94
hegemony, 122	affirmation of leading role in Greek affairs
Theban alliance? (386), 41	(339), 159
using Boiotian harbours to erode Athenian	Asias, 109
Aegean power, 258	Athenian alliance (339/8), 67
violation of King's Peace (382), 43	boiotarchs involved in Plataian coup (431),
weakening the koinon (390s), 269	31
Sphodrias, 45, 150, 152, 270	claim to Oropos through Apollo Ismenios,
acquittal, 45	210
raid on Piraeus, 45	defending the native soil (480-79)?, 323
Steinbock, Bernd, 20, 34, 133, 137–9, 297, 316	democracy collapses after Oinophyta (458),
Strabo	120
relies on Ephoros, 243	demographic boom, 53
strategy	dispute with Megarians, 184
buffer, 261	distrust of Athenians" reliability after
Strepsiades of Thebes, 326	Leuktra (371), 158
Strouthas	eleutheria connected with liberation (379),
satrap of Asia Minor, 144	151
supplication	embedment in revanchist discourse after
not an automatic acceptance, 78	Persian Wars, 168
survey archaeology, 9	emulation of Herakles and Dionysos (404),
Susa	136
peace conference (367), 54	exiles and their <i>xenia</i> connections in
sympoliteia, 185	Athens, 126
syntaxeis, 47, 148	exiles in Persian army (335), 70
Tamagma	exiles overthrow Spartan junta (379), 44
Tanagra	expansion <i>chora</i> , 235
Battle of, 114–18, 264	financial penury (375), 47
dialect used in Theban inscription, 106	hagemonia treaty with Histiaia, 47

hetairaia, 109	structural weakness of the Theban
insistence on swearing as Boiotoi rather	hegemony, 62
than Thebans (371), 93	support Peisistratids, 13
integrate harbours into chora, 246	survivors of Alexander's razing, 70
interventions in the Peloponnese, 54	synoikism, 254
invasion of Peloponnese (370/69), 52	synoikism with border towns (427?), 236
juxtaposed with Persians at Delphi,	Thebageneis, 227
297	threatened with invasion after rejection of
'land-locked' member of Second Athenian	Common Peace (387/6), 40
Confederacy?, 269	unwilling to contribute to maintenance of
leadership changes (404-395), 109	Second Athenian Confederacy fleet
Macedonian garrison, 68	46
majority of votes on Amphictyonic Council,	vaunted wealth, 13
59	Thebes
medizing ringleaders executed without a	Amphiareion, 210, 330
fair trial, 23	Apollo Ismenios cult, 209, 227, 330
no initial border disputes with Plataians, 80	Athenian and Macedonian embassy (339),
omitted from Serpent Column and Zeus	155
Statue lists, 286	birthplace of Herakles and Dionysos, 137
outrage and indignation after Spartan take-	Boiotian poleis participating in sack (335),
-	71
over, 43	Cadmeia take-over violation King's Peace,
owned plots in the Parasopia (late sixth	· ·
century), 80	43
participation Thermopylai based on personal ties, 20	coinage, 138
-	Daphnephoria, 330
persistent resistance to Macedonians, 70	death of <i>polemarchs</i> by Theban exiles (379)
personal ties Macedonia, 54	130
personal ties with Cleomenes leading to	early attestation <i>boiotarch</i> , 106
invasion Attica 507/82	embellishment after Delion, 335
polemarchs, 44	Eurymachos, 31
portrayed by Demosthenes, 354	hagamonia treaty with Histiaia, 259
pro-Macedonian exiles restored (338), 68	Herakleion, 21, 106, 138, 343–81
prostates of Common Peace, 58	inscription with <i>boiotarch</i> (500-475), 106
ransomed prisoners dedicate kioniskos	integration Thespiai into <i>chora</i> (373), 48
(507/6)?, 309	kioniskos and the borderlands, 182
reasons for synoikism, 259	kioniskos articulating territorial gains, 309
recollection support Athenian democrats,	kioniskos commemorating 507/6, 308
110	kioniskos focused on local audience?, 309
reinstitution boiotarchia, 44	list of donors for refoundation (316), 72
relationship with neighbouring	new epigram from Apollo Ismenios temple
communities, 332	209
remembered as defender of eleutheria, 362	peace conference (367/6), 55
request for Athenian aid after Leuktra	Persian Wars epigram, 357
(371), 50	reduction <i>chora</i> , 242
scapegoated for medism?, 23	refuge for in Central Greece (479), 22
separate Athenian alliance (379), 151	restoration by Cassander (316), 72
serving roles in Second Athenian	sale of plots in Parasopia, 229
Confederacy, 49	Siege by Hellenic League (479), 22
serving as triearchs in Athenian navy, 152	similarities 382 and 335, 133
sixth-century sympoliteia with Eleutherai,	stasis, 114
185	statue Epameinondas, 355
Spartan alliance? (386), 41	statue Pelopidas, 356
stasis after Oinophyta (458), 250	stoa?, 335

Thebes (cont.)	punished after Leuktra (371), 51
synoikism with eastern seaboard (427?), 254	Sikinnos, 105
too interwoven into Greek myth, 319	snub Thermopylai commemoration, 340
uniqueness of metric dedication to Apollo	subjugation by Thebans (373), 48
Ismenios, 210	xenia ties with Spartan and Theban
κἐνίκασε hα πόλις hα Θεβαί ον	contingent at Thermopylai (480),
κέλευθεραίο[ν], 185	22
Themistocles, 103-4	Thessalians, the
at Tempe, 20	Aleaud rule, 104
Involvement Thespiai, 105	Boiotian interventions, 59
protection medizers?, 103	help for Peisistratids, 81
Themistocles decree, the, 298	intervention in Herakleia Trachinia, 86
Theopompos, 156–7	power vacuum, 54
inland move of Oropos (402), 214	restoration exile by Athenians, 28
Thermopylai	rivalry with Phocians, 382
Battle of, 19–22, 262	Spartan intervention, 104
Commemoration. See Thespiai,	support at Battle of Tanagra (458), 27
polyandreion for Delion	support Athenians (initially) at Battle of
Commemoration of battle, 322, 357	Tanagra (458), 264
Pass of, 64, 272	supporting Philip of Macedon at
Thermopylai, Battle of	Chaironeia, 68
all-out defence or counter-offensive, 20	Thespians, the decision to oppose Persians, 22
manoeuvre to slow down Persians, 20	Thessaly
short-lived defence, diversion to organise a	Athena Itonia, 168
defence in Boiotia, 20	link with Boiotian ethnogenesis, 13
Thespiai	role in Peisistratid <i>Odyssey</i> , 13
Athenian and Corinthian influence on	Tempe valley. See Tempe valley
cults, 105	Third Sacred War, 61–2, 203, 240, 271
Commemoration Delphi and Olympia, 286	memory of medism, 351, See Delphi, golden
Destruction, 90	shields
dismantling of its walls (423), 85	Thirty Year Peace (446), 29
family epitaph on Boiotian battles, 326	Thourioi
harbours, 248	possible settlement of pro-Athenian
integration into Theban <i>chora</i> (373), 48	Boiotian <i>proxenoi</i> , 29
new citizens after Persian Wars, 105	Thrace
polyandreion for Delion, 338, 340	
polyandreion for Oinophyta?, 327	Athenian objectives, 23 Peisistratid interest, 14
proposed restoration, 240	*
	Spartan campaigns, 124, 266
rebuilding (479), 105	succession crisis, 60
restoration, 68	Thrasybulus, 36, 114
restoration (338), 274	Athenian social memory, 343–50
sculptural link Delion polyandreion and	commemoration in Thebes, 350
Thermopylai lion monument, 340	dedication at Theban Herakleion, 345
Spartan garrison, 43, 270	exile in Thebes, 136
συντελεῖν μόνον εἰς τὰς Θήβας, 48	relationship with Ismenias, 113
Thespians, the	taking risk (395), 111
attikismos (423), 122	tomb, 350
clinging to Spartan alliance (373), 49	Thucydides
decision to oppose Persians, 22	against otiose uses of the past in rhetorical
medism, 21	practice, 79
Olympia arbitration, 26	alteration to Serpent Column Delphi, 285
ommitted from the Zeus Statue list, 287	Boiotian take-over Oropos through treason
proxenoi of the Athenians, 29	(411), 213

compared to Herodotus' account on	Hellenica's inception, 46
Plataian alliance, 75	historicity of Theban ambassador's speech
cursory account Tanagra (458), 115	(395), 110
description Delion sanctuary, 336	Memorabilia refers to Battle of Koroneia
intextuality with Herodotus, 79	(446), 333
laments loss of Amphipolis, 266	moralist and artistic motives, 137
more neutral evaluation of Boiotian role in	neglects positive portrayal Thebans (404),
peace negotiations (423-1), 84	137
motive for Oropos' importance for Athens,	pays less attention to speeches that did not
213	win over the Athenian Assembly,
plot with Boiotians (415), 33	98
rejection of emendation text, 75	scholars' preference for his account (379),
silence on 'Orchomenizers' motives (446),	131
28	selective narrative, 142
silence on treatment of Oropos (446), 212	Theban demands in 395 excessive, 111
Tilphousa, 63	use of ἄγγελον to denote foreignness of
Timotheos	Thebans, 93
campaigning in Ionian Sea region, 48	Xerxes
Tiribazus, 39	invasion of Greece (480/79), 19
Tolmides, 251	
Boiotian campaign, 28	Yates, David, 23, 284, 297
commemoration, 333	epichoric outlook Persian Wars
defeat, 276	commemoration, 284
topography	
borderlands, 172	ἀλλόφυλον
Traditional periodisation Theban Hegemony,	interpretation of term, 335
52	ἀνέθεμεν
treaties	meaning of term, 298
interpretation clause 'to persuade them of	
whatever good they can', 151	έκεχειρίαν δεχήμερον ἦγον
tropaion, 329	issues with translation, 86
permanence, 329	ἐτελεύτησεν
tyrants	use by Thucydides to describe Plataian
political interactions, 14	alliances with Athens, 80
,	*
ubiquity of war, 73	<i>κολοσσο</i> ύς
1 /	at Theban Herakleion, 344
Walsh, John, 301	
Wilding, Alexandra, 369	παλαιάν
<i>g,</i>	translation for Skourta Plain oaths,
xenia in interstate relations, 17, 101	191
xenoi, 348	παρακινδυνεύσοιεν
Xenokleides	translation, 111
pro-Theban speaker, 98	περιπλεύσαντες
Xenophon	translation, 263
anti-Theban bias, 38, 90, 239	προσποιέω
anti-Theban bias (395), 112	Xenophon's reference to Sphodrias' raid, 45
Athenian and Spartan mutual fear of	renophon o reference to ophodrials raid, is
Thebes (375), 46	τά μεθόρία, 175, 177, 310
claims about Theban aggression after	τελέειν
Boiotian War (378-5), 46	meaning of, translation, 76
eleutheria and Athenian defeat (404), 292	translation of, 228
common and reneman deteat (101), 272	transmitted of 220

