

Plutarch's Chaironeia: The Local Horizon of World Empire

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Abstract

This thesis investigates Plutarch's local, regional, and global worlds. It does so by studying Chaironeia and its connections to its regional world of Boiotia, as well as the overarching landscape of the Roman Empire through the works of Plutarch. As a citizen of Chaironeia and Rome, and as the author of two magisterial works, the *Parallel Lives* and the *Moralia*, Plutarch is a most eminent figure that allows us to study the tensions and horizons between the local and the global in the ancient Mediterranean. This dissertation thus is situated at the fruitful juncture of the lively, ongoing debate about localism and connectivity in the ancient Mediterranean.

In the first chapter, I review the unique aspects of Chaironeia to challenge the idea that there is no fixity for Plutarch's local world. Through this endeavour, I show that Chaironeia was a lively and connected polis, but also one that had strong local traditions. Connectivity and fixity in place are thus shown to coexist in this small, Boiotian town. In the second half of this chapter, I demonstrate that Plutarch used Chaironeia and his life in this polis not only to establish continual loyalty to Rome, but also to set himself up as an *exemplum* for his readers.

In the second chapter, I examine Plutarch's regional world of Boiotia. Here, I contend that Plutarch created an image of his regional sphere as one that was akin to Athens and Sparta, and thus worthy of consideration. In this way, Plutarch responded to the Athenian representation of Boiotia as one of gluttonous and slow individuals, by building a counterculture of sophistication and equality for his region.

The final chapter explores Plutarch's global world through an analysis of his social network. By considering not only the geographic extent, but also the social influence of the nodes in this network, I demonstrate that Plutarch was a highly connected man who was plugged into the intellectual and political matrices of his day. I assert that through his interactions with powerful Romans, Plutarch crafted himself into an *exemplum* of how to interact with and advise those in power.

Ultimately, this study challenges the idea that Plutarch was not ambitious with regards to advising those in power and leaving behind a lasting legacy. By looking at his local, regional, and global worlds, this dissertation aims to provide a more nuanced view of both Plutarch's oeuvre, and the potential of an elite Greek male in the first and early second centuries CE to climb the social ladder of Rome. Further, it reveals how Plutarch used his own experiences in his hometown, his regional environment, and his friendships as a mirror for his reader. I thus argue that rather than seeing Plutarch as a content country philosopher on the peripheries of power, we should instead consider that he was ambitious in his desire to advise the highest echelons of Rome and to craft himself as an *exemplum*.

Abrégé

Cette thèse explore les mondes locaux, régionaux et mondiaux de Plutarque, en étudiant Chéronée et ses liens avec son monde régional de Béotie, ainsi que le paysage global de l'Empire romain à travers les œuvres écrites de Plutarque. En tant que citoyen de Chéronée et de Rome, et en tant qu'auteur de deux ouvrages magistraux, les *Vies parallèles* et *Œuvres morales*, Plutarque est un personnage éminent qui nous permet d'étudier les perspectives locales et globales dans l'ancienne Méditerranée et les tensions entre ces niveaux. Cette thèse se situe donc au carrefour fructueux du débat animé sur le localisme et la connectivité dans l'ancienne Méditerranée.

Dans le premier chapitre, je passe en revue les particularités de Chéronée pour contester l'idée qu'il n'y a pas de fixité dans le monde local de Plutarque. À travers cet effort, je démontre que Chéronée était une polis vivante et connectée, qui avait de fortes traditions locales. La connectivité et la fixité coexistent donc dans cette petite ville béotienne. Dans la seconde moitié de ce chapitre, je démontre que Plutarque utilise Chéronée et sa vie dans cette polis non seulement pour établir une fidélité continuelle à Rome, mais aussi pour s'ériger comme exemple pour ses lecteurs.

Dans le deuxième chapitre, j'examine le monde régional de Plutarque qu'est la Béotie. Ici, je soutiens que Plutarque crée une image de sa sphère régionale qui ressemble à celles d'Athènes et de Sparte, et donc digne de considération. De cette manière, Plutarque répond à la représentation athénienne de la Béotie comme un groupe d'individus rustres et lents, en construisant une contre-culture de sophistication et d'égalité pour sa région.

Le dernier chapitre explore le monde global de Plutarque à travers une analyse de son réseau social. En considérant non seulement l'étendue géographique, mais aussi l'influence sociale des points d'intersection de ce réseau, je démontre que Plutarque était un homme très branché sur les matrices intellectuelles et politiques de son temps. J'affirme qu'à travers ses interactions avec de puissants Romains, Plutarque fait de lui-même un exemple de la manière d'interagir et de conseiller les personnes au pouvoir.

Ultimement, cette étude remet en question l'idée que Plutarque n'était pas ambitieux en ce qui concerne de conseiller les personnes au pouvoir et de laisser un héritage durable. En examinant ses mondes locaux, régionaux et mondiaux, cette thèse vise à fournir une vue plus nuancée de l'œuvre de Plutarque, et du potentiel d'un homme de l'élite grecque à gravir les échelons sociaux de Rome durant le premier et le début du deuxième siècle de notre ère. De plus, l'étude révèle comment Plutarque utilise ses propres expériences dans sa ville natale, son environnement régional et ses amitiés comme un miroir pour son lecteur. Je soutiens donc qu'au lieu de voir Plutarque comme un philosophe satisfait de graviter à la périphérie du pouvoir, nous devrions plutôt le considérer ambitieux dans son désir de conseiller les plus hauts échelons de Rome et de se forger comme un *exemplum*.

Acknowledgements

“Yet whether encountered as a woven thread or as a written trace, the line is still perceived as one of movement and growth.” (Ingold 2016, 2)

A thesis is never completed alone, and much like Ingold’s written trace, this project was one of movement and growth, not only in its conception and realization, but also for me as both a scholar and an individual. As such, there are many people whom I need to thank not only for their contributions towards my PhD work, but also for their friendships, support, and encouragement.

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Transliteration of Ancient Greek

There are many reasons why a single system for the transliteration of ancient Greek is non-existent. It is nearly impossible, indeed not recommended, to create such a standardization because of the problematic nature of language. Ancient Greek, not unlike modern English, varies considerably across both time and space. As such, one single representation of that language would be both forced and unrepresentative.

For this thesis, the way I have transliterated Greek is not unlike the second century world of Plutarch: a mixture of global and local. In other words, I have chosen to blend systems. For proper names, I lean towards the Greek over the Latinized spelling, except in circumstances where the English language dominates the Greek (e.g. Themistocles over Themistokles),¹ or when an individual to whom Plutarch refers has a Latin name (e.g. Rusticus over Roustikos). For convenience, I have supplied the Greek script of each name, as Plutarch renders it, in brackets next to the name of each individual in the Name Catalogue found in the Appendix. I hope that this compromise of English, Greek, and Latin spelling is one that is both easily navigable by modern readers, and reflective of the flexible, varied, multilingual and multiregional world of the second century CE.

¹ This is largely following Beck and Funke 2015: xvi.

List of Abbreviations

When possible, the abbreviations of inscriptions follow that of PHI, the Packhard Humanities Institute (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/biblio#b244>), otherwise they are listed in their most common form found in scholarship (e.g., *PIR* for *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*).

<i>AAT</i>	<i>Atti della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino</i>
<i>AD</i>	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> (Athens)
<i>AE</i>	Cagnat, R. et al. <i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>ASAA</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>BMC Ionia</i>	Head, B. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Ionia</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
<i>Corinth</i>	<i>Corinth VIII: The Greek Inscriptions</i>
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
<i>FGrHist</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
<i>IAG</i>	<i>Iscrizioni agonistiche greche</i>
<i>Iasos</i>	McCabe, D.F. <i>Iasos Inscriptions: Texts and List</i>
<i>ID</i>	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i>
<i>IEph</i>	Wankel, H. et al. <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i>
<i>I.Eleusis</i>	Clinton, K. <i>Eleusis: The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme.</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGLSyr</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i>
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	Moretti, L. <i>Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae</i>
<i>ILS</i>	Dessau, H. <i>Inscriptiones latinae selectae</i>
<i>I.Napoli</i>	Miranda, E. <i>Iscrizioni greche d'Italia, Napoli.</i>
<i>Iscr. Cos.</i>	<i>Iscrizioni di Cos</i>
<i>IvO</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i>
<i>IvP</i>	<i>Inschriften von Pergamon</i>
<i>Magnesia</i>	McCabe, D.F. <i>Magnesia Inscriptions: Texts and List</i>
<i>OGIS</i>	Dittenberger, W. <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i>
<i>P.Ryl.</i>	Hunter, A.S. et al. <i>Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.</i>
<i>RIB</i>	<i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i>
<i>Sardis</i>	Buckler, W.H. and D. Moore Robinson. <i>Sardis, VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part 1.</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SGDI</i>	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i>
<i>Syll.</i> ³	<i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i>

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Introduction: *The Local Horizon of World Empire*

Acts of symbolization are distinguished by the fact that they break open environments shaped by the peculiarities of a particular species. This they do by transforming fluctuating sense impressions into semantic meanings and fixing them in such a way that the human mind can reproduce the impressions in memory and preserve them. (Habermas 2001: 9-10).

This is not a local history. It will not place you, fix you, in one spot and have you watch it evolve over time. It will not ignore the influences of outside sources, nor the fluid and moveable nature of the inhabitants. These pages are soil, not cement. Soil that is carried not only by the winds of change, but also by the feet of those who pass through the local world of Chaironeia. For all these reasons, this is not a local history. This study is one of connections, of a local world, its people, its networks, and one man: Plutarch.

Although often conflated, localism and local history are two distinct phenomena. The study of local history, while certainly valuable to our understanding of the ancient world, focuses on a small place for a narrow time frame. Localism, however, approaches the local horizon from a wider scope, one that incorporates not only the history, but also the local discourse environment to discover in what ways this unique setting grants meaning to the local world, to the everyday lived experiences of the inhabitants, and to those who view it from the outside.² This thesis then, is not a local history. Rather, this project is a study in localism.

² Cf. H. Beck 2020: xii. Note that, when there is a citation for 'Beck' as the sole author, I have placed the first initial of the author to avoid confusion between H. Beck, M. Beck, and U. Beck.

Recently, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell released a 20-year follow-up to their famous *Corrupting Sea*. Their latest monograph, *The Boundless Sea: Writing Mediterranean History*, gathers published essays that respond to comments on and follow similar grounds to their seminal work. In one exploration, they convincingly argue that fixity – described as a sense, largely promoted by the upper class, that there was an unchanging stability in the pre-Christian era – cannot exist because everything is always in flux and interconnected.³ One of their main assertions is that, “(i)n most ancient communities there was too little continuity to develop a lively folk tradition.”⁴ This is a strong argument that merits serious consideration in our approach to the ancient Mediterranean. My thesis, however, complicates this discussion. Chaironeia, a small Boiotian town of seemingly little significance, becomes the perfect case study to test Horden and Purcell’s theory, for rarely does a polis get any smaller than this one. By approaching Chaironeia through the lens of localism, I will show, as Horden and Purcell argue, that Chaironeia was in flux, how it changed through time, and how it was different for each observer. However, by placing more emphasis on the local horizon, I also demonstrate that there was a long duration of continuity of place,⁵ one that clearly shows a level of fixity for the local world. The Chaironeians, despite Horden and Purcell’s theory, developed strong folk traditions. This is most obvious, for example, in the long-lasting places of memory related to battles that both generate meaning and resonate across time.⁶ This thesis, then, argues against Horden and Purcell’s notion that there is no fixity in

³ Horden and Purcell 2020: 61-71. They claim (2020: 62) that fixity is, “...of more use to ancient projects of legitimation than it is to modern historiography.” Further (2020: 64) they argue that, “(t)he location of tradition and the expectation of local knowledge offer a further example of a missing fixity. It is natural for us to expect local history, based on the memories of the oldest inhabitants, and oral accounts of the past, to be the basis on which history rests. That aetiology of history is downright unhelpful for Antiquity. Oral history and community wisdom, researches into the memory of the oldest inhabitant – where are these to be found? History belongs from the first in the wider world...”

⁴ Horden and Purcell 2020: 64.

⁵ I borrow this term from H. Beck 2020: 4. H. Beck (2020: 6) also refers to a ‘local boundedness’.

⁶ As M. Beck (2014: 3) argues for Plutarch’s Chaironeia, “(h)is own birthplace elegantly represented the stimulating intersection of history, topography, and memory.” But let me take a moment to remind my reader: this is not a local

the ancient world. Instead, I contend that fixity and fluidness can coexist in time and space. Plutarch, Chaironeia, and its Lion will show us how.

Plutarch of Chaironeia is a choice case study for my investigation. As a citizen of the empire, Plutarch was familiar with the networks, trade, and political power of Rome. Not only did he travel extensively throughout this ancient global framework, becoming a citizen of Rome, Athens, and Delphi, and thus demonstrating the interconnectivity mentioned above, but, in his local setting of Chaironeia he brought the global home by hosting men from across the empire. He did so in *symposia* of opposing, contrasting, and yet complimenting local and global matrices of intellectualism.⁷ In this and other ways, Plutarch became inspired by, and contributed to, the potent framework of globalization in the ancient world.

But Plutarch was also cognisant of the importance of looking inward to the local. Plutarch spent most of his life in his hometown of Chaironeia in Boiotia, maintaining political positions in the city, keeping his home there, and staying active in the community, despite his growing fame in the empire. Plutarch remained there, “lest it become any smaller” (*Dem.* 2.2 [ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὸν

history. This thesis, while demonstrating that the local world can be fixed with meaning, traditions, and inspired collective memories, also examines fluidity, flux, and network connections. As such, I combine Horden and Purcell’s notion of continual interconnection and change with Hans Beck’s theories of localism and boundity in place (H. Beck 2020). To do so, my thesis explores each of the local, regional, and global worlds of Plutarch of Chaironeia. By looking at each sphere through one voice, I evaluate the tensions and cohesions that exist between these different spaces and how each grants meaning to the other.

⁷ One interesting study of an intellectual global knowledge culture is found in Wendt 2016, who discusses ‘freelance religious experts’ (for the term, see Wendt 2016: 11-2) in the Roman Empire of the first and second centuries CE. Chapter 5, for example, focuses on a Christian network of specialists and the idea of competition between them. Furthermore, she argues (2016: 223) that, “(c)ults and communities do not adapt, compete, and innovate; rather, individual religious actors, or certain individuals within groups, are more often the engines of these processes.” Thus, although Plutarch does not fit within the confines of her study, as he is not a ‘freelance religious expert’, her contention that individual intellectual actors can engineer change is an intriguing one for the Plutarch and his hometown of Chaironeia.

οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες]).⁸ He even dedicated one of his earliest *Lives*, that of *Lucullus*, to a man who, Plutarch explained, saved Chaironeia. In fact, the entire proem of the *Lucullus-Cimon* pair was devoted to events surrounding Chaironeia, and as such demonstrates the importance of the local to Plutarch and his project. Similarly, Plutarch's choice of Epaminondas as a hero, a Boiotian, once again informed the reader of Plutarch's motivation to espouse both Chaironeia and the entire region of Boiotia to promote their histories under the Roman Empire.

Since Plutarch was engulfed in the local, regional, and global networks of his time, the numerous settings, local identities, and political ideas ensured that he was able to capture a local-regional-global dialogue in the first and early second centuries CE. This dialogue has an internal narrative, where each sphere only speaks to itself, while simultaneously conducting a conversation with the others. The thoughts and identities forged in these narratives create meaning only through understanding their unique aspects in contrast to the other. In this way, the global and the local are interwoven so that one must be understood to appreciate the other. Therefore, Plutarch's insights into his local and regional history are an important aspect of his local, regional, and global worlds.

Over the next few pages, I outline the main themes found in this thesis. First, I provide a brief biography of Plutarch's life in order to provide the necessary context for this study's discussions. I then present a literature review that covers the scholarship of Plutarch, as well as that of the local and global ideas that are currently being discussed in academia. After this, are the main questions

⁸ Note that the treatises of the *Moralia*, when mentioned directly in sentences in the text, are given by their English title. For convenience, however, the abbreviated Latin titles are found in brackets near the English title at the beginning of the relevant discussion. For a complete listing of Plutarch's works, their English, Latin, and abbreviated titles, see the Appendix "Reference Guide to Plutarch's Works".

this study seeks to answer, followed by the methodological issues that occur with such inquiries. Lastly, I explain the structure of my thesis.

Plutarch's Life: A brief overview

Plutarch was born,⁹ raised, and spent most of his life (c.45-125 CE) in Chaironeia, Boiotia. This, however, is not indicative of isolation, as Plutarch's world was tied to that of the Roman Empire and its extensive networks. In fact, Plutarch was influenced by this Roman world from the early stages of his career, possibly when he heard Nero speak in Greece in c.66-68 CE.¹⁰ Despite this, it seems that most of Plutarch's youth and early career were spent in Greece.¹¹

When Plutarch heard Nero speak, he was studying in Athens as a pupil of Ammonios and was briefly focused on mathematics before he decided to devote his education to philosophy.¹² Beyond the switch from math to Plato, we know little about his education.¹³ However, Plutarch grants us a couple of hints of some of the more formative moments in his youth, many based around travel. It was during this time, for example, that Plutarch likely visited Alexandria, although he does not provide us with any details of this trip.¹⁴ It is also possible that a part of this voyage was to a city

⁹ Note, however, Jones (1971: 13), who cautions us that we do not know with certainty if he was born in Chaironeia. However, since his family had lived there for generations, it seems likely that Plutarch was also born in this polis. For more on his family and their connection to Chaironeia, see Chapter 3, pages 350-9.

¹⁰ Russell 1973: 2. Jones (1971: 17) mentions that we do not know whether Plutarch heard Nero speak, yet the Emperor's presence certainly had an impact on the philosopher, as we see in his later writings (e.g., *Flam.* 12). As Jones (1971: 13) explains, "Living under the imperial system, and being a man interested and involved in the present, Plutarch felt the effect of changes brought about by contemporary affairs. His life is part of the history of his time". For more on Plutarch and the Roman Emperors who reigned in his lifetime, see Chapter 3, pages 406-427.

¹¹ For an overview of Plutarch's youth, see Jones 1971: 13-9.

¹² *De E delph.* 1 (385b), 7 (387f). He describes his move to Athens: *Dem.* 31.1. Cf. Russell 1973: 4-5; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1995 [1992-6]: 49.

¹³ For example, Jones (1971: 14) points out that Plutarch's works show signs of being trained in rhetoric, which likely occurred during Nero's reign, and points to an aspect of Plutarch's education to which he does not speak.

¹⁴ *Quaest. conv.* 5.5 (678c). Buckler 1992: 4815-6; Jones 1971: 15; Russell 1973: 7.

in Asia Minor, though we do not know which one.¹⁵ Yet another trip from his youth is also mentioned in passing: that of Plutarch's involvement in an embassy to the proconsul of Achaëa, one of the first moments that we can trace of Plutarch having direct contact with a powerful Roman.¹⁶ These moments surely affected how Plutarch understood his world and the connections and networks that existed under the Roman Empire.

It is perhaps unsurprising that we hear little of Plutarch's career after the death of Nero and the years of instability that ensued in the Roman Empire. In fact, Plutarch mentions almost nothing of his life under the Flavian dynasty.¹⁷ It is likely, therefore, that as an elite Greek man, the years of his maturity were occupied with duties in his hometown and with travel.¹⁸ We hear, for example, of visits to Rome (*Aem.* 25.5-7; *Dem.* 2.2; *Pub.* 15.5; *Amat.* 24 [770c-771c]; *De curios.* 15 [522d-e]; *De soll. an.* 19 [973e-974a]; *Quaest. conv.* 5 [632a-b]), northern Italy (*Mar.* 2.1; *Otho* 14.2, 18.2), Athens (*Pub.* 15.4; *Quaest. conv.* 1.10 [628a]), and Sparta (*Ages.* 19.11-2; *Lyc.* 18.2). This was also when Plutarch became a priest of Apollo at Delphi (*An seni.* 17 [792f]; *Syll.*³ 829 A). It is thus this particular historical period, combined with Plutarch's decision to remain in Chaironeia to grow his family and his career that shaped the man who came to write the *Parallel Lives* and the *Moralia*.

¹⁵ *Anime an corporis* 1-4 (500b-502a). Helmbold (Loeb *Moralia*: volume 6, 1962: 378) discusses the possibilities of Sardis, Halicarnassus, and Ephesus. Jones (1971: 15 n.11) believes it to be Smyrna because of the cult of Dionysus located in this place and the travellers that it drew. Cf. Russell 1973: 6-7.

¹⁶ *Prae. ger. reip.* 20 (816c-e). Flacelière 1963: 29; Jones 1971: 15-6; Stadter 2002c: 11; Stadter 2014b: 14-5. Jones (1971: 21) points to citations that Plutarch makes of embassies to Rome: *Quaest. Rom.* (275b-c); *De exil.* 8 (602c); *prae. ger. reip.* 10 (805a-b); *adv. Col.* 33 (1126e). This suggests that Plutarch was very familiar with such duties and likely served on embassies to Rome or to Roman officials on more than one occasion.

¹⁷ For more on Plutarch's life and career under the Flavians, see Jones 1971: 20-7.

¹⁸ For more on Plutarch and his positions in Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, pages 141-3, 155-6. For Plutarch's travels during this period, see: Barrow 1967: 36-42; Buckler 1992, 1993: 69; Flacelière 1963: 29-30; Jones 1971: 25-6; Lamberton 2001: 13; Russell 1973: 4-5; Scheid 2012a: 7; Stadter 2014b: 14-6.

When Trajan ascended the throne, Plutarch was becoming older and was firmly settled in his hometown. We thus find less indications of travels and instead witness Plutarch dividing his time between Chaironeia and Delphi, and focusing on his writing (*Dem.* 2.1-2; *de E delph.* 1 [384e]).¹⁹ Despite this, Plutarch was still highly connected in Rome, as is evidenced by his dedication of the *Table Talks* (*Quaest. conv.*) and the *Parallel Lives*, two of his most magisterial works, to a prominent Roman official, Sosius Senecio. Furthermore, we find many instances of Romans and others visiting him in Chaironeia, indicating the reach and respect that Plutarch had earned at this point in his career.²⁰ Indeed, it seems that Plutarch did receive some benefits from these associations, such as earning Roman citizenship from his friend Mestrius Florus, as well as potential honours from Emperor Trajan.²¹

Although the details of Plutarch's life remain scarce for us today, these incidental remarks that he makes in passing allow us to reconstruct many aspects of his education, travels, career, and successes that help us to better understand how a philosopher from a small Boiotian polis could potentially reach the ears of the Roman Emperor. This thesis will tease apart how the details Plutarch mentioned about his own life in Chaironeia, in Boiotia, and of his social network framed the narrative of his works and spoke to his present circumstances. For, although Plutarch mainly focuses on the past, we find through these passing references that his message was very much meant for the present.

¹⁹ Jones 1971: 28; Russell 1973: 10.

²⁰ For more on Sosius Senecio and Plutarch's relationship to him, see Chapter 3, pages 381-4. Plutarch's social network and the visitors he receives in Chaironeia are discussed at length throughout Chapter 3. Note also that Sosius Senecio was not the only Roman to receive a dedication, with at least eight other works dedicated to Romans (Stadter 2014a: 9, 33).

²¹ Roman citizenship: Jones 1971: 22, 49; Stadter 2014a: 34-6. Cf. Chapter 3, pages 377-8. Honours from Trajan: *Suda* A 4735 (Adler 1967-71). Cf. Chapter 3, pages 423-5.

Literature Review

Each chapter of this thesis has a dedicated literature review of the main subjects related to that chapter's inquiry. Here, I briefly cover two important topics that loom over the entire study, that is, Plutarch and the notion of localism and globalism in the ancient world.

Scholarship on Plutarch

Scholarship on Plutarch and his oeuvre comes from many different directions. It is from the seminal 1951 work of Konrat Ziegler and his study on the *Moralia* and the *Lives* (as well as the network found therein) that interest in Plutarch was re-established. Ziegler firmly rehabilitated Plutarch in the academic world as more than a compiler of facts.²² After Ziegler, we see a flourish of studies up to the present time, summarized best, perhaps, in Mark Beck's 2014 edited volume, *A Companion to Plutarch*. Prior to this, we find numerous studies of various approaches to Plutarch and his works.²³

One of the most popular analyses of Plutarch is that of his approach to history and gathering evidence.²⁴ We find, for example, the 1992 article by John Buckler that investigates Plutarch as a

²² Previously, Plutarch was considered to be a dull compiler with nothing new to offer. See, for example, Mahaffy 1890: 291-2. See Duff (1999: 6) for an explanation of the damage these views, and that of history as a science, caused to Plutarch, as well as the beginning of his rehabilitation in the 1920s (Duff 1999: 8). Cf. Hägg 2012: 251-2. For a fairly recent echo of these older views, see Grant (1995: 39), who argues that Plutarch, "...slavishly reproduced from earlier writers."

²³ For example, scholars have shown an interest in reconstructing Plutarch's life and travels, which is still dominated by the work of Jones 1971: 13-38. Cf. Barrow 1967: 36-42; M. Beck 2014: 1-9; Buckler 1992: 4811-4821; Buckler 1993: 69; Flacelière 1963: 19-20; Russell 1973: 2-10.

²⁴ One of the most prolific scholars who works on this is Pelling. See, for example, Pelling (2002b: 1-44, 65-90) for Plutarch's methods in the composition of the Roman *Lives*. For Plutarch's Roman sources, see: Affortunati and Scardigli 1992; Pelling 2002b: 45-64; Russell 1973: 54-5. For Plutarch's knowledge of Latin: Jones 1971: 82-3, 86; Pelling 2002b: 1-2; Russell 1973: 54; Stadter 2014a: 13, 130-7. For Plutarch and Roman history: Beneker 2010 (glory in the Republican *Lives*); Darbo-Peschanski 2001: 19; Duff 1999: 302-4 (Hellenocentric approach); Geiger 2002 (Republic); Jones 1971: 88-102 (focus on the Republic because of a belief in the subsequent decline of Roman morals); Pelling 1997 (Caesar falls victim to the same forces that brought him success); Swain 1990 (Hellenic culture as imported into Rome); Swain 1996: 135-186 (Romans as lesser than the Greeks and only successful with a Hellenic

source and his use of monuments and inscriptions in his writings. This article, of course, has implications for our understanding of Plutarch's local world, since many of the monuments described in Plutarch's oeuvre are from the battles of Chaironeia, or from his regional world of Boiotia.²⁵ Furthermore, Buckler posits that many of the nautical images throughout Plutarch's corpus were derived from his travels around the empire.²⁶ In Buckler's study we thus find the

education; cf. Duff 2008a for more on Plutarch's views of the Romans and their relationship to Greek education). For Plutarch's views of Rome in relation to Greece: Foxhall 1999 (effects on family and marriage). For Plutarch and Greek history: Geiger 1981: 89; Lamberton 2001: 60; Marincola 2010; Pelling 2002b: 25; Wardman 1974: 154-161, 189-196. For Plutarch's connections to Achaian literary circles, see Bowie 2002. For his use of historians, see the contributions in Stadter 1992. See also: Scardigli 1995: 3-21; Schettino 2014; Wardman 1974: 153, 156. For oral history as a source used by Plutarch, see Pelling 2002b: 18. For Plutarch and his use of poetry, see: Bowie 2014. For the variety of his source research and quotations, see Buckler 1993 (Plutarch was a critical historian who tested his sources; this is echoed by Scardigli 1995: 2); Jones 1971: 81-7; Payen 2014: 235-7 (he calls Plutarch an antiquarian who assembles as much information as possible from as many sources as possible as a result of the connected nature of his times); Pelling 2002b: 148; Russell 1973: 46, 53-61 (often critical of Plutarch's abilities); Schettino 2014: 425; Stadter 2014a: 125. Note, however, the argument made by Hägg (2012: 256-7) that Plutarch mainly utilized one source when composing his *Lives*. For Plutarch's attempts to be historically accurate, see Pelling 2002b: 144; Stadter 2014a: 215. For Plutarch's weaknesses as a historian, see Bosworth 1992 (historical distortion to maximize character traits); Jones 1971: 85 (casual inaccuracy to depict character); Pelling 2002b: 92 (compression of time), Pelling 2002b: 93 (displacement of events), Pelling 2002b: 94-5 (expansion of material and fabrication). Cf. Pelling 2002b: 146 ("...his attempts to reconstruct the political climate of a different age can be disquietingly simple, and he does not always seem to us to give weight to the right evidence or arguments..."), 150-4 ('creative reconstruction'). The study of Plutarch's approach to the research and composition of his works also leads scholars to investigate the composition of his *Lives*. This is most thoroughly discussed by Duff 2011, who argues for a four-part division: proem, first *Life*, second *Life*, *synkrisis*. For more on the programmatic statements found in the proems, see Duff 1999: 14-53; Hägg 2012: 269; Nikolaïdis 2014: 255. For the notion of formal and informal proems, see Stadter 1988 (contra: Duff 2011: 216-220; Duff 2014: 333-349). For the *synkrisis* and its role in closing the *Lives*, see Cooper 2014; Duff 1999: 253, 257, 287; Duff 2011: 242-258; Hägg 2012: 266; Larmour 2014 (the moral 'lynchpin' of the *Lives*); Pelling 2002b: 365-386; Tatum 2010: 3, 10; Verdegem 2010. For the argument of there being internal *synkrisis* in Plutarch's *Lives* that provide cross-fertilization of secondary figures and their role in the same environments, see H. Beck 2002.

²⁵ Chaironeia: Buckler 1992: 4801-5. Boiotia: Buckler 1992: 4805-6. Plutarch's autopsy around Delphi: Buckler 1992: 4808-4811. See Chapter 1, pages 164-7 for more on Plutarch and his approach to the battles of Chaironeia.

²⁶ Buckler 1992: 4800. See also his discussion of Plutarch's presentation of Roman culture and customs (Buckler 1992: 4821-5), though his view that Plutarch cared little for them (Buckler 1992: 4821) is no longer accepted (see, for example, Stadter's 2014a monograph dedicated to Plutarch's approach and interest in Rome, or Pelling [2002b: 1-44] who argues that Plutarch had some detailed knowledge of Roman history and culture before he composed the Roman *Lives* and that, when he did not know a lot, he conducted research). For Plutarch's implicit discussions of contemporary Rome, see: Jacobs 2017b; Nikolaïdis 2017; Payen 2014: 237; Schettino 2002; Stadter 2002b: 227-241; Stadter 2014a: 178. Contra: Barrow 1967: 146; Duff 1999: 67; Geiger 2017 (too cautious to discuss the contemporary world); Pelling 2002a: 215 (Plutarch as avoiding the contemporary to create timeless themes). For an analysis of how these silences, specifically those on Trajan, bring them glaringly to the forefront of his work, see Pelling 2002b: 253-265. See also, Pelling 2010a who views the *Lives* as a sort of global history, built to complement each other. Plutarch's perception of his world as a global one is also investigated by Almagor 2011 and 2017, who argues that Plutarch's perception of Persia is symbolic for his attitude towards Rome (one that is not altogether positive). One of the most interesting pieces of information from this study comes from a footnote (Almagor 2011: 7 n.18), where Almagor argues that Plutarch's follows stereotypes when looking at 'national' character. For more on Plutarch's ethnographic discussions, see Almagor 2013, who argues that Plutarch's ethnic digressions are linked to the themes of the *Life* in which they are included. Cf. Almagor 2014 (*Aratus* and *Artaxerxes*); Mossman 2010 (*Artaxerxes*) For Plutarch and barbarians, see

beginnings of the investigations of Plutarch's local, regional, and global worlds and how these permeated his writings. What we do not see, however, is how and why Plutarch represented Chaironeia and Boiotia in the way that he does.

The other more popular theme is the ethical and moral significance of the *Lives* and the *Moralia*. For example, the 1999 monograph of Timothy Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, outlines Plutarch's views of a moral character and the importance of the anti-moral figures for bringing the nature of his heroes to life.²⁷ Other scholars have built on this by analyzing how Plutarch's approach to the *Lives* and the *Moralia* was reflective of his philosophic (largely Platonic) inclinations.²⁸

Almagor 2017: 133; Schmidt 2000 (the use of doublets and counter-doublets to characterize the barbarians against the Greeks and Romans), 2002 (based on many negative characteristics to bring out the positive traits of the heroes), 2008 (Plutarch does not use extreme judgement against the barbarians in the *Barbarian Questions*, but rather, presents them in a logical and objective fashion so that his contemporaries can gain a better understanding of them), forthcoming (local and global connections of the barbarian references).

²⁷ Cf. Duff 2011. This is also a popular theme of Pelling's 2002b work and the focus of Xenophontos 2016. Cf. Nikolaïdis 2014. Stadter (2014a: 215-230) describes statesmen as moral actors and (2014: 231-245) Plutarch's heroes as mirrors of the soul. For the importance of *euergetism* in Plutarch's works as a moral factor that leads to a good politician, see Roskam 2014. For the use of tragic elements to shape his heroes and thus his moral lessons, see Mossman 1995, 2014. For character as something that is fixed, see Gill 1983 and Wardman 1974: 105, 134-9. For the danger and necessity of ambition, see: Duff 1999: 76-89; Frazier 2014; Stadter 2014a: 169; Swain 1990: 133; Wardman 1974: 117-125. For Plutarch's push that an active public life was important: Jacobs 2017a, 2017b: 3-8; Wardman 1974: 39-40. For the importance of cooperation and harmony, see: Duff 1999: 89-90; Jones 1971: 110-121; Marincola 2010: 135; Wardman 1974: 103-4. For his views on flattery: Whitmarsh 2006. Negative characteristics include: sexual promiscuity (Beneker 2014), luxury (Wardman 1974: 81-3), envy (Wardman 1974: 70-3). For Plutarch's belief that women as inferior to men, see: Blomqvist 1997. For more on Plutarch and his views of love, marriage, and women, see: Albin 1997; Hawley 1999; Russell 1973: 6; Swain 1999; Tsouvala 2014; Xenophontos 2016: 108-125.

²⁸ A thorough study of Plutarch and ethical education is found in Xenophontos 2016. For Plutarch's complicated relationship with Stoicism and the Stoics, see: Opsomer 2002, 2014; Russell 1973: 67, 69. For Plutarch and his knowledge of Epicureanism, see: Kechagia-Ovseiko 2014. For Plutarch and following aspects of Aristotle's philosophy, see: Babut 1996; Becchi 2014; Dillon 2014: 61 (ethics and logic); Swain 1990: 128; Zadorojnyi 2002. For Plutarch as a Platonist, see: Bonazzi 2014; Boulet 2014; Dillon 2010, 2014; Duff 1999: 72, 76; Klotz 2014; Opsomer 1996; Russell 1973: 63, 84-7; Wardman 1974: 50, 203; Xenophontos 2016: 18; Zadorojnyi 2002. For Plutarch's presentation of the soul as a bipartite division of the rational and irrational, see: Stadter 2014a: 239; Wardman 1974: 107-8. Cf. Soares (2014: 381) for more on Plutarch's presentation of the soul and its relationship to physical appearance. Cf. Eyben 1996 for Plutarch's views of children and their development through moral and philosophical teachings. For a summary of what philosophy was during Plutarch's time and its applications, see Trapp 2014a and Trapp 2014b. The Second Sophistic is another important philosophic movement that was gaining traction during Plutarch's lifetime, see: Bowie 1970; Brunt 1994; Webb 2006. For Plutarch and his relationship to the Second Sophistic, see: M. Beck 2014: 1; Schmitz 2014; Zadorojnyi 2014: 308.

These studies, of course, have implications for Plutarch's motivations in writing and the lessons that he wished to impart to his reader.²⁹ From the work of Judith Mossman and her theory of textual 'contact zones', for example, we learn of how Plutarch used encounters between Greeks and barbarians to involve his Roman and Greek audience in an exercise of contact and comparison.³⁰ Similarly, Philip Stadter has been essential to our understanding of Plutarch's communications with his Roman audience.³¹ His most recent monograph, *Plutarch and his Roman Readers*,³² engages with the global aspects of Plutarch's works and their relationships with the power structure of the Roman world. In this, Stadter covers not only who Plutarch's Roman audience was,³³ but also the implications of this Roman audience to, for example, Plutarch's Delphic world.³⁴ He argues, for instance, that Plutarch was ambitious and used his writings to advise those in power.³⁵ Stadter's work thus provides the most recent approach to Plutarch's global world.

²⁹ Plutarch's motivations for writing are widely discussed. For the idea of the *Lives* as being about bringing Greece and Rome together, thus equalizing them see: Hägg 2012: 242-3; Russell 1973: 8; Stadter 2014a: 6; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1995 [1922-6]: 57. For the *Lives* as a moral competition between the Greeks and Romans, see Tatum 2010. Jones (1971: 103-9; echoed in Geiger 2014: 298), however, argues that no bridge needed to be built between the Greek and Romans because they were already one and the same in Plutarch's society and that Plutarch's purpose in pairing a Greek and a Roman was simply artistic to hold the reader's attention. I believe this argument to be an oversimplification of the circumstances in which Plutarch lived, as we will see throughout this thesis. For the notion of *exempla* in Plutarch, see: Barrow 1967: 51-65; Hägg 2012: 273; Jacobs 2017a; Jacobs 2017b; Jiménez 2002; Stadter 1988: 293; Stadter 2014a: 230-8; Van der Stockt 2014: 323; van Hoof 2014; Zadorojnyi 2010.

³⁰ Mossman 2006. See, especially pages 286-7 for an explanation of the reflective nature of these episodes for the Greeks and Romans alike.

³¹ Stadter 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2010, 2014a, 2014b. See also, n. 13 above, for more references relating to Plutarch's approach to Rome. Note, however, that Plutarch's Roman connections was also a topic of interest for Jones 1971: 48-64. For Plutarch and Roman politics as focused on the *demos-boule* conflict, see Pelling 2002b: 207-236. For Plutarch's view that Greece is indebted to Rome, see: Boulogne 1994: 36-51. Cf. Barrow 1967: 22; Boulogne 1994; Bowie 1997; Buckler 1992: 4821-5; Lamberton 2001: 1-4, 19-21; Russell 1973: 8-9.

³² Stadter 2014a.

³³ Including the notion of whether Plutarch's Roman connections were friends or patrons (Stadter 2014a: 21-44).

³⁴ Stadter 2014a: 70-81.

³⁵ Stadter 2014a: 45-55.

As the spatial turn in historical research became more popular,³⁶ it also naturally became a topic of inquiry for Plutarch and his understanding of the world. See, for example, the contributions in the 2017 volume *Space, Time and Language in Plutarch*, edited by Aristoula Georgiadou and Katerina Oikonomopoulou. In it, Christopher Pelling and Frederick E. Brenk explore Plutarch's conceptions of space in Delphi, while M. Beck looks at narrative techniques used by Plutarch in relation to his protagonists' actions with places and physical remains.³⁷ Another noteworthy contribution, is Françoise Frazier's tackling of how Plutarch created landscapes of living memory in Athens.³⁸ Other chapters, such as Oikonomopoulou's and Maria Ruffy's, investigate the use of space in certain treatises.³⁹ However, none of the articles look at Plutarch's hometown of Chaironeia. My thesis aims to fill this gap.

We also see a focus on place in Plutarch in those studies that examine Plutarch's presentation of his world as one that was global and connected.⁴⁰ For example, John Scheid combines the idea of

³⁶ The spatial turn in historiography: Withers 2009 (how place is defined in history and geography and how the connection between them can be strengthened). Georgiadou and Oikonomopoulou (2017: 2) explain the importance of the spatial turn: "As scholarship has repeatedly shown, geographical locations and locals in ancient texts are not merely background settings for action or discussion, nor are they always portrayed in terms that we associate with 'scientific' geography: rather, ancient authors represent or imagine spaces in ways that are suggestive of how those spaces were experienced by human agents, and invested with emotions and ideas by them". My study then, explores how Plutarch experienced places, in particular, how he experienced Chaironeia and Boiotia in relation to the larger world of the Roman Empire. For more on the spatial turn in History and Classics, see: H. Beck 2020: 3-4, 207-212; Georgiadou and Oikonomopoulou 2017: 1-14; Malkin 2011: 12-3.

³⁷ Pelling 2017: 15-24; Brenk 2017: 79-86; M. Beck 2017: 25-42.

³⁸ Frazier 2017: 43-54.

³⁹ Oikonomopoulou 2017: 107-118 (*Quest. Graec.*); Ruffy 2017: 237-246 (*De exil.*).

⁴⁰ Stadter 2002c: 1-26. Cf. Pelling 2010a, who argues that Plutarch's composition of the *Lives* was meant as a reflection of his global world, thus becoming a global history. See also, Hirsch-Luipold 2014 and his concept of Plutarch investing in a sort of 'polylatric monotheism' that incorporated many different religions and ideas in his work, thus making it a representation of the global world in which he lived. For Plutarch's travels to Egypt, see Jones 1971: 15; Russell 1973: 7. For Plutarch in Asia Minor, see Russell 1973: 6-7. For Plutarch in Rome as well as his Roman friendships, see above, n.31. For Plutarch's friendships, see: Jones 1971 (references throughout); Swain 1990: 129-131; Van der Stockt 2002: 115-140; van Meirvenne 2002; Xenophontos 2016: 126-150, 173-194. For Plutarch's relationships with the Roman emperors, see Chapter 3, pages 406-427 and the contributions in Stadter and Van der Stockt's 2002 edited volume, *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98-117 A.D.)*.

space and place in Plutarch's presentation of Rome.⁴¹ What we do not find in scholarship, however, is how Plutarch represented his local and regional worlds to his audience and the implications of this for the composition of his works. Here is where my thesis comes in.

The study of Plutarch, his works, and his world is ever evolving.⁴² My project fills a gap in the scholarship by engaging Plutarch's world with the conversation between Hans Beck's notion of localism, Horden and Purcell's interconnectivity, and Irad Malkin's theory of network connectivity.⁴³ No one has analyzed Plutarch's world in terms of networks, connectivity, and degrees of connection in order to understand Plutarch's lived experience. This is a completely new approach to Plutarch and his works that fits within the growing scholarly trend of localism, regionalism, and globalism in the ancient world. While the question of how and why Plutarch used the Greek past under the Roman Empire has been treated extensively by scholars,⁴⁴ my approach of investigating Plutarch's networks helps us look beyond Plutarch's works as solely a literary endeavour, or evidence to be used to fill in gaps in the historical narrative. Instead, with a literary, historical, and archaeological approach, my thesis adds new nuances to our understanding of the world in which Plutarch lived, how that world was interconnected, and the ways in which Plutarch used his local and regional spheres to send a message to his audience.

⁴¹ Scheid 2012a.

⁴² See, for example, the discovery of fragments from Plutarch's *Caesar*: Schmidt, Bagnoud, Gindrat, Moneventi, and Nasel 2013. See also the study by Schmidt 2013, which shows the extent of the papyri distribution of Plutarch's works for which Schmidt argues is evidence that he gained fame either during his lifetime or shortly thereafter.

⁴³ H. Beck 2020; Horden and Purcell 2000, 2020; Malkin 2011.

⁴⁴ See above, notes 26, 27, 30.

Local and Global Worlds

It would be impossible, however, to investigate the local, regional, and global aspects of Plutarch's world without first understanding the trends in scholarship associated with localism and globalism. These will be briefly laid out here. Note, however, that the studies associated with the individual spheres of Plutarch's life (Chaironeia, Boiotia, Network Connections) are found in their respective chapters.

Edmund Husserl states it nicely when he says that, "(c)onsciousness of space belongs in the sphere of phenomenological givens, i.e., the consciousness of space is the lived experience in which 'intuition of space' as perception and phantasy takes place."⁴⁵ It is thus the human experience of space as something real and something imagined that changes that space into a place.⁴⁶

Discovering this human experience for the ancient world, however, can be difficult. This stems from a lack of information as well as the inherent biases and lenses through which both the authors and modern scholars interpret the evidence.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, there have been numerous promising studies of space in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds that are bringing us closer to understanding these aspects as well as that of human experience.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Husserl 1964: 23.

⁴⁶ Harvey 1996: 231, 291-328 (space as social constructs); Laurence 2007 (Pompeii as a case study); Lefebvre 1991: 1-67 (3 spaces: imagined space, physical space, and social space). Withers 2009 provides a thorough investigation of space and place in Classics (with a strong literature review) that includes the idea of a tripartite division in Classics of cosmography, geography, chorography (2009: 639).

⁴⁷ For more on the methodological difficulties of this kind of study, see the relevant section below on pages 21-3. H. Beck (2020: 18) also laments the frequent loss of the local discourse in our sources.

⁴⁸ See, for example, de Polignac 1995 (temples and cults and their relationship to the polis and hinterland that grants meaning to human experience); Hölscher 2012 (transformation of the polis through time and experience); Marcus and Sabloff 2008 (cities have a sense of placeness); Osborne 2015 (cities and their relationship to power); Purcell 2012 (Roman forum as central); Renfrew 2008 (transformations of the centrality of cities over time); Tirado 2018 (domestic spatial symmetry and the idea of control in Roman houses in Spain); Trigger 2008 (multidisciplinary approach to cities is essential to understanding their cross-cultural uniformity as products of human behaviour).

The idea of the local world in the ancient Mediterranean is most thoroughly discussed by H. Beck in his 2020 monograph, *Localism and the Ancient Greek City-State*. H. Beck defines the local horizon as comprising, “...its natural environment, social practices, and patterns of reasoning”,⁴⁹ all of which provide a sense of belonging for the inhabitants.⁵⁰ This communicative script was characterized by two separate areas: the physical and the imagined space. The physical space is subject to human mobility, a ‘manageable, accessible realm’ of the everyday lives of its inhabitants (approximately a 5-6 km radius, or a two hour walk).⁵¹ This space is determined through its infrastructure, modes of communication, and the natural environment. All of these then come into play in the imagined realm, where relationships, sacred rituals, and modes of definition become a source of connected knowledge and meaning.⁵²

⁴⁹ H. Beck 2020: 1. Cf. H. Beck (2020: 29) who adds that, “(t)he semantics of place are interrelated with cultural conduct. Rather than a mere geographical concept, the local is deeply interwoven with social and cultural currents.”

⁵⁰ H. Beck 2020: 3. As he explains (H. Beck 2020: 2), this local discourse was entrenched in ideas of ‘self’ and ‘other’, brought a sense of belonging, and was, “...shaped by a polyphony of voices and a plurality of realms where conversations between shifting groups of speakers and audiences took place. Despite complex and nuanced differentiations within, the unifying element of the discourse was that voice and place were bracketed by the horizon of directness; the local delineated a communicative boundary” (H. Beck 2020: 34). This environment, however, was, “...dense and subject to swiftly changing constellations” (H. Beck 2018: 17). Also note the study by Goldhill 2010 that explores the rhetoric surrounding local identity (built through a complex act of culture marking).

⁵¹ H. Beck 2018: 23; H. Beck 2020: 3-4, 30-2. Cf. H. Beck (2020: Figure 1.5) for a visual depiction of the various aspects of the local world. See also, H. Beck (2020: 75-120) for the importance of sense to the human experience and the connection of this to the local world. For an example of the sense experience of Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, pages 88-9.

⁵² H. Beck 2018: 24-5; H. Beck 2020: 26-9, 33-4. See also Jones 2010, who shows how historical figures, gods, and heroes can be appropriated for self-enhancement, how the mythical stories of cities can be used for requesting imperial favour, and how individual genealogies were used for building relationships with neighbouring cities. In other words, Jones demonstrates how the imagined realm could be used practically in local, regional, and global negotiations and connections. Cf. Woolf 2010 (local identity construed relationally in terms of ancestries and places). The idea of local knowledge cultures can be found in Hall 2013. Note that this meaning can provide a sense of belonging, of fixity in place, but that it also changes through time. For change in the local world, see Hitchner 2008: 8. I am not, therefore, arguing for the local as a static entity, but rather one that contains elements of shared collective memory, of landscapes of meaning, and of local discourses. See, however, Szeman and James (2010: xiv-xv) for their criticism that the definition of local changes from study-to-study. However, they also argue (2010: xv) that this lack of definition can be solved with a scalar approach that looks at relationships rather than a dichotomy of local-global.

Plutarch's insights into his local and regional history is an important aspect of decoding his local world and its knowledge cultures.⁵³ Pam Hall describes these knowledge cultures as 'local voices' that engage with us in our everyday lives.⁵⁴ The oral traditions of Chaironeia and Boiotia contributed to their respective local knowledge cultures by adding to the cult of memory of the region, something that was a part of Plutarch's everyday lived experience through their retelling and in their visual representations in inscriptions, war memorials, and art.

In order to supply meaning, however, the local must extend to a broader context as a means for comparison from which it can find both a sense of other and similarity.⁵⁵ As such, the local, regional, and global become intermixed and intermingled.⁵⁶ We must, therefore, investigate the global arena in order to bring meaning to the local world.

⁵³ Beyond his world of Chaironeia (discussed in Chapter 1), Plutarch demonstrated a knowledge of other local cultures that spoke to his awareness of the importance of the local to culture and peoples. This, as a result, implies that there is a local fixity in terms of traditions and collective memory that is intelligible to an outside audience, like Plutarch. See, for example, his explanations on the local character of certain populations: Athens: *Prae. ger. reip.* 3 (799c-d); Carthage: *Prae. ger. reip.* 3 (799d); Sparta: *Lyc.* 19.2 (brevity in speech), *Cleom.* 9.1-4 (traditions and their relationship to Spartan character). We also find examples of 'othering' in Plutarch, thus implying that Plutarch was using the 'global' lens of his world to give meaning and belonging to certain groups. See, for example, *Conv. sept. sap.* 2 (148b) where he explained why skeletons were present at dinners in Egypt. Or in *Praec. Conj.* 16 (140b), we find an explanation of the Persian kings and how they interacted with their wives at dinner. Again, in *Praec. Conj.* 35 (143a-b), we have an example of the marriage practices in Leptis and how this differed from Greek marriage rites. Furthermore, Plutarch linked behaviour during mourning to the character of a people in *Consol. ad Ap.* 22 (113a-b).

⁵⁴ Hall 2013. For the intellectual world of the ancient Mediterranean, see: Eshleman 2012. Plutarch receives his knowledge from many sources. For example, at dinners (*Quaest. conv.* 1.0 [612d-e]), from letters (*De E delph* 1 [384e]), oral traditions (*Dem.* 31.4; *De cap. ex inim. util.* 6 [89e-f]), travels (*De lib. ed.* 20 [14b-c]; *De Is. et Os.* 16 [357c]; *Alex.* 7.3; *Luc.* 10.3; *Sul.* 2.1; *Otho* 14.1-2, 18.1), and writings (*Alex.* 42.1-2; *Cic.* 2.4; *Rom.* 8.7).

⁵⁵ In this way, the regional sphere becomes a necessary component to any discussion of the local, as it provides interactions that help to shape this inside-outside perspective. See, for example, the arguments of Rousset 2008, who pushes us to look at regional patterns to better understand the local. My study will do this in Chapter 2. The further we move away from the local, into the global arena, for instance, the stronger that local definition becomes. In a way, the expansion of our investigation provides what is a seemingly contradictory leaning, a sort of gravitational pull that brings meaning to a local space. The idea of locality as being relational rather than spatial or scalar is found in Appadurai 1996: 178 (the idea of the global world as one that is multiscalar is expressed by Feinman 2017: 43). See also, Alcock, Gates, and Rempel 2005: 371; Goldhill 2010: 49-50; Schuerkens 2004b; Voisey and O'Riordan 2001: 37-9; Woolf 1994. Cf. H. Beck (2020: Figure 1.6) for a visual depiction of the connections of the local world to its regional and global counterparts. For more on the idea of the local and the 'other' see: Blue 2007. For network dynamics as enhancing the awareness of Greek commonalities, see Malkin 2011: 205-224.

⁵⁶ Hence the term 'glocal': Brenner 1998 (note, however, that Brenner uses the term for modern Europe, not the ancient world); Holton 2011: 14; Müller 2016; Pitts and Versluys 2014: 14; Robertson 1995 (we need to disengage with the

Studies concerning the global aspects of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds are numerous.

Building, of course, from both Malkin and Horden and Purcell,⁵⁷ we find other scholars who also discuss the difficulties⁵⁸ and merits⁵⁹ of such interpretations.⁶⁰ While there is some doubt as to the

local-global polarity and instead see them as combined and intertwined); Roudometof 2016: 2, 47-8; Schuerkens 2004a: 2; Voisey and O’Riordan 2001: 38; Witcher 2017a: 643. H. Beck (2020: 6-7) suggests a solution to the problem: “The paradox is resolved with reference to the omnipresence of tightly meshed networks that provided the infrastructure and interface of interaction. In this ‘Hellenic Wide Web,’ the boundedness of place was subject to high-powered connectedness that added its own taste to prevailing identities of place”. Cf. Hingley 2005: 91-116; Hodos 2017: 4-7.

⁵⁷ See above, pages 2-3, 13.

⁵⁸ For the difficulties surrounding the use of certain terms, like ‘globalization’, see: Gills and Thompson 2006: 2; Hingley 2014; Hodos 2017: 4; Holton 2011: 1-30; Müller 2016; Pitts and Versluys 2014: 10-14; Robertson 1995; Seland 2008: 67; Voisey and O’Riordan 2001: 25-30; Witcher 2014: 203. Cf. the contributions in the 2017 edited volume by Hodos, in which every article attempts to define ‘globalization’, thus speaking to the difficulty of the term. For the term ‘romanization’ see: Hingley 2005: 14-48 and 2014: 39 (we should abandon the term because of its association with European and American imperialism. I am in agreement with Hingley); Le Roux 2004; Versluys 2014b (use it to understand objects in motion). Cf. Pitts and Versluys (2014: 10) and Davies (2015: 239-256), who outline some of the difficulties of using modern theories (such as that of the world system theory) and applying them to the Roman and Greek world, respectively. See also O’Riordan and Church 2001: 3-24 for definitions and theories related to globalization, localization, globalism, and localism (all in relation to sustainability in the modern world).

⁵⁹ For the merits of undertaking global investigations, see Appadurai 2001: 1-21; Boozer 2012 (allows us to interpret the Roman Mediterranean in terms of homogeneity and heterogeneity at the local level; the idea of ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ globalizations); Collar, Coward, Brughmans, and Mills 2015 (the importance of network theory for archaeology); Egri 2017: 539 (network theory allows us to look beyond economic and elite actions for more examples of connectivity); Gardner 2013 (creates a more rounded view of ancient Rome and its empire); Hannerz 2010 (connectedness of local cultures); Hingley 2014; Hitchner 2008 (a general argument in favour of approaching the ancient world through a global lens); Hodos 2014 (globalization is the best model that we have for understanding interactions in the Roman world); Holton 2011: 1-30; Knappett 2017 (how networks provide the tools for analysing connectivities across space and time, arguing for the social nature of these connections, beyond material and spatial ones); Morley 2014 (so long as it is not used to compare the ancient world to the modern); Nederveen Pieterse 2014 (globalization in Roman studies helps us approach its history); Pitts 2014 (to understand ancient consumerism); Pitts and Versluys 2014: 7-8; Smith 2005 (network models allow us to better understand the ancient world than mapping, as they come closer to the ancient conceptions of space and connectivity); Starr and Adams 2003 (allows us to assess changes at the local level); Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015 (network thinking for the ancient Greek world allows for a range of theoretical approaches); Versluys 2014a (the theory of globalization is a helpful one for understanding the relationship and disconnect between what we see as different cultures and material cultures in the Roman Mediterranean); Witcher 2017b (the ‘global countryside’ is a useful concept that helps us understand the dialogue between the local and the global and gives agency to both parties); Woods 2007 (though this focuses on modern rural landscapes, it is an important call for place-based studies of globalization as experienced in rural localities, something that this thesis does with the investigations on the rather small and rural Chaironeia).

⁶⁰ Other discussions of the global nature of the ancient world include: Alcock, Gates, and Rempel 2005: 371; see the contributions in Alcock, Egri, and Frakes 2016 for local art mixing with Roman influences; Ando 2010 (the things that made a local culture unique were used by the Romans as a means of control); H. Beck 2020: 5; Constantakopoulou 2015 (federal *koina* was a local reaction to the challenges of a larger world); Clarke 2005 (how the process of globalization aided new modes of connectivity seen, for example, in the production of local histories [honorific inscriptions used as evidence]). For more on local histories, see Schepens 2001 [polis historiography as crucial for a sense of historical identity]; van Dommelen 2017 (we must look at the local to understand the global in the Greek Classical Period); Eidinow 2015 (Greek religion needs to be conceptualized as a series of networks); Gills and Thompson 2006: 1-15; Glatz 2009 (superimpose geographical and chronological patterns of change to move away from a core-centric and top-down classification to understanding an empire. Note that while the time period and

applicability of the term ‘global’ to the ancient world,⁶¹ I conceptualize the notion of ‘global’ as a large, relational, interconnected entity, rather than as a geographic descriptor. In this way, the term ‘global’ is something that changes and fluctuates with time and is thus more connected to the human experience than to the geographic confines of a map.⁶² Furthermore, since some ancient

location of this article are not relevant to my work, the ideas and methodology applied are. First, they are looking at an empire in terms of a network. Second, this empire is an ancient one); Graham and Weingart 2015 (the networks of the Roman brick industry as being similar to a Bazaar economy); Hitchner 2008; Holton 2011: 31-63; Hingley 2005: 1-13; Isayev 2014 (argues that the world was a global connected one long before Rome’s hegemony, and uses Plautus, Polybius, and archaeological records from Pithekoussai and *tesserae hospitales* as evidence of these connections); Ismard 2015 (spatial location of networks and their scales [case study of the *Tetaapolis* at Marathon]); Jennings 2017: 12-28 (multiple globalizations throughout history); Killgrove and Montgomery 2016 (they look at small scale immigration into Rome and diets as examples of human mobility and the connected nature of the Roman world); Laurence and Trifliò 2014 (cities in the Roman Empire as being 200%: 100% local and 100% global); Manning 2018 (economic dynamics of the ancient Mediterranean. See especially pages 17-38 for an introduction to and literature review of premodern economics); Morley 2014 (economy); Morris 2003 (argues for a shift in scholarship from models that emphasize the stability of bounded cultures to ones emphasizing fluidity and connectedness is a response to globalization; see this article for a thorough literature review of globalization in the ancient world); Müller 2016; Pitts and Versluys 2014: 3-31; Prowse et al. 2007 (immigration to Rome as being more than just male adults, but also children); Scheidel 2014 (the cost of connectivity in the Roman Empire, using the ORBIS project); Seland 2008; Spawforth 1996 (movements of peoples in the early Roman Empire and principate); Sweetman 2007 (case study of Roman Knossos, which, Sweetman argues, underwent a slow process of globalization); Taylor 2015 (networks as creators of social capital); Whitmarsh 2010: 1-16 (the global world of the Roman Empire increased local awareness as a means of identity); Wilkinson 2006; Witcher 2014 (Roman cultural heritage); Witcher 2017a (uses the Roman road system and human mobility in the ancient world to explore smaller-scale examples of ancient globalization). Cf. U. Beck 2004 for a discussion of globalization and cosmopolitanism in the modern world. See Holton 2011: 158-188 for a discussion of the effects of globalization on ethnicity. For ethnicity in the ancient world, see: Gruen 2013 (ethnicity as tied to collective identity and lineage); Hall 1997: 1-16 (overview of the terms, theories, and approaches); Kim 2009: 1-38 (ethnicity as defined by ‘othering’); Skinner 2012: 3-58 (the development of ethnography). For the effects of globalization on culture, see Appadurai 1996: esp. pp. 1-18; Holton 2011: 189-219. For more on the term ‘culture’ and the difficulties with this term, see Rasmussen 2012: 113; Valsiner 2012: 6.

⁶¹ For the argument that globalization is a purely modern phenomenon, see: Naerebout 2006-7; Robertson 1992: 8-31; Robertson 2017: 54-66.

⁶² Here, I apply the term ‘human condition’ as a descriptor related to the studies of globalization, after Holton 2011: 24-5. I also agree with Hitchner (2008: 2) that, “...globalization is in spatial terms more a matter of relative perception than physical reality.” Cf. Hitchner (2008: 3-4), Morley (2014: 59), and Pitts and Versluys (2014: 17) for more on the idea of globalization as a relative concept. My definition, therefore, is similar to that of Hodos (2017: 4): “...globalization itself may be defined as processes of increasing connectivities that unfold and manifest as social awareness of those connectivities” or Jennings (2017: 13). Jennings (2017: 14-16) sets out eight aspects of globalization: [1] time-space compression; [2] deterritorialization; [3] standardization; [4] unevenness; [5] homogenization; [6] cultural heterogeneity; [7] re-embedding of local culture; [8] vulnerability. We see all of these in Plutarch’s discussion of his world. First, time-space compression in the mention of two acquaintances who had gone to opposite ends of the earth (see Chapter 3, pages 389-371). We find deterritorialization in his presentations of Delphi as a global local world (see, for example, his representations of this space in *De E delph.* and *De Pyth. or.*). In terms of standardization as well as the fifth concept of homogenization, his attempts to explain Greek and Roman customs through the other is demonstrative of this bridging of the gap between cultures (see, for example, his *Quaest. Rom.* and *Quest. Graec.*, or his attempts to standardize their calendars for chronological synchronicity in, for example, *Rom.* 12.2, or his efforts to create monetary understanding [*Sull.* 1.4], as well as Chapter 2, pages 301-2). The fourth concept, unevenness, is of course evident in his knowledge that Rome holds power (see, for example, his push for harmony with Rome: see above, note 27). The last concept, that of cultural heterogeneity is evident in both his presentations of the

authors perceived of their world as global, this notion should be considered in the context of the ancient world.⁶³

Main Questions

When I began my investigations, I asked one main question: What kind of wine did Plutarch drink? Did he grace his table with wine from his local world, that is his hometown of Chaironeia and its surrounding region of Boiotia, or did he prefer to drink imported products that were available to him from the global market of the Roman Empire? These are seemingly innocent questions, yet their prospective answers could contain a plethora of information about Plutarch and his views of the world.

unique aspects of Chaironeia (see Chapter 1, pages 156-171), as well as those of Boiotia (see Chapter 2, pages 272-331). Plutarch's presentation and explanations of Chaironeia's traditions (see Chapter 1, pages 162-164) is emblematic of the seventh concept, that of the re-embedding of local culture. Finally, vulnerability and interdependence is demonstrated through Plutarch's presentation of Boiotia as a regional unit, worthy of consideration (see Chapter 2, pages 284-331).

⁶³ This is even evident, for example, in Plutarch's conception of what connected cities, implying that there were universal cultural connectors, like the gods and holy places (*Adv. Col.* 31 [1125e]). He also gave some indication of what he saw as global boundaries (the Hyrcanian sea and Asia) in *Luc.* 36.6. Interestingly, in *Sull.* 2.1, Plutarch explained how a jester in Athens created a verse about Sulla's appearance. This suggests that there was a knowledge culture that was travelling long distances. Seland (2008: 69) points to Strabo and Ptolemy, who both acknowledge that their views of the world are incomplete, but they nevertheless have a conception of the inhabited (*oikoumene*) and uninhabited (*ge/gaia*) world, thus implying an appreciation of a global world. Sommer 2014 looks at the oration of Aelius Aristides as illustrating the global character of the Roman world. See also, Inglis and Robertson 2005, who show that all kinds of global thought processes were present after the death of Alexander the Great and into the Roman Empire (such as with Polybius). Note that Plutarch seems to present a similar idea when he explained how Alexander brought culture to the 'barbarian' peoples he encountered: *De Alex. fort.* 5 (328c-e). This implies that Plutarch saw Alexander as a unifying force, one that brought together peoples and united them through culture. In an earlier article, Inglis and Robertson 2004 use Polybius to show how the ancient Greeks thought outside of the boundaries of their polis. They believe that the idea of society as a bounded entity derives from the ideas of the classical polis and that we need to look beyond Athens to the Hellenistic thinkers, who shared similar concerns and issues with the modern world, in order to understand the beginnings and underpinnings of 'global' thinking. So, after looking at the flaws of only regarding Plato and Aristotle, they look at what ancient Greeks called 'universal history' as an alternative to the polis. In yet a third article, Inglis and Robertson 2006 argue that Greek and Roman 'global *animus*' is evidence that a global consciousness existed prior to modernity. Cf. Hitchner 2008: 2.

This project explores those world views as they shine through the two great writings of Plutarch, the *Parallel Lives* and the *Moralia*. Specifically, in this study I ask one main question: what local, regional, and global trends permeated Plutarch's life and how did he commemorate them in his writings? Understanding the aspects of Plutarch's everyday lived experience helps us gain insight not only into his motivations in writing, but also into the potential reach of an elite man of the Greek world during the first and early second centuries CE. New interpretations of his oeuvre and the messages that he wished to impart to his readers will thus emerge.

There are, of course, many sub-questions that arise from this inquiry. For example, I ask what defined Plutarch's local world and how we can understand its relationship to its regional counterpart of Boiotia, as well as to the Roman Empire. When thinking about these interconnections, I also ask how his local world was interpreted and reinterpreted through the different lenses of local, regional, and global spheres. How did Plutarch understand this connectivity? How was all of this reflected in his writings? I approach these inquiries through his global exchanges and through his local and regional experiences. As a citizen of Chaironeia and of the Roman Empire, and as the author of two magisterial works, Plutarch found himself placed between these worlds. His writings, therefore, are a choice case study that allow us to explore how he negotiated that position.

Plutarch's place in these local, regional, and global spheres raises many questions about Plutarch's contexts, such as: how did Plutarch look at, or was he even aware of, global interactions in his everyday life? Did he pushback or embrace this global world? In other words, where did he see

his role as a Chaironeian living under the Roman Empire?⁶⁴ Further, can we interpret his oeuvre as a response to globalization, one in which we see a new frame of reference on the local, a sort of counter-imperial discourse against a vision of global uniformity?⁶⁵

Lastly, we cannot neglect the questions associated with the local world of Chaironeia. For example, is there any indication of a cult of memory in Plutarch's works? If so, what collective memory was being projected to the audience and for what purpose? Where and why did Plutarch weave local contexts into the *Lives* and the *Moralia*? These are the sub-questions that drive my thesis.

Methodological Challenges

There are always issues in approaching the ancient world. From the lack of surviving evidence, to missing voices of the poor, children, and women, investigations of the ancient world are fraught with methodological challenges that we must acknowledge to alleviate some of their effects. In each of my chapters, the associated methodological challenges for that sphere (local, regional, global) are discussed. Therefore, here, I only briefly survey some of the main themes that recur in each section.

First, Plutarch wrote for an audience. His works, therefore, necessarily had a motivation that might or might not be evident to the reader. As a result, it is important to always consider the message that Plutarch was trying to impart to fully grasp the context and meaning of a passage. By

⁶⁴ This, of course, brings us to the question of audience and for whom Plutarch was writing, which also gives us an indication of the far-reaching nature of his social network. He wrote for the elite: Lamberton 2001: 22 (youth); Stadter 1988: 292-3 (politically active and educated); von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1995 [1922-6]: 68 (educated); Wardman 1974: 41 (philosophically trained). For a Greek audience: Duff 1999: 302; Jones 1971: 110-1; Stadter 2014a: 233-4; Wardman 1974: 1-48. For his Roman audience: Nikolaïdis 2014: 356. For a mixed audience: Russell 1973: 9-10; Stadter 2002c: 5; Stadter 2014a: 1, 9, 45-55.

⁶⁵ Such as how Whitmarsh explains Pausanias' work (2010: 2).

understanding why he wrote and why it was significant, we gain insight into the man and the manner in which his work was presented. This also highlights some of the issues of Plutarch as a source. Since writers are consciously or unconsciously subjective in their descriptions of the past, the account of every individual and event is affected by their education, beliefs, ideologies, and culture. Plutarch is no exception. As a Greek living in the Roman Empire of the first and early second centuries CE, long divorced from the democracy of Athens, educated and surrounded by the ideas of the Second Sophistic,⁶⁶ engaged with the local and global intellectual networks, and writing hundreds of years after the Greeks he selected as heroes, Plutarch took liberties in the *Lives* and the *Moralia* in his portrayals of the men and events they recalled. This is especially evident as Plutarch wrote with a moral purpose.⁶⁷ It is thus imperative that Plutarch's audience and aims are considered when we explore the narratives he created for his local, regional, and global worlds.⁶⁸

Using Plutarch's understanding of his local, regional, and global worlds also creates another problem, that of silences. As an elite man who was well connected to the upper echelons of Rome, Plutarch did not speak for the poor, slaves, women, or children who might have been a part of his everyday lived experience. We catch glimpses of these people through his works,⁶⁹ but they were all filtered through Plutarch's personal lens and the moral focus of his oeuvre. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that my thesis, while exploring local, regional, and global worlds, is

⁶⁶ See e.g., Swain 1996.

⁶⁷ He tells us that his purpose, for the *Parallel Lives* at least, was not to describe places, but rather, the nature of individuals (*Alex.* 1.2-3). As such Plutarch's writing focused on how he and his contemporaries could improve themselves by understanding the virtues and vices of his subjects. See, for example: Duff 1999, Hägg 2012, Stadter 2014a, Wardman 1974.

⁶⁸ For the methodological issues surrounding Plutarch and Chaironeia, see Chapter 1 pages 35-9. For Plutarch and Boiotia, see Chapter 2, pages 200-1. Lastly, for Plutarch and his global world, see Chapter 3, pages 343-7.

⁶⁹ See, for example, his wife Timoxena and how Plutarch used her example to impart moral lessons to his reader in Chapter 1, pages 146-152. An interesting study that attempts to find the poor and homeless in ancient Greece is that of Ault and Nevett 2005.

only able to do so through the writings and perspectives of one man. As such, my investigation is centered on the individual experience of Plutarch in Chaironeia, Boiotia, and the Roman Empire.⁷⁰

Besides issues with our main literary source, we also encounter problems with the material evidence. Not many extensive archaeological investigations have occurred in Chaironeia or in Boiotia proper. This means that we are relegated to the limited surveys and GIS data that is available for these spaces. As a result, reconstructing the local and regional worlds of Chaironeia and Boiotia during the first and second centuries CE is problematic and leaves us with a blurry picture. Nevertheless, what we do have still speaks volumes. When combined with the information from Plutarch's oeuvre, our picture becomes less blurry. Distorted by Plutarch's lens, perhaps, but clearer.

Despite not having 20:20 vision of the ancient world of Chaironeia, we are nevertheless able to reconstruct many important aspects of the individual experience in this space. We learn about local traditions and instances of collective memory. We hear of regional connections through, for example, intermarriage, religious celebration, and dialect. And we witness an ever-increasingly global world through Plutarch's network of friends, family, and acquaintances. Thus, while we must consider some of the methodological difficulties that occur in each chapter, we cannot forget the significance and import of the information that we do have for bringing these ancient experiences of local, regional, and global connections to life.

⁷⁰ This is not to say, however, that this viewpoint is without merit or interest. Seeing things through Plutarch's eyes grants us insight into the local experience of an elite Hellene under the Roman Empire. Furthermore, Plutarch's extensive corpus allows for various approaches, angles, and topics to be discussed, giving us an opportunity that is not usually afforded. This information is thus invaluable as a resource for reconstructing our local, regional, and global worlds, not only for the implications of intellectual exchange, but also for the ability of a man from a small polis to manoeuvre and intermingle with a variety of peoples, cultures, and ideas.

Thesis Layout

To bring to light the local, regional, and global influences that make up Plutarch's world, I investigate each in a respective chapter. This thesis is thus divided into three chapters that explore each sphere as well as Plutarch's narrative of these entities.

The first chapter, *Plutarch's Chaironeia*, focuses on the local aspects of Plutarch's world and its connections. In it, I examine the physical, imagined, and social realms of Plutarch's hometown to discover its unique characteristics and how these translate into the human experience of this space. To elucidate the ancient experience of Chaironeia, I analyze Plutarch's representation of this local world and what he saw as its defining attributes. By doing so, I am able to uncover some motivations in his writings that grant us better insight into the *Moralia* and *Parallel Lives*, such as Plutarch's desire to establish himself and his local world as *exempla*. This is an important finding that changes how we read his work and interpret his message to his audience. Plutarch was ambitious and we can see this through his presentation of Chaironeia and his life in this polis. This chapter thus accomplishes three things: [1] it locates Plutarch in Chaironeia, [2] it provides a setting and context for his oeuvre, and [3] it establishes this polis as a vibrant place, allowing the discussion to flow to the broader context of his regional world.

In Chapter 2, *An Expanding Horizon: Plutarch's Regional world of Boiotia*, I follow a similar pattern to Chapter 1. I first outline the defining characteristics of his regional world (geography, history, politics) to set the stage for an analysis of Plutarch's representation of Boiotia. Through both numerical and thematic inquiries of Plutarch's references to this region, I create a blueprint of Plutarch's framework for Boiotia. From this, I demonstrate what Plutarch highlighted for his

region, what he downplayed, and what he saw as unique. All these factors then enable me to explore the potential impetus for Plutarch's presentation of Boiotia, and what this meant for his implicit message to his reader concerning the region. Most importantly, I find that Plutarch eagerly represented Boiotia as a place that was equal to the 'greats of Greece', namely, Sparta and Athens. He did so in order to show that Boiotia and its peoples could act as *exempla*, not only of military might, but also of philosophic, musical, and literary influence. In this way, Plutarch responded to the slander of Boiotia as backwards and its people as 'swine'.

As mentioned above,⁷¹ Stadter has thoroughly covered Plutarch's approach to the Roman world, its history, and his audience there. As a result, my study of the global aspect of Plutarch's everyday horizon is not focused on his Roman audience and their world. This is not to say that the Roman readers are ignored in this thesis, as messages about Plutarch's local and regional worlds were sometimes aimed directly at them.⁷² However, since Stadter has covered this territory assiduously, I have chosen to approach the global world of Plutarch in a new way. Chapter 3's *Six Degrees of Connection* is therefore a study of the social network reach that Plutarch had from his hometown of Chaironeia. Here, I build from the work of Ziegler and Bernadette Puech,⁷³ to expand Plutarch's potential network to include not only those mentioned in his works, but also those who were connected to these individuals. I thus offer a new and exciting approach to revealing Plutarch's social network by creating a network map that demonstrates the geographic and social extent of his connections.⁷⁴ This is a new evaluation of Plutarch's social network, one that allows us a new

⁷¹ See pages 11-2.

⁷² See, for example, Chapter 1, pages 182-190 and Chapter 2, pages 284-300.

⁷³ Puech 1992; Ziegler 1951.

⁷⁴ This map is represented both in a social network map (see Chapter 3, page 446) as well as on a traditional geographic map (see Chapter 3, pages 460-475). For some interesting digital humanities projects of the ancient world from which my mapping section was inspired, see: Barker, Bouzarovski, Pelling, and Isaken 2010 (mapping Herodotus); ORBIS (simulates the movement and cost of movement of people throughout the Roman Empire); 2013 Benthos (waters of

visual representation of the collected data, and thus a new visual notion of how global a Greek elite's life could be, even if he stayed in a small polis.

Local Horizons of World Empire

My thesis, while tracing the networks and exchanges of Plutarch's world, also investigates the local and regional idiosyncrasies that appear throughout his oeuvre. As Jürgen Habermas explains in the opening quotation of this introduction, the human mind can, "...reproduce the impressions in memory and preserve them". While we may not have access to Plutarch's mind, we are fortunate enough to have a wealth of his impressions. These descriptions inform us about his world and the views that he wished to impart. However, what Plutarch chose to preserve becomes just as important as what he omitted. Both speak to his overarching message and are assessed in the following pages. We will learn that Plutarch was more ambitious than is generally believed. His works, through their presentation of Chaironeia, Boiotia, his network, and thus his everyday lived experiences, offer a mirror for self-assessment. In this way, Plutarch crafted himself as an *exemplum*, becoming one with the heroes he depicted.

While I still have no answer to what wine Plutarch was drinking, the product of this research has set the table, with invitees from around Chaironeia, Boiotia, and the Roman Empire willing to engage in a lively symposium, wine glasses ready, eagerly awaiting the first sip to discern which flavours Plutarch brings, and whether they will change as the evening progresses.

the Mediterranean basin); 2019 Pelagios Network (interactive map that enables the exploration of the history of places); 2019 Topos Text (mapping texts of the ancient world).

Chapter 1: The Local World of Chaironeia

Indeed, the author of the encomium to Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot race at the Olympic games, whether it was Euripides, as the prevailing assertion holds, or it was someone else, Sosius, he says that the first thing one needs for happiness is to have begun ‘in a famous polis’; but, in my opinion, for someone to be destined to be truly happy, which, for the most part is reliant on character and disposition, **it makes no difference to lead an obscure and humble native town** than to have been born of an unsightly and small mother. For it would be laughable if anyone should think that Iulis, which is a small part of the small island of Kea, and Aegina, which someone of the Athenians urged to be removed as the eyesore of Piraeus, on the one hand would be able to rear good actors and poets, but on the other hand would never be able to rear a man who was lawful, independent, sensible, and generous. For it seems that the other arts, which introduce business and glory, wither away in obscure and humble poleis, **but virtue, like a strong and lasting plant, takes root in any place** when it lays hold of a good nature and an industrious spirit. **For which reason not even we ourselves, if we fall short of thinking and living as we must, we will rightly ascribe this not to the smallness of our native town, but to ourselves.** (Plutarch *Dem.* 1.1-3)⁷⁵

Introduction

Plutarch’s roots were firmly planted in Chaironeia, a small Boiotian town of relatively little fame, save the battles that took place there.⁷⁶ Yet, despite its smallness, and the potential to transplant his life to another polis (or even to Rome), Plutarch remained. Why did Plutarch stay in Chaironeia? Perhaps the quotation above offers us a clue: by remaining in Chaironeia, Plutarch showed how one can benefit one’s hometown, and how one can build one’s virtuous nature,⁷⁷ even

⁷⁵ All translations are my own but are guided and inspired by those found in the Loeb Classical Library.

⁷⁶ Battles that occurred on Chaironeian soil include: 338 BCE (Philip); 245 BCE: Aitolian League vs Boiotian League; 146 BCE (Roman general Matellus defeats 1000 Arkadians); 86 BCE (Sulla vs Mithridates); 1311 CE (Catalans vs Franks – Catalans win); 1823 CE, 1825 CE: Greeks vs Turks during the Greek revolution. It is possible that more conflict occurred in the plain of Chaironeia (such as during the Hellenistic period), however, without further evidence, these are the battles which have been recorded and of which we are aware.

⁷⁷ For more on Plutarch and his idea of virtue, see the thorough study of Duff 1999.

in such an obscure place. By staying and growing into a virtuous man to whom others looked for guidance, it was possible to tend to the local inhabitants, to one's pupils, and to one's family. Plutarch, the strong and hardy plant nourished by the soil of Chaironeia, transformed his lived experience into an *exemplum* for his reader.

Plutarch reiterated the smallness of his native polis:

Indeed, when one undertakes to write a history that is put together with readings that are not at hand nor in the home, but are foreign and widely dispersed with others, for him it is necessary first, above all things, to live in a polis that is famous, fond of elegance, and populous, so that he has plenty of all sorts of books, and through questioning and listening may take in hand such things that escape the notice of writers and are more faithfully preserved in memory, so that he might not render a work that is lacking in many and necessary things. **But, for my part, I live in a small polis and will abide there always, so that it may not become smaller. And while I was in Rome and in other parts of Italy,** I had no leisure to practice the Roman language on account of my public obligations and those who came to me for my instruction in philosophy... (*Dem.* 2.1-2)

Plutarch seems to contradict himself in this passage. He stressed the necessity for an historian to live in a famous city with access to books in plenty and to historical details gained through hearsay and inquiry. While Plutarch might not be considered an historian in the modern sense of the word, his *Parallel Lives* do offer an interpretation of the past through historical characters. He would therefore need historical records to compose his works. Yet he remained in Chaironeia 'lest it become smaller'. Thus, we see here the repetition not only of the smallness of Chaironeia, but also the idea that one could remain in a small town and be virtuous. What makes this more notable is the juxtaposition in this sentence with his travels to Rome. By showcasing this, he offered the reader another clue that tied into the previous sentence: Plutarch remained, but he also traveled to ensure that his history was not deficient. Even more prominent is the mention that he was too busy in Rome to grapple with Latin because of the number of pupils he had to instruct. Through the

structure of this narrative (travel for history; remain in a small town; travel to Rome), Plutarch demonstrated for his reader that, by staying in a small town, you were not at such a disadvantage, but you could still write proper history and gain enough fame to have students from the greatest city in the empire take up so much of your time that you must return home to get anything done. Plutarch thus hinted that his life in Chaironeia was not as simple, backwatered, or isolated as we are initially led to believe.

In this chapter, I bring to life this local world that so defined Plutarch and his writing. To do so, I first present the prominent topographical features of the area and their role in the creation of Chaironeia's local world. I then move onto the history of Chaironeia, including its position in two micro-regions and their effect on the trajectory of Chaironeia's historical processes. History, of course, must work at trying to understand the peoples who were a part of its world and who crafted its narratives. Therefore, I examine the people of Chaironeia, not just the ones whom Plutarch mentioned, but also individuals found in the epigraphic record who also inform us about the local life of the elite during Plutarch's lifetime.⁷⁸ Because this thesis concerns Plutarch and his local world, the last sections of this chapter are in relation to the Chaironeian author's representation of his polis. I investigate both the non-battle narratives as well as the tales of the battles that make his hometown so famous with the *lieux de mémoire* that dotted its landscape.

⁷⁸ In a way, this investigation will combine the 'reality' of the inscriptions with the 'image' that Plutarch presents us. While I do not believe that Plutarch was creating a false impression of his social network, I do argue that he crafts one in which he can benefit the reader through his *exemplum* (see, for example, below, pages 139-156 and Chapter 3, pages 374-380, 420). Thus, by combining the two, we are able to grow his already impressive social network through the names of individuals found in inscriptions whom Plutarch likely met but does not mention.

Throughout, we begin to see that Plutarch's life in Chaironeia was not as country bumpkin as it seemed on the surface. The idea that there were not many elites in Chaironeia, or that his family was the only one that was widely respected,⁷⁹ is questioned. I contend that, despite the difficulties with our evidence,⁸⁰ we have enough to conclude that Chaironeia was not a backwater town, but that it was a part of a connected local world, one in which Plutarch was not the only wealthy individual. Finally, it becomes clear that Plutarch carefully constructed a clever narrative of Chaironeia, one that lent itself to his ambitions both to build himself as a personal *exemplum* and to build his hometown as an *exemplum* of loyalty to Rome.

Scope and Approach

The local world of Chaironeia⁸¹ has not been studied extensively, either archaeologically,⁸² or textually. Besides passing mentions of Chaironeia and its relationship to Boiotia more generally,⁸³ most of what we find on this small polis is related to the battles that were fought on its soil and the reminders of these battles in the landscape.⁸⁴ Apart from the information found in Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen's *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, there is no local history or study of Plutarch's native polis. What I strive to discover, are the unique aspects of Chaironeia that added to the local dimension and everyday lived experience of its inhabitants.

⁷⁹ Russell 1973: 4; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1995 [1922-6]: 49.

⁸⁰ See pages 35-9.

⁸¹ Note that a literature review section has been omitted in favour of including scholarly references relevant to each discussion. This is beneficial not only because Chaironeia has never been systematically studied and largely appears only cursorily when mentioned, which would make a literature review incredibly short, but it also allows for the limited scholarship to remain organized in their respective sections.

⁸² For more on the archaeology of the site and the scholarship surrounding the area, see below, pages 36, 44.

⁸³ For more on Boiotia and its respective scholarship, see Chapter 2, pages 195-8.

⁸⁴ Reminders in the Landscape: Assenmaker 2013 (Sulla's trophies); Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992 (Sulla's trophy); Kalliontzis 2014 (victory monument of 86 BCE); Ma 2008 (funerary monuments of the battle of 338 BCE); Mackay 2000b (Sulla's trophies); Rahe 1981: 84 (Macedonian tumulus). For the *lieux de mémoire*, see below, pages 76-82.

In other words, what can they tell us about Plutarch's representation of his hometown and how this polis contributed to his corpus?

In order to shed some light on this polis with few excavations, I move beyond Chaironeia the battle site to see what else may have affected the lives of its inhabitants. The battles, it is true, must have loomed large and therefore are not neglected. However, once we understand other factors that contributed to this local world, we can begin to craft a narrative of life in Chaironeia that moves beyond conflict. By investigating the unique aspects of Chaironeia we learn more about the local life of an elite Greek male, living under the Roman Empire and how his polis may have affected his ability to write, or his perspective on the world around him. Furthermore, by investigating the local elite world of Chaironeia and its connections, we gain a better appreciation of the interconnected nature of the polis and can perhaps glimpse some local practices. My research, therefore, enables us to understand how interconnected this polis was and the ramifications for this on the people of Chaironeia, on Plutarch, and on his corpus. Plutarch chose to remain in Chaironeia, let us choose to find out why.

This chapter addresses several questions. The first involves the nature of the local world of Chaironeia, namely, how can we understand the everyday local horizon of the inhabitants of this settlement? The unique aspects of Chaironeia may have affected not only how Plutarch wrote, but also what he wrote. For example, the agricultural life of his polis likely influenced his own wealth and the distribution of that wealth, as well as simple things like his diet.⁸⁵ Food brings people together, and Plutarch's *Table Talks* are a perfect example. What kind of food did they consume?

⁸⁵ See below, pages 152-156 for more on Plutarch and dining in Chaironeia.

Was it imported or local? Can we gain any understanding of his connections through his food? These questions are tantalizing not only for the insights they grant into Plutarch and his everyday life, but also for the ability of a provincial elite in a small town to entertain prominent Romans like Sosius Senecio.⁸⁶

Furthermore, by learning about the political life of the village, we gain an advantage into understanding Plutarch's ability to host, amongst other things. In his discussions of putting on festival dinners (*Quaest. conv.* 2.10 [642f]), for example,⁸⁷ we learn not only of Plutarch's responsibilities as eponymous archon, but also of his choices on how to entertain, and the complaints of some locals concerning his practices. We thus gain some insight into Plutarch's idea of how these festivities should be celebrated as well as what he wanted his reader to understand from his self-presentation. But the political history of Chaironeia also becomes important in the way Plutarch represented his hometown. For instance, if Chaironeia had not been loyal to Rome, Plutarch, who understood the dangers of disloyalty,⁸⁸ would have been cautious in his references to his hometown and the narrative constructed around it. The history and political inclinations of Chaironeia are thus essential to understanding the way Plutarch framed his narrative to appeal to current circumstances. As such, this chapter is not simply a micro-history of Chaironeia, but rather attempts to unravel the 'local discourse environment' and its connection to the larger Roman Empire.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ For more on Sosius Senecio and his connection to Plutarch, see Chapter 3, pages 381-4.

⁸⁷ See below, pages 155-6.

⁸⁸ See, for example, the prosecutions of philosophers by Domitian, in Chapter 3, pages 396, 412-414. For more on the potential disloyalty of Chaironeia and Plutarch's possible manipulation of the history of this time, see below, pages 186-9.

⁸⁹ I borrow the term from H. Beck (2018: 16; 2020: 4, 34). As he explains (H. Beck 2020: 2), this local discourse was entrenched in ideas of 'self' and 'other', brought a sense of belonging, and was, "...shaped by a polyphony of voices and a plurality of realms where conversations between shifting groups of speakers and audiences took place. Despite complex and nuanced differentiations within, the unifying element of the discourse was that voice and place were

The contemporary world of Chaironeia and its landscape is another focus for this chapter. In this vein, I ask how we can describe the visual landscape of Chaironeia. This is relevant, first, for the agricultural landscape. The *chora* of Chaironeia and its influence on the *asty* are important to our understanding of elite Greek life in this town. One of our most important clues for unraveling the visual landscape ties the *chora* together with the *asty*, namely, the battle monuments. I thus ask what famous monuments are found in the village and how they appear in Plutarch's narrative. Are they having a conversation, as John Ma suggests?⁹⁰ How would this conversation be understood by the audience? Furthermore, what does Plutarch neglect to tell us, and why?

Plutarch's silences on Chaironeia are one of the most interesting and most challenging aspects of this chapter. His silences help reveal not only what he viewed as being important to impart to his reader, but also what he chose to conceal or pass by, either because it was irrelevant to his overall aim, or because he was developing a certain narrative for Chaironeia. As such, there are some questions that form the basis of this part of my investigation, including: was Plutarch silent on something because he believed this to be obvious to his reader? We may have an indication of this, for example, in the cult of the Egyptian gods in Chaironeia.⁹¹ A further question focuses on what kind of narrative Plutarch was trying to build for Chaironeia. Here, I ask if Plutarch was silent on certain monuments or moments in time because they did not follow his crafted construction of his hometown? In other words, were his silences politically motivated in anyway? Understanding this helps us gain a better perspective on his overall presentation, not only of Chaironeia, but also of

bracketed by the horizon of directness; the local delineated a communicative boundary" (H. Beck 2020: 34). This environment, however, was, "...dense and subject to swiftly changing constellations" (H. Beck 2018: 17).

⁹⁰ Ma 2008.

⁹¹ See below, pages 184-6.

himself. This, ultimately, may enable us to discover the aims and motivations of his self-presentation as an *exemplum*.

Finally, relating to both Plutarch's silences and to the visual landscape of Chaironeia is the epigraphic landscape of the polis. Inscriptions tell a story, one that Plutarch was able to read and one that likely affected his understanding of his hometown. Visual reminders would impact not only Plutarch's experience in Chaironeia, but also that of his visitors. We must therefore ask what visual indicators we have for this written scenery. What do they tell us about the locals who inhabited the polis and potentially passed by these symbols on a regular basis? These questions form the thrust of my investigation of the epigraphic landscape of Chaironeia and the habits found therein. Through epigraphy, we also gain an awareness of visitors to this polis. This further enables us to extend Plutarch's social network connection map (Chapter 3), which, in turn, grants us insight into the interconnected nature of an elite Greek male in a small polis during the first and second centuries CE under the Roman Empire. Not only this, but it reveals other elites of Chaironeia and how they wished to be commemorated. This therefore uncovers aspects of local collective identity, and what they viewed as important to their audience.

By bringing the archaeological and textual landscapes of Chaironeia to life, I show that Chaironeia was not a simple backwater town, as Plutarch portrayed it, but that it was well situated in Greece and served Plutarch's purposes. Staying in Chaironeia allowed Plutarch the freedom to write and formed the backdrop of his corpus. It was thus an essential component to how he presented himself as an *exemplum*. Furthermore, this study reveals that the elites of Chaironeia were connected and that Plutarch, as a member of this social class, was also highly connected. Lastly, I argue that

Plutarch's local world was malleable, flexible, and permeable, not only to the regional spheres, but to other outside sources and trends, such as the Roman Empire. This complicates our understanding of the regions of Greece by showing that the local experience was one that could incorporate multiple places, peoples, and regions, but that ultimately changed through time and space. Plutarch's local world was thus complex, interconnected, and isolated all at the same time. And his presentation of it throughout his works reflects these seemingly contradictory natures.

Methodological Challenges

The paucity of evidence on Chaironeia poses the first challenge to this chapter. First, there have been very few excavations in the area to help construct a complex picture of the polis. Besides investigations on the Lion of Chaironeia, the Macedonian tomb, the theatre, and some rescue excavations,⁹² little archaeological activity is recorded.⁹³ As a result, most of our knowledge of Chaironeia relies on what we learn from the ancient sources. For example, Plutarch tells us that according to legend, Chaironeia was the first city that the Boiotians founded as they migrated from Thessaly (*Cim.* 1.1). This comes as no surprise as the imagined movement of peoples from Thessaly into Boiotia to settle in Chaironeia resonates the natural geography of the area.⁹⁴ Evidence confirms an early settlement, both with a nearby prehistoric mound known as Magoúla Baloménou and from pot sherds in the area that show occupation from the Neolithic times until the Roman Empire.⁹⁵ We therefore get a tantalizing hint at the possibilities that could open before

⁹² See below, pages 36, 44, 69 for more on the archaeology of the area.

⁹³ Part of the difficulty in organizing a systematic excavation of Chaironeia is that the modern village lies atop the ancient foundations (Farinetti 2011:101-2; Fossey 1990: 249; Ma 1994: 67).

⁹⁴ For more on the geography and how it lends itself to history to create the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia, see below, pages 41-5, 48-55.

⁹⁵ See below, pages 45-8 for a discussion on the history of the area, including the prehistoric remains. For more on the archaeological work conducted in Chaironeia, see: Charami 2016 (third century CE villa); Dawkins 1907: 286 (Neolithic remains); Dilke 1950 (theatre); Germani 2015 and Germani 2018 (theatre); Pritchett 1958 (topography); and Sabetai 2015 (female protomes).

us with more archaeological investigations of Chaironeia. Nevertheless, if we combine what we know from the literary sources and from the archaeological activity that has already taken place, we can better reconstruct the everyday lives of the inhabitants of Chaironeia.

Like all studies of the ancient world focused on connections and understanding ‘the other 90%’, the dearth of evidence for subaltern voices means that this chapter focuses on the elite – those who left behind inscriptions and writings that allow for the interpretation of the local world of Chaironeia. Thus, my reconstruction of life in Chaironeia is necessarily lacking a large component, namely, the poor, slaves, and lower classes, who have not left much evidence in the archaeological or literary record. And so, to glimpse at aspects that made up their everyday lives, I must investigate the archaeology of the area. While interpreting this evidence is largely subjective and difficult to support, there is still value in trying to find the majority of the population and understanding how they lived. This will, of course, lead mainly to broad conclusions. By using archaeology and Emeri Farinetti’s GIS data,⁹⁶ in conjunction with written sources, I will show what kind of agricultural and religious practices existed, bringing us a step closer to the ancient Chaironeians’ everyday experiences. Nevertheless, most of the examples found within this chapter, while *possibly* relating to all classes of the population of Chaironeia, likely reflect the lives of the elites. They had more of an ability to move physically and to manoeuvre figuratively, and thus to connect with these other networks. Without further archaeological activity, it is unlikely that we will be able to speak extensively on these other members of Chaironeia. My investigation and network map, therefore, are necessarily incomplete.

⁹⁶ Farinetti 2011.

Furthermore, I also rely on epigraphic sources for the network portion of this chapter, something that presents more methodological issues, because I must navigate formulaic practices based on ancient societal norms and expectations. Multiple studies of antiquity have shown that these commemorative pieces can be misleading.⁹⁷ For example, when reading tombstones and dedications, it appears that the nuclear family is the most important. However, scholars have found that this is not reflective of most households in the Roman world, which were likely multiple family homes that catered to the needs of an agricultural life.⁹⁸ The trend that we see in the epigraphic sources, therefore, is part of an epigraphic formula that governed their erection and cannot help us describe a household. This means that using epigraphic sources to understand the composition of households in Chaironeia is not an option.

Despite these difficulties, inscriptions can offer other clues, such as hints of collective identity through patterns.⁹⁹ They tell a story, a version of events that they expect the reader to accept. They speak not only to local practices, but also to the authority that they have over their audience through their public nature, their presence in the landscape, and their language. As Ma argues, “inscriptions ascribe”,¹⁰⁰ and they are thus, “...closely linked with the constitution and the perpetuation of community...”.¹⁰¹ Inscriptions thus become important for the reconstruction of many aspects of

⁹⁷ For example, many don’t survive because of the materials used, like bronze or wood, thus leaving us with only a partial record (McLean 2002: 21; Scheid 2012b: 32-3). War, vandalism, reuse, and natural disasters also affect the survival of the inscriptions (McLean 2002: 18-21). Furthermore, because of their often commemorative and formulaic nature, they usually lack detail or are difficult to decipher (McLean 2002: 2; Scheid 2012b: 35-6; Schuler 2012: 68).

⁹⁸ See Schuler 2012: 68, who discusses the one-sided, elite nature of epigraphy. See also, Chapter 3, pages 348-350, for a discussion of family in the ancient world.

⁹⁹ Schuler 2012: 63, 66.

¹⁰⁰ Ma 2012: 137.

¹⁰¹ Ma 2012: 155. Cf. Schuler 2012: 63. I agree with McLean (2002: 2), who reminds us that, “...there are no banal inscriptions, only banal ways of interpreting them.” Note, however, that inscriptions are not insular to the community and that they, as Schuler (2012: 90) explains, express, “...the will to communicate with the wider environment and presupposes a familiarity with the conventions required.”

ancient life in Chaironeia, such as its administrative bodies, its laws, the social structures of the polis, the public and private religious cults, and the values of the community.¹⁰² They perpetuated the social order, thus making them incredibly important tools for understanding local, regional, and global worlds. We can detect layers in these inscriptions where these three spheres converge, diverge, and communicate. Therefore, it becomes imperative that we have some knowledge of epigraphic practices in Chaironeia in order to see how that community spoke to itself and to those outside through stone and material. Thus, I not only use inscriptions to discuss family relationships, kinship ties, and other networks, but also to understand the visual landscape and the authority that their words cast over Chaironeia, or that they project beyond this small polis.

Finally, my main source for the reconstruction of the local world of Chaironeia is a local man, namely, Plutarch. Using the Chaironeian author to build a picture of his local world comes with its own set of difficulties. First, Plutarch did not explicitly describe Chaironeia or his life in any of his writings. Instead, we get hints of it sprinkled throughout his corpus. In many instances, Plutarch only included incidental information about Chaironeia to add to the point he was trying to make. In this way, he differs greatly from our other main literary source for the village, namely, Pausanias.¹⁰³ Moreover, we cannot mine Plutarch's corpus for information on Chaironeia without considering the context in which it was given. Furthermore, we must keep in mind that he was

¹⁰² McLean 2002: 2. Ma (2013: 68-9) adds to the benefits of inscriptions for reconstructing local worlds with the idea that it can contribute to our understanding of the economic history of an area. See Cooley 2012 for an article on inscriptions in the Greek East and their relevance to the authority of local inhabitants and their desire to ingratiate themselves with Roman authority.

¹⁰³ Pausanias' presentation of Chaironeia can be found in 9.40.5-9.41.7. Like Plutarch, however, Pausanias' text must be considered as a work from an individual who carried their own motivations and biases while writing. For Pausanias' interests as a writer, see Arafat 1996: 10 (not a pilgrim); Cohen 2001: 93-4 (reconcile Greece's position under Rome); Elsner 1992: 5-8 and Elsner 1994: 246-253 (a reaction to Roman rule); Hutton 2010: 424-442 (political commentary); Rutherford 2001: 43-8 (a pilgrim). For the difficulties in interpreting Pausanias' text, see: Hutton 2008: 622-636; Pikoulas 2007: 42; Pretzler 2007: 16-7.

writing for an audience and that, very likely, the narrative that he crafted for his hometown was one that was based on an ideal. In fact, I argue that Plutarch created a version of Chaironeia that spoke of loyalty to Rome.¹⁰⁴

In addition to the common problem of a lack of evidence, all the challenges of this chapter essentially come down to understanding the perceived audience of the material under scrutiny. I thus have to keep in mind who these monuments were constructed for. They were meant to be seen; they were meant to be read. They were constructed for an audience. Plutarch's work, likewise, was constructed for an audience. While this means that the material may reflect a different image from reality, it is nonetheless important to unravel that message to understand how the elites of Chaironeia wanted to be seen, what they wanted to leave behind for posterity, what they understood as the ideal, and how they presented that ideal. By keeping the intended audience in mind, we gain an appreciation for the authority of these texts and monuments as well as advance our impression of what life may have been like for the people of Chaironeia.

Reconstructing a Local World: The Basics of Chaironeia

In order to bring Plutarch's local world of Chaironeia to life, we must first understand its topographic and historic properties. This will give us the context that we need to analyze what Plutarch tells us about his hometown and grant us insight into the emphases that he placed on certain locations or events in its history. For this reason, I begin by briefly looking at the overall geographic properties of Chaironeia and its role in the historic timeline, before moving onto Plutarch and his representation of this polis.

¹⁰⁴ See below, pages 167, 178-9, 182-190.

In the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Chaironeia is defined as a type A, because it is referred to as a polis in ancient sources.¹⁰⁵ Thus, even with its small size (with its *chora*, it occupies a space of about 55km²),¹⁰⁶ Chaironeia is considered a polis. Our perception of the smallness of Chaironeia, however, may partially be the result of what Plutarch says in *Demosthenes* (2.1-2), where he emphasized the diminutive nature of his hometown. However, when we consider the context of this quotation, as Christopher Jones reminds us to do, we notice that it was given in comparison to Athens.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, when we compare the extent of the Classical town in Figure 1.1 with other Boiotian poleis,¹⁰⁸ we notice that, while it was smaller than the others, the relative amount of territory that it held is not insignificant. We must be careful, therefore, not to exaggerate the supposed smallness of the town and instead recognize that, while it might not be as large as some other Boiotian poleis, it was large enough to potentially hold more wealthy elites than previously imagined, some of whom might have been very wealthy.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 81. Hansen and Nielsen point out that Hekataois (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 116) refers to Chaironeia as a polis in the urban sense, and that Thucydides (4.76.3, 4.89.2) does so in the political sense. Cf. *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3. Our earliest epigraphic evidence of Chaironeia as a polis is a second century proxeny decree (*IG* VII 3287; Hansen 1996: 81). Note that Aristophanes (*FGrHist* 379 fr. 3) uses the term πόλις (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 81).

¹⁰⁶ Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 82. Note, however, that most Boiotian poleis were categorized by Hansen (2004: 453-4) as small. Cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 3.2.

¹⁰⁷ Jones 1971: 5.

¹⁰⁸ Farinetti (2011: 27) explains that she constructs this map following Fossey's (1988) structure of placing data into *chorai*. Although the map represents the Classical era and is thus removed from Plutarch's time, it nonetheless offers insight into the potential territorial limits of some of these poleis. Furthermore, when we consider that Chaironeia's population was one of the only stable Boiotian populations in the Roman period (Fossey 1979: 582. Note, however, the warning of Alcock [1997: 289] on the idea of the depopulation of Boiotia in the Imperial Age), alongside its neighbours of Orchomenos, Lebadeia, and Koroneia (Fossey 1979: 583), we can assume that the territories of these poleis were likely somewhat maintained. Figure 1.1 thus serves as an approximation of Chaironeia's territory in the Roman period.

¹⁰⁹ For example, Jones (1971: 5) points to a luxurious Roman villa found in the polis. For more on the elites of this town, see below, pages 124-138.

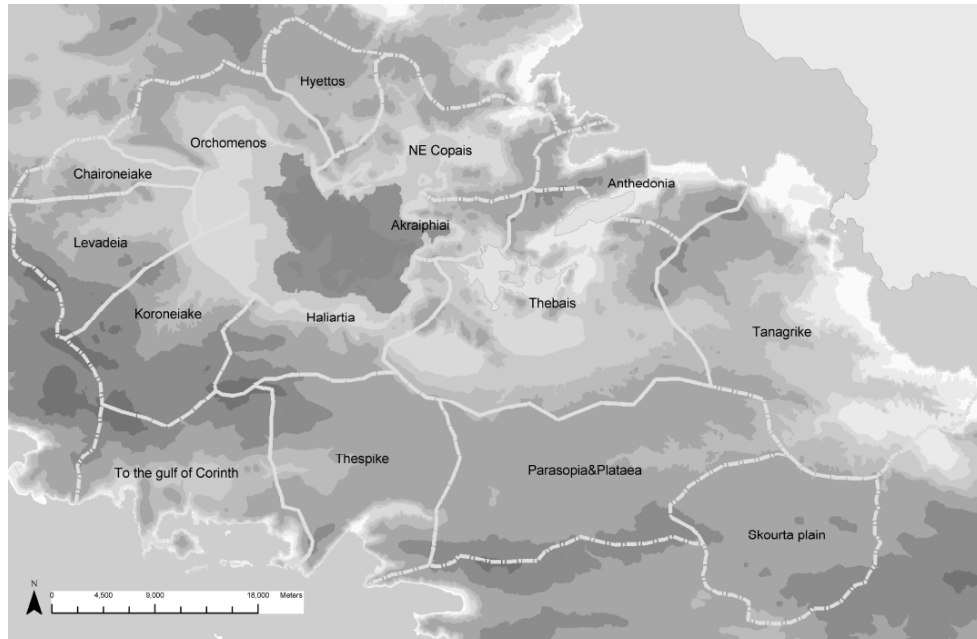


Figure 1.1: Boiotian poleis and their territories in the Classical period (Farinetti 2011: 28; copied with permission)

Topography

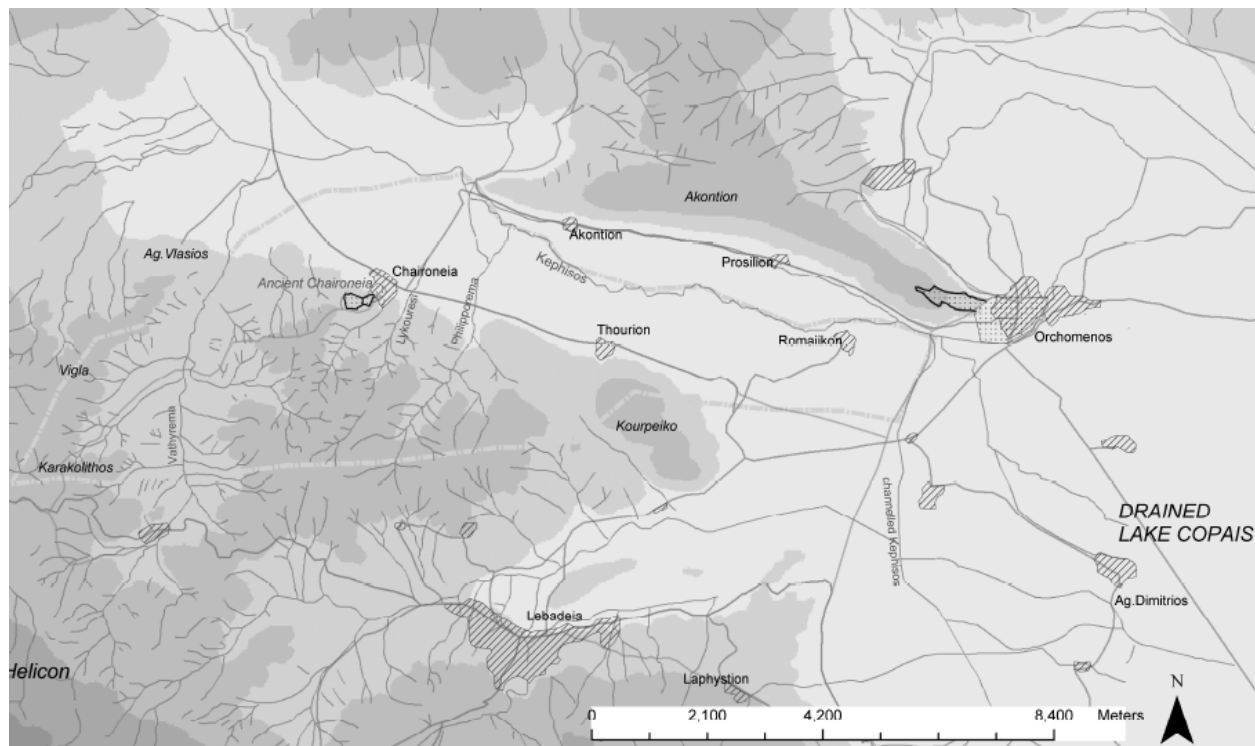


Figure 1.2: Topographic map of Chaironeia (Farinetti 2011: 100; copied with permission)

In terms of its regional identification, Chaironeia was the westernmost town of Boiotia,¹¹⁰ where it bordered Phokis. Its location on an outcrop of Mount Parnassos placed it on an important travel route that linked Boiotia and Phokis. This arterial road between northern and southern Greece was extremely important to the development of the polis as a participant in a microregion of competition and conflict.¹¹¹ The importance of this arterial road cannot be exaggerated, as it not only put Chaironeia on the main road leading to Delphi,¹¹² but it also placed Chaironeia in close proximity to an important route that crossed Boiotia from the Corinthian Gulf at Kreusis to Chalkis. As Jones explains, “(t)his road carried traffic between the celebrated three seas of Boeotia, the Corinthian gulf and the northern and southern Aegean: these seas connected the region to three areas of the empire: Italy and the West, Macedonia and the Hellespont, and Egypt and the Orient.”¹¹³ This would certainly have had an important impact on Plutarch’s ability to network, since Chaironeia seems to have been relatively easy for friends and travellers to visit.

Chaironeia’s location in the Kephissos valley, a plain that stretches about three kilometres east to west and occupies the space between its southern mountain range and river (see Fig. 1.2 above),¹¹⁴ comprises Lake Kopais, another important microregion that also adds to the local conditions and lifestyles of the inhabitants. More on this microregion and its contribution to the ecosystem, economic, and religious life of Chaironeia is given below.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ For more on Plutarch and Boiotia, see Chapter 2, pages 271-331.

¹¹¹ As we will see below, pages 48-55. Cf. Funke 2006; Jones 1971: 3-4.

¹¹² Ma 2008: 73. Ma (2008: 73 n5) points out that, “(a)n Orchomenian inscription, *IG* 7.3170, mentions ‘the road to Lebadeia’ and ‘the road to Chaironeia’.”

¹¹³ Jones 1971: 4. Cf. Farinetti 2011: 103; Titchener 2014: 485.

¹¹⁴ Ma 2008: 72.

¹¹⁵ See pages 56-67.

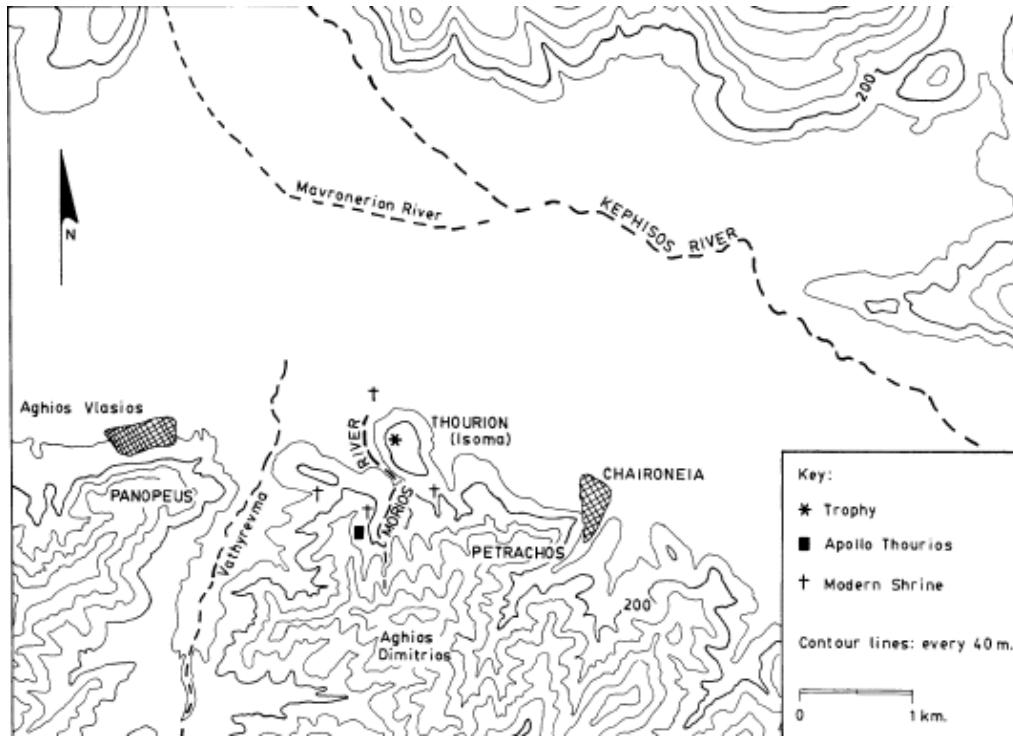


Figure 1.3: *Chaironeia and environs* (Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 444 [drawing prepared with the help of L.A. Turner]; copied with permission, courtesy of the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Journal of Archaeology)

While it is difficult to set out the exact boundaries of the polis, the approximate size of Chaironeia can be estimated using some natural markers. The valley containing the village is bordered by the ridge of *Aëtólithi* in the east and the acropolis on a twin-peaked hill to the west.¹¹⁶ Chaironeia's claim to land cannot go too much further west, as Panopeus, a Phokian town, was only 3.5km away,¹¹⁷ while the closest Boiotian town to the east, Lebadeia, was 10km away.¹¹⁸ Once again we must emphasize the importance of Chaironeia's proximity to Phokis, which, as we will see, impacted its history.

¹¹⁶ Fossey 1988: 375; Pritchett 1958: 307. Cf. Farinetti 2011: 99.

¹¹⁷ Fossey 1988: 384. Fossey thus suggests (1988: 385) that ancient Chaironeia comprised, "...virtually the same area as that of the two modern villages of *Kápraina* and *Brámaga*." This close connection to Phokis is part of a micro-region that lends to much of Chaironeia's interactions: see below, pages 48-55.

¹¹⁸ Hammond 1938: 187.

In the *chora* of Chaironeia, we find three streams and a valley (see Fig. 1.3 above).¹¹⁹ The archaeological evidence suggests that the ancient town was built on both sides of the Moros stream, but that it did not extend far into the plain.¹²⁰ It is likely, as Paul Roesch estimates,¹²¹ that the northern boundary of the polis was the Kephissos river, which divided the territories of Chaironeia and Orchomenos. As a result, Chaironeia's *chora* seems small and focused around the *asty*.¹²² The majority of the plain, and thus Chaironeia's territory, was therefore used for agricultural purposes.

Chaironeia's location in the Kopaïc basin meant that it had fertile soil that could be used for cultivation. A recent GIS-based study by Farinetti on Boiotian landscapes shows that Chaironeia was in an area in which the soil had few limitations.¹²³ Unfortunately, no surveys have been conducted on the *chora*,¹²⁴ so we do not possess any data on the rural sites of Chaironeia. However, as John Fossey warns, even with the drainage of Lake Kopaïs, much of the valley is marshy.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, a marsh can be quite rich,¹²⁶ and the Chaironeians certainly found a way to take advantage of these conditions to grow flowers used for perfumes and medications,¹²⁷ which became¹²⁸ an essential component of the local economy and the Chaironeian way of life. Chaironeia, however, was not famous in the history books for its flora, but rather, for its location as the site of numerous battles. We must therefore briefly turn to the history of Chaironeia to

¹¹⁹ The three streams are the Molos, Haimon, and Morios (Pritchett 1958: 307-309).

¹²⁰ Pritchett 1958: 309.

¹²¹ Roesch 1965: 60 n5. Cf. Farinetti 2011: 99; Fossey 1988: 384. Note, however, that we cannot assume that the ancient boundary fits the path of the modern river, which likely shifted through time (Farinetti 2011: 104).

¹²² Farinetti 2011: 103.

¹²³ Farinetti 2011: 54. Cf. Blakely (2015) for an important article on GIS data in Samothrace and its ability to enable researchers to visualize human movement through space. It is my hope that this chapter will help us navigate Chaironeia to better understand the ancient polis and, potentially, how Plutarch may have moved through its landscapes.

¹²⁴ Farinetti 2011: 102. Note, however, indications of potential rural burial sites: Farinetti 2011: 104.

¹²⁵ Fossey 1988: 384-5.

¹²⁶ Not only in terms of its wildlife but also for social and economic engagement (see below, pages 56-67).

¹²⁷ Pausanias 9.41.7. See also Jones 1971: 4, and Farinetti 2011: 100.

¹²⁸ For more on Chaironeia's perfume industry, see below, pages 61-2, 89-91, 102-103.

understand the major events that may have impacted life in this local world and to give context to how Plutarch presented it.

Chaironeia through History

Potsherd evidence indicates that Chaironeia's history began in the Neolithic era.¹²⁹ The Middle and Late Neolithic site of Magoúla Baloménou further speaks to the age of the settlement.¹³⁰ The antiquity of the site, therefore, fits with Plutarch's statement that Chaironeia was the first place settled in Boiotia, when people moved into the area from Thessaly (*Cim.* 1.1). Notably, we do not find Chaironeia in Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2. 494–759). Why? One reason may be that Chaironeia was too small of a polis to be mentioned; another was that it chose not to participate and was thus not referenced; a third possibility was that it is mentioned, but by the name of Arne;¹³¹ finally, and perhaps most likely, is that Chaironeia at this time was a dependency of Orchomenos, a settlement that was mentioned in the *Catalogue*.¹³² The latter theory is supported by the potential Middle Helladic relationship between Magoúla Baloménou and Orchomenos, a polis 13 km east of Chaironeia.¹³³ It would also fit with the later history of Chaironeia, when we know that it was allied with Orchomenos.

¹²⁹ For potsherd evidence in the Neolithic, Helladic, and Archaic Ages, see: Buck 1979: 5; Farinetti 2011: 102-3. Note that I am only covering the early history of Chaironeia up to Plutarch's time to provide context for Plutarch's mentions of his hometown. For more on the later Roman history of the site and beyond, see Farinetti 2011: 105-6.

¹³⁰ Farinetti 2011: 103; Fossey 1988: 382. Unfortunately, as pointed out by Farinetti (2011: 103), Magoúla Baloménou and its excavations have never been systematically published. For more evidence of early occupation in Chaironeia, see: Buck 1979: 5; Dawkins 1907: 286; Funke 2006; Pritchett 1958: 309.

¹³¹ Fossey (1973-1974: 18) suggests that Magoúla Baloménou should be identified as Arne (a similar suggestion is made by Vaux [1866: 7], who mentions the possibility that Chaironeia is Arne).

¹³² Orchomenos: Hom. *Il.* 2.5.11. Cf. Hansen 1996: 73. For more on Orchomenos, its early history, and the reworking of Boiotian legends to justify future Theban expansionist policies, see Giroux 2020b.

¹³³ Farinetti 2011: 103.

In the Classical era, both Thucydides (4.76.3) and Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 81) described Chaironeia as being ‘syntelically’ dependent on Orchomenos.¹³⁴ Bakhuizen describes this syntellic relationship as an incorporation of the territory of one city into another while respecting the identity and character of the incorporated unit.¹³⁵ Chaironeia then, was a small polis joined to Orchomenos and obligated to provide military and financial aid. Thus, the local lives of the inhabitants likely became embroiled in the political leanings of Orchomenos, as well as the alliances and conflicts resulting from any maneuvering that took place in the region.¹³⁶ Later, however, Chaironeia became an independent member of the Boiotian League,¹³⁷ although we do not know exactly when its status changed from an Orchomenian dependency to an independent polis.¹³⁸ As a member of the Boiotian League, Chaironeia, along with Akraiphia and Kopai, formed one of the eleven Boiotian districts until c.387/6 BCE, then again from c.371-338 BCE.¹³⁹ However, the famous Battle of Chaironeia in 338 BCE against Philip II of Macedon put an end to both the Classical period and a temporary end to the Boiotian League. It is perhaps the momentous political change marked by this battle that affected the narrative history of Chaironeia, with its strong military focus. However, as we will see throughout this chapter, Chaironeia consisted of more than the conflicts that occurred on its soil. Its vibrant local life is demonstrated not only in its epigraphic remains, but also through Plutarch’s corpus.

¹³⁴ Hansen 1996: 77.

¹³⁵ Bakhuizen 1994: 311-2. Note that H. Beck (1997: 333) describes it as being ‘subordinate’ to another.

¹³⁶ See below, pages 48-55 for more on the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia and how this likely played into the local Chaironeian world.

¹³⁷ Funke 2006. See also *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3.394-396. The first epigraphical reference to Chaironeia as a polis is from a second century BCE proxy decree, *IG* VII 3287 (Hansen 1996: 81; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 82). A Hellenistic inscription (*IG* VII 2724c.6) also mentions Chaironeia as a member of the Boiotian League. Diodorus (16.39.8) speaks of Chaironeia as a member of the Second Boiotian Federation. For the durability of the institution of the *boiotarch*, see Fossey 1991: 97-109.

¹³⁸ Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 82.

¹³⁹ Funke 2006. For more on the Boiotian League, see Chapter 2, pages 231-9.

The Hellenistic period that followed this famous battle, as with many other poleis,¹⁴⁰ is not well described in our sources. This lacuna in our evidence is filled by inscriptions, particularly by an explosion of manumission records.¹⁴¹ We therefore have evidence for a local practice that seems to have been regulated and relatively popular for the region. One inscription (*IG* VII 2724c.6) indicated the return of Chaironeia to the reconstituted Boiotian League, from c.335-146 BCE.¹⁴² Part of this political arrangement also saw Chaironeia as forming some sort of cavalry alliance with Orchomenos (*SEG* 28: 461).¹⁴³ It seems, therefore, that Chaironeia's attachment to Orchomenos endured from at least the Classical era into the Roman period.

It is in the Roman period that Chaironeia once again became the stage for another important event. In 86 BCE the battle of Chaironeia was a contributing factor to Roman supremacy over Greece. Afterwards, the Romans continued to hold this small Boiotian town because of its strategic importance to the region.¹⁴⁴ This did not mean that Chaironeia peacefully accepted Roman rule, as we potentially see in Plutarch's *Damon*, where the Chaironeians put up a fight against the Romans in a gamble that almost caused the fall of the polis.¹⁴⁵ Despite this, Chaironeia continued to exist throughout the Roman period, when we find evidence of Roman villas along the Kephissos river.¹⁴⁶ Chaironeia was not destroyed until 551 CE, when it was struck by an earthquake.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ Erskine 2005: 4. Note, however, Farinetti (2011: 105), who provides us with some evidence of occupation and life in the burials of Chaironeia for the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods. These burials, Farinetti concludes (2011: 105), continued until the second century CE. This means that the cemetery was still active in Plutarch's day.

¹⁴¹ The nature of these inscriptions and the implications for the local world will be discussed below as part of the epigraphic landscape of Chaironeia, on pages 106-123.

¹⁴² Funke 2006; Hansen 1996: 82. For more on the evidence surrounding the Boiotian League, as well as the office of the *boiotarch* being alive and well in Chaironeia, see Fossey 1991: 97, 107-9.

¹⁴³ Knoepfler 2014: 68.

¹⁴⁴ Jones 1971: 5-6.

¹⁴⁵ See pages 168-171, 179, 186-9. Note that Polybios (27.1) mentions that Chaironeia declared for the Romans in the war against Perseus (171-168 BCE). This indicates that, at least for parts of its history, Chaironeia was pro-Roman.

¹⁴⁶ Farinetti 2011: 103.

¹⁴⁷ Procop. *Goth.* 4.25.16f (Funke 2006). For Roman archaeological evidence, see Fossey 1990: 250.

Chaironeia has a rich and long history, and often acted as the location for important battles that altered the political landscape of the ancient Mediterranean world. It must be noted, however, that Chaironeia's geographic location was one of the main reasons that it served as the battleground for these moments. Chaironeia was placed in a pass that connected eastern Phokis and western Boiotia and this strategic location helped to determine its role in the major developments of its historic timeline. It is to this micro-region that we now turn.

The Micro-Regions of Lake Kopais and eastern Phokis – western Boiotia

As Jones astutely remarks, “(t)he history of Chaeronea before Plutarch's birth had been determined entirely by its geography. Its plain was tactically the natural place for an army defending southern Greece to resist invaders who had already passed Thermopylae.”¹⁴⁸ In order to better understand this statement, we must now turn to the micro-regions in which Chaironeia was located. I first examine the micro-region of eastern-Phokis and western Boiotia to bring to light how this contested space may have influenced the local lives of the Chaironeians. Then I turn to the micro-region of Lake Kopais and its unique ecological properties to see how this separate area also determined the course of Chaironeian lives, albeit in a very different manner.

Eastern Phokis-Western Boiotia

Defining the exact boundary between Phokis and Boiotia in the pass can be difficult because it is a contested area.¹⁴⁹ The contested space therefore implies that Chaironeia, by simple means of its

¹⁴⁸ Jones 1971: 5.

¹⁴⁹ Farinetti (2011: 99) explains that, “(t)o the W, the boundary between Boeotia and Phokis is still not recognisable with certainty, but on the S side of the valley, somewhere between the ancient cities of Chaironeia and Panopeus, a Phokian city was located at Agios Vlasios, almost 4km W of Chaironeia.” Note that parts of this section are included in an upcoming publication: Giroux forthcoming a.

location, acted as a contact zone,¹⁵⁰ embroiled in either tension or cooperation in multiple interactive levels. This is because the pass and the Kephissos valley funnelled all routes from northern and southern Greece.¹⁵¹ Its strategic importance, therefore, cannot be understated. Chaironeia's location and its role as a contact zone is evident on different levels, including the greater-Hellenic world (Athens, Sparta, Thessaly),¹⁵² the macro-regional level (Boiotia),¹⁵³ and the micro-regional level (eastern Phokis and western Boiotia), as different groups competed for influence over the territory. Since I address Boiotia and its history and relationship with the greater Hellenic world in Chapter 2, I focus here on the micro-regional level of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia, which is largely defined by the Kephissos valley.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Although McInerney (2015: 204, 207) uses this term in reference to Phokis, Chaironeia's proximity to Phokis (for example, Parapotamii is only 7 km away from Chaironeia: Fossey 1986: 70-1; or Panopeus, which is only 3.5 km away: Fossey 1988: 384) and its location at the pass make it another suitable candidate for a 'contact zone'. This makes Chaironeia similar to H. Beck's (2020: 14-16) example of Phlious, which was subject to the power politics that surrounded it, transforming some of their local world into one defined by relational attributes.

¹⁵¹ McInerney 1999: 55. The importance of this pass is also identified by Strabo (9.3.2), who claims that Elateia acts as an important strategic position for holding the pass (in the same way that the Romans hold Chaironeia because of its position in the pass, see pages 48-55). Cf. Fossey (1986: 12), who says that, "...the Khaironeian plain, is the last basin in the course of the Kephissos River before it enters the (now drained) Lake Kopaïs."

¹⁵² For example, Boiotian infighting over Plataia's decision to join Athens, led to arbitration by the Corinthians and fighting with Athens: Buck 1972: 94 and Hammond 2000: 80-1 (citing Hdt. 6.108). See Buck (1972: 99-101) for more on Boiotian-Athenian conflict and its implications for the Boiotian League, or Pantelidis' (2017) examination of the Boiotian dialect and its relationship to political borders (with a focus on Attica). Buck (1972: 94) argues that the Thessalian invasion of Boiotia may have led to the formation of the Boiotian League, thus providing an example of how Boiotia came together as a region during a time of change and expansion. Buckler and Beck (2008: 18) argue that, "Greece was a notoriously small natural environment. In light of this, regional violence spread quickly from its local origins to the state system in general. Vice versa, ongoing ambitions of superpowers to establish a systemwide hegemony fueled regional conflicts". Furthermore, H. Beck (2020: 64) argues that, "(i)n the course of time, some petty border disputes that had originated from local grievances there quickly evolved into full-blown warfare on a regional or a Panhellenic scale". He then gives the Sacred Wars and the Corinthian Wars as examples (2020: 221 n49; cf. H. Beck 2020: 198-205). The micro-region of eastern Phokis – western Boiotia and the infighting for control of the Kephissos valley should be considered as another example.

¹⁵³ For more on Boiotia and its history, see Chapter 2, pages 215-230. Notably, H. Beck (2014: 26-7) demonstrates that the *Boiotoi* as a distinct group seems to grow from an origin in warfare and that they were already recognized in inscriptions by the end of the sixth century BCE (cf. Hammond 2000: 81). The history and continuity of this affiliation with warfare thus marks it as one of the most important factors for this *ethnos*. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that much of what we hear about Chaironeia and its relationship with Boiotia and other regions of Greece, is in relation to conflict rather than cooperation.

¹⁵⁴ This river valley is found between the mountains of Parnassos and Kallidromo and is known for its fertile soil (Sporn 2019: 62). For more on the archaeological investigations of this valley in relation to its river and landscape more generally, see Sporn 2019. Cf. Livieratou 2020: 815.

I conceive of the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia as one which encompassed the polis of Orchomenos and eastern Phokis, as defined not only by Fossey,¹⁵⁵ but also by the natural boundary of the Parnassos mountain range, which divides Phokis into two portions: the fertile Kephissos valley and that of Delphi and the Corinthian Gulf.¹⁵⁶ As such, my discussion of Phokis does not include Delphi, though the Phokians were the traditional holders of this sanctuary.¹⁵⁷

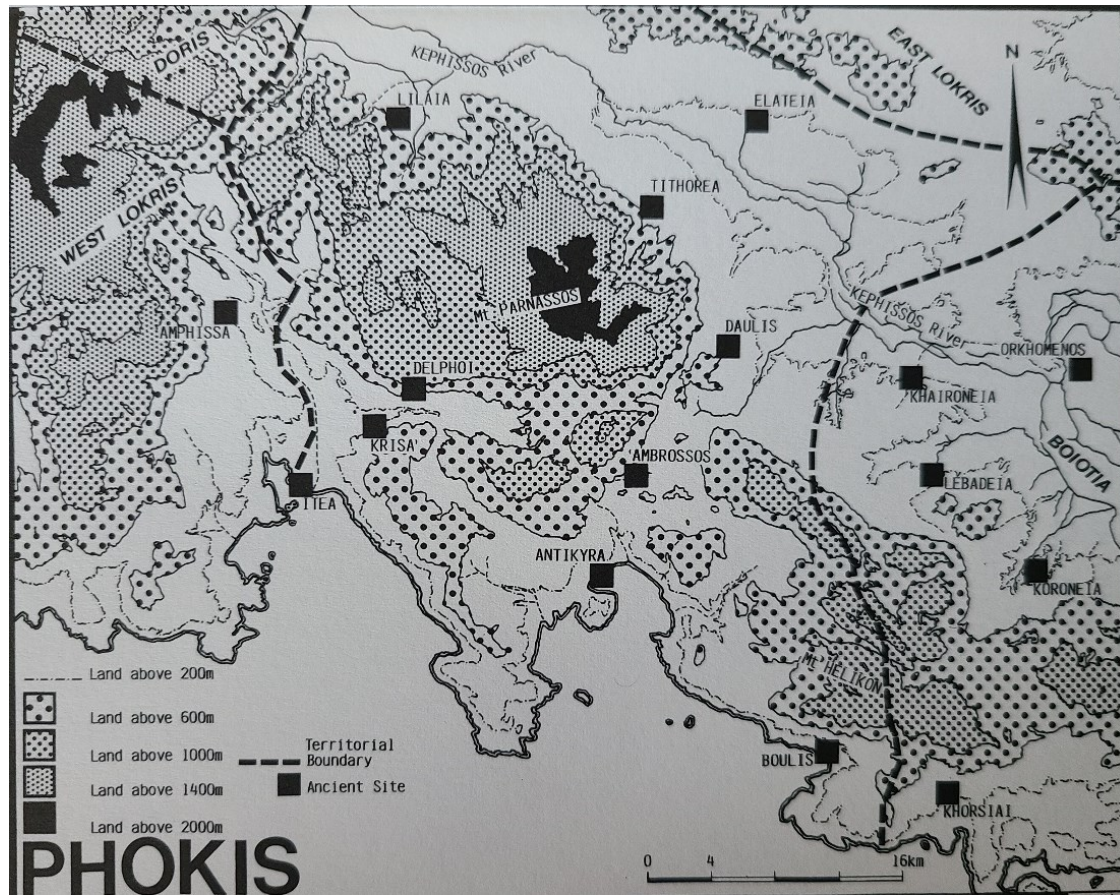


Figure 1.4: Eastern Phokis and western Boiotia (Fossey 1986: 7; copied with permission)

¹⁵⁵ Fossey 1986.

¹⁵⁶ Sporn 2018: 18.

¹⁵⁷ For recent work on the region of Phokis that grants insight into its role in this micro-region, see McNerney 1999 (see esp. pp.55-6 on the routes in Phokis and their relationship to conflict in the area); McNerney 2011 (Delphi and its relationship with Phokis) and 2015 (Phokis as a regional entity); Sporn 2018, 2019 (archaeology in the area, wealth, and fortifications); Sporn and Laufer 2019 (Kephissos valley and Tithorea).

Figure 1.4 nicely illustrates the intricate network of poleis and topographic features present in this micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia. The area that seems to be frequently under contention is that of the fertile Kephissos valley,¹⁵⁸ where Chaironeia is located. Micro-regional conflict for control of this territory was largely seen between Boiotians,¹⁵⁹ or between Boiotians (usually Thebes) and Phokis.¹⁶⁰ As mentioned above, Chaironeia was subject to Orchomenos until the late Classical period, after which it became an independent member of the Boiotian League. Even after this, however, Chaironeia and Orchomenos seemed to share alliances. We can thus identify Chaironeia as a likely participant in the accords and conflicts of Orchomenos during these times, including the conflicts that occurred in this micro-region.¹⁶¹

Fighting and shifting alliances meant that, at times, Phokis was either a friend or a foe of Boiotia.

At one point, it was even incorporated into Boiotia.¹⁶² As Jeremy McInerney explains,

In many of these borderlands the border was ‘soft’ and only became apparent as one travelled from one community to the next, as, for example, when one walked from Phokian Panopeus to the next town east, Chaironeia, which lay in Boiotia. These fuzzy boundaries and the configuration of territory as zones of competing affiliation were vital for the formation of regional identities... (McInerney 2015: 201)¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Sporn (2019: 62) notes that the valley is still fertile today, with grain, cotton, and fruit being grown in the area.

¹⁵⁹ Usually Thebes vs Orchomenos: see, Bakhuizen 1994: 323; Beck and Ganter 2015: 149; Hammond 2000: 88-92; Mackil 2013: 87-8. For early competition and control of the land, see Livieratou 2020.

¹⁶⁰ H. Beck 2020: 63-4; Buck 1972: 94-7; Buck 1985; Fossey 1986: 98; Hammond 2000: 90; Mackil 2013: 82-5; McInerney 2011, 2015: 215-7; Schachter 2016: 122.

¹⁶¹ E.g., Orchomenos’ friendly relations with Thessaly meant that they did not help the Phokians when Thessaly invaded Phokis and may also have been the cause of the Thessalians invading Boiotia; Buck 1972: 94-7, 100.

¹⁶² Hammond 2000: 90; Rzepka 2010: 117. For Phokis as a subject of Thebes after the Battle of Leuktra, see Xenophon *Hell.* 6.5. For micro-regional politics, H. Beck (2020: 39) explains that, “...archaeologists have traced a lively entanglement in microregions united by distinct natural features and favorable lines of translocal communication—for instance, in the Kephissos Valley from Phokis into Boiotia...” Fossey (1986: 98) suggests that the constant wars and invasions of Phokis during the Hellenistic period led not only to a reduction in the population, but also to the inhabited sites. Cf. Diod. 16.60 and Paus. 10.3. For Phokis and its relationship to Philip II of Macedon, see Larsen 1965: 116-120.

¹⁶³ For more on micro-regions that move beyond the boundaries of *koina* in the ancient Greek world, see McInerney 2011 and Pantelidis 2017 (dialect). For more on the pass and Chaironeia’s relation to it, see Hammond 1938: 187.

The regional boundary between Phokis and Boiotia was therefore not clear cut. For example, Panopeus and Daulis, Phokian poleis, were on the Boiotian side of the pass.¹⁶⁴ Chaironeia's location nearby as a part of the narrow pass that led out of Phokis and into Boiotia, likely meant that the Chaironeians had some sort of relationship with these nearby Phokian towns, such as Panopeus, Daulis, or Kalapodi, even if only in trade. For instance, Archaic dedications found at Kalapodi were in both the Boiotian and Thessalian dialects, pointing to Kalapodi's central position in this inter-regional network.¹⁶⁵ This also speaks to micro-regions as a space that moves beyond macro-regional boundaries,¹⁶⁶ demonstrating the idea that these spaces were sometimes fluid and that identity code-switching was possible in certain situations, such as in religious dedicatory spaces. It is likely that Chaironeia participated in this inter-regional network and in dedications to the sanctuary, given its proximity and participation in the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia. Another example, this time from the second century CE, concerns two inscriptions of a Phokian man, M. Ulpius Damasippus, from the village of Amphikaia. M. Ulpius Damasippus was simultaneously a *boiotarch*, a *Phokarch*, an *Amphictyon*, and a *Panhellene*.¹⁶⁷ Not only do these inscriptions make Plutarch's position in Delphi seem much less unusual, but they also speak to the Phokian affiliation with the Boiotian League.¹⁶⁸ This complicates our

¹⁶⁴ McNernery 1999: 55. The pass is mentioned by Plutarch: *Ages*. 17.2.

¹⁶⁵ McNernery 2011. Furthermore, the dedications at Kalapodi indicate that it was elite members from central Greece who were visiting (McNernery 2011). H. Beck (2020: 129) points to Kalapodi as an example of an 'intermediary space', one that was translocal, regional, and federal all at the same time. As such, these cult centres become nodes of interaction in regional spaces (H. Beck 2020: 129-130). For more on the excavations at Kalapodi, see Niemeier 2016: 7-8 and Sporn and Laufer 2019: 99-100.

¹⁶⁶ This is not to deny that Phokian identity was strong. It surely was, as indicated by the discussion of Panopeus below (pages 48-50). However, the proximity of Kalapodi to Boiotia and its function as a central religious centre pushes for a more complex view of the area, one in which identity code-switching, participation, and cooperation were possible, but also one where we cannot ignore the regional affiliation of the inhabitants.

¹⁶⁷ *IG IX 1*, 218; Soteriades 1909: 123-130.

¹⁶⁸ Rzepka 2010: 117.

understanding of Phokis, Chaironeia, and their relationship to each other, as we see that, at times, political boundary lines were crossed.

The relationship between Chaironeia and eastern Phokis, however, was not always peaceful. In fact, tension and conflict between Orchomenos and Phokis, according to Pausanias (10.4.1), can be traced back to its mythical beginnings, when the original inhabitants of Panopeus were conquered by Phlegyans, who had escaped from Orchomenos. This narrative may speak to the collective memory of the inhabitants at the time of Pausanias' visit and their relationship with Orchomenos and the rest of Phokis. It suggests that the original inhabitants of Panopeus were Boiotians, not Phokians.¹⁶⁹ And they were not just any Boiotians, but the traditional enemy of Phokis: the Orchomenians. This tie to Orchomenos, however, is severed by the word 'escaped', implying that the Phlegyans were held prisoner by the people of Orchomenos and were thus freed when they reached and conquered Panopeus. Furthermore, Pausanias mentioned that the people of Panopeus, despite their proximity to Chaironeia, established boundary stones to demarcate them from the Chaironeians (10.4.1). They also sent ambassadors to the Phokian assembly.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, while the narrative contains elements that link Panopeus to Boiotia, Chaironeia, and Orchomenos, the story ensures that they were divorced from each other. The internal dialogue of an origin story based on imprisonment and escape also helps to explain the ongoing conflict between the two regions.

¹⁶⁹ Pausanias outright says that the people of Panopeus are not originally Phokians, thus separating them from their regional affiliation.

¹⁷⁰ For the continued existence of the Phokian *koinon* after Alexander the Great, see McInerney 2015: 219. Plutarch also mentions Panopeus in relation to the Peloponnesian War, where he says that a monument to Lysander is on their soil, by the road that leads from Delphi to Chaironeia (*Lys.* 29.3).

Conflict is also evident in archaeological remains of fortifications in this micro-region built during the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods¹⁷¹ that echo other systematic defence activities seen in Boiotia, including in Chaironeia.¹⁷² This not only speaks to the area as a contested space, and thus one needing protection, but also to the organized regional activities at this time. That Chaironeia's walls were united with the rest of Boiotia reinforces the idea that it associated mainly with this regional entity and therefore likely participated in any aggression against Phokis. We can thus see that Chaironeia's interactions with eastern Phokis were sometimes based in conflict.

Competition between Phokians and Boiotians for control of the fertile Kephissos valley occurred not only in armed conflict, but also in myth and the imagined realm. We see competition reflected in the attempted theft of earth from the tumulus of the Theban twin heroes Amphion and Zethos by men from Tithorea in Phokis. The Tithoreans' goal, Pausanias tells us (9.17.3-4), was to place the stolen soil on the tomb of Antiope, mother of the Theban twins and wife of the eponymous Phokos, with whom her grave was shared at Tithorea. By doing so, the Phokian thieves sought to ensure harvest for Tithorea but famine for Thebes;¹⁷³ hence the annual Theban practice of placing a guard at the brothers' tomb. That Antiope is the mother of the brothers and the wife of Phokos links the two local worlds while the aspect of competition separates them.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Sporn 2018: 19; Sporn and Laufer 2019: 102 (perhaps in relation to the Sacred War of 356-346 BCE).

¹⁷² See below, pages 74-6 and Chapter 2, page 236.

¹⁷³ Note that Pausanias (9.17.3-4) places the action 'whenever the sun passes through the bull of heaven' (ἐπειδὴν τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ταῦρον ὁ ἥλιος διεξίη), i.e., in late April or early May (Levi 1971: 342 n83). It seems odd that the action occurs at a time of sowing, before harvesting and the beginning of the dry period. Little agricultural activity takes place then except for the care of trees, a moderately intense task (Foxhall 1997: 110-2).

¹⁷⁴ McNerney (2015: 205) rightly argues that this was, "...a way of conceptualizing competing territorial claims." It is fascinating to note (though dubious to draw any conclusions from) that, like Chaironeia (see below page 143), the Phokians have an eponymous hero, Phokos, who is also associated with Thessaly (McNerney 2015: 204).

As we see, Chaironeia's identity of place was largely relational.¹⁷⁵ Boiotia, the 'dancing floor of Ares' (Plu. *Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 18 [193e]; *Marc.* 21.2), frequently consisted of micro-regions, which often caused internal division of the Boiotian *ethnos*.¹⁷⁶ In the Hellenistic period, for example, the macro-region of 'Boiotia' had once again come together to provide a sense of stability during a time of expansion and change,¹⁷⁷ although this alliance still saw some regional division.¹⁷⁸ These shifting alliances and the soft boundary with Phokis must have affected the local world of Chaironeia, not only in the battles they provoked, but also in the political leanings of the polis and the formation of its identity.¹⁷⁹ The frequent affiliation with Orchomenos, for instance, likely meant that the local Chaironeians had an affinity with the Orchomenians and shared their alliances (Thessaly and Athens) as well as their rivalries (Thebes). The location in the fertile Kephissos valley, adjacent to the pass that leads from Phokis into Boiotia, also meant that Chaironeia was embroiled in disputes over this fuzzy boundary area from the Archaic into the Roman era. Thus, in this micro-regional world, Chaironeia often either cooperated or competed with its neighbours but was very frequently surrounded by conflict. We will see this cooperation and competition again in the other micro-region of which Chaironeia was a part, namely, that of Lake Kopais.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ Similar to H. Beck's (2020: 14, cf. 12-8) description of Phlious.

¹⁷⁶ Beck and Ganter 2015: 146. See also, Beck and Marchand's (2020) volume on conflict and violence in Boiotia. Cf. Mackil 2013: 83-4 for the effect of Phokian attacks on the internal cohesion of Boiotia.

¹⁷⁷ Though this new alliance did not have Thebes in control and saw more rights given to individual poleis than previous manifestations: Beck and Ganter 2016: 150-1; Buck 1985: 295; Buckler and Beck 2008; Mackil 2013: 2, 91, 113; Salmon 1985. This follows a pattern throughout Greece for the Hellenistic period, where almost half of mainland Greece was under some kind of regional alliance (Mackil 2013: 1). For Phokis' regional alliance, see McInerney 2015: 219.

¹⁷⁸ This can be seen, for example, in the war of Perseus against Rome (Fossey 1979: 582). For a discussion on the possibility of Boiotia as a 'client' of Rome, see Edlund 1977.

¹⁷⁹ E.g., through the invasion of Thessaly into their territory (see n.148).

¹⁸⁰ Note the interesting discussion by Farinetti (2008: 124) on the ancient names given to the lake: Kopais (Κωπαῖς), Kephisis (Κηφισίς), Haliartis (Ἀλιαρτίς), or Orchomenia (Ὀρχομενία). Farinetti does point out, however, that, "...the Copais is always referred to as a limni [λίμνη], i.e., with the same word Greeks used (and still use today) to indicate a proper lake... Therefore, the Copais was, for its people, a limni, a lake, and it is referred to in this way by ancient authors. In ancient texts we never read the words limnaiai, limnades, eli, telma, tenagos – all words that indicate wet

Lake Kopais

The Kopaïc Basin and its surrounding territory formed a unique ecological micro-region in Boiotia. While Chaironeia was not situated on the lake itself (see Fig. 1.5), its *chora* was a part of the micro-region. Like the other western Kopaïc settlements, such as Lebadeia or Koroneia (see Fig. 1.6), Chaironeia was located at the exit of the valley.¹⁸¹

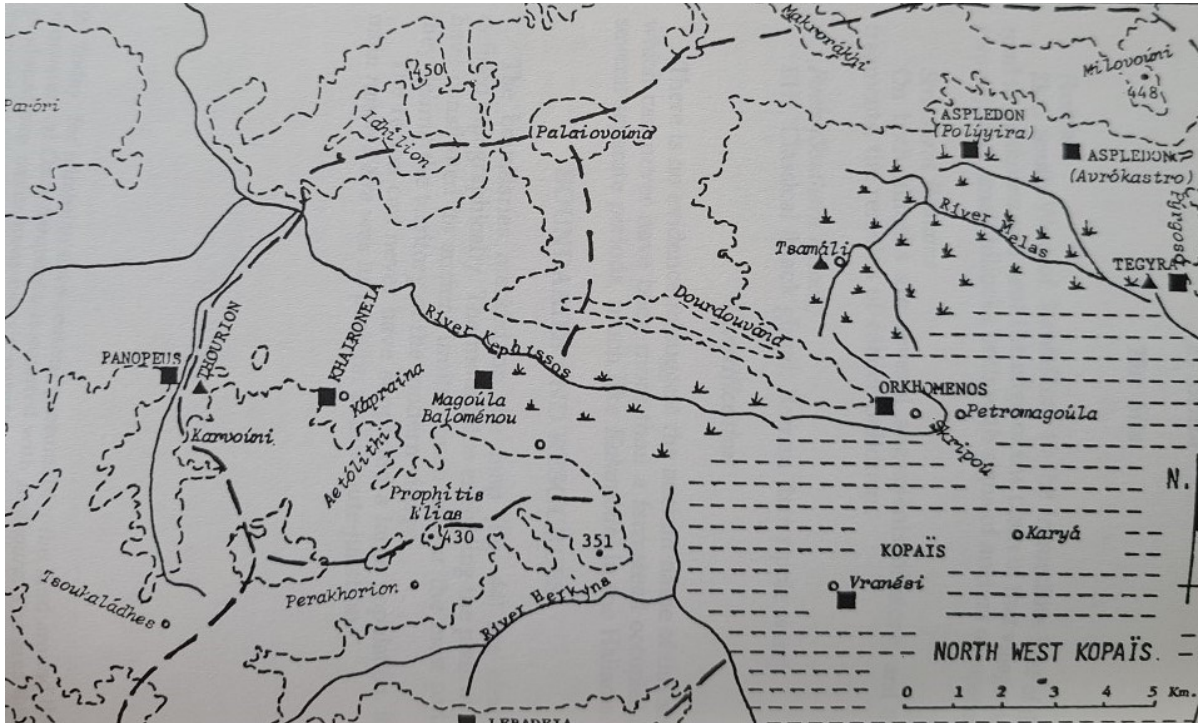


Figure 1.5: North-West of the Kopaïc Basin (Fossey 1988: 342; copied with permission)

areas, marshes, lake-ish areas – associated with the Copais (except in the case of marshy areas surrounding the lake itself, always mentioned in association with the limni though).”

¹⁸¹ Farinetti 2011: 103. For the difficulties associated with defining polis boundaries in this area, see Farinetti 2008: 132; Fossey 1988: 500.

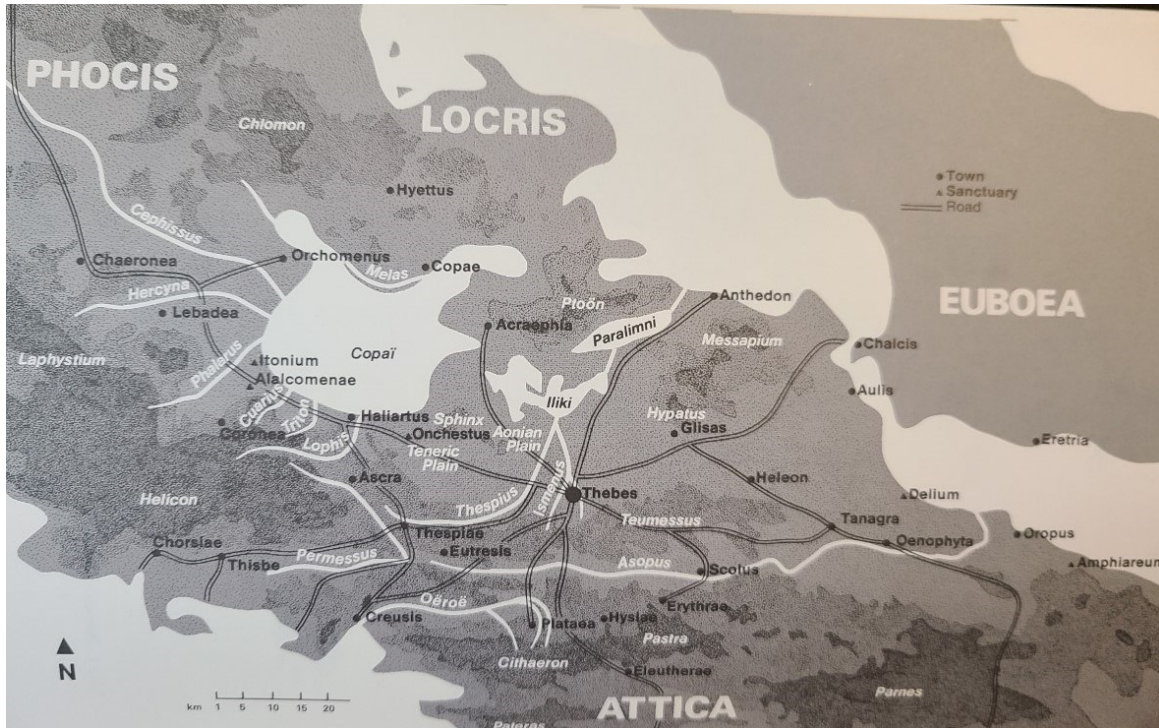


Figure 1.6: The main sites of Boiotia (Buck 1979: iv)

One of the difficulties in understanding this micro-region is that the lake has now been drained, so we do not know the ancient limits.¹⁸² Furthermore, as a karstic seasonal lake, its size varied from season to season and from year to year.¹⁸³ An attempt to map these fluctuations has been carried out by Farinetti:

¹⁸² For more on the modern drainage of the lake and the difficulties surrounding this, see Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985: 153.

¹⁸³ Fluctuations are mentioned by Pausanias (9.28), Theophrastos (*Hist. pl.* 4.11.2-8), and Strabo (9.406). Gonzalez 2006: 44. Vottero (1998: 15) points to the effects of this variation in the lake on the surrounding economic life cycle of the seasons, as well as the movement of peoples throughout the region. The flooding of the basin could, at times, be drastic, as Strabo (9.2.18) indicates in his tale that Kopai was almost swallowed by the waters.

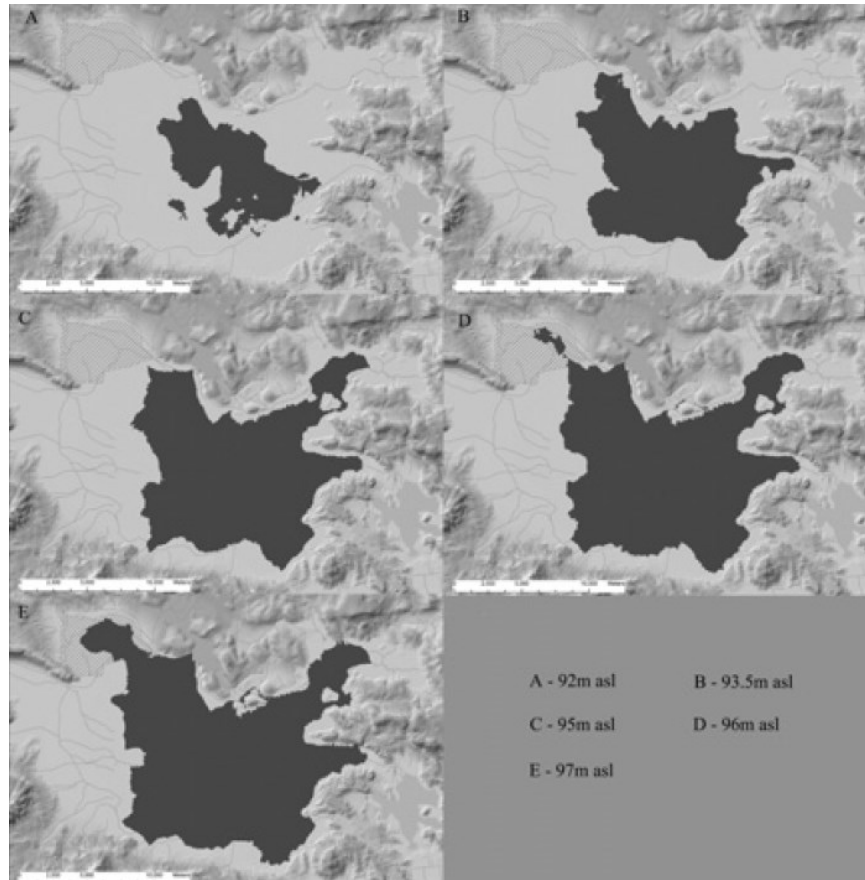


Figure 1.7: The fluctuations of Lake Kopais (Farinetti 2008: 116; copied with permission)

Figure 1.7 thus provides us with a possible approximation of the changes that the lake may have undergone, depending on the season. However, without more archaeological work, our vision of the boundaries of the lake remains an approximation. Perhaps this is a blessing in disguise, as the shifting boundaries of the lake force us to imagine it in a more flexible manner. This may also help to explain the settlement patterns of poleis like Chaironeia, Koroneia, and Lebadeia located on the marginal land at their valley exits, thus allowing maximum use of cultivatable land. However, as can be seen in Figures 1.5 and 1.6, other poleis, such as Orchomenos and Haliartos, settled closer to the lake, perhaps suggesting a different economic focus for these settlements.

Furthermore, during times when the basin was not drained,¹⁸⁴ the fluctuations in water levels of the lake, depending on the season, would have affected travel in the region, whose routes would necessarily change. For example, it might have forced travellers to follow the outer roads, rather than the quicker summer routes.¹⁸⁵ Thus, in the winter, when the waters were higher, Chaironeia might have seen an increase in the number of people passing through the polis on the arterial road. If so, it would surely have influenced the lives of some of the local inhabitants of Chaironeia, through, for example, trade. However, we should not exaggerate the impact of the lake on visitors to Chaironeia, as we have no evidence for this movement of peoples, and therefore the effect and possibility of this can only be estimated.¹⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the implied economic impact from the changes to the lake echoes other economic concerns of this micro-region, and therefore serves as a reminder of how this topographical feature could unite this micro-regional world. The drainage of the lake, which occurred numerous times throughout antiquity,¹⁸⁷ is an example of regional cooperation. As Fossey explains, “The success of this main system depended upon regular cleaning of the καταβόθρες or swallow-holes.”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ For more on the drainage of the basin, see directly below, pages 59-63.

¹⁸⁵ Quicker summer routes: Post (forthcoming).

¹⁸⁶ The other possibility, Post (forthcoming) points out, is that travellers like Pausanias (9.24.1) simply sailed around the lake to reach their destination. If this is the case, Chaironeia would not be affected too drastically by new foot traffic during the winter flooding. We must therefore be cautious in our speculation that the water levels of Lake Kopais saw a visible change in the number of travellers along the road through Chaironeia.

¹⁸⁷ Ancient drainage of the lake occurred numerous times: during the Mycenaean period (Allen 1997: 48; Fossey 1979: 550; Fossey 1991: 14; Niemeier 2016: 8-9; Post [forthcoming]; Schachter 2016: 5-6); Krates, an engineer at the time of Alexander the Great, repaired the Mycenaean dykes (Farinetti 2008: 130; Fossey 1990: 215-6; Fossey 1991: 140; Post [forthcoming]; Thommen 2012: 58; Wallace 1979: 8); Epaminondas of Akraiphia, in the early Roman Imperial period, also personally supported the drainage of the lake with 6,000 denarii (*JG* VII 2712; Aravantinos 2010: 341; Farinetti 2008: 125; Fossey 1979: 584; Fossey 1990: 216); Emperor Hadrian also took interest in the drainage (Aravantinos 2010: 341; Fossey 1990: 216-7; Fossey 1991: 14-6); late antiquity (Wallace 1979: 8). Fossey (1979: 550), however, points out that the lake was not drained for most of the Greco-Roman period. Cf. H. Beck 2020: 106; Horden and Purcell 2000: 245-6 for the reputation of this region as one with advance water management. Furthermore, Argoud (1985) argues that the Boiotians were the first to put into practice the principles of hydrostatics in the Archaic age (in toys). Perhaps it was their experience of the drainage of Lake Kopais that led to water experimentation? For more on ancient water management and its relation to urban development more generally, see Martens 2001.

¹⁸⁸ Fossey 1990: 215-6.

Thus, the success of the drainage of the lake was dependent upon the cooperation of the surrounding poleis. And while there were numerous occasions when this partnership clearly failed,¹⁸⁹ the repeated attempts at repairs and drainage indicates a desire of the Boiotian poleis in this area to work together for the mutual benefit of accessing the rich agricultural land that this drainage could produce.

The access to more agriculturally rich land offered a unique economic opportunity to the poleis nearby. It has been suggested that Orchomenos, which likely organized the Mycenaean drainage of the area, became one of the wealthiest poleis in the region because of this undertaking and the subsequent rich agricultural land that became available.¹⁹⁰ Wolf-Dieter Niemeier contends that the rich inheritance from the lake allowed Orchomenos to extend its power even into Phokis.¹⁹¹ The lake and its micro-region, therefore, bring us back to the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia as a contested space. It seems, then, that in these micro-regions of which Chaironeia was a part, we find overlap and ripples in the water that connect these spaces through economic interests.

Interest in Lake Kopaïs continued into the Roman period. One of our first examples of this is Rome granting the territory to Athens in 171 BCE. The Athenians then set up an association of hunters in which members were granted access to the land.¹⁹² The lake and its environs as prime real estate thus continued into this period. We also hear of repairs in c. 40 CE to the drainage system, led by

¹⁸⁹ As is evident by the numerous attempts at drainage and repair: see note 187 above.

¹⁹⁰ Allen 1997: 48; Niemeier 2016: 8-9; Schachter 2016: 5.

¹⁹¹ Niemeier 2016: 9.

¹⁹² Post (forthcoming). *SEG* 32: 457. See below, page 65.

Epaminondas of Akraiphia, who donated six thousand denarii to the project.¹⁹³ Furthermore, we find interventions by Emperor Hadrian.¹⁹⁴ Fossey explains that, “(t)he Hadrianic scheme referred to in the Koroneia archive seems to have been extensive; certainly the 65,000 denaria set aside for it imply much more work than that carried out on the Akraiphia dyke a century earlier for which Epameinondas paid...”¹⁹⁵ However, the repairs and regional cooperation in the management of the lake were not always a smooth affair. For example, some of Hadrian’s letters show local competition and rivalry over the land through taxes and land use more generally, which led to greater outside interference by Rome.¹⁹⁶ It seems, therefore, that Lake Kopaïs and the management of its land was still of primary, and often contested, importance in Plutarch’s lifetime and even gained the attention of the emperor.

One of the main reasons that Hadrian took interest in the region was because of the drainage project’s agricultural benefits.¹⁹⁷ The poleis of the Kopaïc basin were therefore also connected economically through agriculture. The very fertile land of this micro-region allowed for a larger variety of crops than other areas of Greece.¹⁹⁸ We learn most about the area’s plants and their cultivation from Theophrastos’ *Historia Planatarum*.¹⁹⁹ In a forthcoming article, Ruben Post, using Theophrastos, outlines the main plants grown in the micro-region of the North-West part of the Kopaïc basin. There existed the yellow water lily, used for medicine (9.13.1), irises (9.7.3,

¹⁹³ *IG* VII 2712. Boatwright 2000: 115; Fossey 1991: 14; Oliver 2003.

¹⁹⁴ Farinetti 2008: 125; Fossey 1991: 14-6. For more on Hadrian’s interest in Boiotia see Fossey 1990: 216-7.

¹⁹⁵ Fossey 1991: 15. Boatwright argues (2000: 113) that these kinds of projects, “...reinforced the emperor’s position as the ultimate benefactor.”

¹⁹⁶ Boatwright 2000: 116; Oliver 1989: 253-273.

¹⁹⁷ Boatwright 2000: 115; Oliver 1989: 253-273 (see, esp. letter #108).

¹⁹⁸ H. Beck forthcoming: section 8.2 (Beck also points out the coins of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, which often featured barley, a reflection of its importance as a crop in the region); Buck 1979: 3; Fossey 1990: 265; Post (forthcoming).

¹⁹⁹ See, however, Post (2017: 2-5) for the difficulties surrounding a reliance on ancient literary testimonia for understanding pastoralism and plants in antiquity, as well as the merits of palaeobotanic analysis.

9.9.2), roses (6.8.2), lilies (3.13.6, 3.18.11), and narcissus for perfumes (9.41.7).²⁰⁰ Furthermore, Lake Kopaïs' reeds became famous as the best material for making *auloi*.²⁰¹ As H. Beck explains,

...the local *aulos* industry, built around the reeds, had its own cultural history: it had its own technical jargon for raw materials, adhered to a unique production cycle throughout the year, and responded to the developments of sounds, styles, and musical tastes overall. To the people of Orchomenos, *aulos*-making was more than an economic activity. It was a source of local pride and global renown. (H. Beck 2020: 106)²⁰²

Therefore, the lake, and the opportunities it offered for plant cultivation, produced a unique ecological imprint on this region that enabled it to embrace three distinct industries: medicine, perfume, and music.

The multiple occasions of drainage of the lake also suggests some regional cooperation. Although Mycenaean Orchomenos organized the effort, other poleis certainly took part in the drainage, such as the fortress of Gla. This, Paul Wallace rightfully argues, "...implies a considerable amount of political security".²⁰³ We witness this again in the Hellenistic period, when the drainage of the lake became a reflection of Boiotian power and sovereignty.²⁰⁴ And yet again in the Imperial period with initiatives not only from private citizens like Epaminondas, but also with orders from Hadrian to build dykes.²⁰⁵ While this sense of security was certainly true at some points in the history of this micro-region, it was not always so peaceful. We find, for example, during Plutarch's lifetime,

²⁰⁰ Post (forthcoming). Cf. Fossey 1979: 590; Fossey 1990: 265.

²⁰¹ Theophrastos *Hist. pl.* 4.10-11. H. Beck 2020: 106; Post (forthcoming). Post (forthcoming) points to other uses of the reeds that grew in the lake, such as to make stakes, mats, baskets, soap, and baby food. For more on Plutarch's representation of music in Boiotia, see Chapter 2, pages 303-6.

²⁰² Although the famous *auloi* seem to belong to Orchomenos, this does not mean that this industry and its related musical culture did not permeate the lives of the Chaironeians. Furthermore, when we consider Chaironeia's ties to Orchomenos (see above, pages 45-7), their proximity (sharing a border; see Figure 1.1, page 41), Chaironeia's theatre (see below, pages 70-4), and Plutarch's interest in the music in Boiotia (see Chapter 2, pages 303-6), it becomes more than likely that this industry influenced the development and culture of Chaironeia.

²⁰³ Wallace 1979: 8. Cf. Boatwright 2000: 113-5.

²⁰⁴ Farinetti 2008: 123. For more on Boiotia as a regional unit in the Hellenistic period, see Chapter 2, page 237.

²⁰⁵ See above, pages 59-61.

that the lack of repairs to the drainage system led to the rising waters of the lake, which became a problem for the poleis of the Kopaïs basin.²⁰⁶ This was very likely the result of a lack of regional cooperation that left the drainage system neglected.²⁰⁷

The importance of regional cooperation, therefore, cannot be undervalued for the economic and political security of the micro-region of Lake Kopaïs. We see this demonstrated yet again in its pastoral activities. This micro-region is exceptional for its pastoral abilities in that it had the capability (through its abundance of water that allowed for lush plant-life) to support large livestock, including horses and cattle.²⁰⁸ As Farinetti explains,

Poetry, from Homer to Theocritus, depicts marshes and wet meadows as very suitable for large scale animal husbandry (e.g. HOM. IL. VI 506; XX.221; Od. IV 601). Pausanias (I 32.7) reports on the marshes of the Marathon plain as good for flocks (βοσκήματα). Theophrastus mentions the plants in marshy regions which allow good pasturage, especially in the NW area of lake Copais, near Orchomenos (THPHR. HP IV 10.7: σίδη, φλεώς and IV 8.13). In this area, even toponyms relate explicitly to husbandry: an area is designated as Ιππία or Βοεδρία, and a river is called Προβατία (THPHR. HP IV 11.8- 9). Moreover, Rackham (1990: 103) says that Greeks managed to breed cattle in an apparently unsuitable environment thanks to the presence of these marshy areas. (Farinetti 2008: 123)

The wet marshlands of the region around Lake Kopaïs would thus have been ideal for animal husbandry. This becomes more evident when we consider that the region would grant the privilege (*philanthropa*) of the right to graze, usually as a reward for *euergetism*, thus reflecting the value of the land.²⁰⁹ For example, a second century BCE inscription (*SEG* 22: 432) honours two women, Olioumpicha and Kleuwedra of Kopai, who were given the right to graze 200 animals on public

²⁰⁶ Paus. 9.38.6. Post (forthcoming).

²⁰⁷ For example, Krates' project to repair the drainage system was interrupted by inter-regional conflict (Strabo 9.2.18). We also find evidence of Hadrian having to solve internal Boiotian disputes between Orchomenos and Thisbe, then with Antoninus Pius acting as an intermediary between Thebes and Plataia as well as between Koroneia and Thisbe (Aravantinos 2010: 341). Cf. Post (forthcoming). See Chapter 2, pages 215-230 for Boiotian history.

²⁰⁸ Post (forthcoming). Once again, however, Post (2017: 4) reminds us that secondary animal products, such as wool, are difficult to discover in the archaeological record because of our lack of ability to recover and analyze the evidence.

²⁰⁹ Müller 2016.

lands in the Kopaïc basin in recognition of their donations to the war office.²¹⁰ This was not, as Howe rightly argues, an ‘empty honour’ since the poleis around Lake Kopais ‘closely regulated grazing’.²¹¹ That the women were allowed to commemorate this with a public inscription was a significant distinction. Thus, we witness regional organization through the division and regulation of land in the Kopaïc basin, and the importance of this agricultural land to the poleis around it. We can also assume that grazing animals was a source of income in the area, and that the attention paid to advertising who was allowed to do so was not only important to the person who received the honour, but also to the polis that benefited from it.

Howe points to another inscription concerning the right to graze in the Kopaïc basin. We find the name of Euboulos of Elateia, who was given the right by Orchomenos to graze 220 large animals and 1,000 smaller animals in the area (*IG VII 3171*).²¹² Again, our two micro-regions intermingle: a man from Elateia (eastern Phokis) was given the right to graze in the land around Orchomenos (Lake Kopais). This example shines light on the idea that micro-regions could act as points of contact between macro-regions and suggests a level of cross-regional cooperation. As such, these micro-regions occasionally broke down the regional borders that seemed so politically charged. This must have affected the lives of the Chaironeians, who resided directly between these two areas and therefore likely also witnessed some regional cooperation along with regional conflict.

²¹⁰ Howe 2013: 153-4. The granting of this right to women, Howe (2013: 153) points out, was not unusual in the Hellenistic Greek world, where we find elite women engaged in philanthropic and euergetic acts. The unusual part, he continues (2013: 153), is that in Boiotia the women were honoured alone and not with their husbands or other men, indicating that they could compete equally for resources with men (2013: 155).

²¹¹ Howe 2013: 154. Regulations on the use of this land to graze animals can be seen in the inscription *IG VII 3171.43*, where even the types of animals allowed are managed. For more on leasing land in Boiotia, see Osborne 1985 (Thespiiai), who suggests (1985: 321) that these leases promote local identity by enforcing local cooperation.

²¹² Howe 2013: 155.

The lake was also abundant with wildlife of which the Boiotians took economic advantage. We see this, for example, in the marine price list from Akraiphia (*SEG* 60: 495) and the famous eels of Lake Kopais.²¹³ Although we have no studies of skeletal remains from Chaironeia that speak to their diet,²¹⁴ it is likely that its inhabitants also engaged in this marine industry either through fishing themselves, or by incorporating the marine life of the lake into their own diet. Furthermore, there is evidence of an association of Athenian hunters established in the area during the Hellenistic period.²¹⁵ While we again cannot determine if Chaironeia was involved with this organization, their proximity to the lake and connection to this micro-region suggests that they would have knowledge of and perhaps even participation in this organization, whether through trade or the hosting of hunters as they passed through the area. Whether or not Chaironeia itself was involved in these activities, Lake Kopais offered an abundance of flora and fauna of which this micro-region took advantage, and which almost certainly affected the lives and diets of the inhabitants around the lake.

Lake Kopais offers us another unique insight into local identity as linked to a micro-region evidenced by the cult centers found around its basin. Many of the larger cults were centered around water and hydromancy.²¹⁶ The tie between these cults and their relation to water emphasizes the importance that the lake held for the region. The local in this context, therefore, is tied to the micro-regional and the unique ecological setting of this area. We see this again with coinage from the

²¹³ The eels and their relationship to the region of Boiotia are discussed in Chapter 2, on pages 210-3. Cf. H. Beck 2020: 85, 89; H. Beck forthcoming: section 8.2; Lytle 2010; Post (forthcoming); Vika, Aravantinos, and Richards 2009; Vika 2011 1160.

²¹⁴ As we find for Thebes: Vika, Aravantinos, and Richards 2009; Vika 2011: 1160.

²¹⁵ *SEG* 32: 457. Post (forthcoming).

²¹⁶ Farinetti 2008: 130. Post (forthcoming) points to Akraiphia (Ptoios), Lebadeia (Trophonios), Tegyra (Apollo), Telphousa (Apollo), and Thourion (Apollo). Cf. Ganter 2013: 98 (Athena Itonia and her relationship to the poleis around Lake Kopais); Schachter 1967: 7 (cults of Herakles surrounding the lake).

area. Coins mined by poleis around Lake Kopais featured the shield on the obverse and Herakles on the reverse, usually in warlike scenarios and guises.²¹⁷ Their legends shift from individual poleis to explicit references to Thebes.²¹⁸ It would not be unreasonable to interpret the choice of the subject on the regional coinage as representing Theban military interests and aspirations, while also harkening back to the victories that Herakles brought for Thebes, including that over the Minyae of Orchomenos. Unsurprisingly, Orchomenos persisted in minting its own coins, with Herakles replaced by an ear of grain.²¹⁹ The coinage thus reinforces the importance of the micro-region of the North-West Kopaic basin, with Orchomenos acting as an ‘other’ in Boiotia, by means of its political and economic differences from Thebes and its allies.²²⁰

Lastly, we must consider the ramifications of the lake on the health of the inhabitants who dwelt around or near it. As Post indicates,²²¹ this was only hinted at in the ancient sources, but there is evidence nonetheless that the lake contributed to disease, specifically malaria. The shallow body of water was ideal for mosquitos who transmitted the disease around this micro-region.²²² This

²¹⁷ Giroux 2020b: 11-2; Head 1884: xxxvi, xxxix; Hoover 2014: 391-4; Mackil and van Alfen 2006: 226-229; Schachter 2014a: 73-74, 81.

²¹⁸ Mackil and van Alfen 2006: 229.

²¹⁹ Head 1884: xxxvii; Hoover 2014: 371-373; Schachter 2014a: 74; Beck and Ganter 2015: 138; Meidani 2008: 157. Head (Roberts and Head 1974: 18) contemplates the significance of the iconography, suggesting that the grain of corn was, “...referring, as a religious symbol, to the extraordinary productiveness of the Orchomenian plain, the fertility of which even in our own days is so remarkable that Leake was able to count as many as 900 grains in a single ear of corn.”

²²⁰ Mackil and van Alfen (2006: 203) rightly warn of placing too much emphasis on coins as evidence for a Boiotian League or, “...as expressions of a collective political will (or, less optimistically, of the subordination of less powerful communities by a mightier hegemon).” They stress (2006: 203-204) that coins are primarily monetary instruments and that we must consider them in this context, including the importance to simplifying transactions involved in military alliance (227), trade (228), and religion (228). However, they agree (2006: 229) that the shift in the coins to a Theban legend and depictions of Herakles reflects, “...Thebes’ increasingly hegemonic and belligerent role in the *koinon* of Boiotian poleis.” For Boiotian coinage, see Hoover 2014: 342-406, in particular, pages 368-373 and 385-401 for Orchomenian and Theban coinage, respectively. Cf. Giroux 2020b.

²²¹ Post (forthcoming) points to the example of the third century BCE travel writer, Herakleides, who lists fever (πυρετὸν; Herakleides Kritikos (*BNJ* 369A F 1.25 [McInerney 2019]) as a characteristic of the people of Onchestos. Cf. Gonzalez 2006: 45.

²²² Post (forthcoming).

would certainly have affected the lives of the local inhabitants, who would have had to deal with this disease on a regular basis. The economic and social impact of malaria on the poleis around the lake should not be underestimated.²²³ It is all the more notable, then, that the sanctuaries around the lake focused on water and that we do not find, for example, more shrines devoted to healing gods, that is, until we arrive in Chaironeia.²²⁴

The two micro-regions of Lake Kopais and eastern Phokis and western Boiotia were important components of Chaironeia's development and interactions. The exchange of goods and information, as well as the cooperation and conflict that occurred in these areas certainly affected the lives of Chaironeia's inhabitants. Therefore, these nodes of connection complicate our understanding of Plutarch's local world by demonstrating that it was not only linked to multiple poleis and projects, but also at times crossed regional boundaries through its affiliation with its neighbours in Phokis. Chaironeia thus participated in an active and engaging network that hardly reflects its supposed backwater status. We will see this again in its material landscape.

Material Landscape

Before we discuss Chaironeia's sanctuaries, we must first consider the idea of landscape and archaeology in this polis. It has already been recognized that material culture, such as monuments, buildings, and literature gain meaning from their respective times and places.²²⁵ As such, we must consider space when we approach any kind of evidence from the past. Plutarch's works are no

²²³ As Post (forthcoming) explains, "(i)ndeed, early 19th c. studies found that in regions of Greece where malaria was endemic, on average at least 50% of labourers were incapacitated for an average of six man-days during the May-June harvest; following a countrywide effort to eradicate malaria in the 1940's, researchers observed increases in yield of well over 100% in these regions."

²²⁴ See below, pages 88-91 for the sanctuaries in Chaironeia and their relationship to healing.

²²⁵ Blakely 2015: 133.

exception. Therefore, this section on material culture endeavours to answer the question: what made up the material world of Chaironeia? This will include an investigation of the main sites, the monuments, small finds, and the epigraphic landscape of this polis.

We have already looked at the ecological landscape of Chaironeia and the important aspects of the fertile soil of the area that came from Farinetti's GIS study. By combining what we learned about the ecology with what we will now see concerning the material landscape, we will be able to better visualize the movement of peoples through Chaironeia, and thus to understand more about their social interactions.²²⁶ What were the main visual centers of the polis? How were they viewed by a local person? Was the local landscape interpreted differently by a foreigner? By learning more about the polis and its foci, I hope to give meaning to Plutarch's presentation of his hometown and understand how the local might have penetrated into the global outlook of his corpus.

When we begin to look at landscapes, it is important to remember that they are not simply based on geographic descriptors. Susan Alcock explains it well when she says that, "(a)ll aspects of human activity – settlement patterns, boundaries, ritual sites, roads, monuments, burial places – together with their intersection with the natural world, are bound up in the concept, which also highlights emotional ties to particular places and the memories invested within them..."²²⁷

Landscape, then, is also about human experience and an individual's perception of that experience.

The material landscape is important, because it offers us the opportunity to investigate first-hand

²²⁶ Blakley (2015) performs a study of this idea of integration of various techniques, including GIS data, in Samothrace to reveal more information about those who visited the mystery cult located on the island. Blakley (2015: 134) explains that, "(t)he impetus for this mixed-methods research came from Grounded Theory, a combination of theory and methodology emerging from the assertion that humans act toward things and spaces on the basis of their meanings, and that those meanings emerge from social interactions."

²²⁷ Alcock, Gates, and Rempel 2005: 354-5.

evidence of peoples interacting with their space, evidenced by the inscriptions of Chaironeia.²²⁸ By cataloguing and analyzing the material landscape, we are able to assess changing local conditions over time.²²⁹ And so, once we establish the last piece in our puzzle of the basics of Chaironeia, that is, its material landscape, we can move onto one man's, Plutarch's, portrayal of its spaces. This will enable us to see the trends and the changing local conditions that informed his work.

There have been no extensive archaeological investigations in Chaironeia.²³⁰ However, we have some obvious visible archaeological features that have been examined by scholars. These are laid out in Figure 1.8 below.

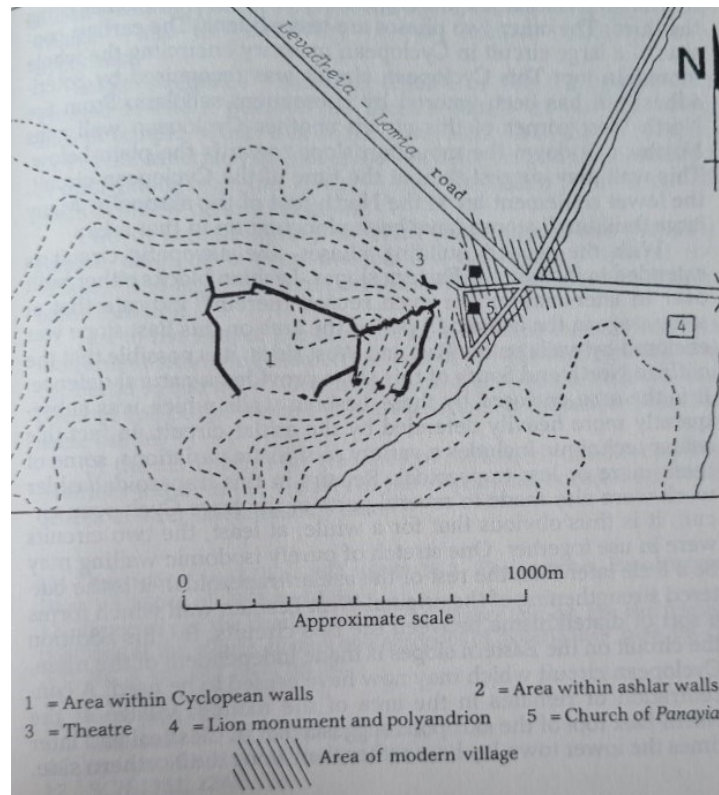


Figure 1.8: The sites of Chaironeia (Fossey 1988: 377; copied with permission)

²²⁸ See below, pages 106-123.

²²⁹ Alcock, Gates, and Rempel 2005: 355.

²³⁰ See above, pages 23, 35-6.

The Theatre

One of the most obvious sites as you walk into modern Chaironeia, is the small rock-cut theatre of the fifth or fourth century BCE, found on the northern slope of the acropolis (see Figs. 1.8-1.9).



Figure 1.9: The rock cut theatre of Chaironeia built into the acropolis (author's photograph)

The theatre faces north and thus receives little sun, which helped to create a cooler and damp micro-climate for the audience.²³¹ In the heat of summer and during crowded events, this placement was ideal for the audience, who would not be beaten down upon by the sun, or have their view of the performance obstructed by its rays. Furthermore, the theatre is slightly raised above the polis, granting the audience a view of the town as well as the plain of Chaironeia.²³² In

²³¹ Dilke 1950: 35.

²³² Including the Lion of Chaironeia, which was close-by, see below, pages 78-80, and Figures 1.14 and 1.15.

Plutarch's time, it was also connected to the Roman agora by a street.²³³ The location of the theatre and its orientation, therefore, were ideal both in terms of the audience experience and also for the movement of peoples through the polis via a street that connected two main meeting spaces: the agora and the theatre.

The 2009 excavations of the theatre revealed changes in the theatre over time and their possible relationship to a regional trend in Boiotia that, I argue, likely resulted from Chaironeia's position in the micro-region of the North-West of Lake Kopais. First, Marco Germani contends that the construction date in the fifth century BCE reflected a regional situation in Boiotia, when the building of theatres was prominent.²³⁴ The regional impetus for theatres makes the undertaking of the construction of one in the small polis of Chaironeia less surprising. It is important to note, however, that the construction of Boiotian theatres and the orientation of their *koila* were not uniform, but rather, responded to the existing topography.²³⁵

Germani also posits that the Boiotian theatres of the Classical and Hellenistic periods were built because of the prominence of music schools in the area.²³⁶ He explains that, in addition to their famous musicians, "(t)his region, more than others, developed a specific need for structures for spectacles because of the local cultural tradition's emphasis on musical performance, which was

²³³ Germani 2015: 360.

²³⁴ Germani 2018: 97. Note, however, that Germani (2015: 353) names the theatre of Chaironeia as the earliest one to date in Boiotia, though he mentions the possibility (2015: 353) that Thebes also had an earlier theatre, but that this has yet to be confirmed archaeologically. Cf. Germani (2015: 351-3) for references to the theatres of Akraiphia, Chaironeia, Koroneia, Orchomenos, Plataia, Tanagra, Thebes, and Thespiiai.

²³⁵ Germani 2015: 353-4; Germani 2018: 98-9. The construction of the *koila* in the hollows of hills was to facilitate the construction of the theatre (Germani 2015: 351, 356). For more on the seating of Chaironeia's theatre and the probability of a wooden *proscenium*, see Dilke 1950: 35-7 and Germani 2018: 99.

²³⁶ Germani 2015: 353.

stimulated by an enormous baggage of legends and stories regarding local heroes...”²³⁷ This is unsurprising when we remember the famous *auloi* produced from the reeds of Lake Kopaïs.²³⁸ It is therefore likely that the theatre at Chaironeia was constructed in relation to music performances and education and that these sorts of events were a focus of the polis.²³⁹ The theatre of Chaironeia thus represents an intersection of the physical and imagined space: one where the inhabitants could practice their music, meet, entertain, and be entertained, but also one where the prevalence of music in their myth and legendary figures was pushed to the forefront of their minds. Furthermore, we can argue that, in the construction of this theatre, Chaironeia was benefitting from its association with its regional entity through the construction efforts, and also from its micro-regional location, in the stress paid to music as a result of the cultivation of reeds for flutes. The economic cooperation and affiliation that resulted from these endeavours is reflected in this rock-cut theatre and emphasizes a part of Chaironeia’s identity through its projection on this piece of public architecture.

The effort to maintain this theatre, evident through some of the reconstructions and use up until the mid-fourth century CE,²⁴⁰ also reflected an internal, regional need for meeting places.²⁴¹ The changes to the theatre through time, furthermore, demonstrate the growing needs of the Chaironeian community. An inscription (*IG VII 3409*) from the third century BCE mentions the

²³⁷ Germani 2015: 353. For more on Plutarch and music in Boiotia, see Chapter 2, pages 303-6.

²³⁸ See above, page 62 and Chapter 2 pages 213-4; H. Beck 2020: 106; Post (forthcoming).

²³⁹ However, this does not preclude other kinds of performances in the theatre. My argument here is that the stress on music in the region provided the impetus for the building of the theatre (following Germani 2015: 353) and therefore was also likely the main form of entertainment/event that occurred in the theatre near the beginning of its construction.

²⁴⁰ Germani 2015: 357-9 (restorations based on donations, mainly made to the *cavea* of the theatre); Germani 2018: 102-3 (coins found in excavations dating to the rule of Constantius II), 104-5 (change from a rectilinear theatre to a pseudo-circular shape).

²⁴¹ Germani 2015: 353.

construction of a *proskenion*, which suggests that dramatic performances also occurred in the theatre.²⁴² The inscription reads:

..... ς ἀ[γωνο]-	...agonothete ²⁴³
[θετήσας Διουνυ]σίων π....	<i>The theatre of Dionysos...</i>
.....τό π]ροσκήνι[ον	[he] dedicates the <i>proskenion</i> ²⁴⁴
μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Σ]ωκρατήας	with his wife
.....Διονύσῳ	to Dionysos
[καὶ τῇ πόλει ἀ]νέθηκε.	and to the city.

The inscription speaks to the continued importance of the theatre for Chaironeia as well as its continued use for entertainment for the locals. It also shows the functional development of the theatre from one that was likely built to reflect the importance of music and musical education, to one that now hosted multiple kinds of performances. Perhaps the emphasis on music at this time had diminished, or the locals were just developing a new interest in other kinds of performances. We cannot say, since we lack evidence for either hypothesis. But we can say that the space of the theatre in Chaironeia was one that evolved not only through regional interest and economic affiliation with Boiotia, but also for local interests. This is further supported by the largest change in the theatre, namely, the shift from a rectilinear plan to a semi-circular one in the late first century BCE,²⁴⁵ which likely reflected Chaironeia's population boom during this period,²⁴⁶ and thus the need to expand the theatre's capacity. The theatre, therefore, functions as a strong case study of a changing landscape over time, one that reflected the experience of the individual and the collective.

²⁴² Dilke 1950: 35; Germani 2018: 102-4.

²⁴³ Presumably, the dedicator, whose name does not survive, dedicated the *proskenion* after having served as *agonothete* for the Dionysia (Braund and Hill 2014: 384-5).

²⁴⁴ The lack of survival of this *proskenion* suggests that it was constructed of wood (Germani 2018: 104).

²⁴⁵ Germani 2018: 104-5.

²⁴⁶ Germani 2018: 97, 105. According to Fossey (1979: 582; 1988: 447), Chaironeia is the only polis around Lake Kopais to show a steady increase in settlement and prosperity during the Roman period. Cf. Meyer 2008: 77.

Its construction phases also offer us a glimpse into Chaironeia's micro-regional and macro-regional ties, while tempering these ties with the needs and concerns of its local world.

The Acropolis

The most obvious site, however, is not the theatre, but the acropolis and its surrounding walls (see Figs. 1.8 and 1.9 above). These walls were constructed in four phases: [1] Cyclopean, [2] Acropolis extension, [3] Ashlar, [4] Repairs after 551 CE.²⁴⁷ The first phase consisted of Cyclopean masonry that encircled the entire mountain top (see Fig. 1.8), following the topographic nature of the area.²⁴⁸ Fossey conjectures, based on the presence of a second wall that runs towards the plain down the slope of the mountain, as well as some large stones that have been ploughed up and were possibly building material, that the ancient town first sat on the Northern foot of the acropolis.²⁴⁹ If Fossey is correct, we may have evidence for a movement of peoples, though we cannot say exactly when, as the later polis of Chaironeia lay towards the north-eastern foot of the mountain.²⁵⁰

The second construction phase of the acropolis walls of Chaironeia consisted of an extension to the eastern slopes.²⁵¹ There are two possible implications for this. The first is that Chaironeia's position at the corridor that led between Phokis and Boiotia left them in such a vulnerable condition

²⁴⁷ Fossey 1988: 378. Note that the fourth construction phase, consisting of repairs that may have taken place in the sixth century CE, will not be discussed here, as it is far beyond Plutarch's lifetime.

²⁴⁸ Fossey 1988: 378; Hammond 1938: 2 n.1; Soteriadhesis 1903: 324. Farinetti (2011: 103) suggests that the walls were first constructed in the Bronze Age. Soteriadhesis (1903: 326) estimates that the acropolis was larger than the ancient town. This may have been true for the first phase of construction; however, it would no longer be the case during Plutarch's day, especially when we consider the *chora* and the expansion of the town in the Roman period (see below, pages 91-2).

²⁴⁹ Fossey 1988: 378. This runs counter to Hammond (1938: 187) who suggests, based on the presence of pottery and building remains that the ancient polis was concentrated inside the acropolis walls as well as to the south.

²⁵⁰ The movement of the town is reflected in a statement by Plutarch (*De curios.* 1 [515b-c]) that the orientation of the polis was changed in ancient times so that they did not face the 'full force of the sun' (καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐρείδοντα δειλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνασοῦ δεχομένην ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς).

²⁵¹ Fossey 1988: 378.

that they required more defence.²⁵² The second, which may also be related to the first, was that the walls were constructed to accommodate a growing population. In both cases, conflict in the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia was likely the *raison d'être* of this construction project. Therefore, that one of the largest surviving remains and structures from ancient Chaironeia was motivated by Chaironeia's key position in this micro-region speaks to the importance that this area had to Chaironeia's identity.

The third phase of construction during the Hellenistic era, echoed other elaborate, systematic, defensive construction projects in Boiotia during this time.²⁵³ The presence of some towers along the walls increased their defensive nature.²⁵⁴ We have here yet another clue that points to regional influence in the construction projects of this polis: the Boiotian *koinon* chose to include the relatively small polis of Chaironeia in its defensive measures. This is unsurprising, given its key defensive position in central Greece by the pass that connected Phokis and Boiotia, its location in the contested space of the fertile Kephissos valley,²⁵⁵ as well as Chaironeia's position on an arterial road. Nevertheless, the involvement of Chaironeia in these defensive projects should be recognized as a sign of regional cooperation and negotiation, in the belief that these fortifications were necessary, or, at the very least, useful. This consideration brings us back to the micro-region of

²⁵² Farinetti 2011: 103; Hammond 1938: 187.

²⁵³ For the phases of the walls, see Hammond 1938: 2 n1 and Fossey 1988: 376-8. For Boiotian defensive measures in the fourth century, see H. Beck 2020: 65-8; Fossey and Gauvin 1990: 116-8.

²⁵⁴ Note, however, that there are not a significant amount of these: Fossey 1988: 376-7; Fossey and Gauvin 1990: 116. However, their very presence suggests an effort for additional defense of this space and thus a need for such defense.

²⁵⁵ See above, pages 48-55 for the importance of this micro-region to Boiotia and Chaironeia. By securing Chaironeia, the regional world thus laid claim over the land and its *chora* (H. Beck 2020: 67). By stipulating that Chaironeia is key to the defensive nature of Boiotia, I argue against Fossey and Gauvin, who state (1990: 118) that, "(l)'acropole de Chéronée présente un processus de fortification complexe, surtout si l'on considère qu'il ne s'agit là que d'une agglomération béotienne d'importance *mineure*" [italics are my own]. While the polis of Chaironeia was a relatively small, and thus minor contributor to the Boiotian League, its position on the map heightened its importance significantly. As such, I do not believe that we should consider Chaironeia to be of minor importance to Boiotia, but rather, an essential component, especially during times of war.

Chaironeia, that of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia, and indicates that during the Hellenistic period at least, Chaironeia chose to identify with the Boiotians. These fortifications thus become a local symbol of their regional affinity, one that defended their association with Boiotia against other *koina*, such as the nearby Phokians. In other words, we learn that, in some capacity, to be Chaironeian was to be part of a Boiotian military defense strategy, one that guarded central Greece from its northern and western neighbours. Furthermore, we again witness the changing and evolving nature of Chaironeia through the different building phases of the walls. Chaironeia was evolving through its engagement and interaction with these regional worlds. The walls serve as a symbolic reminder of this cooperation and competition.

The lieux de mémoire

Chaironeia's defensive role is therefore emphasized in its material landscape. We see this once again in the only other obvious visual sites from the ancient period, namely, its famous *lieux de mémoire* commemorating the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BCE: the Macedonian tomb, located in the plain outside of the polis, and the Lion of Chaironeia, marking the burial place of the Theban Sacred Band close to the acropolis.²⁵⁶ I begin by looking at the unique aspects of the Macedonian tomb, before turning to the Lion, the relationship between these two monuments, and the implications of this on the individual experience of the material landscape of Chaironeia.

The Macedonian tomb, measuring seven metres high and 70 metres across when it was excavated in 1902, contained evidence of a collective burial followed by an elaborate funeral and monumentalization.²⁵⁷ This tomb, Ma points out, had symbolic considerations as a reminder of

²⁵⁶ Note that aspects of this discussion are incorporated in an upcoming article: Giroux forthcoming a.

²⁵⁷ Ma 2008: 77.

Macedonian power.²⁵⁸ Pausanias states (9.40.7-9) that the Macedonians did not have the tradition of erecting victory trophies, hinting at the reason for its absence. However, Ma suggests that the Macedonian tumulus functioned as a symbolic trophy, placed aggressively further out into the local landscape towards Thebes and Athens, serving as a threatening reminder of Macedonian triumph. In this way, he argues, the mound behaved as a trophy.²⁵⁹ This new landmark, created by a foreign entity, would therefore act as a reminder for those who observed Chaironeia's landscape, not only of Macedonian power, but also of Chaironeia's key position in the narrow pass. The tomb would thus become a bleak expression of the failure of a defensive position.

The effect of this *lieux de mémoire* is immediately apparent in the archaeology of the site, as the absence of sherds around the mound implies that it was no longer fertilized and used for agriculture.²⁶⁰ The alteration of Chaironeian activities in the area from agricultural to commemorative suggests that the local inhabitants of Chaironeia respected this monument and its place in their local landscape, creating an emotional space of communal memory; an intersection of a physical and imagined space. The change in activity also suggests that the Chaironeians saw this monument, or perhaps this battle, as important to their local identity. In this way, the local and events in the local sphere became prioritized as a symbolic moment during a time of change in the Greek world. Perhaps we can cautiously state that this space of communal memory was one of pride for the local Chaironeians, not necessarily in the political change it represented, but perhaps in the sheer fact that it happened *here*. It happened *on our soil*.

²⁵⁸ Ma 2008: 78.

²⁵⁹ Ma 2008: 78.

²⁶⁰ We know that it was fertilized before this, as sherds were found in deposits in the tomb (Ma 2008: 78). As Mayo explains (1988: 63), "(t)here are social expectations about personal behavior in a sacred place. Social sanctions must exist that keep a place sacred by allowing it to be ritualized temporarily or that assume it will remain sacred even when people are absent." Clearly, social sanctions ensured that the space around the mound in the plain of Chaironeia remained sacred by removing any agricultural activities around it.

Our other important *lieux de mémoire* is related to the Macedonian mound, and, like the Macedonian tomb, it is very hard to ignore. This is the burial of the Thebans below the monumental Lion of Chaironeia.²⁶¹ The Thebans were hastily buried,²⁶² and the monument itself was not erected by Thebes until later in the Hellenistic period.²⁶³ However, its dominant position along the arterial road at the focal point of the plain,²⁶⁴ and facing the tomb of the Macedonians, indicates the continued importance and presence of the memory of this battle for the Greeks, in what Ma terms a kind of ‘intermonumental meditation’.²⁶⁵ As such, the Lion becomes a memorial that echoed the Macedonian tumulus, not only in the sense that it was built long after the battle, but also in that it reminded the viewer of the conflict, as it looked towards the Macedonian tomb and over the plain, its silent contemplation a loud reverberation for the viewer of the conflict that took place in its environs.

We can perhaps also understand the Lion of Chaironeia as a defiant response by the Thebans to the Macedonian intrusion in the Greek landscape. For, as Robert Hayden explains, victors tell the story that they want to be told, but, “...social memory is not so easily controlled, and as

²⁶¹ Ma (2008: 79-81) makes a fascinating discovery through the reconstruction efforts of the 19th and early 20th centuries for the Lion of Chaironeia, in which he finds that it once again became a symbol for the Greek people: this time, of liberty. In this way, the Lion continues as a *lieux de mémoire* to the present day, one which carries multiple meanings and demonstrates the potential for an evolving symbolism of a monument through time. In this way, the *Theban* Lion slowly became the *Chaironeian* Lion as its symbolism and meaning evolved through time (Here I follow the suggestion of Elsner [1994: 229] that monuments change their meaning over time, though Elsner uses the example of the pyramids). For more on the reconstruction of the Lion, see Bosanquet and Tod 1902: 380. For an overview of the early travellers who gave details of the Lion before its reconstruction, see Ma 2008: 79-80, Sanborn 1897, Vaux 1866.

²⁶² Ma 2008: 77. A total of 254 skeletons were found, laid in seven rows (Pritchett 1958: 311).

²⁶³ Ma 2008: 84.

²⁶⁴ Ma 2008: 83-4. It may also have been close to what was likely the shrine of Herakles. The shrine of Herakles, Ma posits (2008: 83), is probably located at the modern chapel of H. Paraskevi.

²⁶⁵ Ma 2008: 85. As Mayo argues (1988: 62), “(a)ttempts to commemorate war unavoidably create a distinct political landscape.” And further (1988: 69), “(w)ar memorials, whether sacred or not, subtly permeate lives more than is realized.” This lends weight to Ma’s idea of the monuments communicating over the plain of Chaironeia, perhaps in a subconscious way for both locals and visitors.

configurations of remembrance change in the wider society, comparable changes in forms of commemoration at battlefields may follow.”²⁶⁶ So, if we take Ma’s suggestion that the Lion was built c.285 BCE,²⁶⁷ when Thebes was reintegrated into the Boiotian League, and that this monument was erected, “...when Boiotian unity was being reinvented and reinforced”, we find a timeline for the changing interpretation of this landscape based not only in social changes, but also in political events. The Lion, therefore, became a political tool for Thebes and Boiotia to assert their own identity and project it onto the plain, facing the Macedonians and thus functioning as a defiant marker in the landscape. Its very nature draws the eye of the viewer away from both the Macedonian tomb and other, smaller sites and monuments. By doing so, it started to define the local landscape, as is evident today with the synonymous nature of the Lion and Chaironeia. But it also suggested a mourning for the loss of Greek lives in the plain, the Lion watching, or even scrutinizing, the nearby Macedonians who laid at rest.

In whatever way we interpret the symbolism of the Lion, its presence in the polis is an important aspect of our investigation of what makes Chaironeia local, as well as its interconnections with its micro- and macro-regional affiliations, and its global world. In this monument we witness the three spheres converge into one. First, we find the global lens through the commemoration of a battle that changed the political landscape of the ancient Mediterranean. Secondly, its very construction by Thebes displays a regional interference in the local landscape, one that, over time, was infused with local meaning. Finally, we see the local context come into play through the use of local marble and the placement of the Lion at a prominent intersection in the polis.²⁶⁸ The use of local building

²⁶⁶ Hayden 2017: 151.

²⁶⁷ Ma 2008: 84.

²⁶⁸ Ma 2008: 81.

materials anchored the *chora* of Chaironeia to the urban fabric of the polis, announcing the local bond to their land,²⁶⁹ while simultaneously cementing Chaironeia's position in the historical narrative. All three spheres are entangled and derive meaning from one another. All three spheres also contribute to the physical landscape of Chaironeia's world, as well as to its imagined space as a focus of collective memory centered on conflicts. Clearly, Chaironeia became an important site for the commemoration of battle, one in which the Chaironeians seemed to have been actively involved.²⁷⁰

The memorialization of conflict in Chaironeia continued beyond the battle against Philip in 338 BCE, as we find trophies that were erected after Sulla's victory at the battle of Chaironeia in 86 BCE. The dedications have been investigated extensively by modern scholars and thus are only briefly visited here.²⁷¹ Not only did Pausanias remark on them (9.40.7), but Plutarch, who is eerily quiet on the Lion of Chaironeia, and tells us little of his hometown, also referenced the trophies (*Sull.* 19.9-10).²⁷² One in particular, *SEG* 41: 448, contains some tantalizing hints on the intersection of local contexts, regional influence, and global events. The trophy gives the names

²⁶⁹ The anchorage of a polis, both literally and metaphorically, through the use of local building materials is suggested by H. Beck (2020: 128) in relation to dedications at Olympia. Here, I propose that it is also possible to view the selection of local Chaironeian marble in a similar light. Two potential problems arise: [1] this is a Theban tomb and thus somewhat divorces the local connection idea; [2] the use of marble was also likely a practical decision based on the nearby quarry, which would remove any transportation costs. Nevertheless, the local Chaironeians surely aided in the acquiring and shaping of the marble and lived with the daily visual reminder in their landscape. In this way, the local tie is once again strengthened and functions as a reminder of the connection to their land as well as their pride of place in the events of that day.

²⁷⁰ I suggest (see below, pages 171-182), that the pervasiveness of conflicts in this local world created a sort of battlefield tourism, or, at the very least, a battlefield atmosphere that provided meaning to both the local inhabitants and visitors to the polis.

²⁷¹ See, for example, Assenmaker 2013; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992; Ibarra 2009: 55-6, 79-82, 221; Kalliontzis 2014; Mackay 2000b. For a discussion on the commemoration of battles in Boiotia, see Kalliontzis 2014, esp. 343-367. The differences between Greek and Roman trophies are discussed by Kinnee 2018: 67-9. Cf. "Farmer Turns up Roman Trophy" (December 2004) for the press release of the discovery of one of Sulla's trophies.

²⁷² For more on Plutarch's silences on the Lion, see pages 189-190. For the importance of this mention in relation to Plutarch and autopsy in his works, see Buckler 1992.

of two men from Chaironeia, Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos (the local element), who excelled at the Battle of Chaironeia under Sulla (the global element). The inscription itself, crudely executed, is in the Boiotian dialect (the regional element).²⁷³ Thus, the local, regional, and global coalesce in one monument, the meaning of which would be read differently by each viewer. For example, the construction of this trophy demonstrates local pride in the actions of Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos. This pride would have been felt by whoever erected the trophy: the Chaironeians as a community or the two men themselves. Further, any local who read the inscription or gazed upon the monument also likely felt this pride. Plutarch, at least, seems to have been proud of the aid the Chaironeians gave to Sulla (*Sull.* 16.8-19.6). An outsider might see this differently. Regional poleis who had originally sided against Rome may look upon this with contempt. But a Roman would be satisfied (if he could read the Boiotian script), knowing that the Chaironeians helped Rome achieve a victory. This inscription offers a glimpse at what seemed to be important to the local Chaironeians: setting up a trophy, with all its symbolic might,²⁷⁴ to declare to the passerby that two men from Chaironeia (and thus, in a way, the town itself) aided Sulla in his great victory. There is therefore one reading that would be obvious to all: Chaironeia was a friend of Rome.²⁷⁵

It seems, then, that part of Chaironeian identity was not only about Boiotian defensive measures, but also engaging with, symbolically commenting on, and remembering the battles on the Kephissian plain, and thus their bloody past.²⁷⁶ This remembrance necessarily focused on the local

²⁷³ Mackay 2000b: 171. For more on the Boiotian dialect see: Pantelidis 2017; Vottero 1998; Vottero 2001.

²⁷⁴ Like the symbolic weight of the Lion of Chaironeia, discussed on pages 78-80. For more on war memorials and their symbolic power, see Mayo 1988. Ibarra (2009: 58) states it strongly with “(i)f anything, the local men’s pride in a title bequeathed by a Roman general implies the loyalty of the Chaeroneians to their foreign overlords.”

²⁷⁵ Plutarch makes sure that his reader knows it: see below, pages 167, 178, 186-190 for the sub-narrative of loyalty to Rome that Plutarch builds for Chaironeia.

²⁷⁶ For the tendency of the Greeks in the Hellenistic period to turn to the past, see Kalliontzis 2014: 343 and Stevens 2016: 67.

landscape and its monuments. The change in activities of the Chaironeians in the location of these monuments indicates a source of local pride. Their *lieux de mémoire* brought meaning to their lives during times of change, through the boast that the battle happened on their soil (338 BCE), and that they themselves brought victory and supported the new regime (86 BCE).

The Sanctuaries

Chaironeia was certainly more than the battles that so briefly occupied its land. While we cannot deny the effect that these conflicts had on both the landscape and collective memory, and thus on the identity projection of the Chaironeians more generally, the battles likely did not consume their everyday lives. The challenge is in uncovering other aspects of life in this small Boiotian town. Fortunately, we do have evidence of the religious life of the inhabitants through the many sanctuaries that were situated in this polis.

The list of sanctuaries in Chaironeia is rather extensive for a small polis. Unfortunately, no sanctuaries have been excavated, but we do have evidence of their existence through literature and inscriptions. Furthermore, we must remember to consider that, “(t)hese works of art were not merely a decoration on the landscape – they transformed the landscape with the presence of a particular god, story or myth.”²⁷⁷ We must therefore examine these sanctuaries not only on their own, but also as a part of the greater landscape of the polis. By doing so, we will gain a better understanding of the religious landscape of the town as well as the emphasis placed on certain

²⁷⁷ Elsner 1992: 11.

spaces. When one analyzes these, it is apparent that Chaironeia was actively engaged in many cults and practiced its own sacred rites.²⁷⁸

Let us, then, begin to consider the list of sanctuaries in Chaironeia. We find, for example, a sanctuary to Artemis²⁷⁹ and one to her brother, Apollo Thourios.²⁸⁰ While the location of the sanctuary of Artemis is uncertain,²⁸¹ that of Apollo Thourios may be on the Isoma Hill, close to the find spot of the trophy of Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos (see Fig. 1.10 and Fig. 1.12 [number 3]).²⁸²

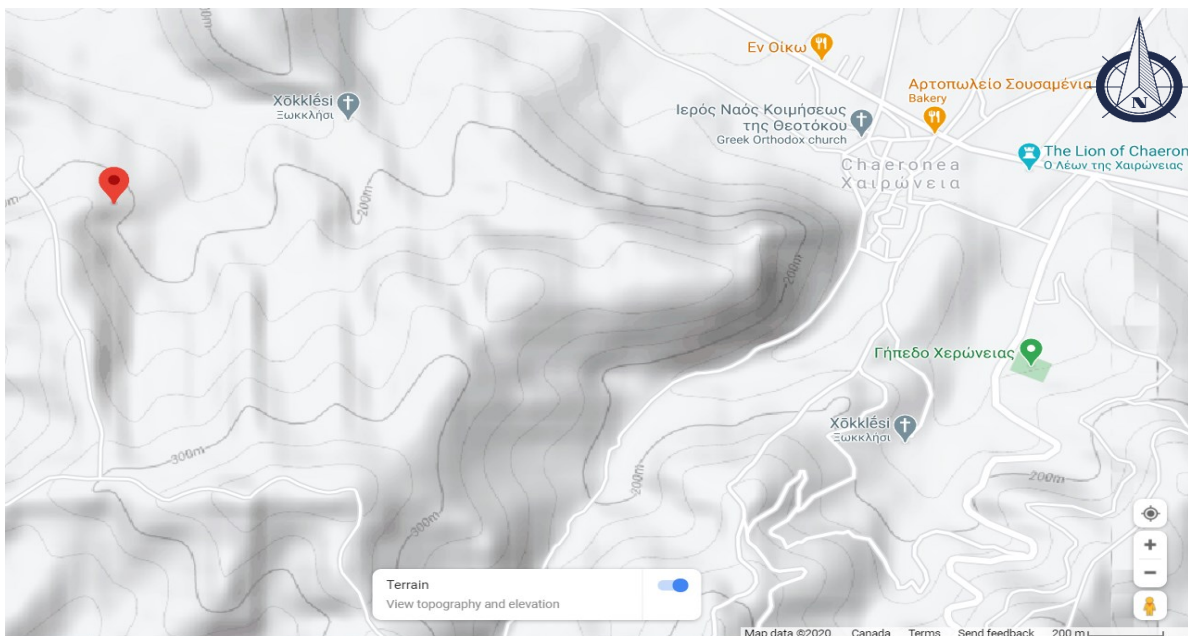


Figure 1.10: The potential location of the temple of Apollo Thourios (image from Google maps with location from Topos Text)²⁸³

²⁷⁸ For example, Plutarch explains one such ritual (*Quaest. Rom.* 16 [267d-e]), where no slave could enter the sanctuary of Matuta (see below, pages 164, 185-6). The inscriptions relating to these shrines will be discussed in the epigraphic landscape portion of this chapter, see below, pages 115-123.

²⁷⁹ For information on the worship of Artemis in Chaironeia, see Schachter 1981: 98.

²⁸⁰ Schachter 1981: 43.

²⁸¹ Note, however, that Fossey and Darmezine (2014: 192) suggest that a sanctuary to Artemis may be the main church in the modern village of Chaironeia, namely, that of Panayía (cf. Meyer 2008: 72). See below, figure 1.12, number 1.

²⁸² Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 444.

²⁸³ <https://topostext.org/place/385228SApo>. Note the different location suggested by Pleiades, which would nonetheless still place it within close walking distance: <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/540655>.

Based on the map, the temple of Apollo Thourios appears to be extramural and would therefore require a purposeful trip. However, evidence of potsherds and tile fragments suggest some settlement in the area.²⁸⁴ So, it is possible that the town of Chaironeia encompassed this space, or, at the very least, that some of its citizens chose to settle nearby. In either case, the distance was not far, as the people in the centre of the polis needed only to travel approximately 2.5 km for worship or religious rites at the temple. The short distance means that this temple should be included within the polis boundaries, as it was likely an active space of worship.²⁸⁵

Further religious spaces include one to Leukothea, which Plutarch discussed in his *Roman Questions* 16 (*Quaest. Rom.* 267d-e),²⁸⁶ one to the Great mother,²⁸⁷ and one for Asklepios.²⁸⁸ The sanctuary of Asklepios, however, if we follow the suggestion of Fossey and Laurence Darmezin,²⁸⁹ was found at the current location of the church of Ayía Paraskeví in the Lykoúressi valley, a little south-east of the village of Chaironeia (see Fig. 1.11 and Fig. 1.12 [number 4]).

²⁸⁴ Fossey 1988: 383-4.

²⁸⁵ I base the idea that it was likely an active worship space on the fact that the temple has been converted into a church, suggesting continuity of religious observance (Fossey and Darmezin 2014: 169).

²⁸⁶ Leukothea and the practices related to her sanctuary in Chaironeia are discussed below on pages 164, 185-6.

²⁸⁷ Fossey 1991: 153; Fossey and Darmezin 2014: 169.

²⁸⁸ Schachter 1981: 107-110; *BCH* 1952: 224.

²⁸⁹ Fossey and Darmezin (2014: 169, 191-2) base this on the discovery of a dedication of a garden to a deity. For more on this inscription, see *BCH* (1952: 224), which states that the name of Asklepios can be read numerous times throughout the inscription.

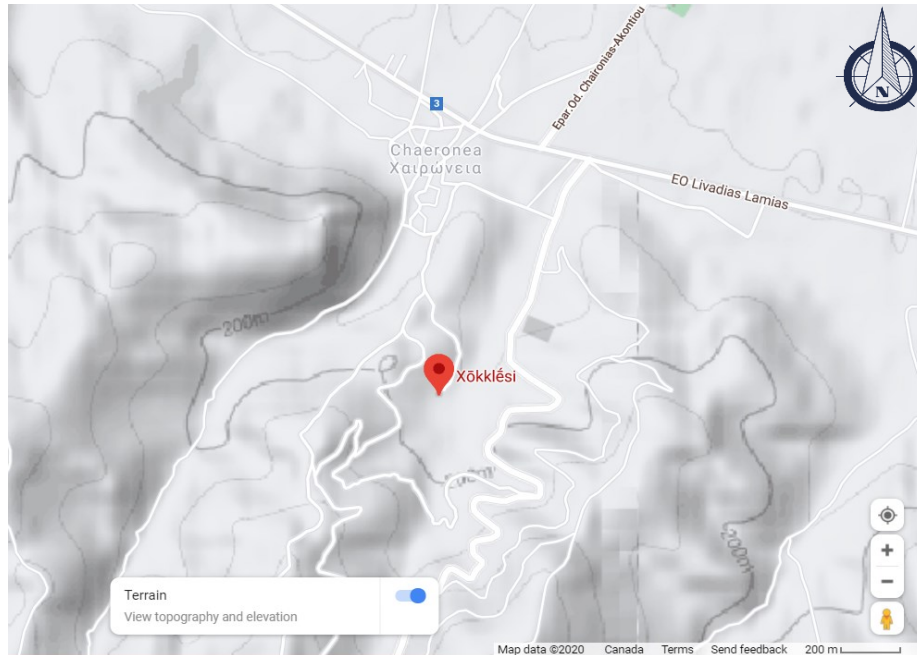


Figure 1.11: The possible location of the Asklepeion or the Herakleion (Google Maps)

This sanctuary of Asklepios was also within walking distance, though slightly further than that of Apollo.²⁹⁰ We must also note that Asklepios was a popular deity in other Boiotian poleis of the North-West area of Lake Kopais, including: Hyettos, Lebadeia, Orchomenos, Plataia, Thespiiai, and Thisbe.²⁹¹ His presence in this polis thus strengthens Chaironeia's tie to this region through the suggestion of religious influence and religious affinity to other Boiotian poleis. However, it must be recognized that this spot has also been proposed as the possible location for the worship of Dionysos and Herakles,²⁹² or for the Egyptian gods.²⁹³ The uncertain nature of the presiding deity

²⁹⁰ Note, of course, that the walking distance found in the map is from modern topographic features and likely does not reflect the exact route or distance that the ancient Chaironeians would have used. However, the visualization and approximate route help enable us to better visualize the movement of peoples through this landscape.

²⁹¹ Schachter 1981: 107-110; Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 168.

²⁹² *BCH* 1952: 224; Fossey 1988: 383; Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 191-2; Ma 2008: 83; Meyer 2008: 71-2; Pritchett 1958: 309; Schachter 1981: 158, 173-4, 200. See also: Plutarch *Cim.* 2, *Dem.* 19; *Quaest. Rom.* 16 [267d-e]; *Sull.* 17.

²⁹³ Meyer (2008: 72) suggests that the Egyptian gods may have been worshipped at the same site as Asklepios. Note that the Egyptian gods also appear below in the section on manumission records in Chaironeia, page 120.

in this space may never be resolved, since most of the material was reused in the modern church,²⁹⁴ and therefore the context for the original location has been lost.

More sanctuaries whose locations are uncertain existed in Chaironeia. For instance, we know of the worship of a sceptre known as *dory* that Hephaistos made for Zeus.²⁹⁵ Pausanias tells us that the sceptre was held in the priest's house and that his duty was to set out daily sacrifices to Agamemnon as well as to keep a table full of meats and cakes (9.40.11-12). He also says of the sceptre, "that it is something not the least divine, is made clear by the fame the people gain from it." This sceptre, therefore, was part of the identity of the Chaironeians and connected them with the Greek heroic past. As Pausanias states, it gave them some fame. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to posit that this was the Chaironeians' way of placing themselves within the *Catalogue of Ships*, along with their Boiotian allies, and thus within the legendary narrative of the Trojan War.

Lastly, we have another sanctuary of unknown location, that of the Muses.²⁹⁶ I have put both the sanctuary of the Muses with the 'house of the priest' for the sceptre of Agamemnon as number 1 on Figure 1.12. This location in Chaironeia was chosen at random and does not represent the actual location. Rather, the dot on the map is meant to symbolize that these two spaces were found somewhere within the polis of Chaironeia.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 191-2.

²⁹⁵ Jameson 1994: 36; Leake 1967/1835: 115; Schachter 1981: 199. Note that Plutarch does not mention the sceptre, which is odd considering the almost contemporaneous nature of Plutarch and Pausanias. However, based on Plutarch's mentions of Chaironeia and what he chooses to focus on (see below, pages 138-189), we can speculate that the sceptre did not fit with his overall constructed narrative for Chaironeia, one that emphasizes not only battle narratives, but also loyalty to and cooperation with Rome.

²⁹⁶ Meyer 2008: 71-2.

²⁹⁷ I have placed the two together to avoid creating points on the map for places of worship whose locations are not certain. Including too many points in random locations on the map would throw off possible interpretations of the use

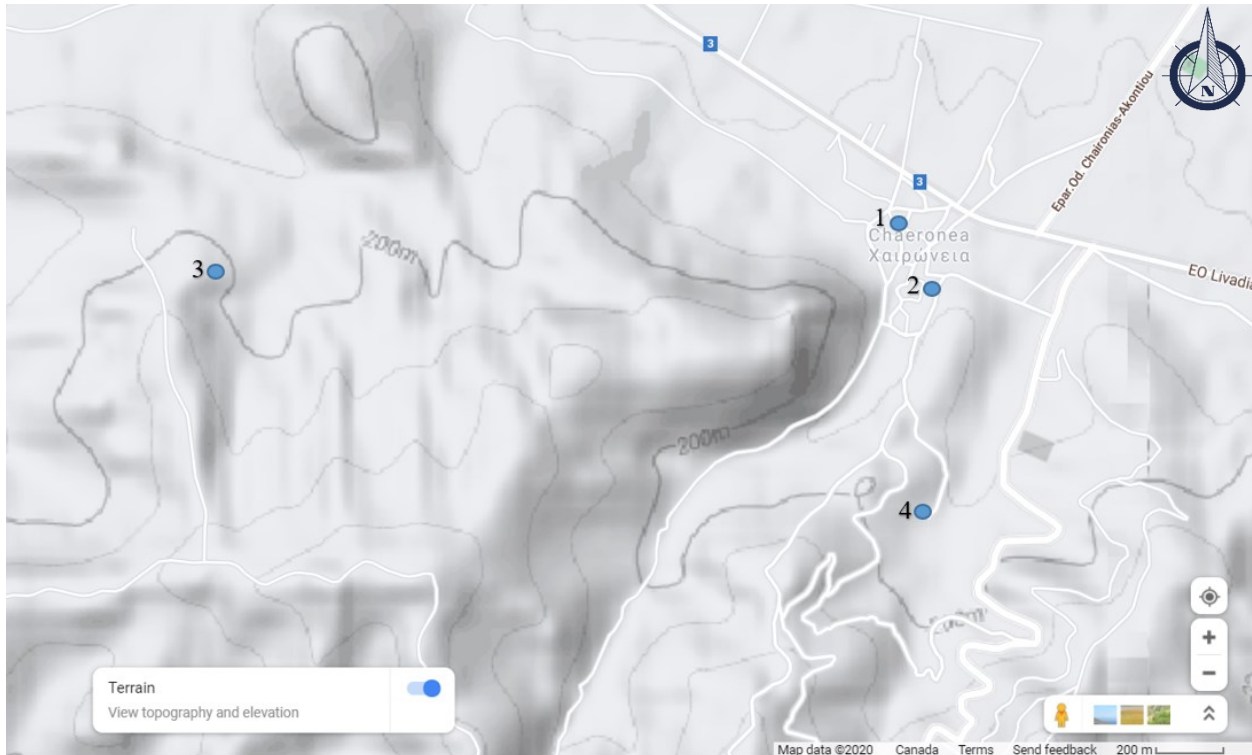


Figure 1.12: The potential locations of the sanctuaries of Chaironeia (Google maps)²⁹⁸

Legend: [1] Sceptre of Agamemnon/sanctuary of the Muses; [2] Artemis; [3] Apollo Thourios; [4] Sanctuary(ies) of Asklepios/Dionysos/Herakles/Egyptian Gods

The locations of Chaironeia's sacred spaces all seem to be urban. We do not hear or know of any sanctuaries in the countryside that belonged to this small Boiotian town. This is unfortunate, in that the presence of such sanctuaries could help us to define the polis boundaries and Chaironeia's claim to its surrounding territory.²⁹⁹ Despite this, we still gain some understanding of the movement of peoples from the locations posited above. It seems likely that the inhabitants of Chaironeia remained within the 5 km local radius that is surmised to be a manageable commuting

of space and movement of peoples within this polis. While these spaces could have been entirely left off the map, I believe that it is important to represent them together as symbolic reminders of other Chaironeian sanctuaries.

²⁹⁸ This map was prepared using Google Maps.

²⁹⁹ This does not mean that these sacred spaces did not exist, however, without any further excavations or archaeological survey work in the *chora* of Chaironeia, we remain uncertain. To date, no evidence of an extramural sanctuary has been found. For more on the importance of extra-urban sanctuaries and their demarcation of territory, see de Polignac 1995: 31-4.

distance.³⁰⁰ We can also tentatively suggest that any farmers or other inhabitants of the *chora* likely ventured (within the same radius) into the *asty* for religious purposes. The sanctuaries of Chaironeia, all relatively central, thus formed a key component of the atmosphere of the polis. Their sheer number in such a small space likely sent a message to locals and visitors alike of the divine presence of the gods in the polis, or, as we saw with the sceptre, of the antiquity of its people and their participation in Homeric efforts. However, we cannot say much more about how these sanctuaries contributed to the Chaironeian projection of identity without understanding the nature of these cults.

Elizabeth Meyer points out that all the deities worshipped in Chaironeian sanctuaries had healing properties: the Egyptian gods assumed a healing function early on in Egypt, both Artemis and the Mother Goddess oversaw childbirth, and both Apollo and Asklepios were gods of healing. Meyer suggests that this may be in relation to certain plants found in Chaironeia's territory, which had soothing and healing properties.³⁰¹ We learn about these plants from Pausanias,³⁰² who chose to focus on the healing aspect of Chaironeia's agriculture:

Here in Chaironeia they refine unguents from the flowers of the lily, the rose, the narcissus, and the iris. These become the medicines for the pains of men. The unguent which is made from the roses, if you rub it on images which have been made of wood, protects them from decay. The iris, on the one hand, grows in marshy-grounds and is equal to the size of the lily. On the other hand, its colour is not white, and its smell is inferior to the lily. (Paus. 9.41.7)

³⁰⁰ For more on the 5km radius, see: H. Beck 2020: 32.

³⁰¹ Meyer 2008: 72. For more information on the plant life of Lake Kopais see Theophrastos *Hist. pl.* 4.10-12. See also H. Beck 2020: 85, Fossey and Gauvin 1990: 265, Farinetti 2011: 51, and Post (forthcoming).

³⁰² Cf. pages 102-103.

H. Beck, describing the wildflowers of Orchomenos and Chaironeia, explains that they formed a part of the sensory experience of the local world, namely, its ‘smellscape’.³⁰³ Pausanias described the sweetness of the flowers above. We can imagine him walking towards Chaironeia, the air scented strongly and sweetly by flowers being cultivated and prepared for Chaironeia’s flourishing healing industry. It obviously struck him, as his description of Chaironeia was rather short, but it nonetheless concluded with this proportionally lengthy depiction of its flower production. The emphasis, both in the length and in the placement at the end of his description of this polis is surely indicative of the focal nature of this agricultural activity and its corresponding smellscape to Chaironeia. We can therefore assume that the healing activities and perfume industry in Chaironeia, complemented by local shrines to healing deities, were thriving at the time of his writing.

When we think back to the micro-region of North-East Lake Kopais, Chaironeia’s focus on healing does not come as a surprise. Chaironeia was located near Lake Kopais, which, as we saw, formed a unique ecological micro-region in Boiotia. However, while Post notes that the sanctuaries around the lake were centred on water,³⁰⁴ Chaironeia’s healing sanctuaries were likely related to his second observation of the area: disease. Chaironeia’s focus on healing deities may thus be related to the prevalence of malaria and the subsequent need of the inhabitants for medicine. In this way, the situation in Chaironeia agrees with Post’s final point that while the historical episodes ‘punctuated’ local lives, it was the ecology of the area that defined them.

³⁰³ H. Beck 2020: 81. Cf. H. Beck 2020: 78-81 for the psychological and physiological experience of smell.

³⁰⁴ Post (forthcoming).

It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to search for this healing industry at a time before we hear about it in Pausanias, in other words, before the Roman period. For example, small finds in the archaeological record, such as one Hellenistic alabastron (Fig. 1.13), a container type that was used to hold perfumed oils, may have been part of this local industry.³⁰⁵



*Figure 1.13: Hellenistic Alabastron, Museum of Chaironeia*³⁰⁶ (author's photograph)

Since economic development depends both on ‘a region’s historically embedded resources’ and on the identity it projects to internal and external audiences,³⁰⁷ we can postulate that the unguent and perfume industry in Chaironeia was one that developed from at least the Archaic period into the Roman Empire, where Pausanias described it as a fixed staple of local identity. In Chaironeia, this local identity moved beyond battle narratives to one focused on healing, as we see not only from the small finds of the area, but also in the powerful description of outsiders, like Pausanias.

³⁰⁵ H. Beck (2020: 223 n12) also points to a fifth century BCE perfume aryballos on display at the Museum of Chaironeia. Another Chaironeian example includes an aryballos from c.600 BCE, now housed at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (https://quod.lib.umich.edu/k/kelsey/x-0000.02.9175/0000_02_9175).

³⁰⁶ For more on the history and relaunch of the Museum of Chaironeia, see Kalliontzis and Aravantinos 2012.

³⁰⁷ Romanelli and Khessina 2005: 355. Similarly, H. Beck (2018: 30-1) explains that, “(s)eeing artisanal expertise as representative of communal values, norms, and habits, scholars have argued that cultural output reverberates a sense of belonging, a sense that was again magnified through repetition over time.”

This provides a fascinating contrast to the previous conclusion that being Chaironeian was partially defined by narratives of combat. Not only were the locals engaged in defensive acts and remembering conflict and bloodshed, but through their best-known agricultural products and their local religious cults, they were also involved in healing and preservation. Chaironeia was therefore more complex than initially assumed, not only in terms of its local, regional, and global mingling, but also in the seeming oppositions of the foci of its local world (healing and combat).

Roman Period

Although some of the Roman period finds from Chaironeia post-date Plutarch, they are nonetheless important to note here to demonstrate the continuity of this small Boiotian town. Chaironeia was certainly still active in the Roman era, with potsherds found throughout the acropolis and in the modern town,³⁰⁸ as well as honorific texts.³⁰⁹ Although some of the finds are later than Plutarch,³¹⁰ this does not mean that versions of them did not exist during his lifetime. For example, during the construction of a house in Chaironeia, foundations and ionic column bases were discovered that are believed to be part of the Roman agora.³¹¹ Down the road from the theatre,³¹² some manifestation of this centre definitely existed during Plutarch's lifetime, as we will see below in the discussion on Plutarch's Chaironeia.³¹³ We also find public baths and some

³⁰⁸ Fossey 1979: 579; Fossey 1990: 250.

³⁰⁹ Fossey (1979: 581) describes the finds: "Chaironeia has produced a number of honorific texts of Roman date, many of them being bases of imperial statues: *IG* VII 3418 [Vespasian, 73 A.D.], 3419 [Antoninus Pius, 140 A.D.], 3420 [Macrinus, no exact date]; unpublished [Severus Alexander, no exact date] *BCH* XXIX (1905), p.101 no.2 [Aurelian, no exact date]. *IG* VII 3421 is a fragment from another such base, but unfortunately the emperor's name is not preserved, nor is there sufficient of the lettering to permit dating."

³¹⁰ See, for example, the finds in Fossey 1991: 107-9.

³¹¹ *BCH* 1925: 456; Fossey 1988: 379.

³¹² The connection of these two spaces was discussed above: see pages 70-1.

³¹³ See the section on Plutarch's Chaironeia, pages 169-170, where he mentions the statue of Lucullus in the agora.

villas equipped with private baths that existed in the first century CE.³¹⁴ Both the public bath projects and the private properties suggest a level of prosperity in Chaironeia during Plutarch's lifetime.

One villa of note, from the third century CE post-dates Plutarch but is important in that Alexandra Charami believes that the mosaic floors were from a local provincial mosaic workshop.³¹⁵ If this is the case, we can cautiously add this to our list of industries in Chaironeia, though we do not know the extent or influence of this workshop in the region, nor for how long it operated. Furthermore, the installation of a mosaic floor in a villa points to the continued success of some inhabitants in this polis during the Roman Empire.

It is clear from the above that Chaironeia continued to thrive throughout the Roman era, with a period of prosperity from the first century BCE through the first century CE. Plutarch, therefore, certainly benefitted from the public projects that occurred at this time. And while it is tempting to suggest that Plutarch may have been part of the reason for this prosperity, it cannot be said for certain. Yet, the speculation does not seem unfounded, especially when we consider his success in the empire,³¹⁶ as well as his extensive network.³¹⁷

³¹⁴ *BCH* 1981: 812; Charami 2016: 34; Fossey 1988: 379; Germani 2018: 105 n.3. Remains of a hypocaust system: *Adelt* 1967: 243. Could one of these be the famous bathhouse of which Plutarch speaks (see below, pages 168-9, 179-180)? Cf. *Adelt* (1996: 278-9) for the rescue excavations of a Roman residence, *Adelt* (1998: 335) for the rescue excavations of a property that was used from the late-Hellenistic into the early Roman period and had a farmhouse attached, and *Adelt* (1997: 392-3) for rescue excavations near the theatre that uncovered walls and Roman remains.

³¹⁵ Charami 2016: 33. Cf. *Adelt* 1993: 181-2.

³¹⁶ For Plutarch and Rome, see the Introduction, pages 11-2 and Chapter 3, e.g., pages 358-9.

³¹⁷ See Chapter 3.

The material landscape of Chaironeia is one of change and development. Chaironeia was not a static, local environment, but one that was engaged with the world beyond its boundaries. It was continually shifting through repairs and expansions, such as those to its theatre and walls, through the addition of new sanctuaries, and through the construction of monuments. Thus, the visual landscape of Chaironeia was one that was undergoing an evolution at many different moments, creating different emphases and foci, depending on the time period. All of the above culminated into a rich and vibrant local setting for Plutarch, one which we will now discover through the map of Chaironeia's local landmarks.

Map of Chaironeia with Local Landmarks

In this brief section I examine the landmarks that we saw above arranged together in space. Figure 1.14 shows all the landmarks thus far identified in Chaironeia, whereas Figure 1.15 zooms in to bring us into the city centre. There is, of course, the understanding that this map is far from complete. Without more archaeological investigations or surveys, our knowledge of Chaironeia remains but a partial picture of the intricacies of local life. Despite this deficiency, these two maps help us visualize Chaironeia's material landscape, as well as bring us closer to understanding the possible influences on the local experience of this small Boiotian town.

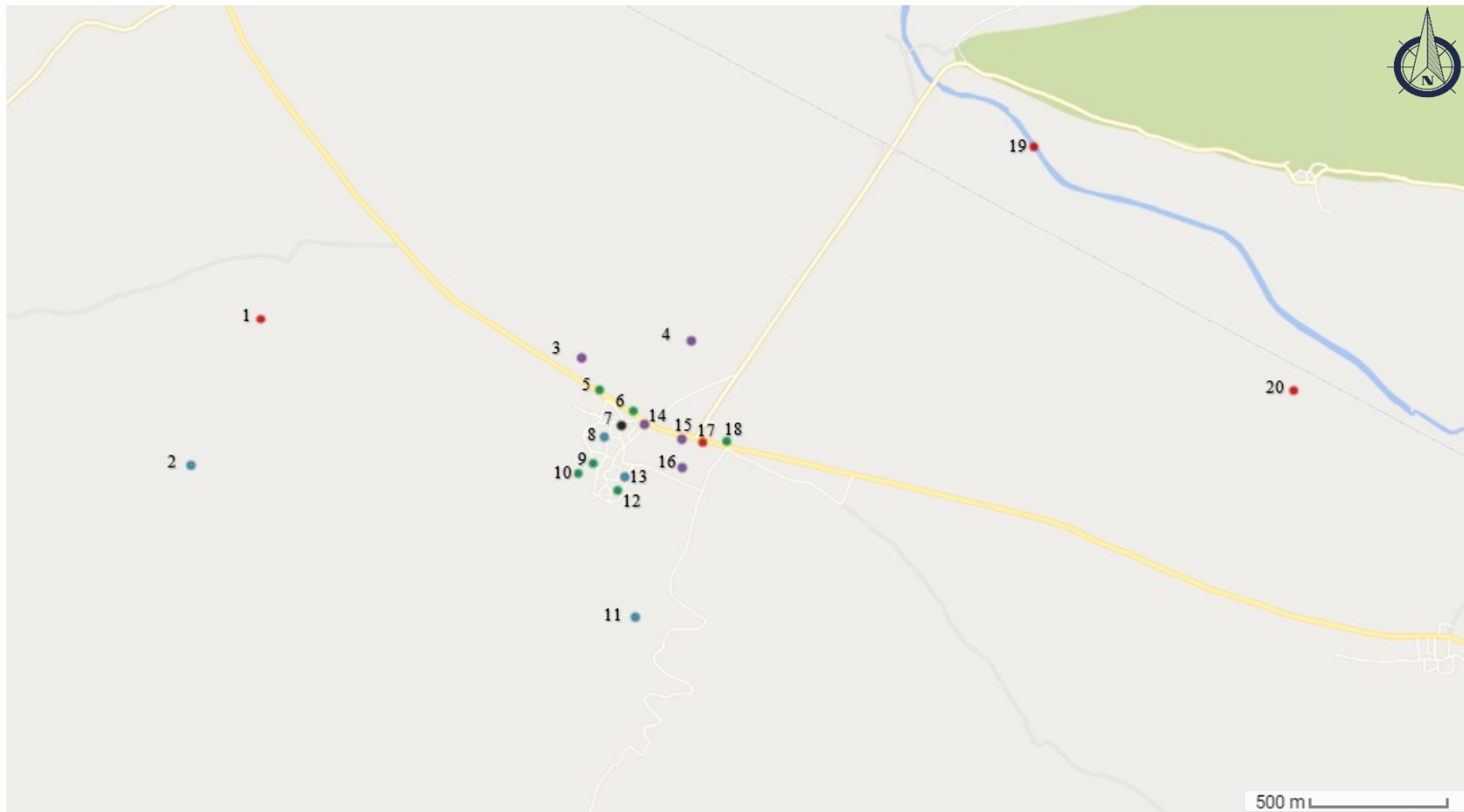


Figure 1.14: Landscape Map of Chaironeia (made in part with Microsoft Excel)

Colour Legend: [Blue] sanctuaries; [Red] battle monuments; [Green] public architecture; [Purple] tombs; [Black] mosaic house

Number Legend: [1] Monument for Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos; [2] Sanctuary of Apollo Thourios; [3] Tombs; [4] Dry-season tombs; [5] Roman baths; [6] Roman baths; [7] Mosaic house; [8] Sceptre of Agamemnon; [9] Theatre; [10] Acropolis; [11] Sanctuary(ies) of Asklepios/Dionysos/Herakles/Egyptian Gods; [12] Roman Agora; [13] Sanctuary of Artemis; [14] 1st century CE tomb; [15] Roman tomb; [16] Box-shaped tomb; [17] Lion of Chaironeia; [18] Roman Bath; [19] Sulla Monument;³¹⁸ [20] Macedonian Tomb

³¹⁸ Note that the location of the Sulla monument is approximate.



Figure 1.15: Chaironeia Landscape Map, close-up (colour legend identical to Figure 1.14)

Number Legend:³¹⁹ [3] Tombs; [4] Dry-season tombs; [5] Roman baths; [6] Roman baths; [7] Mosaic house; [8] Sceptre of Agamemnon; [9] Theatre; [10] Acropolis; [11] Sanctuary(ies) of Asklepios/Dionysos/Herakles/Egyptian Gods; [12] Roman Agora; [13] Sanctuary of Artemis; [14] 1st century CE tomb; [15] Roman tomb; [16] Box-shaped tomb; [17] Lion of Chaironeia; [18] Roman Bath

³¹⁹ Note that the numbers in the close-up map are identical to the numbers of Figure 1.14. They are given here again for convenience.

Apart from the Lion of Chaironeia, all the battle monuments are outside of the city centre and, for the most part, removed from the everyday experience of the local Chaironeians. As we saw above, these monuments were certainly important to the collective memory of the locals, however, their placement in the landscape suggests that their prominence in the minds of the Chaironeians is diminished by the sheer fact that they likely did not see them everyday. The Lion, of course, remains the exception and, as we can see from Figures 1.14 and 1.15, is placed on a busy road that leads towards Lebadeia. This likely meant that many Chaironeians would see this monument on a regular basis, continually reminding them of the conflict. The effect of the intrusion of the Lion in the local landscape should therefore not be undervalued.

We may perhaps diminish this statement with a reflection on the location of tombs in Chaironeia. The Lion, a tomb itself, is placed close to the find spots of other tombs, implying that it was outside the main liveable centre of the polis. This would mean that the local Chaironeians would perhaps not be as affected by the visual reminder of the Lion as previously suggested. However, if we consider the size of the Lion and its position on the arterial road, it is hard to imagine that the locals would quickly forget about this imposing monument.

Rather unsurprisingly, the rest of the tombs appear outside of the city centre, though close by. It seems likely, therefore, that the ancient town was west and south of number 14 on the map, providing a possible boundary marker between the burial grounds and the polis centre. However, until we learn more about Chaironeia through archaeological activity, this boundary remains speculative.

The sanctuary locations and their implications were discussed above,³²⁰ and therefore do not need to be repeated here. It is enough to say that, except for the sanctuary of Apollo Thourios and that of Dionysos et al., the sanctuaries appear to be near many public buildings and what seems to be an important road in Chaironeia from its theatre towards the main arterial road (number 9 descending through to 6). The concentrated nature of the centre, and therefore some of the sanctuaries, is perhaps unsurprising, given the small size of this polis.³²¹ As such, we also find most of the public buildings in the same concentrated space. The Roman baths also appear along the arterial road and do not go further into the polis itself. Perhaps this suggests that the centre was densely occupied and could not accommodate the baths, thus needing an expansion to the polis. Another possibility is that these public baths served those in the *asty* and those in the *chora*, as well as those who were visiting, and were therefore placed in locations that were easily accessible not only to the locals, but also to those passing through Chaironeia.

The town centre and its amenities are found slightly away from the main road, near the acropolis. The theatre, Roman agora, and sanctuary of Artemis are all within very close proximity to each other, representing the central nature of this hub. The concentration of these public spaces would ensure easy access for the *asty* and *chora* inhabitants, while providing them with spaces for entertainment, relaxation, and trade. To learn more about trade, these spaces, and their inhabitants, we must now turn to the small finds from Chaironeia and what they might reveal about this polis.

³²⁰ See above, pages 82-88.

³²¹ Chaironeia is not unique in this respect. For example, we find the sanctuaries in Tanagra to be near each other and other public buildings: see the map by Roller (1974: 153). Cf. Fossey (1988: 43-9) and Schachter (2016: 80-112) for descriptions of the boundaries of this polis and its contents. Note that Schachter (2016: 103) cautions that no Tanagran sanctuary has been confirmed archaeologically. Another comparative case is that of Haliartos (Fossey 1988: 301-8) or Orchomenos (Fossey 1988: 351-9). For more Boiotian poleis, their boundaries, and their contents, see the thorough summaries in Fossey 1988.

Small Finds

Many of the small finds from Chaironeia are from rescue excavations, votive pits, and ancient cemeteries,³²² though the burials are few.³²³ It must be noted that the incidental finds discussed below, although statistically small, and thus limited in what they can say about life in this polis, nevertheless point to a local world beyond conflict, one that was involved with the growing interconnected nature of the Mediterranean from the Archaic into the Roman period.

One of our first examples that demonstrates Chaironeia's engagement with this Mediterranean network comes from the Classical period. This grave stele from c.400 BCE made of Thespian limestone also illustrates strong island influences (Figure 1.16).³²⁴



Figure 1.16: Fragment of a grave stele from Chaironeia c. 400 BCE (author's photograph)

³²² Cemeteries: *Adelt* 1998: 335 (third c. BCE – first c. CE); *BCH* 1923: 522; Fossey 1986: 379 (Mycenaean and Hellenistic); Fossey 1988: 447 (Roman); Fossey and Gauvin 1990: 250 (few in number); Funke 2006 (Mycenean).

³²³ Fossey 1988: 379.

³²⁴ Found in the Museum of Chaironeia (*MX* 849). Note that the placard does not specify which islands nor what they were influencing in terms of style.

The material, originating in Thespiiai, speaks to the regional trade that occurred in the Classical period and of which Chaironeia was clearly an active participant. However, interpreting the sculpture is complicated by its ‘strong island influence’. Was it carved in Thespiiai, or was it carved elsewhere? Either way, we can draw two opposing conclusions from this stele: either a local Chaironeian purchased this stele outside of Chaironeia, demonstrating interest, preference, or status marking through an object originating outside of his/her polis, or someone from outside of Chaironeia was buried in Chaironeia and marked by this stone. Without an inscription to further identify the statue, we cannot say with any certainty. In each case, the local context of Chaironeia mixed with the regional sphere through the use of Thespian limestone, but also with a broader, sub-global island influence found in its design. What we should draw from this is the notion that Chaironeia was a part of the growing interconnected world of the Classical period.

Ties to Thespiiai in Chaironeia’s grave stelae only increase with time. This is demonstrated, for example, in the Hellenistic period in an active Chaironeian workshop that produced palmette stelae that was influenced by Thespian designs. These stelae point to a local industry in Chaironeia and, while it was a short-lived one,³²⁵ it is nonetheless representative of the relationship between Chaironeia and Thespiiai. This link was also likely strong in the Roman period, during Plutarch’s lifetime.³²⁶ This is not to say that their affinity was always peaceful or even unbroken, but the hints of connection that we witness in the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods all point toward communication and exchange between these two poleis.

³²⁵ Aravantinos (2010: 324) estimates that the workshop existed from the mid-3rd to first half of the 2nd century BCE.

³²⁶ The link between these two poleis in Plutarch’s day is demonstrated through his social network, as both his wife, Timoxena, and his close friend, T. Flavius Philinos, hail from Thespiiai. For Timoxena’s link to Thespiiai, see below, page 129 and Chapter 3, pages 354-6. For T. Flavius Philinos, see Chapter 3, pages 368-371.

The production of stelae in Chaironeia is also indicative of regional contacts and economic exchange. The stelae were not only influenced by Thespian examples, but they were also sold throughout the region of Boiotia.³²⁷ The artistic exchange between these two poleis once again suggests the importance of the micro-region of Lake Kopais to Chaironeia and, more particularly, of Thespiiai to Chaironeia.

We also witness more regional networks through Archaic and Classical female protomes discovered in Chaironeia, that may also speak to an industry that continued to thrive into the Roman period.³²⁸ Note, however, that we do not know their exact function, but, as Victoria Sabetai explains, “...their occurrence in domestic contexts suggests that they performed some function in daily life before becoming part of a burial rite and that they were associated with the household cult in which they were used as votives, or as a memento of rituals that marked transient or eminent life-stages.”³²⁹ These protomes, therefore, were important symbolic markers for the Chaironeians and may represent a hint of their lives outside of industry, agriculture, and conflict. Not only were they made from a red/brown clay that is typical of North-Western Boiotia,³³⁰ and therefore link Chaironeia yet again with our North-West micro-region of Lake Kopais, but they were also made of moulds that show common features with other examples in this region.³³¹ Furthermore, we also find a connection to Phokis in the evolution of hairstyles on the protomes/figurines, with the veil

³²⁷ Aravantinos 2010: 324.

³²⁸ Sabetai 2015: esp. 151 and 160. Cf. Aravantinos 2010: 319-320. Note also Alexandropoulou's (2015: esp.351) discussion of terracotta figurines in Chaironeia.

³²⁹ Sabetai 2015: 157-8.

³³⁰ Sabetai 2015: 151, 160.

³³¹ Sabetai 2015: 151-2. Sabetai (2015: 152) notes that the hairstyle ('Etagen-perruke' style) of these protomes is reminiscent of Archaic Corinthian protomes, but that we should not read too much into this, as influence from the Peloponnese was limited. Cf. Alexandropoulou 2015: 351.

being replaced by a *polos*-like crown (Figure 1.17).³³² Although these were primarily Archaic and Classical examples, clay figurines continued to be popular in Boiotia in the Hellenistic period.³³³ It is therefore possible that such trade connections and regional influences continued in some capacity into the Roman eras (such as we saw with Thespiiai), which witnessed an increase in connectivity, though we cannot say with certainty.³³⁴



Figure 1.17: Female terracotta figurine from Chaironeia wearing a polos, currently housed in the Museum of Chaironeia (author's photograph)

Once again, the importance of these micro-regions to Chaironeia's local world is made evident, as the influence of these small votives bears witness to trade, not only of the material variety, but also of information and stylistic preferences. We thus see how these micro-regions offer an opportunity

³³² Common to Lokris, Phokis, and Macedonia (Sabetai 2015: 152). Sabetai (2015: 152) continues that, "(t)his is not surprising since, even earlier, the intermediary role of Boeotia in the diffusion of coroplastic types to northern Greece is amply attested".

³³³ Aravantinos 2010: 319-320.

³³⁴ See Paterson (1998: 150) who argues, "(t)hat Roman imperial expansion, even from its earliest days, should be linked to a major increase in commerce should not be doubted." It is, of course, possible, if not likely, that these exchange networks changed and fluctuated through time. However, without any further evidence, we cannot say exactly how. Nevertheless, I contend that it is probable that trade and exchange were still ongoing between these regions in the Roman period, even if this trade changed in terms of the nature of the materials being passed or the information that flowed between them. The protomes thus serve as an early example of this network of exchange.

for cross-boundary communication that might have affected the representative characteristics of a local society, here through the protomes that may speak to the hairstyle of the owners.

The micro-regional connection is further emphasized by their trade. Sabetai suggests that the female protomes of the Archaic period followed the pattern of trade routes for perfumes, rather than religious routes. She says that,

Earlier research identified all protomes with these deities [Demeter and Kore] and posited a funerary significance for them, but recent scholarship maintains that the Archaic protome cannot be identified with any one specific divinity, that its diffusion followed the patterns of the trade routes for perfume, rather than religious preferences, and that it did not have a chthonian character, nor could it be associated with the cult of the dead. (Sabetai 2015: 154)³³⁵

It is therefore likely that the protomes of Chaironeia, which are not identified with any particular deities,³³⁶ were focused on trade routes and industry, following the pattern described by Sabetai, especially because the perfume industry was so prominent in this local world. We again witness the importance and prevalence of Chaironeia's perfume industry and find here a hint that this industry may have been larger than its immediate local environment through the possible export of the product into the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia, and potentially beyond.

Although we cannot confirm the export of Chaironeian perfumes for later periods, Pausanias' remark on its importance to Chaironeia's local world (9.41.7), implies that it was still flourishing into the first and second centuries CE. It is therefore probable that, with Chaironeia's focus on this industry during Pausanias' lifetime, the trade of this product persisted into Plutarch's day. Thus,

³³⁵ Earlier scholarship, Sabetai explains (2015: 154) was based on finds from sanctuaries in Magna Grecia that were most often associated with Demeter and Kore. The lack of attributes for the Chaironeian ones, then, are representative of an industry that catered to different needs (Sabetai 2015: 154-5). Cf. Sabetai 2015: 154 n30.

³³⁶ Sabetai 2015.

although the extant protomes come from the Archaic and Classical periods, they nonetheless represent a relatively stable Chaironeian industry (perfume) that continued to influence and engage with its regional counterparts from the Archaic through to the Roman periods, albeit one that likely evolved and shifted through time.³³⁷

Chaironeia, however, was not only trading with its regional world, but we also possess small finds evidence of Chaironeia's involvement in the hyperconnected Roman world. One small find that demonstrates Chaironeia's trade beyond the micro-regions, is a lamp from the second century CE (Figure 1.18), now held in the Museum of Chaironeia.³³⁸ The lamp depicts an open-air sacrifice of a pig for Dionysos by two men. The one on the left tends to the cauldron while the one on the right holds the pig by its ears in preparation of placing it into the cauldron.



Figure 1.18: Second century CE lamp at the Museum of Chaironeia (author's photograph)

³³⁷ The lack of protomes from the Roman period implies that the perfume industry evolved and therefore can no longer be identified with the same small finds. Without further excavations and finds, however, we cannot speculate on exactly how or when this shift occurred. I say 'relatively stable' in relation, e.g., to the stelae industry in Chaironeia.

³³⁸ This lamp was found in cist grave 30 in Chaironeia. This cist grave is a great example of the potential for the continuity of space through time, as it was used by one family from the first through third centuries CE, containing at least eight individuals (placard at the Museum of Chaironeia).

As the placard at the museum attests, the lamp likely originated in Alexandria, Egypt. While small, it is large in meaning as an example of Chaironeia's connection with the 'global' world of Plutarch's lifetime.³³⁹ While this lamp may have arrived indirectly to Chaironeia, passing through some intermediary hands, it still illustrates the interconnected world in which Plutarch lived, one where goods could travel long distances to arrive at a small polis. Chaironeia was thus not isolated from these modes of exchange but rather, engaged with the hyperconnected atmosphere of the Roman Empire.

This global connection in the Roman period is further underlined by a sistrum from the Museum of Chaironeia depicting the Egyptian daemon Bes on its handle (Figure 1.19).³⁴⁰



Figure 1.19: Bronze sistrum from Chaironeia, Roman period (author's photograph)

³³⁹ For more on the global nature of Plutarch's world and my use of the word, see the Introduction, pages 17-9.

³⁴⁰ While it certainly cannot be claimed that two items are statistically representative of a situation, they are nonetheless reminders of the connection between Boiotia and Egypt, which we see elsewhere (see below, pages 120-1, 184-6 and Chapter 2, pages 208, 256-7, 323). They also point to Chaironeia's potential involvement in this series of exchanges. It seems likely, given Chaironeia's connection with the rest of Boiotia (such as we saw with the micro-region of the North-West of Lake Kopaïs), that they would also engage in similar trade routes or benefit from the trade of their regional entity. Note also that trade moved in both directions, as is evidenced by the finding of Boiotian pottery in Egypt (Merker 1979: 169). This pottery, however, is from the Geometric through fourth century BCE and thus cannot speak to the later flow of goods. Despite the early nature of this evidence, it is representative of the connection made between Boiotia and Egypt at an early time, one that surely affected regional tastes and development.

It is clear, as we will see with the discussion of the Egyptian cults below,³⁴¹ that Egypt and Boiotia, and thus Chaironeia,³⁴² engaged in some form of intellectual and cultural exchange.³⁴³ The sistrum and the lamp thus function as examples, no matter how statistically small, of the material trade that also flowed along these channels.

The small finds examples mentioned above expand our picture of this relatively small polis by testifying to Chaironeia's connection to the growing 'global' world. These items, while not being statistically significant, thus limiting our interpretive ability, are nevertheless symbolically important to the *potential* of this small polis to join in regional and Mediterranean ventures. We therefore see trade not only in the micro-regions of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia, and Lake Kopais, but also beyond to Egypt. Taken together with what we witness from Plutarch's social network,³⁴⁴ we can tentatively suggest that Chaironeia, while it was a small Boiotian town, was engaged with an exchange network that was anything but small in its connections to the Mediterranean world. Thus, as we saw in previous discussions, the material landscape of

³⁴¹ See pages 120-1, 184-6.

³⁴² Though we cannot say with any certainty in what capacity. It is possible or even likely that these objects arrived in Chaironeia through an intermediary like Orchomenos. Nevertheless, their presence in this polis still speaks to the flow of goods at this time as well as that of the exchange of information.

³⁴³ Boiotia was, of course, not alone in their communicative exchange and trade with Egypt, as we find Egyptian cults throughout the Roman Empire. As Peterson (2016) explains, "(i)t is well known that ancient Romans also consumed Egypt, literally and figuratively." Cf. Alvar 2008: 17-8; Swetnam-Burland 2007; Swetnam-Burland 2015 (esp. pp 1-2 for the constructed meaning of Egyptian objects in Rome). Furthermore, we are warned by Swetnam-Burland (2007: 115) that, "...though the selection of ancient Egyptian objects may look odd to modern eyes, we must remember that the Roman audience may have understood Egyptian objects to have a meaning that was divorced from their ancient Egyptian function, but which should be considered no less significant." It is likely, therefore, that these objects with Egyptian influence found in Chaironeia had assumed their own kind of meaning in this local world, one that was not connected to the original Egyptian cults. However, when we consider the presence of Egyptian cults in Chaironeia (see below, pages 120-1, 184-6), as well as Plutarch's knowledge of the Egyptian nature of these gods, evident in the treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, we cannot deny the possibility that the inhabitants of Chaironeia were still aware of the Egyptian iconography, no matter what local meaning was now entangled with these objects and cults. Whatever meaning these objects evolved to claim, it is nonetheless important to recognize that Boiotia engaged with the Egyptian world from an early time and that this connection continued to show influence in the material objects found in the region in the Roman period.

³⁴⁴ See Chapter 3.

Chaironeia is a testimony to it being a rich and vibrant local world, one that was not as isolated as we might imagine. The final subsection, that of Chaironeia's epigraphic landscape, offers us more clues concerning this local world and its connection to peoples beyond its boundaries.

Epigraphic Landscape

Despite the few excavations in Chaironeia, it is nonetheless rich in epigraphic records, considering its small size. Before moving into the inscriptions themselves, however, we must first consider how we should read these monuments as a landscape. Ma, for example, lays out 3 basic premises: [1] inscriptions were set up for publicity and authority; [2] inscriptions were occasionally used to claim ownership or political authority over a prominent place; and [3] that place gives authority to the inscriptions.³⁴⁵ As such, the place itself is just as important as what is written on the stone. Therefore, we must contemplate the significance of both the location and the conversation that the monument is having with the place, the audience, and other monuments nearby. The connection of these three also means that the way a monument would be read and the authority that it would hold would change in time and with the fluctuations in the space around it. Unfortunately, we do not have an accurate record of how the epigraphic landscape of Chaironeia changed through time. In most cases, in fact, we do not even have a findspot.³⁴⁶ Nevertheless, we should consider the inscriptions together as forming a part of this polis' and community's identity and examine the possible impression they may have left on their readers and the polis as a whole.

³⁴⁵ Ma 2012: 148-9.

³⁴⁶ The difficulties with interpreting the Chaironeian inscriptions is discussed by Kalliontzis (2007: 479-480) and Kalliontzis and Aravantinos (2012) through an investigation of the Museum of Chaironeia before and after its re-launch.

Another interpretation of epigraphic sources is offered by Eftychia Stavrianopoulou, who argues that epigraphy can be reflective of a performance in that it outlines the repetitive nature of ritual practice through semantics.³⁴⁷ Note, however, that she focuses on funerary inscriptions as her example.³⁴⁸ I believe that we can push this idea further to include all inscriptions. Thus, we can see the epigraphic landscape as one with a performative nature, with actors (those in the inscriptions), an audience (the passerby), rituals (such as commemorations), and, at times, a script (laws). Once again, however, we must remember that there would have been changes through time and space.

In the Museum of Chaironeia, not all the inscriptions are from the polis itself, as Figure 1.20 below shows:

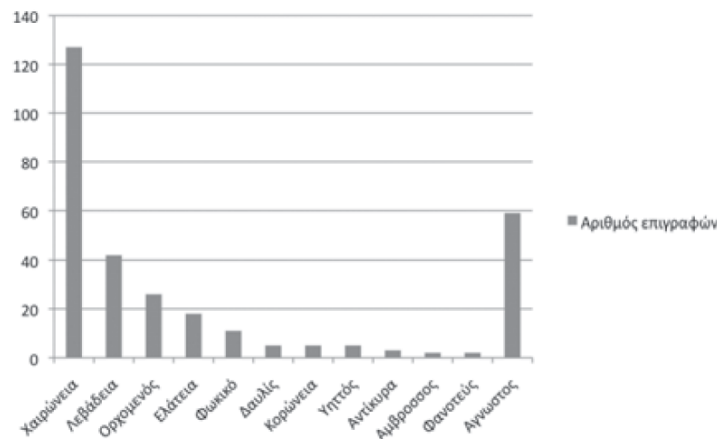


Figure 1.20: Origins of inscriptions housed in the Museum of Chaironeia (Kalliontzis and Aravantinos 2012: 1036; copied with permission)

³⁴⁷ Stavrianopoulou 2006.

³⁴⁸ For more on funerary evidence, see: Johanson 2011 (funerary monuments and statuary as not merely static representations of the dead, but ones that interacted with the living in their local spaces); Meyer 1993 (changing habits in epitaph inscriptions in Athens as linked to alterations in the concept and importance of Athenian citizenship); Morris 1987 (funerals and burials as a means of affirming social demarcations, structures, and hierarchies in society); Morris 1992 (burials and their analysis as the examination of symbolic action; See, for example, his definition of ritual as symbolic knowledge on page 9); Tulloch 2011 (visitors participate in rituals at tombs); Woolf 1996 (Roman epigraphic habit of the first century BCE). However, because we do not have detailed notes on the burials of Chaironeia, I cannot analyze them in depth and will therefore focus on the inscriptions and the symbolic and performative conversations they are having with each other and with the spaces around them.

Notice the presence of inscriptions from Elateia, Daulis, Ambrosos, and Panopeus, Phokian towns, as well as the Phokikon, where the deputies of the Phokian poleis met (Paus. 10.5.2).³⁴⁹ Notably, there are more Phokian places represented than Boiotian ones. The placement of some of the inscriptions from these Phokian locations in the Museum of Chaironeia is reflective of the importance and fluidity of the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia, perhaps even in the modern eye. We cannot push this too far, however, as it is possible that the inscriptions were placed here for convenience or for the ability of the Museum of house them. Nevertheless, their presence in this museum is a reminder of the proximity of this region to Chaironeia as well as the likely impact that these poleis and their inhabitants had on Chaironeia.

However, Chaironeia also has its own trove of inscriptions, half of which are of a funerary nature.³⁵⁰ As Ian Morris explains,

Tombstones are only rarely found in direct association with the burials for which they were set up; most have turned up reused as building blocks or in the diggings of antiquarians, who did not bother about recording contextual details. Consequently, there are major problems in treating them as part of the rites which separated the living from the dead, or in assessing their visual impact in the landscape of later generations. (Morris 1992: 156)

This does not mean that we cannot derive meaning from these inscriptions. In fact, with a cursory glance at the epigraphic record of Chaironeian inscriptions, we manage to find some engaging clues pointing us towards the local world and its expressions of identity. We will review these in the section on “The People of Chaironeia” below.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ For more on the Phokikon and its importance as a regional marker of Phokian identity, see: Fossey 1986: 57-8; French 1984; French and Vanderpool 1963; McInerney 1997b; Schachter 2016: 145, 179.

³⁵⁰ Kalliontzis and Aravantinos 2012: 1030. This is not unusual, as votive altars and epitaphs are two of the most common inscriptions (Woolf 1996: 27; note, however, that he is discussing Roman monuments. This remains important for Plutarch’s time, as he was living in Greece under Rome and, as we will see below with the Lucullus statue [see pages 169-170], for example, his local world was permeated by these symbolic reminders of power).

³⁵¹ See pages 124-136.

To begin our investigation of the epigraphic landscape of Chaironeia, I delve into two categories of inscriptions: proxeny decrees and manumission records. These two categories, it must be noted, both comprise practices that occurred before Plutarch's lifetime. Nevertheless, they remain an important point of discussion for their contribution to local identity and the impression they must have left to the observer, even one from Plutarch's time.

Proxeny decrees are important pieces of evidence of connection in the ancient world.³⁵² In the case of a small polis like Chaironeia, for example, they are demonstrative of a collective will and the presence of some kind of organizational entity that illustrates the autonomy of the locals.³⁵³ Not only do they speak to the local world, but they also grant us insight into the larger politics of the area and the relationships that existed between peoples and places. There are few proxeny decrees with any relation to Chaironeia, and all the ones that we do have come from the Hellenistic period.³⁵⁴ Using the *Proxeny Networks of the Ancient World*,³⁵⁵ I first searched Chaironeia as the granting community, which populated seven proxeny decrees. However, when Chaironeia is entered for the 'communal contexts of proxenoi' search, no decrees emerge. We therefore have no surviving record of a Chaironeian as a *proxenos*. This does not mean that they did not exist, but without any clues, we cannot speculate on the frequency or rights that may have been granted to any Chaironeians. Since there are so few surviving records of proxeny decrees related to

³⁵² For a thorough overview of proxeny decrees and the relationships they represent, see Mack 2015.

³⁵³ Ma 2013: 77.

³⁵⁴ Note, however, that Kalliontzis (2007: 510-1) reminds us that while the decrees are few, they are relatively numerous for western Boiotian standards.

³⁵⁵ <http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk/places/home>.

Chaironeia, I have included the entire record from the *Proxeny Networks of the Ancient World* database on the following page.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁶ Note that the records were copied from the page (accessed September 4, 2020) with only minor changes: http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk/representatives/search?granting_authority_id=53&granting_authority_nature_id=®ion_id=&proxenos_city_id=&nature_of_community_id=&nature_of_other_political_community_id=&communal_region_id=&DateRange=&Person=&other_description_id=&Honours=&reference_type_id=&epigraphic_medium_id= . For more on these proxeny decrees, see Kalliontzis 2007 and 2009.

Reference	Date	Context of proxenos	Proxenos	Honours
SEG 57 430	c. 3 rd century BCE	N/A	N/A	proxenia (2); euergesia (1); hereditary grant (1); all else given to proxenoi (1); (other honours/comments: asphaleia)
SEG 57 429	c. 3 rd century BCE	<i>Koinon</i> of the Aitolians (Thermon)	Timageneis, son of Eukolos	proxenia (1); euergesia (2); all else given to proxenoi (1); (other honours/comments: ennona; asphalia)
SEG 57 440	3 rd / 2 nd c. BCE	Pheneos	N/A	proxenia (2); euergesia (2); enktesis (2); hereditary grant (2); stereotypical proxenos description (1); all else given to proxenoi (1); (other honours/comments: asphaleia)
SEG 57 439	3 rd / 2 nd c. BCE	Unknown, <i>koinon</i> of the Phokians	[-]ōndas, son of Damōn	proxenia (2); euergesia (1); enktesis (1); hereditary grant (1); all else given to proxenoi (1); (other honours/comments: asphaleia)
SEG 57 436	3 rd / 2 nd c. BCE	N/A	N/A	proxenia (1); euergesia (2); enktesis (1); hereditary grant (1)
IG VII 3287	2 nd c. BCE	Peuma	Iatroklēs, son of Iatroklēs	proxenia (1); euergesia (1); enktesis (1); asyilia (1); hereditary grant (1); all else given to proxenoi (1)
REG 32 (1919), p.321-2	c. 85 BCE	Thrace	Amatokos, son of Tērēs (military commander/mercenary)	proxenia (1); euergesia (1); praise (1); crown (1); proedria (1); hereditary grant (1); publication clause (1); specific description of services (1); (other honours/comments: gold cr.; honorific equestrian statue; details of Amatokos' service as chiliarch of the cavalry under Sulla)

Table 1.1: Proxeny decrees granted by Chaironeia

It has already been argued that proxeny decrees in Boiotia occurred after the Classical period, when Boiotia became an important political presence in the ancient Greek world.³⁵⁷ The evidence from Chaironeia supports this argument, with the first inscriptions occurring in the third century BCE and the last appearing in c. 85 BCE. The proxeny decrees are thus all relegated to the Hellenistic period. Although the number of proxeny decrees here is too small to be representative of a common practice and therefore cannot be used to gauge habits and trends, we can still learn from these inscriptions.

First, in *SEG* 57 429, we discover the word *ennona* (ἐνωνα), meaning ‘to sell’ in relation to real estate, as part of the granted privileges.³⁵⁸ *Ennona* is a rare term, only appearing here and in three other inscriptions (Orchomenos: *SEG* 39: 440, 441; Boiotian *koinon*: *SEG* 34: 355).³⁵⁹ That the word appears only in relation to Chaironeia, Orchomenos and the Boiotian *koinon*, seems to point to a regional trend in the granting of proxeny rights. We cannot push this too far, however, as the rarity of the term makes it far from common practice. Nevertheless, *ennona* is an important privilege that we should not ignore, as it is rare and involves the territory of the polis and the right to sell land. Kalliontzis speculates that this privilege is a political one in which the Chaironeians announced their desire to enjoy friendly relations with their western neighbours, the Aitolians, who had just become a powerful entity at this time.³⁶⁰ The Chaironeians were therefore once again looking westward, as they do in their micro-region, and now in the greater Hellenic world. However, at the same time as this decree, the Boiotians entered into an alliance with the Achaians

³⁵⁷ Gerolymatos 1985: 309.

³⁵⁸ For a description of the term, see Roesch (1989b: 224) who explains that it derives from *ωνεῖν*, the verb usually reserved for buying, but can also mean ‘to sell’, as it does in this instance. For more, see *ωνέομαι* in Liddle and Scott (1996: 1766)

³⁵⁹ Kalliontzis 2007: 483–4; Roesch 1989b: 224.

³⁶⁰ Kalliontzis 2007: 483–4.

against the Aitolians.³⁶¹ Perhaps this was made after Boiotia became a part of the Aitolian *koinon* when they lost against them.³⁶² Or, could this be Chaironeia asserting its political autonomy? Without further evidence, we cannot say. In either case, it appears that the Chaironeians wished to ingratiate themselves with the newly powerful and thus points to the power politics of this polis during the third century BCE.

Another important term, namely, *enktēsis* (ἐγκτησις), referring to the right to buy property in the polis,³⁶³ appears in four of the seven surviving proxeny decrees. As William Mack explains,

The symbolic significance of *enktēsis* grants similarly lay in the ideological importance attached to land ownership in the Greek *poleis*, which was frequently linked, actually or ideally, to citizen participation. The grant of *enktēsis* by a community to an honorand was a compliment, an unequivocal statement of its estimate of his worth. (Mack 2015: 125)

Although the number of proxeny decrees that we have is small, the frequency of this term in those that survive is statistically significant. According to the evidence, Chaironeia did not shy away from granting this right and thus from symbolically giving citizenship to some honourees. Furthermore, as we saw above,³⁶⁴ Chaironeia was located on the fertile soil of the Kephissos valley, whose land was leased as a special reward for euergetic acts. The importance of the right to own or sell land around Chaironeia, a part of *enktēsis*, should not be underestimated, as it plays into the same trend that we saw with Lake Kopaïs.

³⁶¹ For Boiotia and its relationship to Aitolia, see page 223.

³⁶² Mackil 2013: 104.

³⁶³ Liddell and Scott 1996: 407; Mack 2015: 123-7; Thür 2006. Mack (2015: 124) explains that, “(g)ranting to a *proxenos*, these privileges assimilated him, at least partially, to the status of the citizen.”

³⁶⁴ See pages 44-5.

It seems, therefore, that the proxeny decrees focus, unsurprisingly, on the granting of rights to own and sell land in Chaironeia, a rare privilege that was only seen in connection with three other inscriptions from Boiotia. It thus may be potentially indicative of the epigraphic practice of this local Chaironeian town and the identification of its citizens with the Boiotian (or perhaps Orchomenian?) *ethnos*.

Proxeny decrees as indications of Chaironeian identity in relation to Boiotian, particularly Orchomenian identity, are strengthened when we consider the linguistic attributes of these inscriptions. For example, the onomastic tendencies in the inscriptional evidence in Chaironeia were similar to those of other cities around Lake Kopaïs, especially Orchomenos.³⁶⁵ Yet again, Chaironeia is linked to this micro-region of North-West Lake Kopaïs, this time, through naming practices. This further suggests that Chaironeia wished to project an identity that fostered alliance and intimacy with this region.

Lastly, the link that these proxeny decrees make between Chaironeia and other regions, such as Aitolia and Phokis, demonstrates their ‘international’ reach. This is extremely important,³⁶⁶ since it testifies to the ability of this small local polis to engage in larger political conversations. Thus, Chaironeia’s proxeny decrees illustrate the reach of this small Boiotian town in the Hellenistic and early Roman period. It was therefore not as isolated as we might have imagined.

³⁶⁵ Kalliontzis 2007: 508. For a thought-provoking study on the relationship of onomastics to status in Athens, see Vlassopoulos 2015. Note, however, Vlassopoulos’ (2015: 109-110) word of caution that we have limited evidence. A more hopeful view of the evidence is presented by Hunt (2015: 130), who suggests that slave culture is accessible through the evidence we have in Athens, such as hints at ethnic communities forming in Athens.

³⁶⁶ As Kalliontzis (2007: 511) points out.

In these proxy decrees, we have found evidence of Chaironeia's projected identity, one that linked itself not only to Boiotia, but more specifically to the micro-region of North-West Lake Kopais and the neighbouring polis of Orchomenos. We see this through the terminology as well as the names present in the inscriptions. The authority of this epigraphic landscape, therefore, partially derived from the alliance of this micro-region. As such, the inscriptions advertised and reminded the Hellenistic audience of this connection, which in turn laid claim over the space in which these inscriptions were placed. They were no longer a simple local act, but rather one that connected and informed the reader of an exchange between *proxenoi* and Chaironeia, as well as between Chaironeia and its micro-region. Furthermore, they showcased the political reach of Chaironeia, one that was extensive for this region of Boiotia. In this way the proxy decrees were performative of the political shaping of Chaironeian identity, since they announced alliances or spoke to the anticipated friendly relations with growing Hellenic powers, like the Aitolian League. In the end, the proxy decrees of Chaironeia demonstrate that this polis was more complex and more engaged than we usually allow.

Similarly, in the manumission records of Chaironeia we find another example of the local life of the polis and its projection of identity. Boiotia is particularly rich in manumission records, with over 170 inscriptions found in seven different poleis. However, more than 70% of these come from Chaironeia,³⁶⁷ all of which originate in the Hellenistic period.³⁶⁸ In general, the inscriptions are

³⁶⁷ Based on 125 inscriptions found in Chaironeia of the 172 found in Boiotia, equaling 72.6% of the inscriptions. The other poleis where manumission records have been found are recorded by Darnezin (1985: 325): Orchomenos, Koronea, Lebadeia, Thespieae, and Thisbe. Note, however, that Grenet (2014: 395) records more manumission records – a reflection of 30 years of research between the two studies. For a general view of manumissions in the Greco-Roman world, see McLean 2002: 289-297. Note that parts of this section on manumission records are included in an upcoming publication: Giroux forthcoming a.

³⁶⁸ Grenet 2014: 395.

brief because of a polis law that regulated how a slave was to be manumitted.³⁶⁹ This law dictated the terminology of the inscription as well as the nature of the manumission, thus allowing for only small discrepancies in the epigraphic record. Darmezin originally argued that because of their formulaic nature, the manumission records are rarely exploitable.³⁷⁰ More recent scholarship, however, has revealed that we can, in fact, draw some provocative conclusions from these inscriptions. For example, when we consider the use of the local Chaironeian archon for dating the inscriptions, as opposed to the Boiotian one (such as in *IG VII 3378*),³⁷¹ in combination with the unique manumission law from Chaironeia on many of these inscriptions,³⁷² we can posit a desire to create a local practice differing from other poleis in Boiotia and Greece, or, at the very least, one that made it evidently Chaironeian. If this is too strong a hypothesis, it can still be asserted that the practice was different in its epigraphic and symbolic nature from other poleis in the macro-region of Boiotia. One of the difficulties with this hypothesis, however, is the very nature of ancient remains.³⁷³ It is possible that the inscriptions from Chaironeia are extant as a result of the accident of survival, leaving us with an incomplete record and thus prohibiting serious comparison with the manumission practices of other Boiotian poleis.

³⁶⁹ For the uniqueness of this law, see Fossey 1991: 123, Grenet 2014: 426, and Schachter 2016: 296. Evidence of the law can be found, for example, on *IG VII 3307* and *IG VII 3376*.

³⁷⁰ Darmezin 1985: 326.

³⁷¹ Darmezin 1999: 175-6; Meyer 2008: 73. Grenet (2014: 400) points out that all but five of the inscriptions from Chaironeia are dated by the local archon. From these archons, Grenet (2014: 401) concludes that the corpus covers approximately 90 years.

³⁷² Fossey 1991: 123; Schachter 2016: 296. Note, as Fossey (1991: 123) shows, that the way the slaves were dedicated to the gods differed in the Chaironeian inscriptions, pointing to a unique local formula (ἀφίημι...ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἱερὸν or ἀφίημι...ἱερὸν). The dedication of slaves to a deity in Chaironeia places these manumission records in the ‘formal’ category, as outlined by McLean (2002: 291-2). For more on the legal aspect of *paramonē* found in some of these inscriptions and the limitations that it created for the freedom of the slave that was being manumitted, see Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018, who shows that these persons were of an ambiguous legal and social distinction. Note that she focuses on those found in Athens and Delphi, not Chaironeia, but the conclusions still apply to those found in Chaironeia that use the same term (e.g., *IG VII 3322*). Zelnick-Abramovitz (2018: 377) argues that this in-between status of simultaneously being free and being servile was both common and acceptable in the ancient world. Cf. Fossey (1991: 136), who looks at the term in relation to the Chaironeian inscriptions and argues that the slave is the property of the sacred and under the power of the magistrate. As such, this law and dedication to a deity reinforces the social hierarchy of the local world.

³⁷³ For some factors relating to the presence or absence of inscriptions in Boiotia, see Kalliontzis 2007: 511-2.

Keeping in mind this methodological challenge, these inscriptions still speak to the local discourse environment of Chaironeia. First, we glimpse differences in gender roles in these inscriptions, where women, unlike men, had to be assisted by a close male relative to manumit a slave. While this is a common practice in Boiotia, it is not in the rest of Greece.³⁷⁴ Thus we have a Greek practice of manumitting a slave, modified at the regional level in Boiotia to include male assistance for women,³⁷⁵ and again reinterpreted in the local sphere through the Chaironeian law and the local context of the manumission. As such, we further witness the Chaironeian projection of Boiotian identity through the regional ritualistic aspects of this practice (i.e., male assistance for women). It also speaks to the performative nature of these manumissions in Chaironeia. The female gained authority from the male figure to manumit the slave, but also permission and acknowledgement through the inscription of her act. In this way, the inscription provides a window through which we can glimpse the ritualistic nature of this dedication of a slave to a god, one in which both genders took part and played a role in Chaironeia's, and by extension Boiotia's, social hierarchies.

Furthermore, studies on the prosopography of these records indicate that the manumitters from Chaironeia were very much tied together as members of local, powerful, families.³⁷⁶ This suggests that elite members of Chaironeia in the Hellenistic period were actively engaged in manumitting

³⁷⁴ Fossey 1991: 134; Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 158. For woman independently engaging in male practices in the Hellenistic period and displaying some economic independence (with a focus on *euergetism*), see Howe 2013.

³⁷⁵ We see other regional variations, such as the use of the word φίλοι (see, for example, *IG* VII 3329, 3357, 3365, 3385, 3387) for those accompanying the female manumitter, not attested to outside of Boiotia (Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 159). Despite having to be accompanied, almost as many manumissions are made by women as by men (Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 158). Note, however, that Darnezin (1999: 196) finds other areas where women could be represented by men in other ritual acts, such as in Attica, the Cyclades, Asia Minor, and Egypt. In other places, such as in Delphi, women could manumit a slave independent of male supervision (Darnezin 1999: 198).

³⁷⁶ Fossey 1991: 132; Meyer 2008: 68-72; Grenet 2014: 412; Schachter 2016: 293. It is important to keep in mind the concept of homophily – ‘the tendency for like people to connect with each other’ (Reger 2013: 144-5) – which helps to explain clustering of groups. In the case of ancient Chaironeia, and in these manumissions in particular, we see this clustering in the form of local elites, powerful families who control considerable resources (Meyer 2008: 78).

slaves, perhaps as a result of concern for the well-being of their religious centres. Whatever their motivation for manumitting slaves, this activity stretched across these elite families, forming a piece of what was likely a familiar practice in the area, and thus a part of the local narrative. We can also postulate that this practice of family manumitters laid claim over the space occupied by the stele, and thus over a part of the sanctuary. By setting up these inscriptions and naming themselves, as well as the slave that they dedicated, they gave themselves authority over this space. This was further ensured by the deity, who acted as a sort of guarantor of the terms in the inscription,³⁷⁷ and thus as another source of authority for the act. In this way, the elites of Chaironeia announced their presence in terms of their devotion to the gods and in relation to their claim over the space. Furthermore, it served as a reminder of the freedom of the manumitted slave, safeguarding the ritual that was performed and advertising to all his/her new social status.

But Chaironeian elites are not the only ones to manumit slaves in this polis. For example, we have evidence of a man from Phanatis (*IG VII 3376*),³⁷⁸ a man from Lebadeia (*IG VII 3360*), and a man from Orchomenos (*IG VII 3372*). Notably, though not surprisingly at this point, we have a manumitter from Phokian Daulis (*IG VII 3333*),³⁷⁹ once again attesting to the soft border and exchange between this micro-region and Chaironeia. We also find regional connections through marriage, illustrated in inscriptions like that of Karais, whose husband is identified as being from Lebadeia.³⁸⁰ We can thus tentatively suggest that these inscriptions from outsiders demonstrates that Chaironeia had some sort of religious pull,³⁸¹ drawing citizens of various Boiotian poleis to

³⁷⁷ McLean 2002: 292-3. The slaves were given to a god, becoming a *hieros* (ἱερός) of the god (Darnezin 1985: 325).

³⁷⁸ Fossey 1991: 123; Meyer 2008: 56, 61; Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 169-170.

³⁷⁹ Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 170.

³⁸⁰ Meyer 2008: 63.

³⁸¹ This is also suggested by Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 170.

this relatively small town in order to dedicate slaves to these local sanctuaries.³⁸² Even if this is not the case, and these outside dedications were the exception rather than the rule, we can still conclude that the practice was familiar to some Boiotian outsiders, who chose to manumit their slaves in Chaironeia, following local Chaironeian practices. And so, while it is difficult for us today to reconstruct the local narrative around these manumissions, or to comment on how they may have been unique, we can nonetheless safely argue that they were part of Hellenistic Chaironeia's particular local discourse environment through the use of the local archon and the local law, as well as the dedications to local deities.

The manumission laws also allow us the opportunity to assess a local performance. We see this with the gender roles discussed above, but also in the local law assigned to the 'transaction' of manumitting a slave. As such, these inscriptions were a manumission performed by the local Assembly or Council, hence the local law attached to it, and those who were enacting the manumission.³⁸³ The idea of the manumission as a performed ritual is enhanced by the evidence that shows the popularity of certain calendar dates for the manumission.³⁸⁴ The manumission, therefore, is a sort of performance, a ritualistic act that was structured and defined by the council

³⁸² This is not to say that other Boiotian poleis did not have a similar draw, but without the requisite evidence, we cannot say for sure if this was the case.

³⁸³ Schachter 2016: 294. For the role of an intermediary from the council, see Fossey 1991: 123. Note that Zelnick-Abramovitz (2009: 307) argues (based on the Chaironeian inscription *IG VII 3314*) that these poleis manumissions were not necessarily performances, but rather, indicative of the desire of the local government to control the process. Despite this, I do not believe that it is unreasonable to apply a performative theory to the manumissions, especially when we consider the performative nature of inscriptions (discussed above, page 104), as well as the structured nature of the manumission itself. Furthermore, the desire for control and performance are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The manumission can, absolutely, represent the want of the local assembly to manage and oversee these transactions, but the structure of the manumission, the local law, and the repetitive epigraphic formulas also speak to their performative nature.

³⁸⁴ Darnezin (1999: 179) demonstrates that the 15th and 30th of the month were the most popular. Note, however, that Grenet (2014: 426) argues that these dates may reflect when the council met and thus may indicate the importance of the council and their involvement in these manumissions. No matter the reason for the choice of date, the prescribed nature and popularity of certain dates over others points to a ritualistic nature in that they were performed only at certain times.

and their laws. This brings us back to the idea that inscriptions reinforced social hierarchies and local class and political boundaries. The local law thus represented the authoritative nature of the local assembly, which not only announced their jurisdiction through the ritual act of the manumission, but also on the stele, and hence in that place. The space for these manumissions then, became an advertisement of the structure of Chaironeian society and its governing forces.

But governments and their regulations are rarely static, and, as such, these manumission records also give us the opportunity to observe changes over time.³⁸⁵ Where once Asklepios was a popular deity in Chaironeia, the cult of the Egyptian gods seemed to have usurped some of his popularity for the manumission of slaves.³⁸⁶ The Egyptian gods were the object of worship in Boiotia from the third century BCE to the third century CE, as they provided a sense of community during the Roman Empire.³⁸⁷ It seems, then, that Chaironeia was also engaging with this regional religious trend,³⁸⁸ thus advertising their affinity to and association with the Boiotian *ethnos*. This regional practice may explain manumissions made by outsiders, who were familiar with the Egyptian gods, but it does not preclude that the manumissions made in Chaironeia were unique. As mentioned above, the manumissions contained the local archon, the local law, and were performed in a local context, a context chosen by locals and outsiders alike. As such, they remained part of the local

³⁸⁵ Such as dialect (see directly below, page 121).

³⁸⁶ Meyer 2008: 82. It quickly becomes entrenched in the upper classes of Chaironeia, as evidenced not only through the many manumission records, but also through generations of worshippers. See, for example, *IG VIII* 3380 where three generations of worshippers are mentioned in one inscription (Schachter 2016: 293). Cf. Parker (2002: 67) for a new interpretation of one manumission decree from Chaironeia and his argument that it is not, in fact, a dedication to a god, but related to funerary rites.

³⁸⁷ Roesch 1989a: 621; Schachter 2007: 364. Chaironeia is one of the sites that provides the most evidence for the worship of the Egyptian gods, through the numerous manumission decrees that have survived (Schachter 2007: 364, 368).

³⁸⁸ Along with construction projects mentioned above (pages 54, 71-2, 75-6), Chaironeia was also engaging in other regional trends, such as changes to the shape of its theatre, perhaps a need related to the prominence of musical performance in Boiotian society (Germani 2015; Germani 2018: 98-105).

discourse environment as witnesses to a practice that was seemingly popular and, in some aspects, was unique to this local sphere.

Furthermore, we can also detect dialectal changes when the texts move from the Boiotian dialect into *koinē*.³⁸⁹ Chaironeia thus followed the rest of the Greek world by changing their epigraphic habit into one that was more clearly understood by non-Boiotians. This had symbolic power, perhaps suggesting that more travellers were coming through and that the manumitters wanted their texts to be understood by these travellers. It seems more likely, however that the change to *koinē* was reminiscent of a more connected polis, one that was changing in its dialectal patterns and was engaging more with neighbours from further afield. As H. Beck explains, “Networks are prone to trigger a shift in the mindsets of those who engage in them. They disregard the juxtaposition of near and far.”³⁹⁰ We cannot know if the change in dialect was an active choice or a passive change with time (one that disregarded near and far), but either way these later *koinē* inscriptions point to an alteration of the local epigraphic practice to one that was more universal in the Greek world and thus shows a more connected Chaironeia in the Hellenistic period.

Lastly, we once again find the influence of our micro-regions in these manumissions. First, we see some similarities between the way slaves were manumitted in Chaironeia with the procedure at Orchomenos.³⁹¹ This is unsurprising, given their proximity and the importance of this micro-region to local Chaironeian life. The similarities between the two can thus be seen a reflection of this

³⁸⁹ They do not move in a smooth, clear transitional way, but they move nonetheless. See Schachter 2016: 306. Schachter (2016: 307) comments on the futility of trying to date these texts and the importance of recognizing that the transition was not smooth, with dialect and *koinē* coexisting over an extended period. For more information on the transition to *koinē* Greek, see Vottero 1998, Meyer 2008: 73-5; Knoepfler 2014; Müller 2016.

³⁹⁰ H. Beck 2018: 20.

³⁹¹ Grenet 2014: 426.

micro-region in the microcosm of these inscriptions. Chaironeia and Orchomenos are therefore connected once again, even in the smallest evidence that we possess. Second, the council's role in the manumission ritual is also well attested in Phokis and western Lokris.³⁹² This further reinforces the argument that communication and the exchange of ideas crossed these borders and created a region (of which Chaironeia was a part) that was more fluid than the political narrative suggests. Finally, we see the two micro-regions come together in Chaironeia with the consecration of slaves to Asklepios, something that occurred in Chaironeia (N-W Boiotia), Orchomenos (N-W Boiotia), Thespiiai (N-W Boiotia), Stiris (E Phokis), and Elateia (E Phokis).³⁹³ Chaironeia, at the centre of this grouping, represents the middle of this exchange area, once again demonstrating the fluid nature of these regional boundaries and the importance of these micro-regions to the local world of this polis. It seems, then, that Chaironeia adopted aspects of the manumission ritual from both of its micro-regions, that is, from eastern Phokis and the North-West area of Lake Kopais. Despite this, we must remember the local nature of these inscriptions through the laws, archon, and places in which they were performed. Therefore, while the micro-region plays an important role in the formation of this practice, it is the local that defined how it was performed.

Our survey of the manumission records of Chaironeia illustrates the same trend that we have been seeing throughout: the regional and global intermixed and reinterpreted in a local sphere. The manumissions were local because they were from Chaironeia, follow Chaironeian laws, and were dedicated to sanctuaries in Chaironeia. They were regional through evidence of marriage ties, dialect, and outside manumitters. Finally, they had a global horizon not only through the global nature of the gods, but also through the eventual success of *koinē*, whose propagation was only

³⁹² Grenet 2014: 424.

³⁹³ Fossey and Darnezin 2014: 168.

possible in a more connected Greek world.³⁹⁴ Chaironeia, then, was a complex polis with an epigraphic landscape that spoke to its interconnected nature. As we saw with the proxeny decrees, far from being isolated, Chaironeia was engaged in multiplex patterns of interaction affected by its micro-regions, macro-region, and the larger Hellenic world. While these interactions and their manifestations (e.g., inscriptions) were always transformed at the local level to speak to a local audience, they nonetheless attest to the complex networks into which this small Boiotian polis was intricately woven.

While we cannot know if the Chaironeians of the first and second centuries CE engaged with or read these inscriptions in the same manner as their Hellenistic counterparts, the presence of these proxeny decrees and manumission records in the landscape likely influenced how the Chaironeians understood and approached their local world. The inscriptions illustrate an interconnected and complex history that was certainly not lost on the people of Plutarch's day, even if their perception of these connections and history might have evolved and shifted with the circumstances of their own time. However, without any testimonia of how they understood this epigraphic landscape, we can only guess at the meaning they derived from these remains.

One way we can begin to approach the audience of Plutarch's time, however, is through an investigation of the monuments that they themselves left behind. I thus move onto the next section, where I look at the Chaironeian elites of the first and early second centuries CE, to gain a better appreciation of the inhabitants of Chaironeia that made up Plutarch's everyday lived experience.

³⁹⁴ Müller 2016.

The People of Chaironeia

We have seen, in the sections on the history of Chaironeia, its engagement with its micro-regions, and the evidence of its material remains, that Chaironeia was a vibrant community. It had a long history that was dynamic in its political and economic contexts. But what about the social context? For this section, I examine the Chaironeians from Plutarch's time, both those who were mentioned by Plutarch, and those who were not.

This section of my chapter is a challenging one, simply because of a dearth of evidence for these people. In fact, there are only 17 inscriptions from Chaironeia that can be securely dated to the first and second centuries CE.³⁹⁵ And so, to add to these inscriptions, I used the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* to gather individuals that can be clearly identified as Chaironeians from the first and second centuries CE.³⁹⁶ 24 of the 117 individuals are mentioned only in Plutarch and do not seem to have any associated inscriptions. Those whose names are found in inscriptions are in contexts that vary in nature. Most are in a funerary context and thus do not provide us with any clues as to the networks that the individuals fostered. In fact, in almost all the funerary inscriptions, the only name that we have is that of the deceased, leaving us at a literal dead end.³⁹⁷

But there are a couple of funerary inscriptions that are valuable for understanding Plutarch's local world. First, we have an inscription from Chaironeia dated to Plutarch's time:

³⁹⁵ The inscriptions include: *IG* II² 10497, *IG* VII 3298, *IG* VII 3299, *IG* VII 3392, *IG* VII 3416, *IG* VII 3418, *IG* VII 3422, *IG* VII 3424, *IG* VII 3429, *IG* VII 3430, *IG* IX (1) 61, *SEG* 38: 380, *SEG* 63: 332, *SEG* 63: 337, *SEG* 63: 338, *FD* III (1) 212, *FD* III (1) 213.

³⁹⁶ For a full list of the Chaironeians from Plutarch's time, see the Appendix item "Geographic Catalogue".

³⁹⁷ See, for example, *IG* VII 2122, *IG* VII 3434, *IG* VII 3439, *IG* VII 3445, *IG* VII 3448, *IG* VII 3449 (although here we do learn their ages – 14 years old, showing the sad and precarious nature of life in the ancient world), *IG* VII 3450, *IG* VII 3452.

IG VII 3430 (1-2 c. CE)

1	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ- μος Χαιρωνέ- ων τὴν ἱέρ[ει]- αν τῆς Ἀρτέμι-	<i>The council and the people of Chaironeia erect this to the priestess of Artemis,</i>
5	δος Χαροπεῖναν Τ(ι)β(ερίου) Κλαυδίου Διδύ- μου θυγατέρα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς περὶ τῆν	<i>Karopina, The daughter of Tiberius Claudius Didymos because of her virtue and her service to</i>
10	θεὸν θρησκείας.	<i>the cult of that goddess</i>

Little has been said about this inscription, which is not surprising given its location in Chaironeia, and the little information that it conveys. For example, Ma points out that this inscription uses the *koinē* word βουλὴ, which Plutarch also employed in his discussion of Chaironeia in the prologue to his *Life of Cimon* and *Lucullus*.³⁹⁸ This is evidence that the *koinē* had all but superseded the local Boiotian dialect by Plutarch's time. Fossey, in a broader look at the cities of the Kopaïs during the Roman period, points to this and other inscriptions as demonstrating that only a small number of people were able to undertake political and religious positions in Boiotia at this time, and that most of these people held them for life.³⁹⁹ In other words, the local elite world of Boiotia was small, making it likely that Plutarch knew, or at least was aware of, the people who held these positions. That Karopina was from Chaironeia, was involved in the religious sphere of the polis, and the people of Chaironeia erected this inscription for her, it is highly likely that Plutarch knew her or knew of her. She must have been of the elite caste. Another inscription to the same individual was also erected in Attica:

³⁹⁸ Ma 1994: 62.

³⁹⁹ Fossey 1979: 581. For more on Greek religion and what we learn of it through inscriptions, see Parker (2012: 17-22). See Scheid (2012b: 32-43) for Roman religion in the provinces and the importance of inscriptions for unpacking the reality of the practices. Another inscription that lists elite Chaironeians of Plutarch's time and the positions that they held is IG VII 3392.

IG III 893 (Imperial period)

	[ὁ δῆμος(?) τὴν ἱέρειαν]	<i>The demos erects this to the priestess</i>
1	[τῆς Ἀρτέ[μιδο]- ς Χαροπεῖν[ην] Κλαυδίου Διδ[ύμ]- ου θυγατέρα [ἄρ]-	<i>of Artemis, Karopina, daughter of Claudius Didymos</i>
5	[ε]τῆς ἕνεκεν [κα]- [ι] τῆς περὶ τὴν [θε]- [ὸν θ]ρησκε[ίας].	<i>because of her virtue and her service to the cult of that goddess</i>

IG III 893 [2]

	[ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος]	<i>The council and the people</i>
	[Χαιρωνέων τὴν ἱέρειαν]	<i>of Chaironeia erect this for the priestess</i>
1	[τῆς Ἀρτέ[μιδο]- ς Χαροπεῖν[αν Τ(ι)β(ερίου)] Κλαυδίου Διδ[ύμ]- ου θυγατέρα { ² κτλ.} ²	<i>of Artemis, Karopina, daughter of Tiberius Claudius Didymos</i>

Clearly Karopina was an elite member of Chaironeia who was respected. This is reinforced by the fact that the decree was also put up in Attica, an expense that would not be made lightly. Furthermore, we must also consider the political and social ramifications of this action. By advertising her position in Attica, the council of Chaironeia not only placed authority over the space in which the inscription was erected, but also announced the importance of this woman and the fact that the Chaironeians could afford this monument. Further, it also sent a message of the exceptional nature of Karopina and thus of the religious devotion of the Chaironeians and their exceptional nature by association. If we believe Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who states that Plutarch's family, "...was the only family which stood out for its education and was widely respected"⁴⁰⁰ then clearly the indication of another family that held high status in Chaironeia

⁴⁰⁰ von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1995 [1922-6]: 49.

during Plutarch's lifetime and that also seemed to be widely respected must draw our attention to the likelihood that they knew each other.

Puech notices a Didymos in Plutarch's acquaintance.⁴⁰¹ However, he was probably not the same person, given the chronological span between the Didymos in the inscription and the Didymos of Plutarch's narrative (*De def. or.* 7 [413a-c]), who was a friend of Plutarch's brother, Lamprias. But it may be possible that Plutarch's Didymos was related to the one in the inscriptions and not to Didymos of Egypt, as Puech thinks. If this is true, then we can suppose another connection between the two families, strengthening the idea that Plutarch knew not only Karopina, but also her family more generally. Even though this link with Didymos cannot be securely guaranteed, we can nevertheless safely add Karopina to the outside circle of Plutarch's network as someone whom he did not mention, but likely knew. So, through these inscriptions, we already witness Plutarch's network growing.

This Attic inscription also once again demonstrates the connected nature of Chaironeia in the Roman period. Clearly, Plutarch was not the only Chaironeian moving beyond the confines of his polis, as other elite families, such as that of Karopina, were also involved in Attica and thus linked to the outside world. Was Chaironeia, then, as backwater and isolated as Plutarch made it seem (*Dem.* 2.1-2)? The evidence would suggest not.

Furthermore, Karopina was not the only Chaironeian to receive an Attic display of elite status. We also find a certain Sosikrates of Chaironeia (*IG* II² 10497) advertising his status in Attica.

⁴⁰¹ Puech 1992: 4845-6.

However, unlike the inscription for Karopina, that of Sosikrates does not tell us who erected it. It simply reads:

IG II² 10497 = FRA 7280 (1 c. CE)

1	Σωσικράτης	<i>Sosikrates</i>
	Ἀριστίωνος	<i>son of Ariston</i>
	Χαιρωνεύς.	<i>of Chaironeia</i>

It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this piece of evidence. Nevertheless, two important points must be made. First, this inscription, and the ones above, show that Chaironeians, other than Plutarch, were connected beyond their polis. Secondly, these inscriptions highlight other families (or the Chaironeian council) that had the ability or means to place inscriptions in Attic territory and thus advertise the importance of these individuals. Therefore, like Karopina's memorial, Sosikrates' inscription laid claim over the land on which it was placed and communicated the prominence of the individual mentioned and their family. Through the placement of the inscription in Attica, we again see a display of wealth and status, as well as the interconnected nature of Chaironeia with the world beyond its polis boundaries.

An inscription similar to that of Karopina is the one for Olympikos, son of Euandros:

IG VII 3429 (1-2 c. CE)

1	[ῆ βου]λή καὶ ὁ δ[ῆ]-	<i>The council and the demos</i>
	[μος Ὁ]λύμπιον	<i>erect this to Olympikos,</i>
	[Εὐά]νδρου τὸν	<i>son of Euandros,</i>
	[πα]τέρα αὐτῶν	<i>their father</i>
5	[εὖν]οίας εἵνεκεν καὶ	<i>because of his goodwill</i>
	[εὐεργεσί]ας.	<i>and his good deeds.</i>

As with Karopina's inscription, this one has not drawn a lot of attention. It is used by Ma to demonstrate the presence of *koinē* in Chaironeia during Plutarch's lifetime.⁴⁰² It is also employed by Fossey as evidence for the small number of elites in Boiotia who held positions at this time.⁴⁰³ The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* lists 168 results for the name Olympikos. Of those that occur in the same period of the first and second centuries CE, we find 14 individuals, including this one. Six of these were from Boiotia.⁴⁰⁴ Unfortunately, they cannot be linked together, with one tenuous exception. In *IG* VII 2151, there is an Olympikos, the father of Timoxena, who hails from Thespiiai. Jones has already traced a link between Plutarch and a rich family in Thespiiai, probably related to Plutarch's wife, whose name was Timoxena.⁴⁰⁵ Plutarch's father-in-law, however, was not Olympikos, but Alexion.⁴⁰⁶ Yet the similarities not only in name, but also in the geographic link of Thespiiai and Chaironeia suggest that the connection of these two poleis might have extended beyond Plutarch and his wife. Also, because the first part of Olympikos' father's name is missing from the above inscription, it is possible that he was not the son of Euandros, but rather, the son of Menandros, and thus the same Olympikos found in Thespiiai (*SEG* 22: 392). However, the spacing of the inscription makes this theory a little less likely, though not impossible. Nevertheless, no matter who the father was, we can still draw a conclusion similar to the one above for Karopina, namely, that Olympikos was another member of the Chaironeian elite, well respected, as is evidenced by the title bestowed upon him of the father of the people of Chaironeia. As such, Olympikos, or at the very least this family, was likely known to Plutarch.

⁴⁰² Ma 1994: 62.

⁴⁰³ Fossey 1979: 581.

⁴⁰⁴ Akraiphia (Roesch 1982: 184, no. 30 I, 14 [son of Zopuros]), Chaironeia (*IG* VII 3429), Thebes (*IG* VII 2446 II [son of Kallias], *IG* VII 2444), Thespiiai (*SEG* 22: 392 [son of Menandros], *IG* VII 2151 [father of Timoxena]). Note that Puech (1992: 4864) also lists an Olympichos in Plutarch's acquaintance (*De sera* 13 [558a-b], 17 [560c]; *Quaest. conv.* 3.6 [652b-655d]) but that this does not appear in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Perhaps we can link this Olympichos to this inscription, though we must do this tentatively.

⁴⁰⁵ Jones 1970a.

⁴⁰⁶ Russell 1973: 5.

Another notable inscription that expands the elite world of Chaironeia, is that of Gallatis, which lends us a visual clue to the epigraphic landscape. The inscription reads:

IG VII 3453 (Imperial period)

1	Γάλλατις Πυθίωνος ἑαυ- τῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μ>ου, καὶ οἷς ἂν τὰ τέκνα βούλωνται, σὺν	<i>Gallatis, son of Pythion erected this to himself and to his wife and children, and to their children, if they wish it, beside</i>
5	τῷ φρέα<τ>[ι] καὶ κήπῳ. ☞	<i>the well and the garden.</i>

The reference to the well and the garden next to the tomb provides us with an idea of the space around this monument. Clearly, the invitation is for the reader to gather, drink, and reflect on Gallatis and his family. In this way, the inscription laid a claim over the space by granting the territory to Gallatis and his family. It also indicates the probable wealth of the family, not only in the implied size of the space that could hold that many members (the grandchildren even, if they wished it), but also that it could be erected next to a highly visual space: a well and a garden. We cannot say if this well and garden were built by Gallatis, but even if they were not, the visual prominence of this area and this monument would be hard to ignore and therefore demonstrates the elite nature of this family. So, in addition to Karopina and Olympikos, we find another elite member of Chaironeian society. It seems, through a quick glance at the inscriptional evidence, that Plutarch's family was far from the only elite members of this small polis. Furthermore, the minute nature of this town likely means that these families knew each other. Gallatis has therefore been added to Plutarch's network as a representative of his family.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁷ Since the inscription is dated to 'Imperial', we cannot know if he was alive at the same time as Plutarch. Nevertheless, it remains likely that a member of his family was around during Plutarch's lifetime and therefore probably knew Plutarch. For this reason, I use Gallatis as a representative of his family, rather than as an individual that Plutarch absolutely knew.

Besides Chaironeia and Attica, we also find a small number of funerary monuments to the Chaironeians of Plutarch's time in Phokis. One in particular is after Plutarch's lifetime but is worth mentioning because it comes from Elateia in the micro-region comprising eastern Phokis and western Boiotia. It reads:

IG IX (1) 147 (3 c. CE)

<p>1 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Φλαβίαν Λανείκαν, [ἀρχι]έρειαν [δ]ι[ᾶ βί]- [ου τοῦ τε κοινοῦ Βοιωτῶν τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς {²κτλ.}²].</p>	<p><i>To good fortune erected for Flavia Lanika high priestess for life of Athena Itonia, of the koinon of the Boiotians.</i></p>
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Here we have a prominent woman from Chaironeia acting as the high priestess of a federal Boiotian sanctuary. Even though it is approximately 100 years after Plutarch's death, this inscription warrants a brief discussion because of the connection that it establishes between Chaironeia and Phokis. What makes it even more tantalizing is that it advertises Flavia Lanika's position as the priestess of a federal Boiotian sanctuary but does so on Phokian soil. If we consider that inscriptions held authority, not only for the individuals mentioned and those who erected them, but also for the space in which they were placed, this inscription compels us to consider the interactions of these two regions in this micro-region. Not only does it once again suggest the fluid nature or a 'soft' boundary, but the choice to place it in Elateia also speaks to the desire of those who erected it. Why place it in Elateia and not Attica like Karopina's? Perhaps it was the religious pull of this Phokian polis that swayed the decision,⁴⁰⁸ or maybe it was the convenience of its proximity. We cannot know for sure. Whatever the impetus for its location in Elateia, it is nonetheless demonstrative of the communication and connection between these two regions and

⁴⁰⁸ McInerney (1999: 52) explains that Elateia was second to Delphi in importance in Phokis.

once again highlights the importance of the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia for Chaironeia. Clearly, Chaironeia continued to be a connected world, even after Plutarch's death.

We find two other inscriptions that also illustrate Chaironeia's engagement beyond its polis boundaries. This time, the inscriptions are from Plutarch's lifetime and are found in Delphi:

FD III (1) 212 (2 c. CE)

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | ἀγαθὴ τύχη.
Ἑρμαῖον Ἑρμαίου τὸν ἱερο-
κήρυκα Χαιρωνέα Δελφοὶ
Δελφὸν ἐποίησαν. | <i>To good fortune.</i>
<i>The Delphians made Hermaios, son of Hermaios,</i>
<i>sacred trumpeter from Chaironeia, a citizen of</i>
<i>Delphi.</i> |
|---|--|--|

FD III (1) 213 (2 c. CE)

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | ἀγαθὴ τύχη.
Κλ. Ἀχαικὸν τὸν καὶ Ἀσιάρχην
Χαιρωνέα Δελφοὶ Δελφὸν
ἐποίησαν. | <i>To good fortune.</i>
<i>The Delphians made Kl. Achaikos, also named</i>
<i>Asiarchis of Chaironeia, a citizen of Delphi.</i> |
|---|--|---|

Here we have two Chaironeians honored in this Phokian polis with an inscription and citizenship. We should not underestimate the importance of the honour of the inscription in particular, as it allowed the individuals a piece of land and an audience in the most prominent Panhellenic sanctuary in the ancient world. Although we cannot speak to the number of people who would have stopped to read these two among many, the symbolic nature of granting those spaces to Hermaios and Achaikos and hence their authority over that place should be considered. Both must have served Delphi well and were thus deemed worthy of the honour. However, since these men were from Chaironeia and were in some kind of service in Delphi, it seems very likely that Plutarch would have known them, or at the very least, their families. As such, they have been added to Plutarch's network as representatives of the local Chaironeian elites whom Plutarch surely knew, as well as the ability of Chaironeians other than Plutarch to move beyond their polis.

Besides funerary monuments, we also find military catalogues,⁴⁰⁹ decrees relating to land,⁴¹⁰ and dedications.⁴¹¹ One of the dedications in Chaironeia is worth mentioning, as it is made to Emperor Vespasian, thus falling in Plutarch's lifetime:

IG VII 3418 (73 c. CE)⁴¹²

1	Αὐτοκράτορι Οὐεσπασιανῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ [δ'], αὐτοκράτορι τὸ # ⁵⁶ ι' # ⁵⁶ πατρὶ πατρίδος, ὑπάτῳ τὸ # ⁵⁶ δ' # ⁵⁶ ἀπο-	<i>To Emperor Vespasian Caesar pontifex maximus, the ruling authority of the city, the father of the fatherland, it is proven...</i>
5	δεδειγμένῳ τὸ # ⁵⁶ ε' # ⁵⁶ τειμητῇ, <i>vacat</i>	
6	Καικιλία Λαμπρίς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.	<i>Kaikilia Lampris dedicates this on behalf of the city</i>

Here we have a female, Kaikilia Lampris, dedicating a monument to the emperor of Rome. Such monuments were important as reminders of the power regime but also a potential sign of Roman patronage.⁴¹³ The idea of Vespasian patronizing Chaironeia is enticing, but without any further evidence we cannot say for certain if he had any involvement in this small polis. More likely, this elite Chaironeian woman took it upon herself to attempt to ingratiate her family and her polis to the emperor through this dedication. As Christopher Johanson argues for the Roman funerary world, the, "...cityscape offered myriad opportunities for the display of familial, political, and personal symbolic capital."⁴¹⁴ In this way, the inscription was a performance, one which advertised

⁴⁰⁹ IG VII 3296, IG VII 3297, IG VII 3298. Cf. Kalliontzis 2007: 487. Note that Kalliontzis (2007: 508-9) theorizes that it is possible to use these military catalogues to estimate population sizes, as the number of conscripts differs dramatically between large poleis like Orchomenos and smaller poleis like Chaironeia. While I agree with Kalliontzis that this shows a relative percentage, I believe that we must remain cautious of relying too heavily on this hypothesis for giving us any concrete population numbers.

⁴¹⁰ IG IX (1) 61, SEG 38: 380. These are important since, as Schuler points out (2012: 68), most elites of the ancient world aimed for an urban representation, so we do not find many instances of their relationship with agriculture. The decrees that mention land and its use or rent, therefore, are important reminders of the everyday exchange that the elite likely had with their rural holdings.

⁴¹¹ IG VII 3416, IG VII 3418.

⁴¹² See Knoepfler 1992: 497; Karambinis 2018: 319; Fossey 1991: 107; Fossey 2014: 199.

⁴¹³ Alcock 2002: 177.

⁴¹⁴ Johanson 2011: 408.

not only the dedicator's loyalty to the emperor, but also that of her polis. It also reminded the reader of the authority that the Roman Empire held over the land on which this inscription was placed, and thus over the Chaironeians themselves. As such, this dedication is the perfect *exemplum* of the status marking effect of inscriptions. It placed the emperor on top, the Roman Empire directly below, Kaikilia Lampris and her elite family after, and the rest of the polis citizenry below her. Above all else, however, is the communication with the audience of the loyalty of this elite family and this polis to Rome and its emperor. This, we will see below,⁴¹⁵ was also a concern of Plutarch and thus underlines the importance of this propaganda to other Chaironeian elites.

We find another source of propaganda through the inscriptions dedicated by Plutarch's descendants. We are fortunate to have three of these inscriptions. Two are worth quoting in full:⁴¹⁶

IG VII 3423 (2/3 c. CE)

- 1 Λ(ούκιον) Μ[έσ]τριον Αὐτόβουλον φιλόσο-
 φον Πλατωνικὸν Φλάβιος Αὐτόβου-
 λος τὸν πρὸς μητρὸς πάππον.

Flavius Autoboulos erected this to his maternal grandfather, Lucius Mestrios Autoboulos, the Platonic philosopher

IG VII 3425 (200-250 CE)

- 1 Σέξτον Κλαύδιον Αὐτόβουλον,
 ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί, ἕκτον ἀπὸ Πλουτάρχου, ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν
 ἐν βίῳ καὶ λόγοις ἐπιδειξάμενον, ἐντ<ελ>[ῆ]
 φιλόσοφον, ἐτῶν [κ]β', ἡ πρὸς μητρὸς
 5 μάμμη Καλλίκλε[ια κα]ὶ οἱ γονεῖς καὶ αἱ ἀδελ-
 φαὶ τ<ὸ>ν ἥρω[α]. <ψ>η[φίσματι] β(ουλῆς) δ(ήμου).

The maternal grandmother, Kallikleia, with his parents and sisters erect this to Sextus Claudius Autoboulos, named after his father, six times

⁴¹⁵ See pages 167, 178, 186-190.

⁴¹⁶ The third (IG VII 3424) contains only the name of Flavius Autoboulos and thus does not offer much opportunity for analysis.

removed from Plutarch, who was virtuous in life and in his work, a philosopher, aged 22 years, a hero. A decree of the council of the demos.

In both inscriptions, the surviving members are careful to link the deceased to the philosophic tradition that came to define Plutarch and his legacy.⁴¹⁷ It seems, then, that Plutarch created an image of himself and his family that persisted for at least 100-200 years after his death. It served as a yardstick for which members of the family would measure themselves and their goals.⁴¹⁸ In this way, the two monuments above represent not only a grieving family, but also a display of the lost potential of the deceased.

What is striking in the second example, where Sextus Claudios Autoboulos was the only son, is that, at the young age of 22, he was already marked as a philosopher. Furthermore, they took the pains to mention their descent from Plutarch, thus cementing their connection to the Chaironeian philosopher and therefore adding authority and weight to the monument through this familial bond. The maternal grandmother was the only one who was named and was thus likely the one who paid for the erection of the monument. We must take the time to imagine the visual landscape that this monument created. Based on the emphasis of the philosophic life, the statue that was placed on this monument was probably one that resembled a philosopher in their clothing and stance. In this way Plutarch's descendants perpetuated their philosophic ancestry and thus their connection to Plutarch. The visual language of this monument is hard to ignore, as it referred to this family's connection to Plutarch, to their wealth in putting up this monument, to their status, and thus their civic station in society. The status marking was also reinforced by the mention of the decree of the

⁴¹⁷ For more on Plutarch's legacy, see the Conclusion, pages 482-3.

⁴¹⁸ Funerary imagery as an 'internal yardstick' for the younger members of a family: Johanson 2011: 408.

council of the *demos*, adding to the authority of the monument through the jurisdiction that this administrative body granted to the erection of this memorial.

The Chaironeian inscriptions and the individuals mentioned therein present us with a more complex picture of Plutarch's local world. Despite the difficulties with our evidence, we find clues that Chaironeia was not as isolated as Plutarch made it seem. In this way, the inscriptions join the archaeological evidence that attests to Chaironeia as a connected world that was influenced by and influenced its micro-regions. The mentions of other elites and their positions in this polis point to a local world in which Plutarch was not the only wealthy individual, but one who partook in a community of elites who advertised their authority and laid claim over the visual landscape of the town.

I have thus laid out the political, economic, and social contexts for Plutarch's local sphere. This helps contextualise Plutarch and his writing by showcasing that Chaironeia, while small, was not necessarily a backwater of Greece. Rather, Chaironeia was a vibrant and rich local world of which Plutarch was only a part. This must have inspired him, not only in his choice to remain, but also in how he constructed his representations of Chaironeia in his oeuvre. The last sections of this chapter thus move beyond contextualizing Chaironeia, to tackle what Plutarch revealed about his polis and what this tells us concerning the underlying message he wished to send to his reader, not only about his local world, but also about his involvement within it.

The People of Chaironeia from Plutarch's works

The horizon broadens when we consider the local elites mentioned in Plutarch's works. However, despite Plutarch's devotion to his town, most of the Chaironeians of whom we have any knowledge do not derive from Plutarch's work, but rather from inscriptions. Of the 117 Chaironeians found in the Appendices,⁴¹⁹ only 24 were mentioned by Plutarch by name. Many of those mentioned by him, of course, were his family members.⁴²⁰ This is seemingly at odds with his supposed dedication to the relevance of his hometown, except when we consider the numbers in relation to those of other locations, where we find that his references to Chaironeians are proportionally very high.⁴²¹ It seems, then, that Chaironeia and its people were still a priority for Plutarch.

One individual, however, was not painted in a favourable light. A fellow Chaironeian and philosopher, Niger appears, for all intents and purposes, to be a likely candidate for friendship for Plutarch. Yet we find only negative associations with this individual. In the *Precepts on Health* (*de tuenda san.* 16 [131a-b]), Plutarch used Niger as a cautionary spectacle for his audience. In this narrative, Niger swallowed a fishbone (ἄκανθα) before a public performance in Galatia in Asia Minor. Instead of seeking medical attention, however, Niger's pride overcame him, and he went on to speak, lest he be accused of being fearful of the other speaker. As a result, his throat became inflamed and he needed to have a surgical procedure. Despite the successful removal of the bone, Niger died from complications.⁴²² For Plutarch, then, Niger became an *exemplum* of what not to do. Plutarch seems to imply here that had Niger not been so prideful and sought help instead

⁴¹⁹ See Appendix items "Geographic Catalogue" for a list of Chaironeians.

⁴²⁰ For more on Plutarch's family, see Chapter 3, pages 347-366, as well as the discussion below of Timoxena as the ideal wife on pages 146-152. There is much more attention paid to the Roman connections that Plutarch has than to his other connections, something that is made evident with a quick glance at the Appendix item "Name Catalogue" and the scholarship associated with that person and Plutarch.

⁴²¹ For more on this, see Chapter 3, pages 452-3.

⁴²² For more on this narrative, see Renchan 2000.

of speaking, that he would have had a better chance at staying alive. His ambition, therefore, led to his death.

This narrative, however, also hints at the respect held for Niger. Not only was he speaking far from home, but the news of his death and the details of the surgical procedure reached Chaironeia.⁴²³ Had he been a lower status individual, or someone unknown, it is unlikely that this level of description would have come back to the local town, or that he would be speaking to an audience in Galatia. Once again, we have evidence that Plutarch and his family were not the only elite Chaironeians to be found. This local town had other wealthy individuals, ones who had enough money to receive an education and become a philosopher. Furthermore, Niger's travel also tells us about elite movements. Niger died abroad in Galatia, far from his hometown of Chaironeia, demonstrating he had enough money to voyage and hone his craft. Since Plutarch and his brother also travelled,⁴²⁴ it seems likely that others in Chaironeia had the resources to do so. As such, I wish to add Niger as further evidence for my argument that Plutarch's family was not the only wealthy family of repute in Chaironeia. Rather, there were other families who also wielded influence both inside and outside of our Boiotian polis, thus representing its interconnected nature.

Plutarch's Chaironeia

Fortunately, we have many surviving writings from Plutarch, a native of Chaironeia. In his oeuvre, we find much incidental information about his polis that helps us to understand his local world, its connections, and what Plutarch viewed as important to the legacy of his town. In this section, I explore what Plutarch discussed in relation to his hometown to discover his foci. I ask one main

⁴²³ Renehan 2000: 224.

⁴²⁴ For more on Plutarch and the ability of the elites in his network to travel, see below pages 171-7.

question: how did Plutarch represent his native city? Secondary inquiries follow, such as: what can we, so divorced from his time, yet married to its reconstruction, learn from what he tells us? And: what does Plutarch's presentation of his hometown tell us about the kind of narrative he wished to construct for Chaironeia for his reader?

To begin, I look at evidence from Plutarch's oeuvre of his life in Chaironeia. This includes his positions in the city, his family life, and the dining that became such an important part of his work. Following this, I investigate what Plutarch said about Chaironeia itself and ask what he emphasized. Thus, we gain some insights into the constructed narrative that Plutarch was crafting for Chaironeia before we move to the next section to investigate his silences.

Plutarch in Chaironeia

Although Plutarch seems reluctant to divulge a lot of information on himself and his roles in his local and regional environments, we are still able to learn about Chaironeia through Plutarch's writing. A quick glance at his oeuvre shows that Chaironeia formed the background of Plutarch's life as a writer.⁴²⁵ Plutarch spent most of his life in his hometown,⁴²⁶ marrying a local woman and raising his children there,⁴²⁷ and perhaps naming one of his sons Chairon after the mythical founder of Chaironeia (*Consol. ad uxor.* 5 [609d]).⁴²⁸ He tells us that he remained there, "lest it become even smaller" (*Dem.* 2.2), a statement that Frances Titchener believes is disingenuous and that he,

⁴²⁵ As noticed, for example, by Buckler (1992: 4801-6), Jones (1971: 3-10), Russell (1973: 16), Titchener (2014: 485-6), and Wardman (1974: 104). The number of *Quaestionum convivalium* in Chaironeia is also notable (Buckler 1992: 4806). In one case, Plutarch even mentions that there were a number of foreign visitors: *Quaest. conv.* 1.2 (615c-d). For more on foreign visitors in Chaironeia, see *Quaest. conv.* 4.3 (666d), 7.7 (710b).

⁴²⁶ Jones (1971: 3) calls this devotion to a small town 'unusual'.

⁴²⁷ Russell (1973: 5) tells us that his wife's father's name was Alexion and that he was probably from Chaironeia.

⁴²⁸ See Chapter 3, page 357.

more likely, was not a fan of large cities like Rome. This, she contends, was based in a sort of ‘apprehensive caution’ that bordered on fear.⁴²⁹ When we consider the political climate of his lifetime, with multiple emperors from Nero to Hadrian,⁴³⁰ this seems a very plausible reason for remaining in one’s local context. However, I do not fully agree with Titchener. I believe that Plutarch was more ambitious than we tend to allow.⁴³¹ His choice to remain in Chaironeia, then, could be public-spirited, a sort of euergetic act, but it might also simply be a practical one. He had an estate, he had his network connections, he held positions in nearby Delphi, and he enjoyed many visitors in Chaironeia. As we have seen, Chaironeia was more complex and more connected than Plutarch or its size implies. Plutarch’s choice to remain there, then, was not the hindrance he made it seem. Therefore, I argue that it was not that Plutarch was afraid of larger cities, or that he lacked ambition, but rather that Plutarch molded his life, and by extension the polis of Chaironeia, to establish himself as an *exemplum* for his reader.

The works of Plutarch as a contemplative force for their audience brings us to the idea of literature as a mirror, one in which the reader can analyze the behaviour of the characters described in the work in relation to their own actions, or the world around them. Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives* have

⁴²⁹ Titchener 2014: 485. A similar, though more cynical view, is taken by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1995 [1922-6]: 52), who says that, “...on marriage he became firmly settled in his home town, and abandoned any possibility of an important career in the wider world.”

⁴³⁰ For example, Plutarch’s friend, Rusticus, was executed by Domitian on charges of treason: *De curios.* 15 (522d). For Plutarch and Domitian, see: Flacelière 1963: 41; Stadter 2002c: 10; Stadter 2014a: 8; Stadter 2014b: 16. In fact, at one point, Plutarch gives voice to his unsettling view of the ruling powers, when he says, in reference to the year of the four emperors, “four emperors, one being brought on stage, while the other is shoved off” (*Galba* 1.8). This demonstrates Plutarch’s uncertainty concerning the stability of the position of the emperor, as well as the unsettling feeling that was left after these events. It is provocative that Plutarch here refers to the empire and its rule as part of a theatre and a performance. Accordingly, in some ways Plutarch believed that rule, power, and relationships were connected to a performance that was being observed and scrutinized by others. For more on Plutarch’s connection to the Roman emperors, see Chapter 3, pages 406-427.

⁴³¹ We see this, for example, in his social network and communications with Trajan: see Chapter 3, pages 415-425. In this way, I agree more with Roskam (2002: 175), who believes that Plutarch was not a man to shy away from action or political life.

long been understood as containing *exempla* for his reader to imitate.⁴³² Plutarch understood the power of observing the past in relation to the present. As such, he did not outright present criticisms or judgements on contemporary political affairs. Despite his indirect approach to the contemporary, he still offered his work as a mirror that his reader could use to observe their own actions in the reflections of the past and its historical figures. However, I wish to take this one step further and argue that his writing represented a mirror for the actions of the author himself, one which the reader was meant to recognize and, if appropriate, imitate. Thus, in addition to recording and understanding his current world, Plutarch's self-presentation was used as a pragmatic piece for his readers to employ in their own lives.⁴³³

One of the first ways that we witness Plutarch craft himself as an *exemplum* for his audience, is through his life in Chaironeia. His participation in local politics was exemplified by his comparison of himself to Epaminondas, the Theban general whom Plutarch greatly admired.⁴³⁴ In one instance, Plutarch related himself to Epaminondas,⁴³⁵ who, as *telearnchos*, was appointed supervisor of public sanitation. Plutarch thus implied that he was involved in a similar job.⁴³⁶ The quotation is worth repeating in full here:

...and they commended Epaminondas because, when he had been elected *telearnchos* by the Thebans as a result of their envy and as an outrage towards him, he did not neglect his work, but he said that the office not only brings to light the man but that

⁴³² M. Beck 2014: 4; Duff 1999: 5; Harbsmeier 2015: 25-6; Jiménez 2002: 105-6; Jones 1971: 103; Mehl 2011: 185-6; Pelling 2002b: 317; Swain 1999: 86, 90; Titchener 2014: 480; Tröster 2008: 15. Plutarch himself presents his biographies as mirrors: *Aem.* 1.1; *Reg. et imp. apophth.* 1 [172d]. For more on the *exempla* tradition, see: Yang and Mutschler 2008: 92-3 (in Rome).

⁴³³ We will see this, for example, for his life in Chaironeia (pages 139-156).

⁴³⁴ Plutarch's positions in Chaironeia: *Quaest. conv.* 6.8 [693e-694a], 2.10 [642f], *prae. ger. reip.* 15 [811b-c]. It is possible that in *An seni.* 4 (785c) Plutarch is also speaking about the positions he held; however, he does not explicitly say that he held these titles and so we must approach this thought cautiously. See also, Jones 1971: 10, 28, 43; Russell 1973: 14; Stadter 2002c: 4; Titchener 2014: 485. Lamberton (2001: 2) explains that local families who learned to adapt to the Roman system, like Plutarch's family, tended to prosper politically.

⁴³⁵ For more on Epaminondas and Plutarch's presentation of him, see Chapter 2, pages 287-293.

⁴³⁶ Russell 1973: 14.

the man also brings to light the office. He thus promoted the *telearchos* to a position worthy of great respect and honour, when before it was nothing but the commission concerned with the throwing out of filth and the diverting of water around narrow passageways. And I, for my part, of course provide laughter to visitors in my polis when I am often seen in public service concerning matters such as these. But the remembrance of Antisthenes assists me: for when someone marveled that he himself carried a dried fish through the agora he said, “Of course! It is for myself,” but I, conversely, to those who throw the blame on me if I stand by while tiles are being measured and concrete and stones are being transported, I say that I manage these things not for myself, at any rate, but for my native town. (*prae. ger. reip.* 15 [811b-c])

This passage offers us many clues as to how Plutarch wished his life to be viewed, and imitated, by his reader. Although we do not know how Plutarch came to occupy what seems to be the same or a similar office in Chaironeia, he, like Epaminondas performed his civic duty with dignity thus not only elevating the job but himself as well. While the Cynic philosopher Antisthenes claimed that he carried a dry fish through the agora for himself and nobody else, Epaminondas’ performance as *telearchos* and, by extension, Plutarch’s, was entirely altruistic. By favorably comparing himself to his hero, Plutarch underlined his devotion both to duty and to his hometown of Chaironeia, even in the face of ridicule, thus providing an excellent *exemplum* that carried a local thrust.

Furthermore, we also learn something about the prosperity of Chaironeia. Plutarch mentioned that tiles were being measured and stones were being delivered, implying that there was active construction and improvement to Chaironeia during his lifetime. Since he mentioned that he was supervising for the benefit of his hometown, we can assume that these projects were public and not private in nature. This matches with what we saw earlier about the vitality of Chaironeia during

the Imperial Age,⁴³⁷ giving us a first-hand account of the wealth and public projects that were underway at this time. Plutarch's account therefore agrees with what the archaeological record tells us about this polis.

Plutarch also took pains to mention the longevity of his family line in this town, suggesting that the devotion he had for Chaironeia was also part of a familial tradition and obligation. We learn of Plutarch's family's attachment to the polis of Chaironeia when he mentioned the family's descent from king Opheltas (*De sera* 13 [558a-b]). This is important, as we learn that Opheltas came from Thessaly to colonize Boiotia by first establishing Chaironeia (*Cim.* 1.1). Thus, Plutarch created a claim for his family's ownership over the land that went back to its foundation. His family, therefore, through this ancestral lineage, belonged to Chaironeia in the same way that Chaironeia belonged to them – they were joined from the foundations of the polis to the current insistence of Plutarch to remain. This also meant that his family line was part of the best men of Chaironeia, whom he said have mostly died (*Cim.* 1.1-2). Plutarch's attachment to his local world was therefore one that could be traced across time to his earliest ancestors.

⁴³⁷ See above, pages 91-2. It is tempting to tie these construction projects to, for example, the baths that are of Roman date. It is especially enticing when we consider that bathing was a daily habit and a social event in the Roman world (Cic. *Att.* 2.3.4, *Fam.* 14.20.1; Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.125-6; Martial 4.8, 7.76; Pliny *ep.* 9.36.4; Seneca *ep.* 86.9-12. Carcopino 2003: 257; DeLaine 1988: 11; Fagan 1999: 1, 32, 189; Ward 1992: 127). However, Plutarch never mentioned any specific construction projects during his lifetime, and thus the only evidence we have for anything of this kind is this casual, passing, and vague reference. Further, Plutarch believed that bathing was a luxury, something that should be omitted, if possible (*De tuenda san.* 3 [123b-c]). This implies that although Plutarch believed it to be a luxury, it was also something that was popular and ingrained, since Plutarch needed to stress that a bath was not a necessary action before a meal, thus implying that that was what his contemporaries were doing. Yet, in another treatise (*Consol. ad uxor.* 6 (610a), he mentioned the bath as being a part of daily life (ἀμέλεια δὲ σώματος ἔπονται τῷ κακῷ τούτῳ καὶ διαβολαὶ πρὸς ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διαίταν ὧν πᾶν τοῦναντίον ἔδει). When we combine this with the evidence of numerous bathhouses in Chaironeia, a small polis, we can extrapolate that the local Chaironeians were likely attending the baths regularly. Perhaps it was this display of luxury, something that Plutarch did not agree with (see below, pages 148-151 for Plutarch on ostentatious displays of women, for example), that had him refrain from mentioning the local baths and his countrymen's attachment to them.

In the same passage where we learn that he is descended from Opheltas, Plutarch also mentioned a connection to the Phokian general Daiphantus, the victor of the battle of Hyampolis (*De sera* 13 [558a-b]).⁴³⁸ So, not only did his family (and therefore Plutarch himself) have an ancestral, legendary claim to the land, but we also find more evidence of the importance of the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia. Furthermore, Plutarch had his friend Theon mention Daiphantus in *Non posse* 18 (1099e-f), where Theon noted that Daiphantus' victory at Hyampolis was still celebrated in Phokis, just like the Athenians still celebrated Marathon and the Thebans still celebrated Leuktra. The comparison of Daiphantus' victory to that of Marathon and Leuktra is important for a few reasons. First, it equated the battle to two famous and decisive conflicts. Secondly, it tied Plutarch's family to this illustrious battle and thus to a conflict that Plutarch was presenting as equal to Athens' Marathon and Thebes' Leuktra. Plutarch thus emphasized the Phokian element of his family ties through his references to Daiphantus. This adds to my argument that we cannot underestimate the importance of this micro-region to Chaironeia. For, if Plutarch's family claimed a mixed descent from two regions, we can assume that other elites of Chaironeia made a similar claim. Therefore, not only did Plutarch live in a local world that was permeated by this micro-region, but his own ancestry emphasized the connection between these two areas, a connection that cut across the division of polities.

Plutarch was not only influenced by the context in which he wrote, but he also shaped that context when he established himself as an *exemplum*. We see this, for example, when Plutarch set himself

⁴³⁸ Jones 1971: 8; Russell 1973: 4; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2006. The battle of Daiphantus is described by Herodotus (8.27-31), though he does not mention the name Daiphantus. Note that this passage with the descent of Opheltas and Daiphantus is in relation to Plutarch's brother (perhaps half-brother) Timon. Plutarch therefore did not outright discuss his own claim to the land or his ancestry. In fact, we never learn Plutarch's mother's name. Nevertheless, his brother, at the very least, had this claim and therefore it seems likely that Plutarch could also make this claim. Even if it was not Plutarch's past and only belonged to his brother, it still granted his family a right to the land.

up as a mirror for his reader through his paternal duties towards the education of his children. He explicitly stated that fathers should be involved in their children's education and that they should not solely rely on a tutor (*De lib. ed.* 13 [9d]).⁴³⁹ In fact, this duty was one that lasted throughout childhood and into their young adult lives, for, in another treatise, Plutarch says that even when a child is older a father should, "...guard them very closely, since they need oversight in reading more than in the streets" (*Quomodo adol.* 1 [15a]).⁴⁴⁰ This emphasizes the importance that Plutarch placed on education, a priority that surpassed other concerns. Perhaps it was why Plutarch deemed it 'necessary' to collect books like farming tools (*De lib. ed.* 10 [8b]), thus suggesting that his estate was abundant with both. By comparing the essential nature of books to agricultural implements, Plutarch equalized the sustenance of the body with the mind. As Jones suggests, "...because Boiotia was primarily agricultural, it can be assumed that [Plutarch's] family's capital was in land."⁴⁴¹ We must, therefore, not undervalue the importance of agriculture to Plutarch and his family estate. By equating education with an essential component of his livelihood, he presented a sub-argument that the acquisition of wealth through agriculture was just as important as nourishing the mind. If we consider the quotation above that a child's education was more important than what he/she learned 'in the streets', we can push this argument further and suggest that Plutarch wanted his reader to understand that education was actually more important than the accumulation of wealth. This becomes even more likely when we examine Plutarch's admiration of frugality,⁴⁴² as well as his own displays of modest living.⁴⁴³ Combined, we have a possible lens into Plutarch's estate and how his family lived. At the very least, we can see how he crafted their

⁴³⁹ Incidentally, this tutor and other servants for children should be a Greek: *De lib. ed.* 5-6 (3f-4a).

⁴⁴⁰ We have some evidence of Plutarch not overseeing his sons 'in the streets' when they arrive home late from the theatre and are thus teased by the guests (*Quaest. conv.* 8.6 [725f-726a]).

⁴⁴¹ Jones 1971: 9.

⁴⁴² See the discussion on Epaminondas in Chapter 2, pages 287-293, for example.

⁴⁴³ See below, pages 152-6 for his views on dining.

lives in Chaironeia as one of modest, philosophical pursuit. It thus becomes undeniable that Plutarch deemed philosophy to be more important than the pursuit of wealth. Therefore, Plutarch's concern for the education of his children should be understood as an *exemplum* of the priorities his readers should have for their own children, and for how they shape their family life and personal pursuits.

Since Plutarch deemed it fundamental to educate his own children and to collect books, we can assume that he had the means to do so. The existence of his personal library becomes even more likely when we consider his teaching of people like Eurydike and Theon,⁴⁴⁴ and thus the possibility that he ran a school in Chaironeia.⁴⁴⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know much, if anything about this school, except that Plutarch had pupils both from Chaironeia and from outside of Chaironeia,⁴⁴⁶ and that he educated both men and women. However, since he did not speak of his life as a teacher, it cannot be claimed that he used this part of his local life in Chaironeia as an *exemplum*. We can, however, look at his relationship with women and education as a source worthy of imitation.

We find a good example of his belief in the education for women in the *Consolation to his wife 2* (*Consol. ad uxor.* 608c). Here, Plutarch expressed the belief that both a man and a woman should be involved in the education of their children. However, when we remember that Plutarch placed philosophy as the most important pursuit, we should consider the likelihood that he meant that a woman who was involved in the education of her children must be educated herself. We can assume, based on the fact that Plutarch wrote this consolation for his wife Timoxena, that she was

⁴⁴⁴ For Eurydike: see Chapter 3, page 372 and *praec. conj.* 48 (145e). For Theon: Chapter 3, pages 367-8 and *Non posse* 2 (1086e).

⁴⁴⁵ Russell 1973: 13.

⁴⁴⁶ See Chapter 3, pages 364, 374-5.

educated enough to read it. Furthermore, he mentioned elsewhere that Timoxena wrote a treatise to her friend Aristylla and that this treatise should be consulted by Eurydike (*praec. conj.* 48 [145a]), thus indicating that he respected the learned nature of his wife. This is the first instance where we find Plutarch establishing his marriage as an *exemplum* for his reader. By saying that Plutarch aided Timoxena in the education of numerous children, Plutarch granted Timoxena some autonomy by giving her a role in the shaping of their childrens' minds, an undertaking of the highest priority in Plutarch's opinion.⁴⁴⁷ As such, it seems that Plutarch expressed the need for both a mother and a father in the education of their child. Further, by showing Timoxena's success in her education through her upbringing of their children and the treatise that she wrote, Plutarch built himself as a worthy subject of imitation as a teacher and a husband through his guidance of these endeavors. Thus, by saying that he and his wife did this together, he established their family dynamic, his leadership as a husband, and their marriage as an *exemplum*.

Throughout the *Consolation to his wife*, we find Plutarch crafting himself as someone to imitate through his relationship with his wife Timoxena. In this treatise, we see clearly that Plutarch believed that women should be respectful to the power hierarchies, which included being subservient to men.⁴⁴⁸ Plutarch presented various women in the household as engaging in different, gendered, social roles: that of wife, mother, and daughter.⁴⁴⁹ In the letter written to his wife upon

⁴⁴⁷ Note that Plutarch has many educated female friends. See, for example, Chapter 3, pages 371-3 for his relationship with Klea.

⁴⁴⁸ See, for example, *consol. ad uxorem*. 1 (608b). Note that parts of this section on Plutarch's presentation of Timoxena are included in an upcoming publication: Giroux forthcoming b.

⁴⁴⁹ As a wife: *consol. ad uxorem*. 1-2 (608b-c), 4 (609b-c), 5 (609c-d), 9 (611b). As a mother: *consol. ad uxorem*. 1 (608b), 2 (608c), 3 (608e), 4 (609a-b), 5 (609d-e), 6 (609e-f), 9 (611b), 11 (612a). As a daughter: *consol. ad uxorem*. 2 (608c). As a friend for other women who are mourning: *consol. ad uxorem*. 7 (610b-d). For a comprehensive list of where Plutarch discussed women and in what capacity, see Nikolaïdis 1997: 31-2. For a list of the faults that Plutarch found in women, see Walcott 1999: 167-182. Plutarch's views of women and their connection from men as a distinct group were, for the most part, traditional: Asirvatham 2019: 169; McInerney 2003: 323, 337; Nikolaïdis 1997: 83; Patterson 1999: 131; Raphals 2002b: 417-420; Walcott 1999: 182; Zhou 2010: 236, 235-7 n34. For Plutarch and the proper

hearing of the death of their daughter, Plutarch showed compassion and affection, yet he also used the opportunity to instruct and praise Timoxena's actions. The first indication we receive that Timoxena was a morally up righteous wife, is at the very beginning of the letter,

On the one hand, I believe that the funeral rites have certainly already occurred. On the other hand, I hope that they were carried out so as to bring you the least amount of pain possible, both now and for the future. And if you are wanting something that you have not done but are waiting for my opinion, something that you believe will make your burden lighter, this will also happen without all excess and superstition, of which you have the least claim. (*Conol. ad uxor.* 1 [608b])

Here, Plutarch advertised that Timoxena was a dutiful wife in waiting for his decisions regarding the death of their child. Thus, even in her grief and in her role as a mother, Plutarch believed that she must still look to a man for guidance and decisions. Not only this, but Plutarch trusted that she would not be extravagant in whatever memorial she had planned, just as she was with the funeral of their daughter:

And those who attended and looked on with wonder say this: that you neither changed your himation nor attached yourself or your handmaids to any kind of carelessness, and that there was no extravagant preparation at the burial rites, such as those for a public festival, but that it was all accomplished discreetly and in silence with our kinsmen. And I myself do not wonder at this, since you have never adorned yourself in the theatre or procession but have supposed extravagance to be useless in reference to pleasure, and so, in your sadness, you guarded closely your plain and simple nature... (*Consol. ad uxor.* 4 [608f-609a])

This passage is illuminating in many ways. Here, Plutarch once again insisted on moderation and stressed restraint. Timoxena's behaviour was the epitome of both. And she managed to do this not just in the private sphere, but, more importantly, in the public eye. Her social performance of modesty, restraint, and deference to her husband even earned the praise of other men,

...for, on the one hand, were not all the philosophers who have been in our company and society amazed by your lack of extravagance in regards to your body and your simple way of life? And no one of our fellow citizens has not been amazed, for whom in sacred rites, sacrifices, and the theatre you exhibit a sight: your own

conduct of virtuous women in the symposia, see Stamatopoulou 2019. Women as suited to the domestic, private sphere was also taught in the Roman world: Milnor 2011: 610-1.

simplicity. And on the other hand, you have already displayed great stability in situations such as this when you had lost the oldest of your children and once again when the fair Chairon left us. For I remember when foreigners travelled in my company from the sea, when tidings of the death of our little one arrived, and at once they assembled with all the others at our home. And since they saw a great calm and quiet, as they later described to others, they thought that nothing terrible had happened but that, at all events, a false tiding had been brought. Such was the self-control you set into order in our home at a time that allows for much disorderly conduct, and yet you reared him at your own breast and suffered being cut when your nipple was bruised. For such actions fit your nobility and your motherly love. (*Consol. ad uxor.* 5 [609c-e])

Timoxena's social performance, not just during her grief, but also in the everyday activities of religious ceremonies, sacrifices, and the theatre were being used by Plutarch as an *exemplum* on how a proper wife and mother should behave: with restraint.⁴⁵⁰ In Chaironeia during Plutarch's lifetime, "there were magistrates titled *gynaikonomoi*, or 'regulators of women,' who enforced sumptuary and behavioral standards that Plutarch claims were originated by Solon (*Sol.* 21.5)."⁴⁵¹ The public performance of women, therefore, was clearly a communal concern. But it seems that Plutarch had no reason to fear the social performance of his wife with respect to these magistrates. She had put on a convincing show of restraint. More importantly, perhaps, was the respect this earned her from her townsmen. The fact that Plutarch mentioned that her simplicity was a 'spectacle' for the other Chaironeians might imply that the other women were 'decked out'. This tells us that there were other elite families who could afford sumptuous displays and luxury items.⁴⁵² Thus, in this one small statement, we find a larger view of Plutarch's local world: one with other wealthy elites who advertised their riches through adornments at public occasions. That

⁴⁵⁰ For more on Plutarch and female restraint, see: Hawley 1999: 117; Walcot 1999: 166.

⁴⁵¹ Pomeroy 1999b: 41-2.

⁴⁵² Though he did not mention what these items were, the reference of Timoxena's plain attire and modest living (περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀθροψία τῇ περὶ δαίτην; *Consol. ad uxor.* 5 [609c-e]) suggests that other women wore more luxurious clothing and jewelry.

is, except for Plutarch's wife Timoxena. And it is this behaviour that Plutarch wished his reader to imitate.

It is undeniable that Plutarch presented Timoxena's social performance of her grief as convincing, for those who were present at the funeral of their daughter were amazed at her restraint (*Consol. ad uxor.* 4 [608f]), and, in the death of her son years before, she held her comportment and managed the household with such mastery that people believed the death to have been a false report (*Consol. ad uxor.* 5 [609c-e]). And, as Plutarch took pains to point out, it was not just anyone who was admiring her behaviour, but philosophers, the learned men whom Plutarch believed should be advising those in power.⁴⁵³ To convince these men of her virtuous nature, Timoxena's social performance in her grief had to be impressive. Timoxena was clearly a good social performer, as in the ritual of death and grieving, she kept her self-control. What is notable, is that Timoxena's restraint of her grief was counter to social conventions of this time.⁴⁵⁴ Plutarch described tears and lamentations after death as a rehearsed performance of a destructive custom (*Consol. ad uxor.* 9 [611b]). Plutarch thus implied that Timoxena, by going against the grain through her display of restraint, made her a more convincing model in that she was not just following convention.

Sophia Xenophontos argues that Timoxena's restraint in the death of her child was closer to that of a Roman mother than a Greek one. She explains that, "Plutarch's approach in this instance might be classified under Morgan's category of the 'multi-gravitational' model of morality, exerting core

⁴⁵³ Roskam 2002: 183-4; Stadter 2002c: 6, 19; Van der Stockt 2002:115. See Chapter 3, pages 415-425 for Plutarch and his desired relationship as an advisor for Emperor Trajan.

⁴⁵⁴ Pomeroy 1999a: 76. Burkert (2006), in fact, argues that weeping is a universal human reaction to death and thus its suppression only comes from cultural training.

values from both the Greek and Roman moral systems.”⁴⁵⁵ Thus, by stating that visiting philosophers were impressed by her behaviour, Plutarch appealed to the Greek audience. By depicting Timoxena’s behaviour as typical of a Roman, however, Plutarch not only pleased his Roman readers, but also established himself, through his praise of her actions, and his family as being within the appropriate cultural norms of the Roman world. As such, he created a narrative of affinity between his family and Roman ones. By staying in Chaironeia and becoming *exempla*, the members of his family then extended this affinity to the entire polis. Thus, for the first time, we gain a glimpse at the narrative that Plutarch was crafting for his hometown: one that was amenable and similar to Rome, and thus allied with the power structures of his time.

Furthermore, by praising Timoxena’s lack of emotion, Plutarch crafted his wife as a paragon of virtue and, indirectly, himself as an effective moral teacher. The reader, therefore, should look upon Plutarch’s instruction, and, more directly, Timoxena, with rhetorical authority as the epitome of wifely and motherly affection in that she privileged her public persona of mother and wife over her internal emotional turmoil. In this way, Plutarch and Timoxena, and by extension their marriage, became worthy of imitation.

Lastly, her show of restraint and prioritization of domestic responsibility established Timoxena in the heights of the social hierarchy of her day. For, as Kristina Milnor argues,

...there is significant evidence that the performance of traditional domestic virtues was simultaneously more important and more possible for women of higher social status, creating a neatly closed system in which the display of ‘domesticity’ was both evidence of and a contribution to maintaining a particular position in the social hierarchy. (Milnor 2011: 616)⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Xenophontos 2016: 58, 71. Plutarch, as always, is a product of his mixed Greek and Roman worlds.

⁴⁵⁶ Here, I follow the definition of Yearley (2011: 127) for virtues: “Virtues are qualities that display some characteristic pattern of desire and motivation, some *disposition* toward action. They are not simple thoughts that

Timoxena's performance of grief, therefore, demonstrated not only her place in this hierarchical structure, but also her respect for its role in society. For she not only showed dignity related to her class, but she also deferred to her husband for decision making.⁴⁵⁷ Her social performance therefore followed the scripts that societal conventions wrote for maintaining harmony.

Plutarch thus crafted Timoxena and his marriage as *exempla*. Through her restraint and self control in her social performance of her grief, Timoxena maintained her status as a virtuous model wife, something that was important not only for her role in society, but also for Plutarch and his role as a moral teacher, since, "(t)he wife and mother [were] seen like a moral barometer for the household: upon her virtue depend[ed] its security."⁴⁵⁸ Timoxena thus became a modern Penelope – awaiting her husband, showing restraint and patience, and ever loyal in her domestic role.⁴⁵⁹ Her performance through grief, and her marriage to Plutarch, was to be emulated and admired.

One final aspect of Plutarch's life in Chaironeia must be discussed here, that is, dining. Hosting dinners and attending dinners was undeniably a large part of Plutarch's identity both as an elite of the empire and as a local in his community. It was also another way in which Plutarch set himself up as an *exemplum*. This is demonstrated throughout the *Table Talks* that occupy two Loeb

occur and pass..." Furthermore, as pointed out by Yearley (2011: 128), virtues are often corrective and thus represent a weakness or need.

⁴⁵⁷ For another example of a woman who defers to her husband and shows modesty in her adornment, see the character of Melissa in *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* (*Conv. sept. sap.* 4 [150c-d]). Her behaviour has been analyzed thoroughly by Stamatopoulou 2019: 212-5.

⁴⁵⁸ Hawley 1999: 117, 127. Cf. Chantiotis 2006: 232 ; Nikolaïdis 1997: 76; Stavrianopoulou 2006; Swain 1999: 87-8.

⁴⁵⁹ As Hawley (1999: 124) points out, Plutarch, who believed in the importance of education for women, nevertheless cared more about a woman's role as wife and mother than her intellectual capabilities. For more on Plutarch and female education, see: Hawley 1999: 121; McInerney 2003: 320; Nikolaïdis 1997: 31, 86; Pomeroy 1999b: 34-5; Russell 1973: 6; Stadter 1999: 173-4; Stamatopoulou 2019: 210-5; Xenophontos 2016: 19, 113. This was likely the result of Plutarch following his master Plato. For Plato and female education and virtue, see Raphals 2002b: 418-9. For more on Plutarch's ideal wife, see: Foxhall 1999: 150; Hawley 1999: 125-7; Nikolaïdis 1997: 48.

volumes.⁴⁶⁰ Unsurprisingly, throughout the *Table Talks*, we find Plutarch emphasizing restraint, even in the number of invited guests. Plutarch tells us that he avoided banquets that had too many foreign visitors alongside all the citizens, but that he showed up when the invitees were close friends who were men of learning (*Quaest. conv.* 8.4.1 [723a]). We learn a few things from this passage. First, Plutarch preferred an intimate gathering of friends⁴⁶¹ and, if foreigners were present, then only a few. This was likely related to the second conclusion that we can draw from this: that the main purpose of a dinner party was philosophical discussion.

However, it does seem that Plutarch attended larger parties, such as the one given by his brother Timon where, “...foreigners, citizens, friends, kin, and, in a word, **people of all kinds**” were guests (*Quaest. conv.* 1.2.1 [615d]; emphasis is my own). Here, Plutarch’s father and grandfather were alive, implying that he and his brother were younger and that the party likely occurred in their family home. First, this tells us that Plutarch’s family estate was large enough to host this many guests. Second, we get an idea of the kinds of people that came to Chaironeia to attend these dinner parties, including foreigners. We also have other instances where Plutarch hosts foreign persons at his home, such as Diogenianus of Pergamum (*Quaest. conv.* 7.7.1 [710b]).⁴⁶² We therefore find people from all around the empire in Chaironeia at different times. We can thus once again assert that Chaironeia was not as isolated as it originally seemed, and that Plutarch was not starved for

⁴⁶⁰ When we consider that we are missing some of these talks (missing: 9.7, 9.8, 9.9, 9.10, 9.11), this only increases the importance of this setting for Plutarch, as no other extant treatise or set of treatises occupies the same space as the *Table Talks*. While it is possible that this format was a convenient way for Plutarch to present philosophical arguments and conversations, we would be hard pressed to suggest that they were all fictitious or that dining was not a central part of Plutarch’s life.

⁴⁶¹ We find a similar reference to having intimate friends as the best invitees in *Quaest. conv.* 7.6.2 (707c). This seems to stem from advice that Hesiod gives, which Plutarch says is wise: to invite your friend, not your foe to dinner (*De vit. pud.* 4 [530d]). For more on Hesiod and Plutarch’s presentation of him, see Chapter 2, pages 310-3.

⁴⁶² See Chapter 3, pages 387-9.

learned guests from around the known world.⁴⁶³ Nevertheless, it appears, even from a cursory glance at the number of speakers in each of the *Table Talks*, that Plutarch preferred a dinner with a small number of friends (and friends who were learned), which allowed for an appropriate stimulated debate and provided the right kind of entertainment. It was, in fact, the entertainment of these men where we find another instance of Plutarch emphasizing restraint.

Plutarch discussed the flute and its role at a dinner party. He stressed that it could be a positive tool that could calm the mind but that too emotional a display would bring the crowd into a negative kind of ecstasy. As such, the flute must avoid ‘a multiplicity of tones’, suggesting Plutarch’s preference for a calm musical performance by the instrument that faded into the background (*Quaest. conv.* 7.8.4 [713a]). However, it was not the performance that should be in the background, but rather, the flute itself. We gain this impression when Plutarch tells us that the flute should always be accompanied by words (*Quaest. conv.* 7.8.4 [713b]). This may reflect a desire on Plutarch’s part that his contemporaries return to similar forms of entertainment that existed during Pindar’s time.⁴⁶⁴ We find, for example, what seems to be a lament by Plutarch, when he says that, “For not only do scarcely few people understand it now, but at that time, everyone listened and delighted in the songs by Pindar, ‘shepherds, ploughmen, and fowlers alike’” (*De Pyth. or.* 24 [406c]). The religious context of the treatise in which this is found reflects the previous quotation, where Plutarch mentioned the positive side of music in relation to its religious nature.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ For more on the origins of these guests, see the Appendix item “Geographic Catalogue” as well as Chapter 3, pages 449-475.

⁴⁶⁴ For more on Pindar in Plutarch’s works, see Chapter 2, pages 307-310. For music, see Chapter 2, pages 303-6. This may also, however, be a reflection of his following of Plato and Aristotle, who also claim an orgiastic aspect to music (Scheithauer 1997: 110).

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. the debate in *Quaest. conv.* 7.7.1 (710b), where they discuss Plato’s objection to the listening of flute girls during the consumption of wine. However, as Plutarch states later on (713b), so long as the flute is in the background and the words of the song in the foreground, music could, in his opinion, be an appropriate entertainment. Once again,

We can therefore assume that the entertainment that Plutarch believed to be appropriate for a dinner party was either one of a religious or of a philosophical kind.

Lastly, we find Plutarch being sparing in the meal itself,

When I held the office of eponymous archon at home, most of the meals were banquets of which a portion of the sacrifice was allotted to each man. On the one hand, this was wonderfully pleasing to some, but on the other hand, others, who blamed it as unsocial and not fit for a free man, deemed that it was at once necessary, after my time in office, to correct the meal back to its usual way. (*Quaest. conv.* 2.10.1 [642f])

This quotation offers us insights into Plutarch's local life. First, we have evidence that he was once the eponymous archon.⁴⁶⁶ However, not everyone in Chaironeia was happy with the work that Plutarch was doing in their polis, as Plutarch imposed a system of allotted portions that caused some people dismay. We can assume that the 'usual way' that these unhappy dinners demanded was not one of allotted portions, and that Plutarch's force of restraint in eating was offensive to some of his countrymen. His choice for restraint in these meals fits with his general belief in the importance of moderation.⁴⁶⁷ Thus, just as we witnessed when he took up a position with demeaning tasks like Epaminondas (*prae. ger. reip.* 15 [811b-c]), he again faced the harsh judgement of some of his countrymen yet swallowed his pride for what he saw as the betterment of his polis. Thus, Plutarch again showed his reader that it was more important to focus on the improvement of one's polis and state, rather than to seek popularity or approval. As such, he did not shy away from mentioning that his fellow Chaironeians were unhappy with him, as this enabled

this is likely because it takes on a religious nature through the words, avoiding the display of the instrument as the star, and thus the possibility of 'ecstasy'.

⁴⁶⁶ For Plutarch as holding the position of *telearnchos*, see above, pages 141-3.

⁴⁶⁷ For example, his Roman heroes tended to be moderate: Jones 1971: 89. Cf. M. Beck 2002: 486; Wardman 1974: 85. As we saw above (pages 148-151), Plutarch also believed that women should show restraint and moderation (cf. Hawley 1999: 117; Walcot 1999: 166).

his audience to understand the sacrifice that must be made by a virtuous man for the greater good. In this way, Plutarch crafted himself as a paragon of virtue, one whose actions could be used as a mirror for the audience to reflect upon their own actions.

Plutarch on Chaironeia

The *Table Talks* also offer valuable insights into Chaironeia's agricultural landscape and trade. While these are usually passing references, they still give us some insight into, for example, the variety of different foods for Plutarch and his guests. In *Table Talk* 5.8 (682b-684b), for instance, we find apples and pomegranates in Chaironeia, and in *Table Talk* 5.9 (684b-d) we also hear of figs. In fact, it does not sound like they were wanting, as Plutarch states that, "one time when we were feasting in Chaironeia and autumn fruit of all sorts were set before us..." (*Quaest. Conv.* 5.8.1 [683b]). This seems to go against the idea that Plutarch preferred a modest arrangement for dinner, as the bounty of the fruit implies abundance at the table. This fits in nicely with the agricultural landscape of Chaironeia discussed above, with its rich fertile lands providing what they needed.⁴⁶⁸ However, when we consider the food stuffs that Plutarch considered to be luxurious (e.g. Falernian wine [*De tuenda san.* 7 (125d)] or sow's udder [*De esu carnum* 1 (997a)]), the presence of fruit, despite the high amount, still fits within the simple and modest presentation for dinner that Plutarch insists upon. We should also consider the following quotation, where Plutarch says,

For these things doubtless often lead people on to use things that are famous and rare, just as if they are led by the odour of savory meat and vain reputation, and they force their body to share in this opinion when it is in need of nothing so that they have a tale to describe in full to others, being envied for their enjoyment of things that are so very hard to come by and extravagant. (*De tuenda san.* 6 [124f-125a])

⁴⁶⁸ See pages 41-5. Cf. *Sull.* 15.2-3, where Sulla brings his troops to Boiotia because of its fertility.

In another treatise, he once again criticized an abundance of food and the use of dinners as a display of wealth. He says of Epaminondas that,

In this way he was frugal concerning his way of life so that, as a result, when he had been invited to dinner by a neighbour and found an arrangement of pastries, cakes, meats, and perfumes, he departed straightaway, saying, ‘I thought that you were putting on an offering of a meal to the gods, not an ostentatious display’. (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 3 [192d])⁴⁶⁹

Plutarch thus imitated his hero Epaminondas in advocating restraint. Furthermore, when we consider the context of this quotation in the treatise addressed to Trajan, the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* (*Reg. et imp. apophth.*),⁴⁷⁰ meant as a guide to good living, we really cannot underestimate the value Plutarch placed on a modest lifestyle. Therefore, it seems that though these autumnal fruits were so abundant, because they were not rare or luxurious, they were seen by Plutarch as being appropriate for setting in front of guests and for recording for posterity. The simple fact that he mentioned the fruit as being a part of a dinner that he partook in should be a hint to us of his approval of the meal. He therefore set an example for his reader not only in terms of what you should present to your guests, but also what you should consume as a guest.

The importance of a frugal feast is also found in *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* (*Conv. sept. sap.* 4 [150c]), where Periander, the Corinthian tyrant, ‘...excludes over-elaborate meats, foreign perfumes, pastries and cakes, and the circulation of expensive wines...’⁴⁷¹ even though all are within his possession and everyday use. Further, Periander asked his wife to present herself in

⁴⁶⁹ This is also important in that it points to the idea of luxury in Boiotia, making this supposed backwater territory seem less so with the goods available. For more on Boiotia see Chapter 2.

⁴⁷⁰ For more on this treatise and Plutarch’s relationship with Trajan, see Chapter 3, pages 415-425.

⁴⁷¹ Note that Plutarch here condemned the same items on offer as he did with the Epaminondas tale (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 3 [192d]; see quotation above on this page): meats (ᾠψων), perfumes (μύρα), and pastries and cakes (πέμματα).

modest attire. All of this suits Plutarch's ideal dinner through the modesty presented by the women as well as the host in what he set before his guests. Here and in the other presentations, therefore, Plutarch emphasized the importance of not hosting an over-elaborate meal to advertise one's wealth. Instead, like the choice of guests, he viewed the choice of food as indicative of one's character, with modest selections being the highest reflection of good values. It is thus reasonable to assume that Plutarch's dinners would have been of a similar nature: a small number of guests, likely learned ones, with a modest meal focused on local products.

We find another example of an appropriate feast in *Table Talk* 6.10.1 (696e), where we arrive back in Chaironeia and back in Plutarch's time. Here, Plutarch mentioned that his friend Aristion's cook expertly prepared a rooster that had recently been sacrificed to Heracles.⁴⁷² Not only do we have evidence here of the worship of Heracles in Chaironeia, as we saw above, but we also learn that it was permissible to serve birds at a banquet. In *Advice about Keeping Well* (*De tuenda san.* 18 [131e-f]), food from the garden, birds, and fish are given as the most important and nourishing items to consume, while other things, like meat, cheese, figs, and eggs are listed as foods that should be eaten sparingly.⁴⁷³ Thus, the autumnal fruits and the rooster are presented as appropriate

⁴⁷² Does his possession of the sacrificed rooster indicate that Aristion held a priesthood of Heracles?

⁴⁷³ Plutarch also discussed the idea of vegetarianism in *De esu carniū*, in which he again remarked that the Athenians called the Boiotians gluttonous (*De esu carniū* 6 [995e-f]). For more on Athenian jibes towards Boiotians and Plutarch's reaction towards these, see Chapter 2, e.g., pages 323, 329. Note that Cherniss and Hembold (Loeb volume 12 of Plutarch's *Moralia* [1968: 537-9]) believe this to be a treatise written in Plutarch's youth when he was experimenting with vegetarianism. I am inclined to agree, if only for the simple fact that we find Plutarch being served animals in the *Quaest. conv.* (probably written between 99-116 CE [Jones 1966: 72-3]), such as in the reference above (6.10.1 [696e]). However, the fragmented state of *De esu carniū* (Cherniss and Hembold 1968: 537), combined with the fact that Plutarch never mentioned actually putting something in his mouth means that his vegetarianism cannot be denied or confirmed. Note that Jones 1966 does not provide an approximate chronology for *De esu carniū*.

foods for consumption,⁴⁷⁴ and Plutarch's participation and approval of these feasts in his hometown further served as an *exemplum* for hosts on what to serve.

In the same passage, we also learn about the trees of Chaironeia. Aristion explained how his cook prepared the rooster by hanging it from a fig tree after its sacrifice. We already saw that figs were available to eat in Chaironeia. These were not the only trees, however, as demonstrated by his friend Soklaros, who was an expert in grafting.⁴⁷⁵ Soklaros' estate had olives growing on mastic trees and pomegranates growing on myrtle. He also mentioned that Soklaros' had, "...oaks which produced good pears, plane trees which had accepted grafts of apples, fig trees which had accepted grafts of mulberries, and other mixtures of plants which had utterly mastered producing (fruit)" (*Quaest. conv.* 2.6.1 [640b]). Soklaros' experimentation with grafting was also demonstrative of his inquiring scientific mind. In a lost work of Plutarch, of which we have a fragment, we also learn that holm-oaks were not common to Boiotia and that they used elm for fashioning plough-beams instead.⁴⁷⁶ Chaironeia, therefore, had a variety of trees and fruit producing trees that were available to its inhabitants.

⁴⁷⁴ We can posit that another reason Plutarch saw the rooster as appropriate to eat was that it had been sacrificed to Heracles. This brings in a religious nature to the consumption of the animal that perhaps mitigates any objections that may be presented about the eating of meat at this feast, or an accusation of Aristion displaying his wealth for his guests.

⁴⁷⁵ Farinetti 2011: 103.

⁴⁷⁶ Plutarch Fragments 64 - From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 427. Note, however, that in the Holocene period, "(a) deciduous oak woodland on the deeper soils, evergreen oaks on the thinner soils, and a steppe vegetation on the slopes" existed around Lake Kopais (Farinetti 2011: 51). Note also Rackham (1983: 334-5), who mentions that oaks were the most common tree in antiquity (though deciduous trees were more frequent than they are today). This thus provides us with a good example of changes through time, here, because of human occupation and agricultural requirements.

Lastly, we find Plutarch's grandfather, Lamprias⁴⁷⁷ discussing the rainfall and the differences in regions to the growth of fruit (*De facie* 25 [939c-d]). He described that the fruits of both trees and fields in his region were nourished by rains and that, if they have a particularly harsh winter, they bear an abundance of good fruit. Lamprias then used this as a comparative to Egypt, where he claimed that the plants were nourished not by rain, but by water from the ground. He states that, because they did not learn to adapt to rain-water and dews, like those of his region, that the same plants found in Egypt would be too sensitive and not do well in the winter. Not only does this tell us a lot about local agriculture, but it also gives us insight into the knowledge that these men possessed. Lamprias' familiarity with his region and the effects of rainfall on the crops suggests that he had experience in cultivation. As a result, we can argue that Plutarch's family estate was one that grew fruits and trees.⁴⁷⁸ This would fit not only with the above discussion, but also with Plutarch's setting of fruits for his guests above, and with Soklaros' estate. We should not, however, go so far as to say that Plutarch's estate had the grafted varieties that are found on Soklaros' land, since Plutarch took pains to explain and indicate their unusual nature.

Furthermore, the above discussion points to Lamprias' strong understanding of other local worlds and their industries, such as Egypt, where he mentioned the local worlds of Thebes (Θήβας), Syene (Σύηνην), Gedrosia (Γεδρωσίας), and Troglodytis (Τρωγλοδύτιδος), and how their weather affected cultivation (*De facie* 25 [939c-d]). This implies that Chaironeia was not as isolated as it seemed, even before Plutarch reached his prime, as his grandfather was aware of the practices of

⁴⁷⁷ For more on Lamprias, see Chapter 3, page 350.

⁴⁷⁸ For a narrative on Plutarch's views of family estates, see *De frat. am.* 11 (484a-b), in which he explained the story of two of his countrymen, Xenon and Athenodorus, brothers who were still spoken of, and how Athenodorus stood next to his brother after Xenon committed a crime and displayed some self-sacrifice through the division of their remaining estate.

other places that were far from this small Boiotian polis. We must therefore conclude that even before Plutarch's time, knowledge was travelling far and wide, and that Chaironeia was tapped into this network of exchange.

Chaironeia's involvement in this network is evident even before Plutarch's grandfather. Intriguingly, Chaironeia's connection in this circumstance was also tied to its agriculture. In his *Life of Antony* (68.4-5), Plutarch mentioned his great grandfather Nicharchus, who, with other Chaironeians had to provide grain supplies for Antony's troops, supporting its cultivation in the region.⁴⁷⁹ This is strengthened by a second century BCE inscription from Chaironeia that discusses the local price of wheat.⁴⁸⁰ We therefore have evidence, both literary and through an inscription, of another product that was produced in Chaironeia.

We have further confirmation of the diversity of Chaironeia's food production through documentation of pastoralism in Chaironeia in Plutarch's works. We discover that Plutarch's own father, Autobulos, reared excellent horses.⁴⁸¹ If, as has been suggested,⁴⁸² pastoral activity took place mainly on rocky hills and in uncultivable areas, we can tentatively suggest that the horses Autobulos was raising were not in the plain, but rather, along the nearby hills. As such, when we

⁴⁷⁹ This narrative also provides a local narrative of loyalty to Rome (see pages 137, 178, 186-190).

⁴⁸⁰ Lytle 2010: 284. The evidence for wheat in the area sets Chaironeia apart from other nearby regions, such as Phokis and Lokris, where they did not have the lowland river valleys to cultivate these crops (Howe 2011: 21). Chaironeia's position in this 'soft' boundary area and the repeated conflicts that occurred in the region can thus possibly be related to the richness of the earth and the desirability of the land in the Kephissos valley.

⁴⁸¹ *Quaest. conv.* 2.8.1 (641f-642a). Jones (1971: 9) rightfully points to this as evidence of the affluence of Plutarch's family (alongside his learned grandfather). For more on pastoralism in the ancient Greek world, see Forbes 1995; Hadjigeorgiou 2011: 2-3. Cf. Post (forthcoming), for the connection between the region of Lake Kopais and animal husbandry.

⁴⁸² Forbes 1995: 329. Note, however, that Forbes (1995: 330) does say that we need to approach this with caution, as we do not know for sure how animals were managed. Howe (2011: 4) argues that, "(e)ach Greek community devised its own unique ways, methods, and goals for keeping animals in order to meet its unique social agenda. The differing social, environmental, and economic variables at Athens, Sparta, Thessaly, and Arcadia and central Greece resulted in differing responses to animal management."

picture the agricultural landscape of Chaironeia, we can perhaps picture that, when looking out from the theatre, for instance, an audience member would see and, depending on the direction of the wind, would smell the flowers of the plain rather than the horses.⁴⁸³ As such, we can tentatively say that the crops became more associated with Chaironeia's landscape and thus its identity, as we witnessed by how struck Pausanias was by the smell of flowers in the area (9.41.7). The horses, by contrast, would be a marker of individual wealth and not a local marker that came to define the polis itself.

It seems, therefore, that like the fruit that grew in its soil, Chaironeia was also able to support different kinds of vegetation and horses, and that its residents, particularly Soklaros, were adept at manipulating these plants to produce a variety of species. Chaironeia, Plutarch's passing references indicate, was a fertile area that offered much in terms of its ability to produce an abundance of different kinds of foods. These casual mentions thus provide us with the evidence we need to piece together an income source for the local elites and to better understand the polis' agricultural landscape, which lends itself to their local lives, not only in how they spent their time in cultivation, but also in how they shared the fruits of their labour in convivial conversations over a local meal.

Another area in which Plutarch provides information about Chaironeia is in its religious atmosphere. For example, he tells us that the temple of Apollo Thourios was located at the foot of

⁴⁸³ For more on the flowers and their smell, see above, pages 88-9. Surprisingly, Plutarch did not discuss the healing industry in his hometown. This is even more shocking when we consider his focus on war (which would involve healing injured soldiers) as well his interest in medicine, demonstrated in his treatises such as *De tuenda san.* Further, since Pausanias seemed to think that this was one of the most striking parts of Chaironeia, Plutarch's silence is even more confusing. While we cannot know with any certainty why Plutarch did not speak about this agricultural activity, we can postulate about some of the other silences in his work (see below, pages 182-190).

the hill known as Orthopagus by the Molos stream.⁴⁸⁴ He then gives two possible explanations for the surname: it was derived either from the mother of Chairon, the founder of Chaironeia, or from the Phoenician word for cow to symbolize where the cow of Apollo appeared to Kadmos (*Sull.* 17.4-5). The second explanation is suggestive, as it represents a local collective memory that links Chaironeia to Thebes.⁴⁸⁵ It seems, therefore, that there was some local interest in tying themselves to this legendary tale. Furthermore, by having Chaironeia as the location of the appearance of the cow, implies a favouring by Apollo. Apollo could have made the cow appear anywhere, but he chose Chaironeia. This symbolic gesture of favouritism also provided the local world with legitimacy through antiquity, as not only was Chaironeia the first polis founded in Boiotia (*Cim.* 1.1), but it was also where Apollo decided to begin the Theban legacy. Chaironeia, therefore, joins with Thebes' narrative while maintaining autonomy through its own, earlier, history.

We find a similar account of local collective memory in *Theseus* 17.6. In this narrative, Plutarch relates a local tradition of burials of Amazons in Chaironeia by the stream known as Haemon.⁴⁸⁶ Through this tale, Plutarch granted his narrative both the authority of Chaironeia's local remembered past and the allure and antiquity of mythology by suggesting a link with the famous warrior women. The passage, furthermore, lists all the places that the Amazons visited (Athens, Megara, Scotussa, Cynoscephalae) and the opposition that they met in these locations. By placing Chaironeia on this list, Plutarch brought his hometown into the broader picture of the mythological realm of ancient Greece and demonstrated that it could stand with the other poleis by also opposing

⁴⁸⁴ For a list of Plutarch's topographic descriptions of Chaironeia, see "Chaironeia" in the Appendix item "People and Places in Plutarch". For the temple of Apollo Thourios, see above, pages 83-4.

⁴⁸⁵ For more on Kadmos and his importance to the communal memory of Thebes, see Giroux 2020b: 8.

⁴⁸⁶ For the name of this stream and how it links to the collective memory of battles, see below, page 166.

and defeating the Amazons.⁴⁸⁷ And while beginning this section with “it is said” (φησὶν) might suggest uncertainty, it could also be interpreted as harkening to the local oral traditions surrounding this space.

Plutarch, however, did not always link Chaironeia to Greek traditions, he also connected Chaironeia to Rome. Plutarch used the local cult of Leukothea to help explain why, at the shrine of the Latin Goddess Matuta, slave women were not allowed to enter (*Quaest. Rom.* 16 [267d-e]).⁴⁸⁸ By associating the two shrines through a similar practice, the resulting correlation enabled his reader to relate Chaironeia and Rome and thus conjured an affinity between the two places. The product of this continued togetherness of Chaironeia and Rome also heightened the subtle sub-narrative of loyalty to Rome that Plutarch was building for his hometown.⁴⁸⁹

It will come as no surprise that the most frequent occurrence of the name of Plutarch’s hometown in his own works arises in relation to information about the battles of Chaironeia. We see this clearly in Figure 1.21 below, where the number of references to Chaironeia in relation to war is more than triple that of the next highest category, the people in Chaironeia.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ This is reminiscent of the sceptre of Agamemnon and the tie that Chaironeia creates to the Trojan War (see above, page 86).

⁴⁸⁸ Other Chaironeian cult practices mentioned by Plutarch include sacrifices to Heracles in Chaironeia (*Quaest. conv.* 6.10 [696e]) as well as his temple (*Dem.* 19.1-2); the local driving out of bulimy (*Quaest. conv.* 6.8.1 [693e-694a]); the Pithoigia (Plutarch Fragments 54 – From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 368-369). For more on Plutarch’s presentation of Boiotian religion, see Chapter 2, pages 317-328.

⁴⁸⁹ We will see more of this sub-narrative in the Damon narrative below, pages 186-190.

⁴⁹⁰ For a complete list of Plutarch’s mentions of Chaironeia, see “Chaironeia” in the Appendix item “People and Places in Plutarch”.

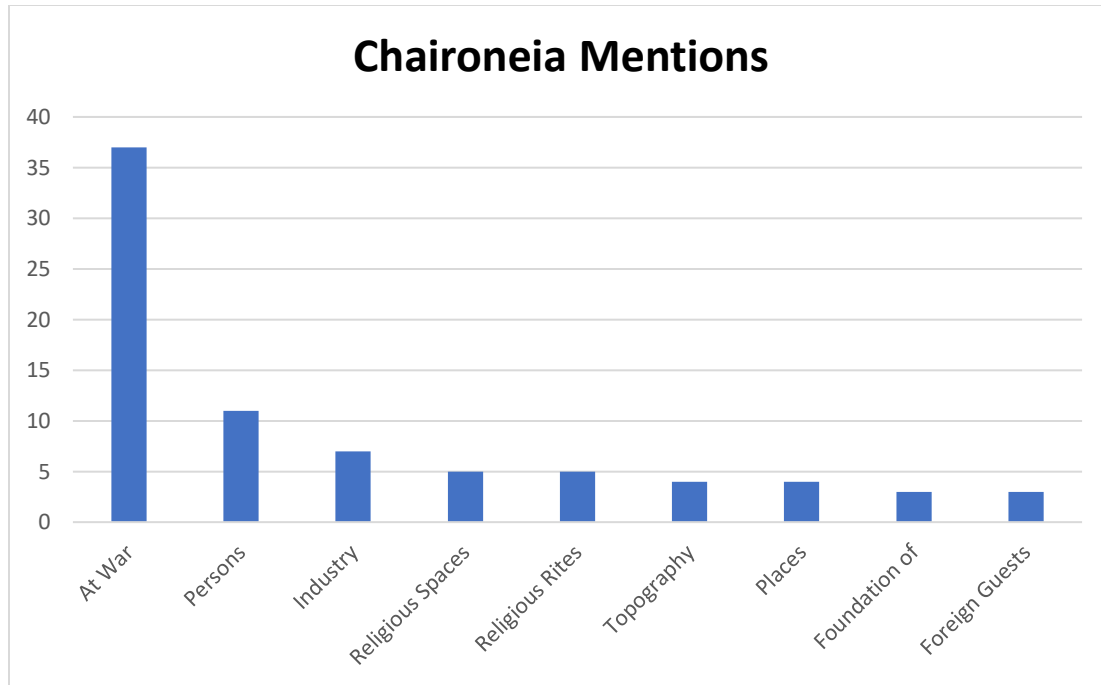


Figure 1.21: A Numerical Representation of Plutarch's mentions of Chaironeia, categorized

First, as we saw above,⁴⁹¹ Plutarch takes pains to point out inscriptions related to these battles. Not only did he mention the one that contained the names of Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos, but he also briefly commented on another of Sulla's trophies that named the general and statesman the 'Beloved of Venus' (*Sull.* 19.5, 34.2; *De fort. Rom.* 4 [318d]).⁴⁹² However, it was not inscriptions that occupied the largest place in Plutarch's oeuvre for Chaironeia's battles. We find narratives explaining the battles themselves, the topography of the site and its relation to these battles, and the aftermath.⁴⁹³ For example, in the telling of the Battle of Chaironeia in 86 BCE, Plutarch goes back and forth between demonstrating that Chaironeia owed Rome a favour but also that Rome owed Chaironeia. For, were it not for the actions of Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos, for example, Sulla would have lost his advantage and might not have prevailed (*Sull.* 17.1-18.2). By crafting

⁴⁹¹ See pages 80-1.

⁴⁹² For more on these trophies and who dedicated them, see above, pages 80-1.

⁴⁹³ For a list of the battles and/or conflict that take place on Chaironeia's soil that are mentioned by Plutarch, see "Chaironeia" in the Appendix item "People and Places in Plutarch".

the narrative in this way, Plutarch established a place for Chaironeia, one in which it was essential to Roman success in Greece and one in which the Chaironeians remained loyal. It seems, then, that Plutarch's focus for Chaironeia was indeed on its battles and understanding the consequences for those involved.

While we cannot deny that Plutarch's primary purpose for these passages was to relate information on the battles, they also conveyed a sense of the impact of these conflicts on the narratives that circulated in Chaironeia in Plutarch's day. For example, we have a tree that the locals called 'Alexander's oak' (Ἀλεξάνδρου...δρῦς [*Alex.* 9.2]).⁴⁹⁴ The importance of this tree to the people of Chaironeia is immediately apparent through the longevity of the association of this place with Alexander. And, perhaps more significant, was Plutarch's desire to ensure that posterity by relaying the information for his reader.

We find another strong example of the lasting influence of these battles in Plutarch's explanation for the name of a stream; "...but I infer that the stream, which is called Haemon, at that time was called Thermodon, for it flows beside the Herakleion where the Greeks encamped. And I conjecture that after the battle occurred, the stream was filled with blood and corpses and that it is because of this that it changed its name" (*Dem.* 19.2). The name Haemon (Αἷμων) thus derived from the word for blood (αἷμα). The renaming of this stream was a strong symbolic gesture by the local Chaironeians, one that spoke to the continued remembrance of this battle and its effect on their landscape.

⁴⁹⁴ See pages 178-180 below.

In another narrative, Plutarch explained the effect of the war between Octavian and Antony on his countrymen and his great-grandfather through their mistreatment by Antony's soldiers. Plutarch described the situation after the battle of Actium:

Wherefore, Caesar sailed to Athens, and when he had been reconciled with the Greeks, he distributed the grain which remained in hand after the war to the poleis that were struggling miserably and that had been plundered of goods, slaves, and beasts of burden. At any rate, my great-grandfather Nikarchos described in full that the whole citizenry was forced to bring down a fixed measure of wheat on their shoulders to the sea at Antikyra, being urged forward by whips. And he said that they had carried a load in this war and, by this time, the second load had been measured out and they were about to set out when news of Antony's defeat reached them. And this saved the city. For, straightaway, Antony's administrators and soldiers fled, and the citizens distributed the grain amongst themselves. (*Ant.* 68.4-5)

We see here an example of a local narrative, one deeply personal to Plutarch, that continued in his time. By emphasizing the difficult situation of the Chaironeians (no money, slaves, and beasts of burden), who were mistreated by Antony's forces and 'compelled' to help through the use of whips, Plutarch crafted the narrative as one that was negative towards Antony, making Octavian the salvation of Chaironeia. Like his reference to Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos,⁴⁹⁵ Plutarch thus used this passage to stress allegiance to Rome through Chaironeia's opposition to Antony. Not only were the Chaironeians forced to supply Antony and his troops with grain, but they did not stay and help him after his defeat. There is therefore no indication in the passage above that Chaironeia allied itself to Antony, but only that they were mistreated by him and rejoiced at his defeat by Octavian. Plutarch thus maintained a narrative of loyalty between Chaironeia and the current Roman regime.

⁴⁹⁵ See pages 165-6 for an explanation of how this narrative represents one of loyalty to Rome.

Our best example of Plutarch allowing a local tradition, and his devotion to Chaironeia, to command his narrative is found in the proem of the paired *Lives* of *Cimon-Lucullus*.⁴⁹⁶ The presentation of the proem is very different from the other twenty that survive, so much so that it has received much criticism and attempts at explanation.⁴⁹⁷ The debate hinges on the beginning, which contains not an anecdote on the heroes of the pair, Cimon and Lucullus, like the majority of other proems, but one concerning Damon, a man from Chaironeia (*Cim.* 1.1-2.5). Stadter argues that this was a digression technique used by Plutarch to arouse interest in his readers.⁴⁹⁸ Similarly, M. Beck contends that it is an example of *insinuatio*, where the proem uses a novel story to wake up the audience. He further notes that it also served as a negative behavioral model for the two *Lives* that follow.⁴⁹⁹ Lastly Ma contends that Damon, living on the margins of civilized society, can be considered in the black hunter paradigm outlined by P. Vidal-Naquet, in that he was a youth who lived on the margins of civilized society.⁵⁰⁰ Ma also demonstrates that the anecdote is an example of folklorization brought about by oral tradition.⁵⁰¹ Once again, we witness the importance of local knowledge and the local discourse environment permeating Plutarch's works.

Plutarch finishes this narrative with a description of the local haunted bathhouse, where Damon was killed:

The citizens contrived to lure Damon, who was destroying the country with robberies and raids, back to the city, by sending embassies and passing resolutions of goodwill. And when he returned, they appointed him gymnasiarch. Then they killed him as he was anointing himself with oil in the bath. For a long time, some phantoms appeared in that place and groaning was heard there, as our fathers tell us, and they walled up the doors of the bath. And even now, those who are

⁴⁹⁶ Note that aspects of this discussion are incorporated into an upcoming article: Giroux forthcoming c.

⁴⁹⁷ For a quick overview of this debate, see M. Beck 2007: 55.

⁴⁹⁸ Stadter 1988: 290-1.

⁴⁹⁹ M. Beck 2007: 55-6, 64-6. Cf. Duff 2014: 334 and Stadter 1988: 291.

⁵⁰⁰ Ma 1994: 49-50.

⁵⁰¹ Ma 1994: 60.

neighbours to that place think that some visions and disturbing sounds are produced there. (*Cim.* 1.6)

As Ma suggests,⁵⁰² this narrative is a good example of folklorization. The story of Damon's actions and his murder in the bathhouse earned a place in the local discourse environment, a place that became entrenched in the local environment not only in the physical space that was associated with it, but also in the imaginative realm through its permeation of the lives of those who lived near the bathhouse.

This proem, Pierre Ellinger contends,⁵⁰³ was Plutarch's way of writing a sort of mini-*Life* for Damon that not only provided Damon justice for his murder, but also helped Chaironeia and its people come to terms with their past and their current Roman rule through Lucullus' role in this tale as an advocate for Chaironeia. Whether or not there was a hidden motive for the inclusion of the Damon narrative,⁵⁰⁴ it seems clear that Plutarch's patronage of Chaironeia led him to include this story of Damon to introduce how Lucullus became involved with Chaironeia, through his investigation of this incident.⁵⁰⁵ Without Lucullus, Chaironeia may not have survived Damon's impetuous act of killing Roman officials:

After, the Orchomenians, who were Chaironeia's neighbours and at variance with them, had a Roman informer who brought forward the name of this city, as if it were one person, and prosecuted it for the murder of the men killed by Damon. The trial was held before the commander of Macedonia (for the Romans did not yet send commanders to Greece). Those speaking on behalf of the city invoked the testimony of Lucullus,⁵⁰⁶ and when the governor wrote to Lucullus, Lucullus

⁵⁰² Ma 1994: 60.

⁵⁰³ Ellinger 2005: esp.301-310.

⁵⁰⁴ For Plutarch's potential silences in this narrative and their implications, see below, pages 186-190.

⁵⁰⁵ Scholars that support this view include: Jones 1971: 3; Lavery 1994: 262; Mackay 2000a: 91; and Pelling 2010b: 106. Pretzler (2005: 240) argues that references to Chaironeia and to Boiotia more generally are evidence that Plutarch was not above being patriotic. However, as Titchener (2014: 486) notes, Plutarch did not sing Chaironeia's praises, but simply made it clear that his decision to reside there was one that benefitted all.

⁵⁰⁶ Earlier, Plutarch explains that, "around that time, it happened that Lucullus was passing by with an army on some business. After he stopped his march, he examined what had happened, while it was fresh and found that the city was in no way responsible, but rather, had been injured" (*Cim.* 1.5).

confirmed the truth. And in this way, **the city escaped punishment when it was in its greatest danger**. Therefore, those men who had been saved set up a likeness of Lucullus made of stone in the agora next to Dionysos. And we, even if we are removed by many generations, we think that his favour stretches even to us who are now living. And since we think that a likeness that shows character and manner is much more beautiful than one which copies the body and countenance, we will undertake to write the deeds of this man in the *Parallel Lives*, recounted truthfully. (*Cim.* 2.1-3)

Once again, Plutarch described how the actions surrounding the Damon narrative permeated into the local environment. In this passage, Plutarch used the situation to introduce the first hero of these paired *Lives*, Lucullus. We learn not only of how he saved Chaironeia from accusations, but also how he remained a source of discussion and memory through the erection of a monument to him in the agora of the polis. Thus, Plutarch not only changed his usual structure of the proem to incorporate local tradition, but he even tells us that he chose Lucullus as one of his earliest heroes on whom he wished to write *because* of a local debt.

We can also interpret this proem as a pro-Roman episode in the *Parallel Lives*. The narrative is framed with flattery towards Lucullus (*Cim.* 2.1-3), and the shadowy, almost elusive character, that of Damon, the local Chaironeian.⁵⁰⁷ Plutarch could have chosen to present this narrative as a wicked Roman corrupting the youth of his hometown, with Damon acting as the hero who stands up to his oppressor.⁵⁰⁸ But he did not. Instead, he chose to present the upheaval as homegrown, a local problem caused by an unruly Chaironeian and eventually played out between two Boiotian towns: Chaironeia and Orchomenos. Rome, in this scenario, was in no way to blame. Rather, it

⁵⁰⁷ Plutarch described Damon as someone who, “...excelled by far over the youths around him both in beauty of the body and purpose of the spirit, but his character was uneducated and inflexible” (*Cim.* 1.2). Plutarch further described how Damon and his friends would cover their faces with soot at night and greedily drink wine at dawn (*Cim.* 1.3). As a result, Damon’s descendants were known as ‘besooted’ (ἄσβολουμένους; *Cim.* 1.7). Furthermore, these descendants did not live in Chaironeia, but rather, in Phokis and Steiri (*Cim.* 1.7). By placing them outside of Chaironeia, Plutarch further removed the guilt of his polis by showing how Chaironeia was no longer associated with Damon’s family.

⁵⁰⁸ Especially in the description of events found in *Cim.* 1.2-4.

was the clemency of Lucullus that saved the town. Similarly, Chaironeia was not responsible. As Plutarch explains in the passage above (*Cim.* 2.1), the Orchomenians sought to punish Chaironeia ‘as if it were one person’ (ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου), rather than seeing that the fault laid with Damon alone. Thankfully, Lucullus recognized the anomaly that was Damon (*Cim.* 1.5; 2.1-3). In this way, Plutarch used this episode not only to present the personal qualities of the two heroes he was about to discuss, Cimon and Lucullus, but also to indirectly describe the positive relationship of Chaironeia and Rome.

Chaironeia as a ‘battlescape’

Considering the focus on its battles and the place of pride these were given by the locals, I argue that in the Hellenistic era running into the Roman Empire, Chaironeia and its plain became a sort of memorial park, an ancient example that is similar to, albeit on a much lesser scale, modern battlefields such as Vimy Ridge, Dunkirk, or Gallipoli. In its narrowest definition, tourism as a commercialized entity for mass consumption is a modern phenomenon.⁵⁰⁹ However, if we broaden our understanding of the term to describe not just the mass movement of peoples to view a location, but rather, individual travel, then we find that different forms of tourism are evident in antiquity.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁹ Büttner (2006) explains that the term ‘tourism’, despite appearances in the English language in the 19th century, narrowed its definition to an educational and/or pleasure trip after the end of World War II. Note that parts of this section are included in an upcoming publication: Giroux forthcoming a.

⁵¹⁰ Stumpf (2013) describes different kinds of tourism in antiquity: “The movement of individuals or groups for the purposes of visiting the locations of famous deeds, spas, art, relics, games, and (rarely) nature, is attested through literary references and corroborated through archaeological material. Many destinations combined attractions. Tourism could be the occasion of a trip or it could be an incidental pastime while traveling for other reasons.” For tourism in antiquity as related to religious experience, see Casson 1974: 234 and Romero 2013: 149. For tourism of famous deeds (legendary or historical) or the tombs of heroes (e.g., Pindar’s tomb [Paus. 9.23.2], or Alexander’s tomb [Strabo 17.794]), see Stumpf 2013. For tourism as fully developed by Roman antiquity, see Büttner 2006 and Stumpf 2013. A view of ancient tourism from the eye of the tourist is available in Lomine 2005 (see especially p.77 for her discussion on Strabo’s distrust of the talking statue of Memnon at Thebes). This is a great example of the idea of ‘The Tourist Gaze’, coined by John Urry in 1990 (updated in 2011). Urry’s basic argument is that, “(t)he concept of the gaze highlights that looking is a learned ability and that the pure and innocent eye is a myth” (2011: 1). We must, therefore, also consider the role that the tourist plays in the interpretation of a site. The Tourist Gaze is also discussed by MacCannell 2001, who argues for multiple gazes.

It is even possible to observe an increase in travel as an elite cultural activity in the Hellenistic period, which may have been the result of Alexander the Great's conquests. Ada Cohen speculates that Alexander, "...showed the world to be traversable in ways it had never been before and initiated '*l'âge de la curiosité*'.⁵¹¹ This also fits nicely with Andrew Erskine's contention that the Hellenistic period was not just a politically active era, but also a culturally relevant one.⁵¹² At the very least, if travel was not possible for everyone, evidence of travel writing indicates that there was a potential audience of 'armchair travelers'.⁵¹³

But why travel? What drove the interest of these Greek elites to venture to certain locations and record their experiences for our 'armchair' enthusiasts? For, "(n)ot until the Hellenistic era, with its mix of Greek and native and its impulses towards canonization, do Greeks become openly nostalgic for their past. *Tourism was a byproduct of an international age*. It became imperative to establish what was and was not Greek, what was memorable, what should be consigned to oblivion, and what was *axios theas* – worth seeing."⁵¹⁴ Thus, the expanding Roman world, which enabled

⁵¹¹ Cohen 2001: 97. Evidence of travelers is given by Stumpf (2013): "The itineraries of Cicero, Apollonius of Tyana, Aemilius Paullus, Hadrian, and others can be reconstructed. The draw of some attractions is suggested by the international origins of competitors at games, literary testimonia such as Plutarch's Delphic dialogues, and graffiti left behind by travelers to the Egyptian Valley of the Kings."

⁵¹² Erskine 2005: 2-3. As Chaniotis (2009: 253) points out, "(t)he travels and the performances of epic, tragic and choral poets in the Hellenistic period... are part of a more general phenomenon: the mobility of culture, the mobility of texts, images and performances." The importance of this cultural experience is further highlighted by the profession of the tour guide, for which we have evidence in the early Roman Empire (Lucian *Amores* 8, Plutarch *De Pyth. or.* 1 [395a]; Lomine 2005: 82-3; Romero 2013: 151), but who, I believe, likely evolved from the Hellenistic and Roman Republican interests in these sites.

⁵¹³ Stumpf (2013) points to excerpts of Polemon, Diodorus, Heliodorus, and papyri in Egypt. A study of Pausanias, perhaps our most famous travel writer of antiquity, is conducted by Cohen (2001), who argues that while Pausanias was writing during the Roman Empire, his views are reflective of Hellenistic attitudes. Note that Casson (1974: 95-6) describes Herodotus as the first travel writer. The use of guidebooks as mainly a preparatory reading is discussed by Lomine (2005: 82). Note that Chaniotis cautions (2009: 253-4) that the transmission of memory in the Hellenistic period was mainly oral, but also points to the importance of written narratives, itinerant historians, diplomats, poets, singers, pilgrims, and mercenaries to the transmission of 'memory' in the Hellenistic Greek world.

⁵¹⁴ Stumpf 2013, italics are my own. A modern example that explains feelings of nostalgia linked to a location is found in an essay by Hilaire Belloc, when he says (1948: 230) that, "(t)ime does not remain, but space does, and though we cannot seize the Past physically we can stand physically upon the site, and we can have (if I may so express myself) a physical communion with the Past by occupying that very spot which the past greatness of man or of event has

travel and tourism, simultaneously brought about the prioritization of the local in order to bring meaning, clarity, and orientation to Chaironeia and to the Greek world. It is in this context that I place the battlefield of Chaironeia.

Visiting battlefields was one of the interests of the ancient traveller.⁵¹⁵ However, “(m)any battlefields, if stripped of casualties and the detritus of war, are physically unremarkable and need to be transformed from neutral terrains into culturally meaningful landscapes. The transformation is accomplished by the placement of physical artifacts such as monuments, statues, and gelded war machines, as well as the use of verbal text...”⁵¹⁶ We can thus imagine that visitors to Chaironeia experienced the battlefield through its monuments so that it became a place of multiple meanings, similar to Gallipoli as a plain of dialogical memorialization.⁵¹⁷ Like Ma’s ‘intermonumental

occupied.” Two cases of the globalized world leading to an interest in the local is found in Chaniotis 2009. The first (2009: 259, citing *SEG* 28: 534) is a discussion on an anonymous teacher in Amphipolis in the third century BCE who arrived as a foreigner but learned, wrote, and performed public lectures related to the history of Amphipolis. The second (2009: 259-260, citing *IG* XI 4 697) involves Mnesiptolemos of Kyme who was honored for similar work to the teacher, but in Delos. These two examples also demonstrate the interest of both the elites and the audience during the Hellenistic period for historical works. As Chaniotis (2009: 261) points out, “(u)nfortunately, no historical lecture of the Hellenistic period is preserved. From references in honorary decrees we may assume that the subjects treated in these lectures were ‘deeds of glory’ (*endoxa*), i.e., wars, foundation myths, and miracles of local gods.” See Chaniotis 2009 for more examples of this historical interest.

⁵¹⁵ Baldwin and Sharpley 2009: 186; Chaniotis 2005: 237. Note, however, that warfare and religion are intricately tied together in the Hellenistic world (Chaniotis 2005: 145) and thus a visitor’s interest in the site may be both historical and religious. For travels specifically to battlefields, Casson gives the examples of trips to Marathon, where tourists were shown the mound of the Athenians (1974: 235-6; cf. Chaniotis 2009: 258), and the tour Aemilius Paulus took after his victory at Pydna, which included not only sites dedicated to gods, but also those of historical significance (1974: 230; cf. Romero 2013: 151 [citing Livy 45.27-8 and Plutarch *Aem.* 28]). Baldwin and Sharpley (2009: 186) provide two other examples, namely, that of Alexander the Great visiting the Tomb of Achilles, and the presence of Simonides’ epigram in Thermopylae. Similarly, Chaniotis (2005: 51-3; 2009: 258) discusses the honorary inscriptions to ephebes in the Hellenistic period (e.g., *IG* II² 1006), which point to their visitation to war monuments and participation in rituals there that enabled the transmission of cultural memory to Athenian youths. Chaniotis (2009: 258-9) finds a pattern in which a preference is given for wars against barbarians or, ‘for victories that legitimised claims,’ but also discusses the importance of near contemporary history and heroic deeds in battle to the collective memory of local worlds (2009: 262, 265).

⁵¹⁶ Gatewood and Cameron 2004: 193. See Carman and Carman (2020: 217, 225-6) for a discussion of how a visitor to the battlefield projects the present onto the past in order to make the chaotic nature of war comprehensible. In this way, they argue (2020: 226), the battlefield is more a thing of the imagination than reality.

⁵¹⁷ West 2010. See the discussion on the possible multiple interpretations of the trophy of Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos on pages 77-8, 162-3. For the multiple meanings of war trophies in the Greek world, see: Kinnee 2018, esp. pp.1-3.

meditation’,⁵¹⁸ the Lion of Chaironeia, the tumulus of the Macedonians, and the trophies of Sulla share in this space and in a conversation about nations and war that ultimately deemphasized the individual warrior and promoted power.⁵¹⁹ Moreover, the symbolic nature of battlefield trophies evolved in the Hellenistic period from an association with the hoplite phalanx and ritual, to a marker of military prowess, once again issuing reminders of power, rulers, and military capabilities.⁵²⁰ Lauren Kinnee argues that this transformation in meaning was the result of a shift in battle tactics, a consequence of Alexander’s conquests and the victory of the Macedonians at Chaironeia in 338 BCE, that rendered the hoplite phalanx outdated.⁵²¹ The shift in meaning of these battlefield markers was thus a direct result of the growing global lens of the Greek world, one that encouraged symbols of power. And it all began in Chaironeia.

Modern touring of battlefields has often been described as a form of ‘Dark Tourism’, or thanatourism.⁵²² This form of tourism, whether conscious or subconscious, involves travelling to visit sites that have some symbolic representations of death and/or the remembrance of the dead, like a battlefield.⁵²³ However, it is also important to note that research into dark tourism and its

⁵¹⁸ Ma 2008: 85. Cf. page 78.

⁵¹⁹ Inspiration for this idea comes from West (2010: 212), who argues that the tombs set up in Gallipoli deemphasize the individual and promote the national. A similar view is expressed by Hölscher (2006: 30-32), who focuses on the political power of the trophy. Other symbolic uses of the trophy include: to mark territorial ownership (Kinnee 2018: 29, 37 [citing Thuc. 8.24.1]), to declare victory (Kinnee 2018: 36-7), as a symbol of *arête* and achievement (Kinnee 2018: 25, 38), as a religious dedication (Kinnee 2018: 25), and as a transmitter of cultural memory (Chaniotis 2005: 234, 240). Kinnee (2018: 39) cautions the reader that the trophy as a symbol of the military achievements of one individual is a Roman trend, though examples, such as the trophy of Agesilaus as described by Xenophon (*Ages.* 6.2), do exist. For more on micro-regional politics and landscape archaeology as claims to space, see H. Beck 2020: 64-5.

⁵²⁰ Carman and Carman 2005: 43; Kinnee 2018: 57.

⁵²¹ Kinnee 2018: 3, 24-5, 40, 57. Kinnee continues (2018: 49): “In fact, the new and widespread use of the image of a trophy on coinage at the same time that the trophy became a less familiar subject in literature suggests the rebirth of the monument type as an icon of power following the decline of hoplite ritual.”

⁵²² Eade and Katić (2017: 1-12) explore the relationship between tourism and dark tourism. See also: Baldwin and Sharpley 2009, Iles 2006, Light 2017, and Seaton 2018.

⁵²³ For this definition of dark tourism, I follow Seaton (2018: 13). Seaton explains that remembrance can come through written and oral texts (such as Greek and Roman epic poetry), social networks, and monuments (2018: 20), but that it must be place specific (2018:21). He continues (2018: 15) that, “(d)ark tourism is thus a site of triadic exchange which

attraction for visitors on modern battlefields has not been able to locate a distinct group of people who list their primary motivation for visiting a battlefield as a desire to encounter the dead.⁵²⁴ This complicates our understanding of the audience for this kind of tourism, as well as the reception of battlefields as possible sites of dark tourism. Furthermore, the concept itself is anachronistic, and thus its application to the ancient world is one that must be approached with caution. Therefore, before investigating Chaironeia's battlescape as a possible place of thanatourism, I briefly explore the prospect of the notion of dark tourism and the macabre in the ancient world.

From Roman gladiatorial combats, to executions, death served as an attraction in the ancient world.⁵²⁵ However, dark tourism is not always about death; rather, it can also represent visiting a site as a place of remembrance of the dead. Remembrance, in this case, can also focus on history, genealogy, and ancestry.⁵²⁶ This provides an important distinction that allows for the idea of dark tourism in ancient society. First, the emergence in the Hellenistic era of epigrams as a literary form and writers who specialized in their composition is a clear indication that the remembrance of the dead was important to the Greek world at this time.⁵²⁷ What the epigrams do not do, however, are suggest significant numbers of travellers who visit and remember the dead.

brings together: the represented dead, whether victims of mortality or fatality; the engineers and orchestrators of representations about them; and visitors encountering both as the-represented-dead."

⁵²⁴ Seaton (2018: 9-10) explains that they site history, national pride, and pilgrimage as their factors for visiting.

⁵²⁵ Lennon 2010: 216. Sharpley (2009: 5, 9) reminds the reader that dark tourism as a historic phenomenon is contentious, but that the draw to death has occurred for as long as people can travel: "In other words, it has always been an identifiable form of tourism..." (Sharpley 2009: 9). Since we know that elites were traveling in the Hellenistic world, it is thus possible that they would travel and be drawn to these historic sites that are also associated with war and death.

⁵²⁶ Walter 2009: 47-8. A Boiotian example of the political instrumentalization of a festival to commemorate a victory, the Basileia at Lebadeia, is provided by Ganter (2013: 94-6) and Schachter (2016: 117). They argue (Ganter 2013: 94; Schachter 2016: 117) that the festival was primarily inaugurated to remind those within Boiotia and outside of Boiotia (through the popular oracle of Lebadeia) of the Theban leadership of the region. In the Hellenistic period, however, this festival was reimagined as an inclusive Boiotian festival, not one that purely celebrated Theban hegemony. As such, Ganter (2013: 96) contends, what was meant as an advertisement for one polis' leadership managed to bring cohesion to Boiotia through myth and a common past.

⁵²⁷ Gutzwiller 1998: 2-4; Seaton 2018: 21.

We can, however, catch a glimpse of purposeful travel to visit the dead in the actions of Alexander the Great. Plutarch tells us that Alexander stopped his campaign to pay tribute in Troy to Athena and the heroes. In particular, he sought out the tomb of Achilles. There, he anointed the tomb with oil, held a contest, and proclaimed Achilles happy both for having a good friend in life and for having a herald to his fame in death (*Alex.* 15.4).⁵²⁸ Another example, closer to the idea of dark tourism at a battlefield, is found in the macro-regional world of Chaironeia, that is, Boiotia. Here, Panhellenic travel occurred to commemorate the battle of Plataia and to remember its dead through ritual celebration.⁵²⁹ As Yannis Kalliontzis argues, Plataia became an important *lieux de mémoire* for the Greek world, a place of nostalgia and constructed memory that focused on the dead of the Persian Wars and their remembrance.⁵³⁰ Both of these episodes have all the requirements of dark tourism: travel to a site, the remembrance of the dead, and symbolism (the symbolic actions of Alexander for the spirit of Achilles and ritual celebrations at Plataia). Dark tourism, therefore, does seem to occur in the ancient world.

We can also see another form of dark tourism in the writings of Plutarch. Interest in the macabre is found in Plutarch's *Sulla* (21.4), where he described the aftereffects of one of Sulla's battles waged near Orchomenos, near Chaironeia. Plutarch tells us of the abandoned armour and weapons buried in the mud that were still visible in his day. We thus see, through Plutarch's description, how this place of remembrance, this everyday landscape, was turned into a sort of deathscape,

⁵²⁸ Similarly, we find the accounts of Hesiod's, Iolaus', and Pindar's tombs in Thebes given by Pausanias (9.38.4, 9.23.1-2). The tomb of Alexander the Great has often been described as an ancient tourist attraction, however, Erskine (2002: 165) cautions that this may be overstated.

⁵²⁹ Chaniotis 2005: 234; Chaniotis 2009: 268.

⁵³⁰ Kalliontzis 2014. In this article, Kalliontzis shows that the commemoration of war dead in Boiotia did not find a uniform expression. Instead, "...each city chose its own way" (2014: 367). For more on memory of war in Boiotia, see Kalliontzis 2014: 346-367.

imbued with particular meaning centered on the effects of fighting.⁵³¹ Plutarch may have taken his guests, in the same way that he takes his reader (our ‘armchair tourists’), to these nearby sites to witness the past in a way similar to modern tourists who flock to battlefield memorials, creating a sacred landscape filled with meaning and emotion that resonated differently for each individual. Tourists seldom visit sites alone and usually inquire with the locals, making the locals a sort of ‘reputational entrepreneur’.⁵³² Plutarch likely functioned as one of these reputational entrepreneurs for his visitors, in the same way that he does for us today. So, while monuments and their association with spaces may focus on nations and not individuals, it is the individual experience that gives them meaning.

Unfortunately, despite the seemingly synonymous nature of Chaironeia with battles, we do not have any evidence for ancient visitors attending to local Chaironeian heroes or the tombs on the battlefield. However, we do have evidence of Chaironeia as a battlescape yet again in the writings of one of its locals, Plutarch. Plutarch’s tales and quick asides about his home help us to understand how a native of Chaironeia might have interpreted some of these spaces. His writings give us an indication of the local narratives and meanings that grew out of these constructed places of remembrance. Plutarch thus acts as a guide, albeit a reluctant one, to Chaironeia and its environs.⁵³³ In what follows, I briefly present three instances where Plutarch provides a testimony of how battles and wars infiltrated the local Chaironeian imagination and their local discourse environment.

⁵³¹ See Eade and Katić (2017: 1-12, esp. 4) for more on deathscapes.

⁵³² West 2010: 218. See also: Iles 2006: 167.

⁵³³ Plutarch as reluctant to discuss his home and regional environment: Hirsch-Luipold 2014: 165. Plutarch as providing incidental information on Chaironeia: Buckler 1992: 4801; Jones 1971: 3.

In the first example, Plutarch mentioned that his great-grandfather used to tell a tale of the Chaironeians carrying grain on their backs for Antony's troops, spurred on by men with whips (*Ant.* 68.4-5). This is firsthand evidence of an ancient family sharing wartime stories about its local world. This also fits with Jay Winter's argument that local remembrance of past battles often constituted families remembering a series of myths.⁵³⁴ In this example, Plutarch's family was the one remembering what was either real or a myth to emphasize a negative quality of Antony. Besides adding to the sub-narrative of Chaironeian loyalty to Rome in Plutarch's text that we discussed above,⁵³⁵ this passage also gives us evidence of how a local Chaironeian family recollected a war, one that touched upon not only the family's polis, but also its home. In this memory, the local discourse environment was moulded by Plutarch to create one where global players and events were active in the local landscape, a landscape that prioritized the (real or imagined?) narrative of victimization of the local sphere.

In the second tale, Plutarch speaks of an ancient oak which still stood in his day and was called 'Alexander's oak', for local tradition held that Alexander the Great pitched his tent below it before the battle of 338 BCE (*Alex.* 9.2). Just as we saw with Antony, the historicity of the narrative is not what concerns us. Instead, we can recognize how a local tradition concerning a marker in the landscape helped to give that spatial area meaning. The Chaironeians clearly revered this oak, and it helped them to understand the space around it in order to connect them to the past and to transform the landscape into a *lieux de mémoire*. Again, like the Antony story, this one connected Chaironeia to larger global events, giving Chaironeia a place of importance by claiming the memory of men like Antony and Alexander, and providing their local inhabitants with fuel for

⁵³⁴ Winter 2014: 36.

⁵³⁵ See page 167.

stories that built their imagined local space. Further, both tales focused on conflict, once again giving importance to the battlescape of Chaironeia in relation to times of ‘global’ change.

In the final example, Plutarch describes a bathhouse in Chaironeia. This bathhouse was visited by the ghost of Damon,⁵³⁶ a Chaironeian active at the time of Sulla, who slayed some Romans and was in turn killed by his fellow townsmen. Plutarch tells us that, “for a long time, some phantoms appeared in that place and groaning was heard there, as our fathers tells us, and they walled up the doors of the bath. And even now those who are neighbours to that place think that some visions and disturbing sounds are produced there” (*Cim.* 1.6). Here, Plutarch provides vivid imagery of how the past was very present in Chaironeia. In this instance, Chaironeia was still preyed upon by Damon, a local who had not received justice for his murder.⁵³⁷ The story thus continued at least until Plutarch’s time as part of the local discourse environment, a tale played out between local (Damon and the Chaironeian officials), regional (Orchomenos)⁵³⁸, and global (Lucullus and the Roman officials) actors. This again grants a level of importance to Chaironeia, as it becomes the location of events that brought about a visit of Lucullus, who had to solve the regional (and global) issues. This is not a tale about a battle or a war, but it is one that lends weight to Chaironeia as an actor on the global stage. It moves the local narratives of the polis beyond the battles that were fought there and into the growing Roman political arena. It also seems to have done so successfully, as the story was still being played out in the imagination of the locals, or at least those who dwelt near the bathhouse, who were still reminded of this part of their history and, in many ways, were haunted by it.

⁵³⁶ For more on the Damon narrative, see pages 186-190.

⁵³⁷ For the Damon narrative as one in which Plutarch provided Damon with justice for his murder by telling a sort of *mini-Life*, see Ellinger 2005 (esp. 301-310).

⁵³⁸ See *Cim.* 2.1, for the attempt of Orchomenos to have Chaironeia prosecuted for the slaying of the Roman soldiers.

In these three short descriptions by Plutarch, we see how global events were reimagined through local Chaironeians. A war story told by one local family, an oak in the Chaironeian landscape, and a bathhouse are all seemingly banal, until Plutarch tells us their stories: tales that give meaning to these spaces and turn them into places. These anecdotes help show us the parts of Chaironeia that were not only physical spaces but were also imagined spaces that became a part of the local discourse environment, one that ensured that Chaironeia became a part of the global, Roman story. It is thus not only the *lieux de mémoire* of Chaironeia, but also Plutarch who moulds his polis into a battlescape: one that has reminders of past conflict in its landscape that still hold meaning for the viewer today. Finally, in the last two stories we find evidence of death and dark tourism in Chaironeia. The oak of Alexander, still revered by the locals and implanted into their landscape to imbue it with meaning, is focused on the actions of Alexander the Great before a momentous battle. The symbolic nature of this tree thus transports the visitor to a time of remembrance, not only for those who died at the battle, but also for the great deeds of a man now dead. In this way, the oak becomes a commemoration of both the collective dead of the battle and the individual, a sort of ‘tomb’, in the sense of a place of remembrance to Alexander. The last story, that of the haunted bathhouse, also provides a link to dark tourism, through a monument (the bathhouse) to the dead and the continued remembrance of the man through his hauntings.⁵³⁹

Another witness, Pausanias, also focuses his presentation of Chaironeia on the battles fought in its plain.⁵⁴⁰ With the exception of his discussions of the origin of the name of Chaironeia (9.40.5); the

⁵³⁹ For more on hauntings in the Greek world and the potential use of monuments or trophies to appease the dead, see Kinnee 2018: 25-7, 33 n41.

⁵⁴⁰ Pausanias’ account of Chaironeia showed a similar interest to Plutarch’s mentions of this polis: to remember the battles that were fought there. It is also likely that Pausanias’ information was gathered from the locals of the town, and thus his testimony probably contained evidence of the local memory of these events, speaking to the local discourse environment of Chaironeia in the second century CE.

staff worshipped in Chaironeia, the one made by Hephaistos for Zeus and eventually obtained by Agamemnon (9.40.11-12),⁵⁴¹ and the distilling of unguents from local flowers (9.41.7), Pausanias reserves his conversation of Chaironeia for its battle monuments. His first reference to a marker in the landscape is the two trophies of Sulla (9.40.7). Then, in this same passage, he includes a discussion of Philip II and why he did not erect a trophy in Chaironeia after the battle of 338 BCE. This is followed by his description of the approach to Chaironeia, where the visitor finds the Lion (9.40.10). Pausanias remarks that nothing was inscribed on the monument, and conjectures that this is because the courage of the Thebans was not reflected in their terrible fate.

Pausanias focuses on Chaironeia as the site of battles and commemorations. He does not mention any kind of buildings, monuments, trophies, or the like, unless they are in relation to the battles fought there. Our guide thus seems to confirm the suspicion that Chaironeia aroused interest from its Roman Age visitors mainly in relation to the conflicts that occurred on its soil. Evidently, these conflicts were still an active agent in the local discourse environment of Chaironeia in the Roman period, reflecting the importance of these earlier battles to the locals. The continued (or perhaps continual) remembrance and emphasis on them also supports the idea of a communal memory that grew around the battles, one that was so strong that it was evident to outsiders like Pausanias. The power of these memories and narratives also make it likely that the tales had been told for a long time, at least back to the Hellenistic period when the events occurred.⁵⁴² The battlefield of Chaironeia became an ‘imagined local anchor’ for the inhabitants,⁵⁴³ one that fuelled the narrative

⁵⁴¹ This, of course, is a powerful reminder for the Chaironeians of the Trojan War and comes as a bit of a surprise since they are not mentioned in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*. Perhaps this was their way of tying themselves to this heroic past and functioned as a physical, rather than literary, manifestation of participation.

⁵⁴² For Pausanias as having Hellenistic rather than Roman attitudes, see Cohen 2001.

⁵⁴³ I borrow this term from H. Beck 2020: 35.

of their local world, united the citizens, and spoke to outsiders about the importance of the past to the present. It firmly set Chaironeia on the stage of Hellenic ‘big’ politics through a strong link between battle narratives and place.⁵⁴⁴ The visitor to Chaironeia, therefore, was one who engaged in a sort of Dark Tourism, whether they wanted to or not, simply because the local discourse environment crafted the area into a battlescape.

Silence of the Lions

It seems then, that our modern preoccupations of Chaironeia as the location of famous battles is akin to how Plutarch presents his town.⁵⁴⁵ However, we can perhaps interpret some of these passages in Plutarch⁵⁴⁶ as not only emphasizing the events and people that led to the survival of his home, but also more covertly showcasing the loyalty of Chaironeia to the Romans. If, however, he was indeed subtly dusting his narrative with a political statement concerning Chaironeia and Rome, we might also be able to read this political negotiation in his silences.⁵⁴⁷ In this way, what Plutarch chose to forget, and his omissions are as important to the narrative of his hometown as his overt discussions.

Theories on forgetting and silence are necessarily associated with those of memory. Studies of collective memory owe much to Maurice Halbwachs and his work, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1935). In this seminal work, Halbwachs defines collective memory as the creation of

⁵⁴⁴ For more on ‘big’ politics through the local lens, see H. Beck 2020: 161-206.

⁵⁴⁵ Note that aspects of this section are included in an upcoming publication: Giroux forthcoming c.

⁵⁴⁶ For example, his mention of Sosius Senecio’s presence in the town (*Quaest. conv.* 4.3.1 [666d]), Plutarch relating Latin and Chaironeian cult practices (*Quaest. Rom.* 16 [267d]), Lucullus saving Chaironeia (*Cim.* 2.2-3), and the reference to locals helping the Romans win a war (*Sull.* 16.8, 17.5-6, 18.1).

⁵⁴⁷ Plutarch did not use the technique of *preteritio* in his narrative concerning silences on Chaironeia. For Plutarch’s use of silence in his *Moralia*, see Xenophontos 2016: 191.

shared versions of the past that focus upon the formulation of a current group's identity. He explains that because this identity is concerned with the current group's interests, the collective memory of that group necessarily alters through time to reflect their changing needs while simultaneously emphasizing their continuity.⁵⁴⁸ In this way, the constructed collective memory of a group helps to provide its members with hope for the future.⁵⁴⁹

One crucial aspect of both establishing a collective memory for a group and for its success as a narrative, is forgetting. In an opposite and complementary manner, forgetting is described as a silencing of the past.⁵⁵⁰ To forget, or to collectively silence, is the threat of turning memory into nothingness, thus enabling groups to negotiate politically.⁵⁵¹ Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Chana Teeger have divided these silences into overt and covert expressions. They define overt silences as those which are completely absent from speech and narrative, whereas covert silences are those that are hidden by mnemonic talk, making them difficult to detect. For these scholars, overt and covert silences must also be defined through their presumed intention; in other words, silences aimed at memory and silences aimed at forgetting.⁵⁵² For example, the practice of *damnatio*

⁵⁴⁸ Halbwachs 1935, esp. 369-401. For the modification of memory over time: Halbwachs 1935: 320. For memories as being both an inseparable part and yet also separate from chronological frameworks: Halbwachs 1935: 391. For more on collective memory and its attributes, see Halbwachs 1980: 43, 80-6, 118-120, 140, and 156-7; Bommas 2011: 3; Erll 2011: 14-17, and Olick 1999: 334. Memory as a language of images is another important conversation to understanding constructed group narratives and was the focus of Aby Warburg's unfinished *Mnemosyne* (explored and explained by Gombrich 1986: 281-306 and Johnson 2016). For individuals and their role in collective memory, see Anastasio, Ehrenberger, Watson, and Zhang 2012: 55. For the contexts in which collective memories are constructed, see Price 2012: 17.

⁵⁴⁹ It also simultaneously creates 'others' through the peculiarities in a group's self-projected image in relation to another (Assman and Czaplicka 1995: 127-9, 131). See also Hogg 2012: 504-6 and Páez 2015: 106-8.

⁵⁵⁰ Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1103.

⁵⁵¹ Lucas 1997: 9; Price 2012: 27-8. See also, Flower 2006, who sees memory sanctions in the Roman world as being an active agent in political change as a result of a desire to control the past.

⁵⁵² Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1108. An example of an overt silence aimed at memory would be the modern practice of a moment of silence, something that partially interrupts our physical selves and forces us to remember (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1108). This differs from overt silences aimed at forgetting, which is something that is not spoken of or brought to attention (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1110). Covert silence to remember, on the other hand, allows a group to move beyond a troubling past, which occasionally, "...involves complete sidelining of aspects of the narrative" (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1112), but other times hints at issues not

memoriae may be seen as a sort of ‘speaking silence’,⁵⁵³ one that is overt in its intention to erase. Another overt silence, this time aimed at remembrance in order to highlight achievements, is detected in Augustus’ biography when he refused to mention Caesar’s conspirators by name, referring to them instead as Caesar’s murders.⁵⁵⁴ We may also, perhaps, point to a covert silence aimed at remembering in Plutarch’s omissions of the Trajanic years. This is covert rather than overt because references to Trajan are masked, but scholars have managed to pick up hints of Plutarch’s perception of these years throughout his narrative.⁵⁵⁵

There remains, however, a point of concern. One of the difficulties with understanding silences and their role in the creation of collective memory and its narratives, is detecting their presence. In addition, silence is culturally specific and changes, sometimes frequently, over time.⁵⁵⁶ We are undoubtedly far removed from Plutarch, his cultural frame of reference, and a full understanding of his time. However, it is possible to discover patterns of silence in Plutarch that formed part of his literary idiosyncrasies.⁵⁵⁷

If Plutarch’s silences were partially constructed through political motivation, it is not surprising that he did not include the cult of the Egyptian gods in his account. First, this cult was not

explored (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1112). Covert silence to forget tends to be hidden and hard to critique, because they are ‘covered and hidden by much mnemonic talk’ (Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1115).

⁵⁵³ Huskey 2006: 24. Huskey (2006: 24) explains that circumlocution and omission in literature have the same effect as *damnatio memoriae* and *abolitio nominis*.

⁵⁵⁴ *Res gestae* 2 (as pointed out by Huskey 2006: 24).

⁵⁵⁵ See Stadter (2014a: 165-178), who points to *Numa*, *Solon*, and *Publicola* as containing hints of the previous emperor. Although Pelling (2002b: 253-265) finds potential evidence of circumlocutions in relation to Dacia (possibly to avoid the link with Trajan’s Dacian campaign), he provides a word of caution at reading too much into this, preferring to see Plutarch as being concerned with timeless themes, rather than contemporary debates.

⁵⁵⁶ Montiglio 2000: 3-4. This, in combination with the incomplete nature of our evidence for ancient Greece, makes it impossible to map its functions and meanings in full (Montiglio 2000: 5).

⁵⁵⁷ Other scholars have explored patterns of silence in ancient authors. For example, see Huskey 2006 for a discussion on Ovid’s silences as being politically motivated, or Most 2001 for an interpretation of silence in Virgil.

politically relevant to the current circumstances of Chaironeia in relation to Rome. Take, for example, an instance where he did describe a local cult, namely, that of Leukothea. As mentioned above, Plutarch used his local traditions to create a semblance to the practices of the Roman shrine of Matuta.⁵⁵⁸ Furthermore, Egyptian gods were also a popular feature of Boiotian worship at this time,⁵⁵⁹ making them commonplace in Chaironeia and thus not worth mentioning. This also fits within Plutarch's general tendency not to mention Boiotian religious sites and practices,⁵⁶⁰ which makes his mention of the local cult of Leukothea all the more striking. Lastly, Plutarch's silence on the Egyptian cults in Chaironeia might have a political motivation.⁵⁶¹ Trajan was involved in multiple building projects connected to Isis and Osiris.⁵⁶² We can thus cautiously stipulate that Plutarch's omission of the Chaironeian cult of the Egyptian gods might be a political consideration related to his silences on Trajan. As such, not divulging any hint of the presence of Egyptian gods

⁵⁵⁸ *Quaest. Rom.* 16 (267d-e). See page 164.

⁵⁵⁹ Schachter 2007: 364, Schachter 2016. Buckler (1992: 4815) argues that Plutarch was not interested in Egypt. If this is the case, this may provide another explanation for his silence on Egyptian cults in Chaironeia. However, the treatise *De Iside et Osiride* implies curiosity concerning Egyptian deities (Buckler [1992: 4816] agrees that his interest only involves Egyptian religion). Therefore, we must be cautious in assuming that Plutarch's supposed lack of interest in a country translates to a lack of interest in their culture and its impact in Greek practices and worship. For more on Plutarch and the Egyptian gods, see Brenk 2002. See Dunant (1973: 29-39) for evidence of Egyptian cults in Boiotia and the possible origins through an intermediary, like Attica. Roesch (1989a: 621-9), however, argues against this, saying that the origin of these cults in Orchomenos, Thespiiai, and Chaironeia was likely the result of diplomatic interests with Egypt. This further widens Chaironeia's network of exchange to one that includes Egypt, suggesting yet again that the local world of Chaironeia was far from isolated.

⁵⁶⁰ Buckler 1992: 4805-6. Buckler (1992: 4806) asserts that when Plutarch did mention local practices or shrines, "...they are only of secondary importance in themselves and instead enhance the flavor of the individual essays." I suggest, however, that we should see these mentions as purposeful and beyond a casual spicing of his narrative, for the simple reason that they are unusual and thus must have been thoughtfully and purposefully included to illustrate something that Plutarch believed to be important. For more on Plutarch and Boiotian religion, see Chapter 2, pages 317-328.

⁵⁶¹ For Plutarch did show interest in the Egyptian cults, as evidenced by his treatise *de Iside et Osiride*. Cf. Meeusen 2017, who argues that throughout the *Table Talks*, Plutarch used Egyptian knowledge to create a kind of 'transcultural morality'. In this way, Plutarch was philosophically interested in Egypt but did not necessarily show a socio-cultural interest. For more on Plutarch's presentation of Isis and Osiris as being based on his Platonic philosophical leanings, see Richter 2001. If we follow Richter's (2001: 201) idea that Plutarch's censorship of the tales of these gods may be based in a desire to separate the barbarian, then we may have another possibility for his silence on the Egyptian cults in Chaironeia. Perhaps he saw them as not being pious and leading men away from proper worship, such as that which occurs in Delphi. But this did not explain why he did not Hellenize the sanctuary in the same way that Richter (2001: 201) claims that he Hellenized the myth of Isis. As such, this theory remains plausible but lacks evidence.

⁵⁶² Brenk 2002: 75.

in Chaironeia might be part of Plutarch's desire to remove any potential link between his home and that emperor's policies. Or, more cautiously, we can say that it was not necessarily an avoidance of Trajan and his policies that caused this silence, but perhaps it was a silence related to Trajan's focus on Egyptian religion. This would imply that Plutarch was critical in his judgement towards Trajan and Trajan's choice of building projects.

Similarly, Plutarch did not discuss the everyday activities of the people of Chaironeia because they were not politically relevant to his narrative. He was not creating a guide like Pausanias and thus it was not necessary for him to explain local activities. For this reason, he did not speak of the cultivation of healing plants (Paus. 9.41.7), or sites in his hometown, such as those of healing deities,⁵⁶³ unless they served a function for his narrative and supported the political agenda he was building for his city. In other words, these kinds of tangents showed no loyalty to Rome nor any agency in the wars fought on Chaironeia's soil. For when he discussed daily affairs in Chaironeia, it was in relation to crafting a narrative of himself as an *exemplum*, or it was in relation to Rome, such as the Chaironeian cult of Leukothea being paralleled to the Latin goddess Matuta, which hinted not only at loyalty, but also at a kind of kinship and understanding. We also find references to Chaironeia that conveyed the importance and antiquity of his town and thus maintained Chaironeia's relevance under Roman rule, as he claimed he wants to do (*Dem.* 2.2).

As we saw above,⁵⁶⁴ Plutarch's tale of Chaironeia's uncertain future after the actions of Damon helped to showcase the importance the Chaironeians placed in maintaining friendly relations with

⁵⁶³ For more on the healing plants and deities of Chaironeia, see pages 88-9.

⁵⁶⁴ See page 168-171, 179.

Rome.⁵⁶⁵ In a very thought-provoking article concerning the political changes of Chaironeia during the Mithridatic War, Christopher Mackay argues that the Damon narrative represented changing political power in the small town.⁵⁶⁶ When Damon was invited back in, he asserts, it was because an anti-Roman faction gained control and must have dismissed the charges of murder against Damon as well as removed the pro-Roman faction.⁵⁶⁷ When it was clear that Sulla would win the war, the town then murdered Damon, and possibly others, in order to show their support.⁵⁶⁸ The community thus rallied together to downplay events and to make them personal rather than political, hiding any disloyalty to Rome by altering the narrative by omitting the political shifts and the possibility of multiple actors beyond Damon.⁵⁶⁹ If this was the case, we can interpret Plutarch's silence on the changing allegiances of his hometown as a covert silence to set aside a troubling past, one based on political hindsight.⁵⁷⁰ For, as Plutarch himself said, "...a well-timed silence is clever and more powerful than any statement" (*De lib. ed.* 14 [10e]).⁵⁷¹ His version of the story, therefore, served the contemporary situation of Plutarch's local world.⁵⁷² As such, Plutarch's silence hinted at the compromise made by the Chaironeians in how this story would be

⁵⁶⁵ We hear, for example, that Chaironeia sided with the Romans in the war against Perseus from 171-168 BCE (Polybios 27.1). Cf. Fossey 1990: 253.

⁵⁶⁶ Mackay 2000a: 94. As such, in the same way that Scheer (2005: 217) contends that 'mythical tradition becomes mythical construct', we can say here that historical tradition has become a historical construct.

⁵⁶⁷ Mackay 2000a: 101-2. We have to keep in mind, however, that we do not have any direct evidence from Plutarch or Chaironeia that can support this argument. For example, it is possible that the Chaironeians recalled Damon for practical reasons, namely, to stop him from ravaging the countryside (*Cim.* 1.6). Nonetheless, it is notable that Plutarch did not relate why Damon was recalled but instead moved past this. In either case, it appears that Plutarch preferred to present the story of Damon and Lucullus from the point of view of individuals and in an indirect fashion, as a tale reflective of Chaironeia's loyalty to Rome.

⁵⁶⁸ Mackay 2000a: 103.

⁵⁶⁹ Mackay 2000a: 94. Mackay argues (2000a: 94-5) that, were it not for the statue of Lucullus in the town, these political decisions would have been forgotten by Plutarch's day, but since the memorial remained in its landscape, the personal narrative was continued to explain its presence.

⁵⁷⁰ See Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1111-2. For political hindsight and memory sanctions, see Flower 2006 (esp. pages 1-14).

⁵⁷¹ Note, however, that this quotation is in the context of the mysteries and not discussing them. However, I believe the sentiment to be relevant to his silences elsewhere in his works.

⁵⁷² As Saïd (2006: 47) suggests, "(t)he past is of course 'manipulated' and 'rewritten' to serve the practical needs of the present." These needs are one of loyalty and cooperation with Rome.

told – one that would still be remembered, but in a more personal vein by focusing it on one man, Damon, and the unwanted and forceful affections of one Roman officer towards him that was swiftly resolved by the people of Chaironeia and, ultimately, by Lucullus.

In such an interpretation, it might be possible to extend Plutarch's statement that a subject must be presented with flaws in order to create a likeness (*Cim.* 2.4), a statement which was given in the context of this narrative, from an individual to a people, and thus representing not only the men in the *Lives* he was introducing, but also the Chaironeians in the Damon tale.⁵⁷³ It can therefore be argued that the distance created between Damon and the Chaironeians – as per Ma's argument of Damon as being outside of the margins of civilized society, and Plutarch's statement that Damon's descendants were now in Phokis and removed from Chaironeia (*Cim.* 1.7) – was a politically motivated choice to separate the disloyal of Chaironeia as well as to maintain a narrative of loyalty towards Rome. This fits Halbwachs' idea of collective identity formation being reliant on the needs and continuity of the current group,⁵⁷⁴ as the tale not only stressed the errors made as originating from only one man, ensuring that Chaironeia maintained its loyalty to Rome, but we also see Plutarch emphasizing aspects that led to Chaironeia's survival.⁵⁷⁵ Thus, the statue of Lucullus placed symbolically in the agora (*Cim.* 2.1-3) created a landscape of remembrance for the people

⁵⁷³ Furthermore, if we consider a quotation in *Lysander* (17.5), we find more evidence that Plutarch believed that one individual could not make a town evil or traitorous. He said that, "the habits of private life are filled with public practices more quickly than the slips and mischiefs of an individual are able to fill poleis full of bad deeds." Damon's incident was a brief period of time, thus suggesting that the Chaironeians themselves did not have the time to become corrupted or to change their stance to one that was against Rome.

⁵⁷⁴ Halbwachs 1935, esp. 369-401 (see page 2, above). It also fits with Jan Assman's theory (Assman 1995: 127-9, 131) that cultural memory is founded on its distance from the everyday to orient the present and provide hope for the future. Here, Plutarch hoped that Rome would continue to support Chaironeia and maintain its relative independence, since the Chaironeians were loyal to Rome and its empire and had previously provided help (for example, in Sulla's campaigns [*Sull.* 16.8, 17.5-6, 18.1]).

⁵⁷⁵ Plutarch also emphasized Chaironeia's survival in other parts of his work, such as the help of Chaironeians to Sulla (see note 98 above).

of Chaironeia, whereas the silences in Plutarch's narrative became a piece of political negotiation.⁵⁷⁶

So how do we, then, understand Plutarch's silence on the most recognized monument in his town, namely, the Lion of Chaironeia?⁵⁷⁷ For this marker is not only imposing, but it is also related to the battles fought there, which Plutarch was so eager to relate. Beyond descriptions of the battle, for example, Plutarch mentioned the bones of the fallen Athenians being brought back to Athens for burial, the tomb of the Macedonians, and how the Thebans were slaughtered by the Macedonian garrison.⁵⁷⁸ He thus did not shy away from speaking of the dead, or even of their burial, but he remained silent on the Theban tomb. Perhaps the explanation is simple: perhaps Plutarch did not mention it because it was an obvious monument in Chaironeia and therefore the narrative would bring it to mind as something that was evident to the reader. This would also be in line with Plutarch's omission of other monuments, particularly in Delphi.⁵⁷⁹ His silence, then, would be a covert silence aimed at remembrance.

Is it possible, however, to read further into this? Perhaps Plutarch did not mention the Lion because it was no longer relevant to those in power and thus did not fit his narrative of loyalty that he was constructing for Chaironeia and Rome? In this way, the Macedonian tomb was mentioned because it was related to those who held power over Rome. His interest in Sulla and his pride at the Chaironeian aid given to him thus became a kind of passing of the torch, from one monument (the

⁵⁷⁶ This also gives us another hint of the local landscape, with images of Romans, such as Lucullus, likely found in different areas, but particularly in the Roman agora. These images thus functioned as symbolic reminders of the power structure while also offering Chaironeia as an ally and supporter of Rome.

⁵⁷⁷ His silence has long puzzled scholars: see, for example, Sanborn 1897: 98.

⁵⁷⁸ Athenian bones: *Dem.* 21.2. Macedonian tomb: *Alex.* 9.2. Thebans slaughtered: *Dem.* 23.1. Some instances where one would expect the Lion to be mentioned are: *Dem.* 23.1, 23.2-3; *Alex.* 9.2, 12.3.

⁵⁷⁹ Buckler 1992: 4810.

Macedonian tumulus) to the other (Sulla's trophies), with Chaironeia serving as the flame. Or did Plutarch leave out the Theban burial because they became a sort of negative example of how to handle a man in power? Their defiance in the battlefield led to the death of their troops, something that can be excused, as we see with his remembrance of the Athenian dead (*Dem.* 21.2), but their provocation of Alexander afterwards, something that was less forgivable, brought about the destruction of their city (*Alex.* 11.4-6). As such, Plutarch's silence on their imposing monument in his hometown was not so much about forgetting the dead, but rather to echo the subsequent elimination of Thebes. The silence, then, projected Thebes' sonorous destruction.

In a culture where the spoken word was everywhere,⁵⁸⁰ silences become even more present, effective, and stirring. Plutarch used silence in his construction of his native town of Chaironeia to create an image of it that matched the concerns of the citizens of his age – one of the continual loyalty and political allegiance of Chaironeia to Rome. Plutarch constructed the memory of his town as one that was non-threatening and peaceful, a town that cooperated and helped when it was needed. In many ways, he spoke of Chaironeia not in terms of a place, but in terms of its people. His silences on Chaironeia were therefore not based so much on a purposeful forgetting, as on a boost to the reputation and remembrance of the Chaironeians as an ancient and loyal people. However, “(s)ilence, like memory, is unstable and unpredictable.”⁵⁸¹ And so, we have not completely forgotten the Lion, the local cults, the possible political malleability of a small Boiotian town, or other aspects of its history and daily life. But, like the enviable size of the Lion of Chaironeia, these silences come to us in thunderous roars, crying out not only for the dead of the plains of Chaironeia, but also for the actions of its people, whether it be for or against Rome.

⁵⁸⁰ Montiglio 2000: 3.

⁵⁸¹ Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010: 1118.

The Local Horizon of World Empire

Chaironeia clearly fostered an identity of place that went beyond the battles that scholars use to define it, to one with a rich lived experience for its inhabitants. It was not as isolated, nor as backwater, as usually presented. We find complex patterns of interaction, influence, and reinterpretation in the two micro regions of which Chaironeia was a part (North-West Lake Kopais and eastern Phokis and western Boiotia), and from which it cannot be cleanly separated. These micro-regions not only brought Chaironeia into conflicts and, sometimes, to battles on its own soils, but also encouraged cooperation, ideas, and trade. We witness this in the local participation in defensive measures, in creations of *lieux de mémoire*, in agricultural endeavours, in healing practices, and in religious rites, seen most obviously through the manumission of slaves. Chaironeia was also shaped by its physical spaces: its theatre, acropolis, burial mounds, town centre, and sanctuaries, but also by its imagined spaces, mainly those surrounding the memories of the battles of Chaironeia, which constructed a sort of local battlescape. All these factors helped to create a rich local discourse that granted meaning to these spaces for both natives and visitors: one in which the local, regional, and global connections interplayed and were reinterpreted in this local sphere, transforming Chaironeia and showing us a more complex picture than a simple polis with a good battleground.

Furthermore, understanding the importance of Chaironeia as Plutarch's everyday local horizon affects how we view and interpret the *Parallel Lives* and the *Moralia*. We find Plutarch's focus on his hometown as one tied to battles but through which a rich sub-narrative of loyalty and cooperation with Rome shines through. This is supported by his second focus on his hometown, that is, the people of Chaironeia. It seems, then, that Plutarch's concern was not with the polis

itself, or its various landscapes, but rather, the polis in relation to its people, its antiquity, and its loyalty to Rome. Therefore, perhaps his silences on Chaironeia and its topographic landscapes and monuments were not so much a purposeful forgetting, as a boost to the reputation of the Chaironeians as a people.

We also explored the numerous ways in which Chaironeia was important to Plutarch: it was well situated on trade routes and allowed Plutarch to remain active in local politics to support his town, his estate, and his connections to local aristocracies. We saw that his choice to stay did not hinder him, as he still had the opportunity to travel in order to learn and research, and in his writings he spoke of many men who came to visit him from afar, keeping him connected to the global empire. It also provided him the freedom and quietude that he needed to write and craft himself as an *exemplum* for his audience. Chaironeia and its soil thus enabled Plutarch to grow into that ‘strong and lasting plant’ that we saw at the beginning of this chapter. And like the many trees in his polis, Plutarch acted as a tree that helped to shelter and inspire not only his readers, but also his fellow Chaironeians. Therefore, I believe that his choice to stay was not so much from a fear of global politics, as a taking of a local opportunity. This also inspired him to sprinkle his oeuvre with pieces of autopsy of his local world that add to our understanding of Chaironeia and its spaces as well as his everyday lived experience. Plutarch was very proud of Chaironeia and had a cultivated an attachment to the land through many generations, back to primordial time. He thus felt that he owed her a debt, one which he attempted to repay by incorporating certain men, like Lucullus, into his *Parallel Lives*, as well as mentioning the local men who dined at his table in his *Table Talks*. Chaironeia was a living being for Plutarch, one that spoke to him and whose whispers come to us through his writings, telling us that, for Plutarch, there really was no place like home.

Chapter 2: An Expanding Horizon: Plutarch's Regional World of Boiotia

I agreed to engage in the writing of the *Lives* for the sake of others, but now I continue and am fond of the writing for my own sake, as it were, attempting in some way or other, at least, to order and live my life in anyway with the virtues of those men, using history as a mirror. For the thing produced is nothing other than living together and companionship, whenever I welcome and receive each of them in turn from my history to entertain as a guest, as it were, and to examine carefully 'how great and what sort of man he was,' and to take from his actions the most important and beautiful things for my inquiry. (*Timoleon* 0.1)

Introduction

As we saw in Chapter 1, Plutarch used his writing not only to inspire his audience through the heroes depicted in the *Lives*, but also through his own way of living. His work was a mirror for his readers, one in which they could assess their own values and lifestyles against that of the heroes and the author himself. In the quotation above, we see firsthand that Plutarch advertised his writing as valuable to both his reader and to himself as a means of personal reflection. He tells us that he used not only the heroes, but also history as a mirror. But what about the places and regions that Plutarch discussed? Did Plutarch also carefully consider his presentation of these spaces in the same way that he did with his heroes? We saw, for example, that he crafted a narrative of Chaironeia, one that showed loyalty to and cooperation with Rome. So now we need to ask: do we find a similar desire to construct a certain image of Boiotia? If so, what did Plutarch wish for his reader to understand about this region? Finally, what purpose might this constructed tale serve?

In this chapter, we will broaden our horizon by moving beyond the local sphere and into the regional world of Boiotia. Like Plutarch in the quotation above, I welcome Boiotia as a subject of

inquiry, one that allows us to observe what Plutarch depicted as uniquely Boiotian and what he chose to focus on. Overlying these observations is the consideration of how they gain meaning either by standing out, or by becoming entangled with, the 'global' sphere of the Greek world under the Roman Empire. Through this analysis, it will become evident that Plutarch did construct a narrative for Boiotia, one which showed this region to be worthy of imitation and consideration next to other powers of Greece.

To begin unraveling Plutarch's presentation of Boiotia, this chapter follows a similar structure to that of Chapter 1. First, I briefly dive into a literature review of Boiotia and Plutarch's connection to this region. This allows me to place this chapter within the scholarship of Boiotia and to show its unique place therein. Afterwards, I introduce the main questions that concern this inquiry. Following this, is a section on Boiotian history that provides a contextual background for Plutarch's presentation. Once Boiotia's place in the ancient Greek world has been established, I explore what Plutarch represented as the unique aspects of his regional world.

All the above provides the background needed to move into the last and largest section, that is, what Plutarch said about Boiotia. This also invites the question of what conclusions, if anything, we can draw concerning how he presented his region and its peoples. By doing so, I demonstrate that Plutarch's explicit mentions of Boiotia not only created a unique identity for his region, but also a relational identity between Boiotians and other peoples, like the Athenians, Spartans, and Romans. His narrative is revealed as one of a cultural identity of military prowess, one that his Roman readers could understand and be inspired by. The implicit referrals in his work carried a message of equality, one that likened Boiotia to the 'greats' of Greece, in other words, to Athens

and Sparta, and even occasionally, to the Romans that came to dominate their soil. In this way, Boiotia, like Plutarch himself, became something that could be imitated or, at the very least, be admired by his audience.

Literature Review

Since antiquity, Boiotia lacked a positive image in the popular historical narratives.⁵⁸² In fact, the success of these negative portrayals of Boiotia is evident through the continued references, even in the early modern period, to Boiotia as the backwater of Greece. We see this clearly in a 1789 letter by Simon Parr, an English cleric and schoolmaster, who wrote to his friend Charles Burney. He had just moved to rural Norfolk and was complaining that he had little to read. He begged him, “(d)o you hear any literary news? For I live quite in Boiotia, and Boiotize daily, and, what is worse, I shall not visit you Attic folks in the spring”.⁵⁸³ This view of Boiotia and its peoples as having nothing to offer compared to the glorious reputation of the Athenians was not uncommon and illustrates the triumph of Athenian propaganda. Simon Parr clearly thought that the contrast was apt, comparing his bumpkin Boiotian life to the bustling intellectual hub of Attica. However, as was demonstrated with Chaironeia, we will see that Boiotia was also not a disconnected place. Like Plutarch's hometown, it was part of a complex network that linked it to the greater global ancient world. Throughout this chapter, I build the argument that Parr's attempt to synonymize Boiotia and isolation should not be accepted, and instead should be viewed as a stereotype propagated by Athenian defamation.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸² See, for example, Pindar *Olympian* VI. 89-90.

⁵⁸³ Johnstone 1828: 410.

⁵⁸⁴ In fact, Plutarch himself seemed to recognize this, as we see below on pages 300-1.

Boiotian studies has suffered from the success of this slander. This can be inferred, for example, through the interest shown (or lack thereof) in scholarship towards the region. For, it was not until recently, in the past 50 years, that an interest in Boiotia, its history, and its culture⁵⁸⁵ became a subject worthy of consideration. In English scholarship, Robert Buck's 1979 *A History of Boeotia* was the first English synthesis of Boiotian history.⁵⁸⁶ Since then, a growing number of scholars have shown enthusiasm not only for the history of Boiotia,⁵⁸⁷ but also for its politics,⁵⁸⁸ religion,⁵⁸⁹ material culture,⁵⁹⁰ and identity.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁵ For more on the difficulties surrounding the term 'culture', see Rasmussen 2012: 113; Valsiner 2012: 6.

⁵⁸⁶ Note, however, that in other languages, we find earlier monographs concerned with Boiotia, such as Roesch 1965. Buck builds on this study with his 1994 monograph, *Boiotia and the Boiotian League, 432-371 B.C.*, bringing the history down to the battle of Leuktra, where the work of Buckler begins for the remainder of the Classical period, followed by Roesch 1982 for the Hellenistic period. Cf. Buck 1981. See pages 215-230 below, for a summary of Boiotian history.

⁵⁸⁷ See, for example, Demand 1982; Fossey 1991; Fossey 1997a; Fossey 1997b; Hornblower 2011; Schachter 2016. Cf. the edited volume *La Béotie antique* 1985, and those by Beister and Buckler 1986, and Papazarkadas 2014, which includes papers on history but also on the epigraphy of Boiotia (for more on the epigraphy of the region, see Fossey 1991; Fossey 2014).

⁵⁸⁸ Roesch's 1965 *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* is the foundational work on how the Boiotian League functioned and demonstrates the complexity of the politics and alliances in Boiotia. For the Boiotian League in the Archaic period, see Beck and Ganter 2015, Meidani 2008, and Schachter 2016. The Archaic and Classical Periods are covered by Hansen 1996, who argues that there was a hierarchy of poleis in Boiotia, and by Larson 2007, who fights for a downdating of the Boiotian League to the battle of Koroneia in 447/6 BCE. For the Classical into the Hellenistic period: Bakhuizen 1994; H. Beck 1997 (Thebes is directly related to the rise of federalism); Buckler and Beck 2008; Gonzalez 2006 (sees the Boiotian poleis as interdependent, contra Hammond); Hammond 2000 (agreeing with Hansen for the hierarchies of poleis and arguing for independence under Thebes as *hegemon*); Mackil 2013 (argues that religious interactions in Boiotia helped to build a sense of community that gradually develops into the Boiotian League); Müller 2014; Roesch 1982. For law and justice in Boiotia, see, for example: Bonner and Smith 1945 and Roesch 1982: 502. For more on Boiotian politics, see below, pages 231-9.

⁵⁸⁹ Dominated, of course, by Albert Schachter's three volumes on the *Cults of Boiotia* 1981-1994. Cf. Schachter's other works, such as: 1985, 2007, 2014a, 2014b, 2016. Other studies on Boiotian religion include that of Bonnechere 2003 on the rites associated with Tophonius in Lebadeia and their out-of-body nature, and Chaniotis' 2002 article arguing that the Daidala was comprised of three celebrations merged into one. Boiotian religion is covered below, pages 259-270.

⁵⁹⁰ A detailed overview of Boiotian landscape, for example, is provided by Farinetti 2011. The edited volume by Bintliff (1997) provides numerous articles that include the material culture of Boitoia. See, for example, the contribution by Ostergaard, who investigates the Boiotian Terracotta horses and horsemen of the Archaic period (see below, pages 251-2). Cf. Beister and Buckler 1986; Fossey 1990; Fossey 1991; Fossey 2014. For a general overview on the importance of epigraphy to our understanding of a polis, see Ma 2013. For more on the material culture of Boitoia, see below, pages 239-259.

⁵⁹¹ For example, Ganter 2013 argues that Boiotian identity is intrinsically linked to common cults and ancestry. Cf. her 2006a study (published under the name Kühr), in which she argues that the Boiotian *ethnos* was aggregative and that we can see the development and changing nature of this identity in the topography of a city like Thebes. Similarly, Larson 2007 contends that we can find Boiotian collective identity in their early myths, seen through Homer and Hesiod. Other aspects of Boiotian identity, such as homosexuality have also been explored (Hupperts 2005).

This relatively new focus on Boiotia fits within the general push in scholarship that we must move beyond the narratives of Athens and Sparta, and instead investigate other regions and their relationships to the wider ancient Greek world. For instance, scholars now recognize that this country-bumpkin reputation, the one that pushed the jibe of 'Boiotian swine' was a constructed Athenocentric narrative, one that grew from conflict and tension between the Athenians and Boiotians. It became, as H. Beck argues, part of Athens' projection of her image to claim both political leadership and cultural superiority, through the moulding of Boiotia as an 'anti-Athens'.⁵⁹² And it does seem like this Athenian propaganda successfully dominated the rhetoric concerning this region of Greece, as we find Athenian echoes over two thousand years later in the writings of men like Parr and his daily 'Boiotizing', while simultaneously seeming to lack any comprehensive Boiotian response to this slander.

This chapter of my thesis, therefore, aims to lift the silence surrounding Boiotian narratives by detailing Plutarch's response. For Plutarch, 'Boiotian swine' was nothing but a hateful rumour. His works thus offers a unique opportunity to hear a Boiotian voice and, accordingly, present the Boiotian people from an inside perspective, albeit at a time when the region was dominated by Rome. Surprisingly, Plutarch's representation of Boiotia has not been extensively studied by scholars.⁵⁹³ This may be because Boiotia, unlike Chaironeia, did not seem to have the same pull in Plutarch's works. Nowhere, for example, did he mention a desire to remain in the region.⁵⁹⁴ And

⁵⁹² H. Beck 2014: 19; H. Beck forthcoming: section 2.1. Buck (1981: 47) and Cakwell (2010: 102) also discuss the Athenocentric nature of these slanders.

⁵⁹³ Many edited volumes where one would expect to find such a discussion (e.g., *Plutarch and his Intellectual World: Essays on Plutarch* [1997]; *Advice to the Bride and Groom and A Consolation to His Wife* [1999]; *A Companion to Plutarch* [2014]; *Space, Time and Language in Plutarch* [2017]), contain no article devoted to the subject. Most of the mentions of Plutarch and Boiotia are found in articles, which are still few: e.g., Buckler 1978; Georgiadou 1996; Harries 1998; Lamberton 1988; Rzepka 2010; Shrimpton 1971; Tuplin 1984. Cf. Buckler 1992: 4801-6.

⁵⁹⁴ For more on Plutarch's devotion to Chaironeia and his insistence on remaining there, see Chapter 1, pages 139-140.

yet, Plutarch is one of the only voices that we have for Boiotia, and certainly the only local one we have for Boiotia in the Roman period. His views of the region, therefore, are extremely important for understanding Boiotia from the inside instead of from without. And so, in this chapter, I attempt to break the silence and investigate what Plutarch tells us of Boiotia and how he presented its people, its topography, and its culture for his audience.

Scope and Approach

The guiding concerns and questions of this chapter are similar to the ones we saw in Chapter 1. However, because of the much larger geographic space covered in this regional sphere, these have been narrowed down to accommodate a broader approach. For example, it is not within the scope of this thesis to ask about the everyday local horizon of each polis in Boiotia.⁵⁹⁵ Instead, Chaironeia was chosen as the case study for this local investigatory work, since it was the hometown of Plutarch. And while it cannot be denied that Plutarch had ties to other Boiotian poleis and other local worlds outside of Boiotia, like Athens,⁵⁹⁶ Chaironeia, as we in Chapter 1, remained his priority. The focus on this polis' local world thus reflects this concern.

Since this chapter takes a larger, regional view, the main questions that guide it are also broader in nature. For example, since all the local areas cannot be explored, I ask instead what makes Boiotia a region. Is it the geography that connects these places? Or is it something else, like religion and language? This will help gauge what makes Boiotia a unique region compared to other places, like Attica. Alongside this, I ask what indications exist of cooperation and conflict in the region. For

⁵⁹⁵ For a summary of each Boiotian polis, see Hansen 1996.

⁵⁹⁶ For Plutarch's network connections in these places, see Chapter 3, e.g., pages 449, 454-5, 476 for Thespiiai, for example, and Chapter 3, e.g., pages 392-3, 449-450 for Athens.

instance, in what poleis do we find competition and how did this affect the overall conditions of the regional entity of Boiotia? Since, as we saw above,⁵⁹⁷ these sorts of questions have been investigated extensively by modern scholars, I only take a cursory look to set the stage for the main purpose of this chapter, that is, Plutarch's Boiotia.

Understanding Boiotian history, politics, and regional affinities will guide how we analyze what Plutarch tells us about this region. For, like Chaironeia, the region of Boiotia, its history, its network connections, its trade, its culture, and its peoples, likely affected how he wrote as well as what he wrote. Overall, it must be asked, are there any indications of an underlying purpose in how he presented Boiotian history to his reader? If Plutarch wanted to set himself and his hometown as a mirror for his audience, it would not be surprising to see the same sort of constructed narrative for the region of Boiotia. However, to uncover this, we must also move beyond Boiotian history and into what Plutarch presented as its unique regional characteristics.

Since modern scholarship has already begun to unpack the unique characteristics of Boiotia as a region, my focus here is on Plutarch's presentation. As such, I ask what he portrayed as being uniquely Boiotian and what he focused on for his representation of the region. Furthermore, knowing that Plutarch had a large readership that included Romans,⁵⁹⁸ I also consider how Plutarch's presentation of Boiotia spoke to the wider global world and gained meaning in the context of the Roman Empire. By looking at his narrative of Boiotia alongside the global sphere of Plutarch's world, I reveal how Plutarch framed Boiotia. In the end, I argue that we can detect a hidden agenda in his narrative, one that raised Boiotia up as an *exemplum*.

⁵⁹⁷ See page 196.

⁵⁹⁸ See the Introduction, pages 8-9.

The region of Boiotia was an important part of Plutarch's world. While saying that it affected his everyday local horizon would likely be too strong, its overall import to his life and thus to his writing should not be underestimated. Therefore, by investigating the above questions throughout this chapter, I hope to give a voice to the ancient Boiotian people through one of its own.

Methodological Challenges

Unraveling the unique aspects of Boiotia is a difficult task that is fraught with methodological issues. Most of these problems were encountered and discussed in Chapter 1,⁵⁹⁹ and thus need not be repeated here. For example, as we saw in Chapter 1, Plutarch did not write as a guide, and therefore his presentation of Boiotia comes in snippets throughout his works. Furthermore, like Chaironeia, broadly speaking, there have not been many extensive archaeological investigations in Boiotia.⁶⁰⁰ Thus, as in Chapter 1, our main problems in investigating Plutarch and his presentation of his regional world are related to Plutarch's method in writing and his audience, as well as the lack of archaeological data.

One of the unique discussions that we face in this chapter, is the idea of Plutarch relating different groups to each other. Scholars have noted that Plutarch was not always eager to create symmetry between groups. Thanks to Thomas Schmidt, for example, we have Plutarch's views of the relational differences between Greeks and barbarians.⁶⁰¹ Think, also, to the confrontation in *On the Malice of Herodotus* (*De Herod. malig.*) and the role of this 'discursive space' in creating a

⁵⁹⁹ See Chapter 1, pages 35-9.

⁶⁰⁰ As Fossey (1997a: 7-8) laments. Note, however, that more archaeological activity is currently taking place now than when Fossey wrote this over 20 years ago. We will see this below, on pages 239-243.

⁶⁰¹ Schmidt 2000 and Schmidt 2008. There are other instances in Plutarch of 'othering', such as dinner practices in Egypt (*Conv. sept. sap.* 2 [148b]), or the mourning rituals of other cultures (*Consol ad Ap.* 22 [113a-b]). For Plutarch on Isis and Osiris, see Richter 2001 and Chapter 1, page 185.

sense of 'othering' between Athenian and Boiotian narratives in relation to the memory of the Persian Wars.⁶⁰² Even in Plutarch's representation of Boiotia, he sometimes experienced a sort of 'othering' between Boiotian poleis through his need to explain them and their practices. We see this, for example, in his presentation of Thebes and the sort of love that they practiced there, which Plutarch said should not be emulated.⁶⁰³ Boiotia, therefore, was not always a synchronized unit in Plutarch's oeuvre.

In this chapter, I thus focus on the more general attributes that Plutarch granted to individual Boiotians, including cultural icons like Pindar and, I argue, Herakles, and to the Boiotians as a whole. In many cases, what Plutarch presented as being from or particular to Boiotia, was often used by him to raise Boiotia and its people up to the same plane of value as Athens and Sparta.

Reconstructing a Regional World: The Basics of Boiotia

Before beginning the investigation of Plutarch's presentation of Boiotia, the main properties of the region itself must be outlined. In this section, therefore, I start with an overview of the regional topography to bring to light the main geographic features of Boiotia that may have contributed to Plutarch's understanding of this space. Next, I briefly review the micro-region of Lake Kopaïs and its importance to the macro-region.⁶⁰⁴ This is followed by Boiotia's role in the history of ancient Greece, so that we have a framework of understanding for Boiotia before Plutarch's time.

⁶⁰² For more on national remembering and discursive spaces, see Wertsch 2018: 260, 272.

⁶⁰³ *De liberis educandis* 15 (11f-12a). See also, Hupperts 2015.

⁶⁰⁴ For more on the micro-region of North-West Lake Kopaïs, see Chapter 1, pages 56-67. The section below (pages 208-214), while reviewing some of the trends that we saw in Chapter 1, will move beyond the importance of this area for Chaironeia's local world and into its contribution to Boiotia as a whole.

To enhance our picture of this world, however, we cannot solely rely on literary accounts. As a result, a broad analysis of the trends of the material landscapes of Boiotia follows that of Boiotian history. This will contribute to a better understanding of Plutarch's regional world through the marriage of literary and material evidence. As a result, we add to our perception of his everyday lived experience through, for example, items that were available for trade and consumption. We also see that it is impossible to outline Boiotia without stumbling across evidence of religious practices. As such, the religion and sanctuaries of the region are surveyed before discussing these in Plutarch's representation of the area. These investigations grant us insight into the main features of Boiotia that may have influenced Plutarch's presentation.

To bring this all together and to conclude the discussion, I ask the question, what does 'Boiotian' mean? This is analyzed not only in terms of geographic properties, but also in terms of the regional sense of collective identity. The answer is necessarily a generalization, nonetheless it is an important one to make to differentiate Boiotia from other regions by outlining what made it unique.⁶⁰⁵ Once this has been accomplished, it will be possible to compare one individual's view of Boiotia, namely, Plutarch.

Topography

The topography of Boiotia and its individual poleis are covered in detail by Farinetti's 2011 *Boeotian Landscapes: A GIS-based study for the reconstruction and interpretation of the archaeological datasets of ancient Boeotia*.⁶⁰⁶ Thus, only a brief overview of the main elements is

⁶⁰⁵ It is understood, for example, that an individual's identity and association with this regional unit would vary from person to person.

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Fossey 1988, especially chapter 1 (pages 1-12), which contains a detailed description of the topography of the area.

made here in order to delineate the boundaries, limitations, and strengths of the region to set the stage for Plutarch's discussion of the area.

Boiotia was approximately 80 km east to west and 40 km north to south,⁶⁰⁷ comprising an area of 2,818km². This made it only slightly larger than Attica's 2,540km².⁶⁰⁸ One of the main difficulties we have in studying this space, however, is that not all of the ancient poleis mentioned in literature have been identified, nor have some of the sites discovered through archaeology been linked to their ancient names.⁶⁰⁹ Nevertheless, as we see in Farinetti's 2011 study for example, a sufficient amount of data exists to draw some conclusions about Boiotia as a regional entity.

First, we find that the natural features of the area served to define the geographic extent of Boiotia. As the map in Figure 2.1 shows, it was not a highly mountainous area, with only 2 mountain ranges dividing it.⁶¹⁰ These ranges, one to the west (Helicon), and one to the south (Kithairon-Parnes ridge), helped to form the natural boundaries of the region, separating Boiotia from Phokis (Helicon) and Megara/Attica (Kithairon-Parnes ridge). Otherwise, the boundaries of the region were delineated by the Gulf of Corinth in the South-West, and the Euboic Gulf in the North-East.⁶¹¹ However, as we saw in Chapter 1,⁶¹² these boundaries were not static, but were often flexible through both cooperation and competition between regions. The natural boundaries described here,

⁶⁰⁷ Buck 1979: 1; Gonzalez 2006: 43.

⁶⁰⁸ Gonzalez 2006: 43-4. Note, however, Fossey's (1988: 4) estimate that Boiotia covers approximately 2,500km².

⁶⁰⁹ Buck 1979: 21. For more on the Archaic and Classical poleis of Boiotia, see Hansen (1996), Hansen (2004), and H. Beck (forthcoming: section 3.2).

⁶¹⁰ As Gonzalez (2006: 45) notes, "(t)he mountains, from the point of view of their altitude, area and population made little impact on Boiotian life. Settlements of any size, except perhaps farms, are simply not found in the mountains."

⁶¹¹ Farinetti 2011: 48.

⁶¹² See Chapter 1 pages 48-55, which discusses how the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia was highly contested and served as a 'soft' boundary. Furthermore, Farinetti (2011: 48) points to the eastern boundary with Attica as another contested area, where land often transferred between the two regions. These regional borders, therefore, are not always so clear-cut but, at times, are fluid and flexible.

The presence of these bodies of water also made for agriculturally rich land in the interior. Thus, we find three main plains: that around Orchomenos, the Theban plains, and the southern plains.⁶¹⁶ These plains, as we saw with Chaironeia,⁶¹⁷ ensured that many poleis in central Boiotia were blessed with rich soils for cultivation. In fact, Farinetti has deemed 41.9% of Boiotian land to have rich agricultural potential.⁶¹⁸ However, this was not true of the entire region, as we see in Figure 2.2.

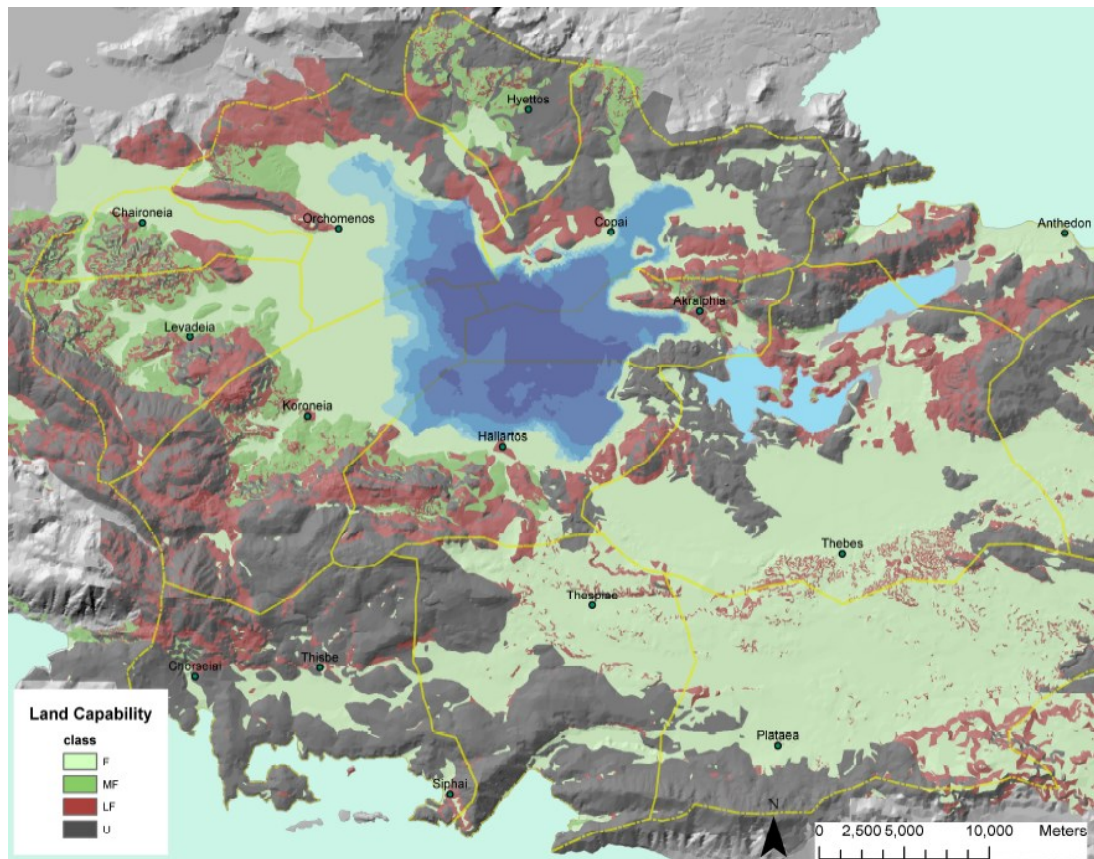


Figure 2.2: 'Land capability classes in Boiotia' (Farinetti 2011: 54; copied with permission)

Legend: F = soils with few limitations; MF: soils with some limitations; LF: soils with more limitations; U: soils with severe limitations for agriculture.

⁶¹⁶ Farinetti 2011: 48. As H. Beck (forthcoming: section 3) points out, Orchomenos dominated the western basin, while Thebes dominated that of the east. Cf. Farinetti 2011: 65-154; Hansen 2004.

⁶¹⁷ See Chapter 1, pages 41-5, 56-67.

⁶¹⁸ Farinetti 2011: 54. These lands are marked in Figure 2.2 by the classification F. The other classifications are divided as follows: MF (5.3%), LF (17.4%), and U (35.4%). It is likely that this rich agricultural potential led to an area with few forests in favour of crops and animal grazing (Rackham 1983: 328; Vottero 1998: 19).

As the legend makes clear, the richest soils appear in the interior of Boiotia, with virtually no cultivatable land in the mountainous region, and very limited capacity in the coastal areas. Thus, the coastal plains, such as those found on the Gulf of Corinth in the West of Boiotia, or those in the North-East, which made up approximately 16% of Boiotia's area, offered much less cultivatable land.⁶¹⁹ This may explain why most of the settlements were found in the interior, as well as why the larger poleis, like Orchomenos or Thebes, were also in the centre of the region. José Gonzalez argues that these coastal poleis were likely isolated and had little communication with the interior. He references their small area as evidence for their limited economic and political potential.⁶²⁰

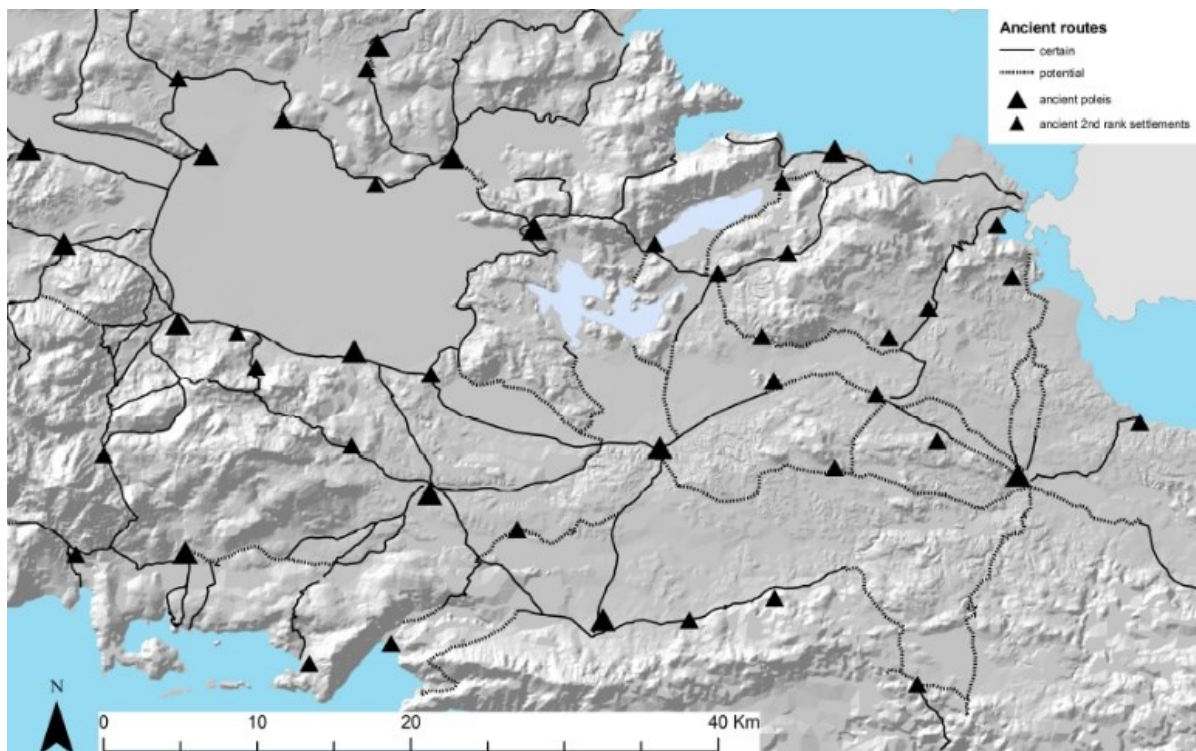


Figure 2.3: The Ancient Routes of Boiotia (Farinetti 2011: 45; copied with permission)

⁶¹⁹ Gonzalez 2006: 45.

⁶²⁰ Gonzalez 2006: 45.

Figure 2.3 above gives us further evidence of Gonzalez' theory. In this map, we notice that what Farinetti has labelled '2nd rank settlements' were largely found in the coastal plains. However, there are two other observations that must be made. First, there were many secondary settlements in the interior, something that Gonzalez omits to mention.⁶²¹ This indicates that even in the centre of Boiotia, not every polis had the same potential, even if they had the availability of cultivatable land. Secondly, Gonzalez argues for the isolation of the coastal poleis in Boiotia, saying that they had poor communication with the interior.⁶²² However, as Figure 2.3 shows, most of these coastal poleis were still connected to the mainland through ancient routes. And, as Fossey argues, "Boiotia is much more important in terms of land- than sea-routes."⁶²³ Therefore, these coastal towns still had access to, and thus likely communication with, the interior of Boiotia through these land routes. However, their distance from the main routes and thus their geographic location on the coast must have also been a hinderance to the main travel and trade that occurred in the centre of the region.⁶²⁴

Notwithstanding the importance of the inland routes, the potential of the connections that could be made by these coastal towns through the sea routes cannot be forgotten. As Strabo relates (9.2.2,

⁶²¹ This is an important observation, as it suggests that it is not only the geographic location of the poleis that affects their size, but also other factors. For instance, it may be because of a larger polis nearby that exerted more influence, such as we see with those around Thebes. Or the variations in the size of these settlements may be due to the diverging nature of the local climates. For, as H. Beck (forthcoming: section 3.4), Farinetti (2011: 49), and Osborne (1996: 54) note, Boiotia was full of micro-climates. For example, Osborne (1996: 54) explains that, "(s)ome local variations are the product of physical relief: Thebes, in the middle of a basically flat Central landscape, receives on average only 63% of the annual rainfall of Levadeia, which is 25 miles [40km] west of it and in the rain-excess belt of Mount Parnassos." We must therefore consider more than just their location (coastal or inland) when we draw conclusions about their economic and political output. We must also consider, for example, the overall nature of the climate in order to better understand the potential of the land and why some poleis flourished while others that were close by did not grow to the same extent. It is for this reason that Farinetti's 2011 study is so crucial to understanding the local and micro-regional trends in Boiotia. Cf. Post (2017: 6), who points to the importance that the growing focus on tree-ring records in scholarship brings to our understanding of long-term trends for climactic conditions in the ancient world.

⁶²² Gonzalez 2006: 45.

⁶²³ Fossey 1988: 4.

⁶²⁴ This is not to say that they did not have access to these trade and network exchanges, as the roads suggest they did, however, it does imply some sort of barrier to regular access, which likely affected their growth and therefore their economic and political clout.

quoting Ephorus), Boiotia was viewed in antiquity as being superior to the surrounding regions not only because of its fertile soils, but also because of its harbours. These harbours, he continues, linked Boiotia to products and trade with Sicily, Italy, Libya, Egypt, Cyprus, Macedonia, and the Propontis. Thus, these coastal towns must have aided in the networks that Boiotia built as well as the trade that came through its region. For, as we saw with Chaironeia, this little polis had trade connections that linked it, perhaps indirectly but linked nonetheless, with Egypt, for example.⁶²⁵ The importance of these coastal towns, therefore, should not be ignored, and while they might not have had the same growth potential as their inland neighbours who had rich soil, they still helped to enable the centre through their sea connections.

So, while Gonzalez is likely correct that the coastal poleis' economic, political, and communicative powers were limited, their level of isolation from the rest of Boiotia should not be exaggerated, as they still had the potential to connect with the centre through the land routes that were so essential to the region. Nevertheless, it is the areas around the lakes, as we saw above, that contained the most fertile lands. And so, we must now turn to a review of Lake Kopaïs and its importance to the region of Boiotia.

Lake Kopaïs

As we saw in Chapter 1, Lake Kopaïs varied with the seasons, flooding the land around it, then receding – something that left the Kopaïc basin with good farmland and provided the impetus for drainage systems that became the focus of different groups at various times, including the Mycenaeans, Epaminondas, and Emperor Hadrian. The drainage of the lake thus represents some

⁶²⁵ See Chapter 1, pages 120-1, 184-6.

of the regional cooperation that was possible in Boiotia from the Mycenaean times until the Roman Age.⁶²⁶

Furthermore, we also witnessed how the fundamental nature of this lake both in the geographic sense and to the lives of its inhabitants, likely influenced aspects of the Boiotians' everyday lives. The first piece of evidence that supports this contention are the water sanctuaries that surrounded the lake.⁶²⁷ These once again point to the overarching importance of water to Boiotia, not only in the agricultural sense, but also one for the imaginary realm of mythology, worship, and religious practice.

But the lake affected more than simply the religious notions of the local inhabitants, it also influenced their health. The effect on the health of the populations of Boiotia was the main downside that we observed from this body of water, namely, disease in the form of malaria. In Chapter 1, I argued that the prevalence of sickness in this region might have been an impetus for the concentration of healing sanctuaries in Chaironeia.⁶²⁸ However, we do not seem to detect this same trend in other Boiotian poleis near the lake, whose focus remained on water deities. Knowing now that this healing economy was only found in Chaironeia, we can tentatively conclude that Chaironeia's sanctuaries and its plants were providing these services for the rest of Boiotia, negating the need for another polis to supply the same business. The unique nature of this industry in Boiotia also helps to explain Pausanias' focus on the healing plants in his account of Chaironeia. Thus, although illness was common to all areas around the lake, healing was localized to one polis,

⁶²⁶ See Chapter 1, pages 59-63.

⁶²⁷ See Chapter 1, page 69. For more on the religious life of the Lake, see H. Beck forthcoming: section 11.7.

⁶²⁸ See Chapter 1, pages 88-9.

once again pointing to the importance of understanding the local sphere for the dynamics of the regional world.

Besides illness, water deities, and cooperation through hydraulic endeavours,⁶²⁹ Lake Kopaïs was also important to Boiotia for the food that it provided through its rich wildlife. It is for this reason that Fossey claims that “(i)t is, of course, the lake itself which makes a geographic unit of the cities in the Kopaïs. It was also the same lake which made them essentially an economic unit.”⁶³⁰ For example, in the Classical period, Aristophanes mentions the geese, ducks, pigeons, and larks that were imported from Boiotia (*Pax* 1004). Aristophanes also speaks of the most famous example, that is, the eels of Lake Kopaïs (*Ach.* 952; *Lys.* 36 and 702; *Vesp.* 510-1).⁶³¹ Several hundred years later, under the Roman Empire, Pausanias comments that the fish from the lake were unremarkable and like those of other areas, but that the eels were larger and very tasty (9.24.2). If we consider, that ‘fishing was less esteemed than hunting’,⁶³² we must not underestimate the importance of these maritime mentions. By referencing the eels and their value, even when the industry from which they derived was seen as unexceptional, both Pausanias and Aristophanes indirectly point to the continued importance of this product to Lake Kopaïs and thus to Boiotia more generally.⁶³³

⁶²⁹ For more on the drainage of the lake and its relevance to cooperation in the region, see Chapter 1, pages 59-63.

⁶³⁰ Fossey 1979: 590; Fossey 1990: 265.

⁶³¹ Note that, in these plays, the merchants are Thebans. This may indicate that the eel industry in Boiotia was concentrated in this polis, or perhaps that the Thebans were the ones who engaged in the trade of this product in Athens. We must be cautious, however, when coming to any conclusions about the historicity of these statements by Aristophanes (as Vika, Aravantinos, and Richards [2009: 1080] note) since his works are not necessarily accurate but rather are used to create dramatic scenes. It is possible, for example, that the Thebans in the play are meant to represent Boiotia as a whole, though without any evidence, this is merely speculative. Nevertheless, we cannot discount the possibility that other Boiotian poleis around the lake were engaging in this economic endeavour, especially when we consider the price list from Akraiphia (*SEG* 60: 495). Euboulos F 37 also comments on these eels. For a detailed account of the flora and fauna of Lake Kopaïs, including fragmentary sources, see Post (forthcoming).

⁶³² Post 2017: 5. Cf. Post's (forthcoming) observations on hunting around the lake, as well as the association of Athenian hunters that were established in this area during the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 32: 457).

⁶³³ I use the word ‘continued’ here to indicate that fishing in Lake Kopaïs was likely something that occurred during periods in which the lake was not drained. I cannot say with absolute certainty that this industry did not experience interruptions or periods of stagnation. However, the mention of fishing during the Classical and Imperial periods

Furthermore, while commenting on the remarkable nature of the eels of Lake Kopais, they also provide examples of the kinds of exports from Lake Kopais to other regions of the ancient Greek world. The fish, eels, and birds were therefore not only important to the diet of the inhabitants, but also to the Boiotian economy.

We gain further understanding of the import of the eels to the Boiotian economy through a price list from Akraiphia that dates to the late third or early second centuries BCE (*SEG* 60: 495).⁶³⁴ In this list, the eels are the most expensive item, pointing to their desirability. Furthermore, the adoption of eel farming in the area in both natural and artificial ponds demonstrates the need of the inhabitants to secure this product (*Arist. Hist. An.* 7.592a2-5, 13-20). Therefore, the cost as well as the invention of a more efficient way to produce, transport, and trade these eels is indicative of their importance to the regional economy in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Pausanias' mention of the eels and their remarkable qualities helps to sustain this industry through to the Roman period.

Although eel farming was important to Boiotian trade, recent scholarship has begun to question how much marine life the ancient Greeks consumed.⁶³⁵ For example, it is estimated that only 10% of an average ancient Greek's diet was comprised of marine proteins.⁶³⁶ As a result, marine exports to other regions must not be exaggerated. If, for instance, the eels from Lake Kopais were

seems to point to a continued fishing practice in the region. Furthermore, when we consider the overarching presence of the lake to this region (think Fossey's [1979: 550] observation that it was a lake and not drained for most of the Greco-Roman period), it would not be remiss to argue that the residents around the lake took economic advantage of the marine life that existed within it throughout the history of settlement in the area.

⁶³⁴ Note that the presence of numerous species speaks to the existence of fish trade in the region of Boiotia (Vika, Aravantinos, and Richards 2009: 1080). Cf. H. Beck 2020: 61, 85-92; H. Beck forthcoming: section 8.2; Lytle 2010.

⁶³⁵ See, for example, Vika 2011: 1160.

⁶³⁶ Post 2017: 5.

something of a luxury item, this would explain the high price on the Akraiphia list, as well as their mentions in Aristophanes' comedies as something of high value. We can thus cautiously speculate that the eels of Lake Kopais were important for Boiotian trade and economy, but that their export was likely classified as a luxury item.

But what about the Boiotians themselves? If they were living so close to such a commodity, would it not have been practical for them to consume it? Most of the evidence we have comes from Thebes, where the isotopic analysis of bones has been conducted. In one study, the researchers posit that the increase in nitrogen values in the skeletons from Classical Thebes (usually associated with more protein), was a direct result of the consumption of more freshwater fish, most likely eels.⁶³⁷ Furthermore, Theophrastus mentions that water-lilies, which grew in the lake, were used as food for sheep, pigs, and men (*Hist. pl.* 4.10-12; 9.13).⁶³⁸ If this is correct, we find in this practice a marriage of the importance of the lake not only to the diet of the inhabitants, but also to the economy, through the feeding of their animals. Thus, both the fauna and flora of Lake Kopais were an important source of sustenance and income for the region.

⁶³⁷ It may also be the result of the use of manure for agriculture: Vika, Aravantinos, and Richards 2009; Vika 2011: 1160. Specifically, they observed an increase in $\delta^{15}\text{M}$ values in the Classical period (Vika, Aravantinos, and Richards 2009: 1076). Note that they use Aristophanes' mentions of the freshwater fish and the Theban merchants to support their case (Vika, Aravantinos, and Richards 2009: 1080). Cf. Vika's 2011 study, which observes not only human bone samples, but also that of animals to get a better understanding of feeding and consumption patterns in Thebes. Vika (2011: 1162) concludes that the historic and political conditions in Thebes affected how people ate.

⁶³⁸ Fossey 1990: 265. Vika (2011: 1159-1160), however, points to the possibility that the sheep in Thebes were fed seaweed. Vika (2011: 1159) presents some level of scepticism in that, "...it is not known what effect seaweed consumption has on bone collagen values." While it is possible that seaweed was an option for feeding livestock, it seems more likely that the Thebans and others around the lake would more often than not take advantage of the rich offerings of Kopais rather than import seaweed. However, without more evidence and investigations, this is purely speculation.

But the eels of Lake Kopais were more than an economic entity for the people who lived in the region. We hear of their use as sacrificial animals to the gods, complete with wreaths and barley corns that were thrown onto them.⁶³⁹ The eels, then, move beyond merely being important to regional trade and economy, and into a religious symbol imbued with meaning that was incorporated into regional practices.

Lake Kopais was also famous for its reeds that were reported to make the best *auloi* of the ancient Greek world.⁶⁴⁰ Knowing that the manufacturing of the *auloi* likely affected the architectural (theatre) and cultural development of Chaironeia,⁶⁴¹ it would not be a stretch to suggest that it also affected the other poleis of the region. For example, several famous *auletai* originated in Thebes, thus giving it the reputation as a centre of this art.⁶⁴² But it is in Orchomenos that the most famous *auloi* were produced.⁶⁴³ Therefore, in the two major centres of the region, we find an emphasis on music directly tied to the *aulos* industry of Lake Kopais.

It is not only the larger poleis that were influenced by the production of *auloi*. We also see music schools being founded throughout Boiotia,⁶⁴⁴ also likely tied to a regional boom in the construction of theatres. And while there does not seem to be a common building program, it is likely that this boom was a direct result of the music industry.⁶⁴⁵ The Boiotian schools of music continued to flourish even into the Hellenistic period, where we find the names of many musicians from the

⁶³⁹ H. Beck 2020: 85.

⁶⁴⁰ See Chapter 1, page 62, and Post (forthcoming), citing Theophrastos *HP* 4.11.8-9.

⁶⁴¹ See Chapter 1, page 62, 70-2.

⁶⁴² *Auletai*: Post (forthcoming). Thebes as the masters of the *auloi*: Post (forthcoming), citing Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7.120-1. For Plutarch's representations of the musical prowess of the Boiotians, see below, pages 303-6.

⁶⁴³ Pindar *Pyth.* 12.25-7; Pliny *HN* 16.66.172. This is likely why we also find tripods in Orchomenos, dedicated to Dionysos, that are part of choregic monuments (Papalexandrou 2008: 260-2).

⁶⁴⁴ Germani 2015: 353.

⁶⁴⁵ Germani 2015: 353.

region.⁶⁴⁶ We thus have further evidence that the fauna of Lake Kopais not only affected the economy of the region, but also had a direct influence on the cultural and architectural development of Boiotia.⁶⁴⁷

Lastly, the importance of music in Boiotia was also evident in the imagined, mythological realm, with local heroes, such as Amphion and Linus, being tied to music.⁶⁴⁸ So, not only did the lake have an economic, cultural, and architectural influence in Boiotia, but it also had a direct and lasting effect on local stories and collective memory, and therefore on the identity projection of the inhabitants. Lake Kopais thus became intricately woven into the regional matrix, tied to numerous aspects of local life, conducting the inhabitants through the melody of its living organisms.

The topography and micro-regional world of Boiotia point to a very important theme for the region: the richness of the land. The bountiful soil and abundant flora and fauna made Boiotia an appealing space for both those who lived inside and those who lived outside of its borders. Thus, while this enabled a vibrant economic and cultural atmosphere, it also occasionally led to conflict.

⁶⁴⁶ Schachter and Marchand 2012: 292. Scheithauer (1997: 110) investigates these names and finds that Boiotia and Thebes in particular, keep their number one place as the originators of *auletes* in the ancient world. Cf. Scheithauer (1997: 119-126) for a list of *auletes* from the Hellenistic period.

⁶⁴⁷ Although no comprehensive study seems to have been done for Boiotian music in the Imperial period, we can safely assume that the prevalence and priority of this cultural aspect of Boiotian life from the Archaic and Classical periods continued, even if in a smaller or changed way, into the Roman age. This seems even more likely when we consider Plutarch's interest in Boiotian music (see below, pages 303-6). Therefore, I would argue that music and musical training remained an important part of the Boiotian cultural scene, even into Plutarch's time.

⁶⁴⁸ Germani 2015: 353. Amphion built the walls of Thebes using his lyre (Sarti 2020: 61), Linus was known for inventing rhythm and melody (Sarti 2020: 67), For more on musical heroes in the ancient Greek world, see Sarti 2020.

Boiotia through History

Despite the importance of Lake Kopaïs to Boiotia and its peoples, it is not its agriculture or advanced hydraulic systems that usually draw attention to this region, but Boiotia's history of conflict. This is likely the result of the central nature of the area to the rest of the Hellenic world. In some ways, Boiotia was a 'soft' region.⁶⁴⁹ While the term does not fit Boiotian territory exactly, the concept merits consideration for the region in relation to the conflicts that occurred on its soil, both between Boiotians and against other peoples. Thus, when I say 'soft' region, I refer to the contested spaces and changing alliances that constitute its regional entity.

However, to say that Boiotia in its entirety was a fuzzy body to define would be an exaggeration. In no ancient sources, nor in modern scholarship, do we find any doubt of the location of Boiotia on a map.⁶⁵⁰ In this way, the idea of 'soft' boundaries that constantly changed hands does not quite fit. However, the concept of a space frequently in conflict, exchange, and negotiation can be applied to Boiotia.⁶⁵¹ Instead of 'soft', therefore, maybe we should consider the region of Boiotia as 'malleable'. With this in mind, we must investigate the role that Boiotia played throughout the ancient Greek past to understand its designation as the 'dancing floor of Ares'.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁹ This idea was discussed for the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia in Chapter 1, pages 51-3.

⁶⁵⁰ We do, however, see that the boundaries between Boiotia and other regions can be slightly blurry: see Chapter 1, pages 48-55. The issue here, however, is not regional divisions, but the entire Boiotian land, including the centre.

⁶⁵¹ As McInerney (2015: 203) explains, "(a)cross Central Greece, particular towns like Elateia, Orchomenos and Thebes emerged at different times as more powerful than the towns around them, although none of them exercised hegemony for very long and none dominated its surrounding territory as completely as did Athens, whose control of Attica was exceptional. Instead, in Central Greece, hegemonial power tended to ebb and flow." In the Bronze Age, for example, Orchomenos and Thebes represented a lot of the regional competition that we find for this area (Beck and Ganter 2015: 133-4; Giroux 2020b). Cf. Vottero 1998: 105-6. So, although we do find dominant poleis at different periods, the internal competition that existed in the region ensured that the stability of their power was not long-lasting.

⁶⁵² Plutarch referred to his regional home as such: *Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 18 (193e), *Quaest. conv.* 7.10.2 (715e), *Marc.* 21.2. See below, pages 284-300 for Plutarch's representations of Boiotia and war. For more on conflict and regional violence in Boiotia, see the contributions in Beck and Marchand 2020.

Boiotia acted as a sort of buffer for the ancient Greek world to fight foreign incursions. However, it was also frequently a convenient plain when the Greeks wished to fight each other.⁶⁵³ The accounts of the ancient battles almost certainly affected Plutarch's understanding of Chaironeia and its local landscape, while also informing his view of the inhabitants of the surrounding region. The major historical conflicts recounted by Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Pausanias⁶⁵⁴ would surely have coloured his concepts.⁶⁵⁵ Each of these ancient authors offers a unique perspective of the region that differs from that of Plutarch. This survey will enable us to gauge where Plutarch's image sits within the broader framework of ancient perceptions of Boiotia. It is for this reason that we must investigate the history of Boiotia to examine some of the major historical events that Plutarch mentioned in his works. Once we have uncovered the timeline that helped to define Boiotia and its people, we will be able to comment on Plutarch's presentation of this region.

In Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* (*Iliad* 5.708-710), Boiotia heads the list with 50 ships manned by men from 29 named communities, the largest contingent in the fleet.⁶⁵⁶ Note, however, that there

⁶⁵³ Think, of course, of all the famous confrontations, stretching from 338 BCE to 1825, that occurred around Chaironeia. (see Chapter 1, page 27 note 76).

⁶⁵⁴ While there are many more ancient authors that we could analyze, such as Arrian, Polybios, or Xenophon, the constraints of this thesis do not allow for a full exploration. Furthermore, since this thesis is focused on Plutarch's representation of Boiotia, it is important that authors be chosen who engaged in similar material. Keep in mind also that we do not possess many writings of ancient Boiotians, save those of Hesiod (though he showed little interest beyond his own small community [Schachter 2016: 12-3]), Pindar, and Plutarch, as well as some fragments of others like Corinna, the female lyric poet. As Vottero (1998: 111) explains using the examples of Dionysodoros and Anaxis, this is why we tend to ignore Boiotian accounts of the Classical period, because they no longer survive. This is also the case for other periods of ancient Greek history, where we lack an insider perspective. For a thorough analysis of the fragments of Boiotian authors and thus a (fragmentary) Boiotian insider perspective, see Tufano 2019b. Cf. Tufano 2019a for a potential fragment of a Boiotian historian found in Plutarch's *Am. narr.* Cf. H. Beck (forthcoming: 12.2) for a discussion on Boiotian authors.

⁶⁵⁵ See pages 284-300 for Plutarch's representation of Boiotia as the site of conflict and war.

⁶⁵⁶ Taking up 1/16th of the catalogue (Fossey 1997b: 140). Fossey (1990: 140) points out that 29 Boiotian communities are mentioned and that the next closest community is that of Agamemnon of which there are 12 places listed. Schachter (2016: 11) proposes that we can extend the list from 29 places to 31 if we count the Minyae as Boiotian. For more on the Minyae and their reputation in the ancient sources, see Giroux 2020b.

were two 'Boiotias' present: Orchomenos and its Minyae, and the rest of the region.⁶⁵⁷ The emphasis on Boiotia suggests a familiarity with the area and perhaps even that the *Catalogue* was composed by a Boiotian.⁶⁵⁸ The pride of place given to Boiotia in the *Catalogue* is also illustrative of its importance to the armada. Furthermore, archaeological evidence relatively contemporary to the Homeric tales (the hydraulic works around Lake Kopaïs,⁶⁵⁹ or the defensive measures found throughout the region⁶⁶⁰) demonstrates a level of cooperation, organization,⁶⁶¹ and power reflected in Boiotia's prominence in the *Catalogue*. We thus have contemporary literary testimony of regional cooperation supported by archaeological evidence. Furthermore, it complements Plutarch's presentation of the origins of Chaironeia.⁶⁶² Central Boiotia, then, was from its earliest times a space that demonstrated partnership and collaboration.

Although a certain level of cooperation in Boiotia can be detected in the *Catalogue of Ships*, division is also evident. Whereas Orchomenos shared the command of 30 Minyan ships with one other community, Thebes was but one of the 29 Boiotian entities that formed the 50 strong Boiotian force.⁶⁶³ Homeric Orchomenos was thus a dominant power in the region, a rival of Thebes, and

⁶⁵⁷ See immediately below, on this page and p.218.

⁶⁵⁸ Fossey (1997b: 140) argues that the author's familiarity with the area, the men who were named, and the groups of commanders that are listed, make it likely that the writer was Boiotian. This remains a possibility, perhaps even a likely possibility, but without further evidence is only speculation. Buck (1979: 76) contends that the Boiotians mentioned in the *Catalogue* are likely those who lived in Thessaly, and not in Boiotia proper. He bases this on the historical tradition that the Boiotians came from Thessaly.

⁶⁵⁹ See above, pages 58-63.

⁶⁶⁰ See Chapter 1, pages 54, 75-6. Cf. Buck (1979: 39) for the presence of Mycenaean fortifications throughout Boiotia and the argument that they were needed to protect Boiotia from the rest of the ancient Greek world.

⁶⁶¹ As Schachter (2016: 12) reveals, this is the first time that the *Boiotoi* appear in the ancient sources, which indicates a degree of coalition in the area. Interestingly, this level of organization did not seem to push the Boiotians to colonize in the same way that we see the rest of the Hellenic world doing so, save for Tanagra (Buck 1981: 47). This therefore represents a different emphasis and motivation for cooperation. Where other areas of the ancient Greek world were organizing overseas colonies, the cooperation of Boiotia seems to point mainly towards internal affairs, such as the hydraulic works of Lake Kopaïs (see Chapter 1, pages 58-63), or defensive measures (see Chapter 1, pages 54, 75-6 as well as below, page 236).

⁶⁶² See Chapter 1, pages 143-4.

⁶⁶³ Homer *Iliad* 2.493-510, 511-6. Schachter 2014a: 70. Ganter (2014: 232) suggests that this list is evidence of a Boiotian *ethnos* in the seventh century. One which does not include the Orchomenians. H. Beck (2014: 24-27) shows

the rest of Boiotia formed a separate unit.⁶⁶⁴ Archaeologically, a continuation of this separation lasted into the Archaic and Hellenistic period with Orchomenos focusing on agriculture and the issuing of coins⁶⁶⁵ and Thebes on trade; two separate peoples with a desire for separate identities in the same regional space. The Orchomenians and Thebans thus defined themselves as distinct even as early as their foundational beginnings in central Greece,⁶⁶⁶ continuing into at least the Hellenistic period.⁶⁶⁷ Such regional conflicts, fuelled by the small natural environment and a desire for power, quickly spread.⁶⁶⁸

Conflict and competition in Boiotia were not always internal as Herodotus recounts in the first extant Greek history. According to him, the Boiotians were Medizers collaborating with the Persians in their invasion of Greece (e.g., 7.132 [except Plataia and Thespiiai]; 7.205-6; 8.50). Herodotus' attitude concerning the Boiotians points to 'othering'.⁶⁶⁹ They did not stand up for their

through inscriptional evidence that a Boiotian *ethnos* was 'on the map' by the sixth century, though he stresses (2014: 28-9) caution in identifying their group-disposition.

⁶⁶⁴ Van Effenterre (1997: 136), however, argues that we must move away from the idea of a bipolarisation of the region in the Dark Ages, with Orchomenos and Thebes as the respective leaders, and look for other reasons why there may not have been unity in Boiotia. Note, however that Buckler and Beck (2008: 8) mention 'a bipolar power scheme' for Boiotia until the Peloponnesian War.

⁶⁶⁵ Orchomenos mints small denomination coinage with an ear of grain on the obverse, unlike the *Boiotoi*, who had the so-called Boiotian shield. H. Beck 2014: 34. Schachter 2014a: 74. For a connection between the Boiotian shield and Boiotian culture, see Larson 2007: 67-109. For coinage as a reflection of this competition and conflict, see, for Thebes and Boiotia: Head 1884: xxxvi, xxxix; Hoover 2014: 385-401; Mackil & van Alfen 2006: 226-229; Schachter 2014a: 73-74, 81. For Orchomenian coinage: Head 1884: xxxvii; Hoover 2014: 368-373; Roberts and Head 1974: 18; Schachter 2014a: 74; Beck & Ganter 2015: 138; Meidani 2008: 157. Note the warnings of Mackil and Alfen (2006: 203-4) that coins should primarily be interpreted as monetary instruments. Cf. H. Beck (forthcoming: section 8.2-3) for more on the iconography of the coins of the region.

⁶⁶⁶ For more on the mythological tales and conflict between Orchomenos and Thebes, see Giroux 2020b (with relevant bibliography). Cf. Buck 1969: 291, followed by Schachter 2014a: 81, 84.

⁶⁶⁷ Archaic competition and conflict: H. Beck forthcoming: section 7; Buckler and Beck 2008: 19; Meidani 2008: 152-6; Schachter 1967: 7; Schachter 2014a: 69-75. Hellenistic competition and conflict: Buckler 1980: 19-23; Buckler and Beck 2008: 44-58; Schachter 2016: 117-119. Cf. Niemeier 2016: 8-10 for a brief summary of recent excavations that produced evidence of Orchomenian control over much of the Kopaïc basin, and eastern Phokis and Lokris. Note, however, that H. Beck (forthcoming: section 7.1) also argues that there was, "...a high volume of non-violent interactions between Orchomenos and Thebes..."

⁶⁶⁸ Buckler and Beck 2008: 18.

⁶⁶⁹ Note, however, that the Boiotians were not the only ones to medize. Herodotus (7.132) also lists the Thessalians, Dolopes, Aenianes, Perrhaebi, Lokrians, Megnetes, Malians, and the Achaeans of Phthiotis. However, the emphasis in this passage seems to be on the Boiotians, as they receive more attention and, since they are named last, that attention

homeland and thus demonstrated a lack of courage. Their quick acquiescence to Persia cast them as unworthy of the Hellenic world. Not everyone agreed. Plutarch later argued that Herodotus' attitude may have been part of one man's (or one polis') bias against the Boiotians as a people.⁶⁷⁰

Herodotus also addresses Boiotia and its internal political landscape with, for example, the beginnings of the conflict between Thebes and Plataia. The threats and aspirations of Thebes, who believed that its power over Boiotia was a hereditary right, drove Plataia to leave the Boiotian alliance and ally with Athens (6.108),⁶⁷¹ even though Plataia previously had participated in Boiotian defence and rites.⁶⁷² Thus, we find internal conflict in the region in response to Theban

is intensified, especially with the oath of the non-medizing that immediately follows, which states that they will punish those who medized and give 1/10th of their property to Apollo at Delphi. This turns the passage into one where the Boiotians and others are not only betraying the rest of the Hellenic world, but also the Hellenic gods. Furthermore, Herodotus brings up the Theban medizing more than once (see 7.132, 7.205-6, and 8.50), suggesting that he saw this polis, and likely those associated with it, as being particularly guilty of this crime.

⁶⁷⁰ Note that Plutarch was not the only ancient author to criticize Herodotus, as Marincola (1997: 228, 233) points out, we find Ctesias and Diodorus also finding faults with the Father of History. Even his successor-of-sorts, Thucydides, criticized him (1.21). Note also, as was mentioned above (page 197), that scholarship now recognizes the importance of evaluating these narratives as Athenocentric (cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 2.1). As such, we must remain cautious in drawing firm conclusions about Boiotia and its peoples from these outside sources and see them, instead, as narratives constructed through the motivations of the authors themselves. For example, Hornblower (1994: 2) points to psychological motives in both Herodotus and Thucydides. For investigations into the designation of Herodotus as the 'father of lies' see: Marincola 2001: 38; Moles 1993: 92-5; Grant 1995: 44. Similarly, for the idea of fiction in Thucydides, see: Greenwood 2006: 23; Marincola 2001: 98-101; Moles 1993: 90-1; Rood 1998: 4.

⁶⁷¹ Meidani 2008: 158. It seems that the Plataians first attempted to ally themselves with the Spartans, but the Spartan commander suggested that they look to their neighbour instead (Hdt. 6.108). If we follow Larson (2014: 412-427), the material evidence from this period points to a positive relationship between Thebes and Athens. The rivalry for Plataia would thus represent a shift in their connection to one that was primarily centered on competition. This situation also speaks to the idea of the 'soft' bounded nature of the outside borders of Boiotia, an area frequently in conflict. To emphasize this shifting affiliation, we find Plataia once again becoming a member of the Boiotian League in 427 BCE, after a five-year siege (Beck and Ganter 2015: 145). Note, for example, that Plataia went back into Boiotian possession in 446 BCE (Thuc. 1.113.3; Hammond 2000: 83), meaning that between this and the siege of 427 BCE, they once again went back to Attica. This reinforces the idea that regional, like local identity, is not something that is fixed, but rather something that changes in time and space, and shifts to suit the current needs of the community. In the circumstances described by Herodotus, he tells us that it was the aspirations of Thebes that drove Plataia to leave the Boiotian alliance. However, as we saw with Chaironeia (see Chapter 1, pages 48-55 for the importance of micro-regions that cross regional boundary lines to exchange and trade. In this sense, these soft boundaries are also a source of economic prosperity and idea sharing.), the soft aspect of these boundaries were not always in relation to a desire to escape the power of another polis.

⁶⁷² Meidani 2008: 158. For more on Plataia's festivals and religious life as represented by Plutarch, see pages 318-9.

power,⁶⁷³ where an individual polis could ally itself with a polis outside its regional unit.⁶⁷⁴ The internal conflicts in Boiotia thus represent more than simple violence and rivalry, they demonstrate the connectedness of this region with outside players, as well as the connected nature of some poleis on a regional boundary.

Another explanation for the conflict between Thebes and Plataia may be Thebes' desire for the fertile soils south of the Asopos river.⁶⁷⁵ Economics and domination are not, of course, mutually exclusive, but suggest a more nuanced view of the potential incentive for this struggle. Like Chaironeia,⁶⁷⁶ the fertile soils of Plataia were both a blessing for their promising abundance and a curse because of their attraction for others. Figure 2.2 shows the modern GIS data for Plataia amidst the most desirable land in Boiotia. And while Thebes had similar soils, it is not surprising that it would attempt expansion south of the river demarcating their territory from Plataia. Thebes was thus motivated not only because the Plataians sought to ally themselves with Athens, but also because of the economic potential of this aggressive move.

We cannot ignore a sense of unity in Boiotia in the *Histories*. Herodotus' presentation of the Boiotian poleis submitting quickly to the Persians suggests, if not like-mindedness, then at the very least, a similar belief in the outcome of the war. We find cooperation and unity again in

⁶⁷³ Similar to what we witnessed with the rivalry between Thebes and Orchomenos above, pages 217-8.

⁶⁷⁴ The ensuing conflict is briefly resolved with arbitration from Corinth who, Herodotus tells us, said that Thebes should not interfere with any other *polis* that wished to leave the Boiotian alliance. In Herodotus' representation, therefore, it was Thebes' desire for hegemonic status that was the main factor and source of trouble for the region and was recognized even by outside sources, like the Corinthians. Cf. Meidani 2008: 158. Though Meidani (2008: 161-2), also argues that Thebes did not dominate the Boiotian confederation at this time and that the conflict between Thebes and Plataia was enough to show the rest of the Boiotians that there was need for an alliance that was beyond a religious amphictyony, one that comprised a military aspect as well. See, however, Schachter 1986a: 85-6.

⁶⁷⁵ Meidani 2008: 159, 161.

⁶⁷⁶ See Chapter 1, pages 41-5.

Thucydides' views of Boiotia in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. This narrative provokes another necessary analysis, as Plutarch's focus on Boiotia was also on the conflicts that occurred on its soil.⁶⁷⁷ What more famous conflicts do we have for this region than the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars?

Thucydides' *History*, especially Book 4, had a focus on the region in general, and on Thebes in particular.⁶⁷⁸ Thucydides' portrayal of Boiotia might have been coloured by having been alive to see the rise of Thebes, and the outbreak of the Corinthian War, which then affected his account of the Peloponnesian War.⁶⁷⁹ Unlike Herodotus, Thucydides' presentation of Boiotia was positive with no evident bias against Boiotia and its peoples.⁶⁸⁰

It is notable, however, that Thucydides commented on the fertile soil of Boiotia, Thessaly, and the Peloponnese as being a crucial factor in the history and population of these areas (1.2).⁶⁸¹ According to him, in such rich agricultural areas, individuals could easily gain power creating disunity and accounting for constantly changing powers and populations. Rich soil even invited

⁶⁷⁷ See pages 284-300.

⁶⁷⁸ Note, however, that this is not the only place where we find discussions of Boiotia in his narrative and that Thucydides, for example, places prime importance on the polis of Plataia: he discusses Plataia's actions at the outbreak of the war (2.2-12), the siege of Plataia (2.71-78); their conflict with the rest of Boiotia and the Peloponnesians (3.20-24), and their defeat (3.51-68)

⁶⁷⁹ Hornblower 2011: 120. Cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 2.1, section 7. This perspective would agree with Finley's (1975: 34-59) view that history allows humans to contextualize their present and to bond over a common heritage, making the past something practical. Thus, in this situation, Thucydides used the past to contextualize the rise of Thebes and the looming conflict of the Corinthian War. Hornblower (2011: 117) also points to the importance of the word *stasis* in relation to the Theban-Plataian conflict, but is careful to note that it is not a word reserved for Boiotia, only one that occurs with emphasis on this clash (he points to 1.2 and 8.98 as functioning as 'book-ends' for this presentation of *stasis*).

⁶⁸⁰ For more on Thucydides' potential biases, see: Grant 1995: 62-3, 70 (biased against Athens); Badian (1993: 28) and Hornblower (1994: 139) both argue that Thucydides' narrative was structured around a pro-Athenian bias, which caused him to restructure his work so that Athens was seen in a positive light.

⁶⁸¹ Interestingly, Sears 2011 argues that Thucydides' characterization of the Spartans and Athenians leads to topographical alterations in his narrative. For more on Thucydides' composition techniques, see de Romilly 1956, 1990; Dewald 2005; Garrity 1998: 361-384; Greenwood 2006; Kagan 2010; Kelly 1982: 37; Ponchon 2017; Rood 1998, 1999. For Thucydides' causal statements, see Pelling 2000: 87-102.

invasion.⁶⁸² In contrast, he attributed Attica's unity, freedom from internal conflict, and colonization to its poor soil. Thus, Thucydides credited Boiotia's history of conflict to its fertile land.⁶⁸³

Following the Peloponnesian War, Boiotia and the whole of the ancient Greek world were anything but stable.⁶⁸⁴ Thus, we have different Boiotian poleis allied with different powers (Corinth, Athens, Sparta). The power struggle led to a series of conflicts known as the Boiotian War, the precursor for the Corinthian War of 395-386 BCE, ending with the King's Peace.⁶⁸⁵ During this time, the Boiotians seemed to be operating as a military and political unit under the leadership of Thebes.⁶⁸⁶ This may be why, for this period, we find a focus on Thebes, its attempted dominance in Boiotia, and its factionalism,⁶⁸⁷ rather than on Boiotia as a whole.⁶⁸⁸ But, the King's Peace did not work⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸² We saw this, for example, in the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia, where the land around Chaironeia becomes a battle ground partially because of the desirability of the soil: see Chapter 1, pages 48-55.

⁶⁸³ Thucydides once again focused on the rich soil of Boiotia in his discussions of Oropos and its relationship as a zone of conflict between Boiotia and Attica: 2.23; 3.91; 4.91 (see also the speech of Pagondas and the emphasis in the beginning of that speech on the frontier zone and the desire of the Athenians to lay waste to Boiotian land: 4.92); 4.96; 7.28 (Oropos and trade with Euboia affected by its position in this frontier zone); 8.60. Cf. Hornblower 2011: 118-9. This, then, we can point to as an example of a soft boundary in Boiotia, one where the land was disputed but also where we find points of connection, exchange, and networking. For example, Thucydides noted that a change was needed in the trade routes from Euboia (which usually passed through Oropos) because of the conflict (7.28). We thus have an indication of how this system of exchange took place in the fifth century BCE and how trade was affected by warfare. Like Chaironeia, then, other poleis of Boiotia also acted as buffers for the inner region through their location in soft boundary zones that became the source of conflict with other regions, particularly for their fertile soil.

⁶⁸⁴ As Beck and Buckler explain (2008: 2), "...each party aspired to maximize the means of achieving its traditional objectives: Thebes to strive for hegemony in central Greece, the Corinthians to win greater influence on the Peloponnese, and Athens to restore its maritime power." Cf. Beck and Ganter 2015: 146; Mackil 2013: 59-60.

⁶⁸⁵ Buckler and Beck 2008: 2; Mackil 2013: 68-9. For Thebes breaking down peace talks, see: Xenophon *Hell.* 4.8.12-5. For Agesilaus' hatred of Thebes, see: Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.3-4, 4.2.1-3; Plut. *Ages.* 6.5-6, 15.2-6; *Lys.* 27.1; Hack 1978: 212-3; Hammond 2000: 88. Mackil argues (2013: 60) that Boiotia probably came together because of these conflicts.

⁶⁸⁶ Mackil 2013: 60.

⁶⁸⁷ Mackil 2013: 59-60. Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.5.1-5) laid out some of the grievances of the Spartans against the Thebans and a potential motivation of the Thebans (Persian money) to fight Sparta.

⁶⁸⁸ One of the most important aspects of the Corinthian War was the realization that the Boiotians were now operating as a military and political unit, one that, at times, struggled to remain together for the protection of its lands.

⁶⁸⁹ Buckler and Beck (2008: 11) suggest that the universal call for autonomy was overambitious and invited encroachments of the leading powers. Cf. Beck and Ganter 2015: 146 (happiness of some Boiotian poleis at the dissolution of the League; e.g. Plataia and Orchomenos were hostile to Thebes at this point: Hammond 2000: 88). The dissolution of the Boiotian League did not, however, end their religious and economic enterprises and we do not know if the consequences were relegated to Thebes because of the subsequent Spartan occupation, or if other poleis also

and for the remainder of the Classical period we see infighting, factionalism, and conflict in Boiotia.⁶⁹⁰

At the same time, we also witness the rise of Thebes' Epaminondas and Pelopidas, two successful generals and subjects of Plutarch's *Lives*, who once again bring Thebes to power and take down the Spartan faction in their polis in what became known as the 'winter of liberation' in 379 BCE.⁶⁹¹ Following the retaking of the Kadmeia, the Thebans reformed the Boiotian League by reincorporating other poleis of Boiotia. The nature and function of this coalition is hotly disputed, but most seem to agree that Thebes took a leading role in the institution.⁶⁹²

Athens was clearly threatened by Thebes' growing power,⁶⁹³ and in 371 BCE they sought a reaffirmation of the terms of autonomy found in the King's Peace.⁶⁹⁴ The Thebans took the oath, but the next day they asked to change it so that they could take it on behalf of all Boiotia, not just Thebes.⁶⁹⁵ Refusing to acknowledge the Boiotian *koinon* as a state, the Spartan King Agesilaus

suffered (Mackil 2013: 64-5). For more on the call for *autonomia* and its history, see Buckler and Beck 2008: 10-1. Cf. Hammond (2000: 87-9) for the King's Peace and Agesilaus' enmity towards the Boiotians. See also H. Beck (1997: 337), who argues that although the Boiotian League was dissolved, it is likely that the *syntelies* were maintained, since this was distinct from the League itself.

⁶⁹⁰ Beck and Ganter 2015: 147; Buckler and Beck 2008: 2-3. Mackil (2013: 67; quoting Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.46) is not optimistic about Boiotian affairs during this period: "Spartan control of Boiotia was probably more widespread, managed through puppet governments and garrisons: Xenophon later tells us that they had, in the years prior to 378, established narrow oligarchies in all the poleis, which caused the *dēmos* in each city to withdraw to Thebes, becoming an unlikely haven for democrats, if not for democracy itself." She also (2013: 68-9) looks at fear of Sparta as one of the main motivating factors for the alliance between Athens and Thebes at this time.

⁶⁹¹ These two men are very important to Plutarch's representation of Boiotia (see pages 287-293). For the winter of liberation, see: Bakhuizen 1994: 320; Cawkwell 2010; Hack 1978: 222-4; Hammond 2000: 88-9; Rzepka 2010: 115; Wickersham 2007: 244-5.

⁶⁹² Bakhuizen 1994: 308; H. Beck 1997: esp. 337-8; Hansen 1996: 108. See Plut. *Pelop.* 13.1; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.63.

⁶⁹³ We see them reincorporating other Boiotian poleis under their leadership (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.63). For more on this period, see: Bakhuizen 1994: 313, 316-7; H. Beck 1997: 334; Hammond 2000: 89.

⁶⁹⁴ For more on the peace conference and the support of Persia to its efforts, see Hammond 2000: 89. This circumstance confirms the suspicion, that while the reaffirmation of the autonomous nature of the poleis of the Hellenic world suggests support for this idea, it also implies that it was not necessarily working in practice.

⁶⁹⁵ Mackil (2013: 71) points out that we have no evidence of any other Boiotian polis taking the oath in their own name. Gonzalez (2006: 47) argues that this implies that the Boiotian poleis of the Persian Wars had more autonomy

denied this request and ordered his general Kleombrotos to invade Boiotia,⁶⁹⁶ which culminated in the battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE,⁶⁹⁷ leading, "...undeniably, to a wholly different world, in which the Spartans were badly weakened and the Thebans wildly emboldened".⁶⁹⁸ The Theban victory was decisive, assuring Theban dominance of Boiotia and the end of the Peloponnesian League.⁶⁹⁹ Thebes then established a festival to commemorate their victory and set up a sanctuary to Zeus Basileus in Lebadeia. They also took over the festival of the Daidala at Plataia, a symbolic gesture that advertised their control over Boiotia.⁷⁰⁰ The Theban dominance that resulted from this victory lasted for nine years. During this time, Thebes razed and rebuilt cities, as well as invaded the Peloponnese.⁷⁰¹

The conflicts in the Peloponnese were followed by the Third Sacred War and the emergence of Philip II of Macedon.⁷⁰² Philip met the Hellenic alliance at the battle of Chaironeia (338 BCE),

than their Classical counterparts (note, however, Hammond 2000: 92). It may also suggest that the Boiotians were more unified as a group and perhaps more interconnected in their identity, which is why they fought so hard to remain as a unit.

⁶⁹⁶ Diod. 15.51-2. Cf. Hammond 2000: 89-90; Mackil 2013: 70-71.

⁶⁹⁷ Diod. 15.52.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.15. For details of the battle formations see Cawkwell 1972: 260-2.

⁶⁹⁸ Mackil 2013: 71. Of the 700 Spartans present, 400 were killed. In fact, it is likely in the years that followed that the Theban gaining of more land and their expanded power under Epaminondas resulted in their newfound ability to raise a navy (Mackil 2013: 76). Bakhuizen (1994: 317) estimates by that 366 BCE, the entire region was under Thebes' power. Thebes' rise in the 370s and 360s BCE led H. Beck (1997: 344) to proclaim it as the "...most important single power in mainland Greece..." for this time.

⁶⁹⁹ Buckler and Beck 2008: 3; Hammond 2000: 90. Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.15.

⁷⁰⁰ Beck and Ganter 2015: 149; Schachter 2016: 117. For the third-century construction of the temple of Zeus Basileus in Lebadeia as part of a joint effort by the Boiotian League, see Pitt 2014. For more on the religious atmosphere of Boiotia, see below, pages 259-270.

⁷⁰¹ Beck and Ganter 2015: 149; Buckler and Beck: chapter 14; Cawkwell 1972: 270; Hammond 2000: 91; Mackil 2013: 71-82; Ruzicka 1998: 60-1; Schachter 2016: 119. For the politics of the region, see below, pages 231-9.

⁷⁰² Philip II had a long history with Thebes, as he was their hostage from 369 to 366 BCE, when Thebes was asked to arbitrate in Macedonian dynastic struggles (Mackil 2013: 74). For more on this dynamic period, see: Beck and Ganter 2015: 149-150; Buckler 1985: 237-246; Mackil 2013: 70-85; Schachter 2016: 122-4. For the internal divisions that resulted from the repeated attacks made by Phokis in Boiotia, see Mackil 2013: 84. However, note that Buckler (1985: 237-246) does not agree with the assessment of Boiotian-Phokian enmity and argues instead (1985: 246) that the Phokians were guilty of the charges laid against them. During the Third Sacred War, Thebes asked for his help and peace was restored in 346 BCE. In 339 BCE, however, Athens, seeing the rising power of Macedon, petitioned for, and succeeded in attaining, an alliance with Thebes (Bakhuizen 1994: 323; Mackil 2013: 84-6; Mosley 1971: 508. See Plut. *Dem.* 18.213-8). What makes this more interesting, of course, is that Thebes and Athens had historically been in conflict, including in recent decades. For example, the Thebans took Oropos from Athens (Mackil 2013: 78).

where he established his victory.⁷⁰³ After his death in 336 BCE, the Thebans and Aetolians challenged the arrangements that Philip had made. When, in 335 BCE, the Thebans heard rumours of the death of Alexander, they attempted to expel the Macedonian garrison. Alexander then rushed in to put an end to the rebellion, and razed the city to the ground, portioning Theban territory out to neighbouring Boiotians.⁷⁰⁴

We are, unfortunately, confronted with difficulties when we move forward in time from the Classical period into the Hellenistic and Imperial Ages of Boiotia, in that we do not have many sources for these later times.⁷⁰⁵ Nevertheless, we do hear about some conflicts and the effects of war on the region that left a lasting impression on the landscape.⁷⁰⁶ As a result, for much of the third and second centuries BCE, Boiotia was often in economic straits, or dealing with a food crisis.⁷⁰⁷ I thus review some of the main historical events of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods to shine light on some of the situations that may have contributed to the atmosphere of these times.

Furthermore, note that there were still internal divisions in Boiotia in the years leading up to this, including an attempt by Orchomenos in 364 BCE to overthrow the democracy in Thebes, a plan that was revealed to the Thebans and resulted in Orchomenos being razed to the ground (Bakhuizen 1994: 323; Beck and Ganter 2015: 149; Mackil 2013: 79). Cf. H. Beck 1997: 335.

⁷⁰³ He then convened a congress in Corinth, formed a common peace, and established himself as *hegemon* of Hellas, while instituting a rebuilding program of the poleis that fell victim to Thebes. Beck and Ganter 2015: 151; Buckler and Beck 2008: 4; Mosley 1971: 508-9. This was effectively the end of Thebes as the head of the Boiotian League, and we do not see them with any 'political self-governance within the confederacy' until 288 BCE (Beck and Ganter 2015: 150-1). Thus, although Thebes was no longer a part of the *koinon* at this time, as Mackil (2013: 86) points out, the *koinon* itself was still intact.

⁷⁰⁴ He had help from the Thespians, Plataeans, and Orchomenians, all seeking revenge against Thebes. See Beck and Ganter 2015: 151; Mackil 2013: 87-8. For Plutarch's potential representation of this scenario as one of warning of what can happen when working against an imperial power, see Chapter 1, pages 189-190.

⁷⁰⁵ Müller 2017, 231. As Mackil (2013: 89) laments, "(w)hen Alexander left Greece to conquer the Persian empire in 334, he took the attention of Greek writers with him. We have little evidence for developments among the koina of mainland Greece in this period." The epigraphic landscape is also dominated by the Classical period but also has a strong Hellenistic presence (H. Beck forthcoming: section 2.1). For the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, see: Bakhuizen 1994; H. Beck 1997; Buckler and Beck 2008; Gonzalez 2006; Hammond 2000; Mackil 2013; Müller 2014; Roesch 1982.

⁷⁰⁶ Post forthcoming.

⁷⁰⁷ Polybius 20.4-7, on which, see Müller 2013. Aravantinos explains (2010: 310) that, "(d)ecrees have been preserved from the end of the 3rd and throughout the 2nd century BC in honour of guests from the Black Sea region and Crimea; others record the measures instituted to deal with food shortages in various cities of Boeotia (Oropos, Thespies,

Although Thebes was razed to the ground by Alexander for rebelling against Macedonian control, it was rebuilt after his death by Cassander in 316 BCE.⁷⁰⁸ Thebes saw relative peace until Demetrios Polioketes, king of Macedon in 294 BCE, took over the region. Boiotia, along with other regions of Greece (such as Aitolia), rebelled from Demetrios in 293 BCE, but this was quickly quelled and Demetrios maintained control until 287 BCE. Only 40 years later, Boiotia found itself at odds with its former ally, the Aitolians. The Aitolians defeated the Boiotians and Achaians at the battle of Chaironeia in 245 BCE. For almost a decade, the Aitolians occupied Boiotia.⁷⁰⁹ However, in 236 BCE, Thebes became an ally of Macedon,⁷¹⁰ whose king, Demetrius II helped them oust the Aitolians. This was a very important milestone, as it was the last time that the Greek world acted free of Rome.⁷¹¹

For the most part, the beginning of the Roman experience in Boiotia was one of hostility and violence.⁷¹² First, Boiotia sided with Philip V in the Second Macedonian War against Rome (201-196 BCE).⁷¹³ And although Philip was defeated at the battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BCE) and

Chorsiai and Akraifia)." Müller (2017: 232) points to a decree from Thespiiai, likely from c.170-150 BCE, which may indicate some measures taken against a possible food crisis. Cf. Bintliff 1999: 28.

⁷⁰⁸ He also had its fugitives recalled (Quack, Fell, Wirbelauer, Klodt, Kramolisch, and Lohmann 2006). Mackil (2013: 93) suggests that he may have been acting out of hatred for Alexander. Diod. 19.54.1-3; Parian Marble 14 (115). However, Thebes seems to be acting independently at this time from the rest of the Boiotian world. As Mackil (2013: 94) points out, it took almost three decades for the Boiotians to accept Thebes' return to the *koinon*.

⁷⁰⁹ Aravantinos 2010: 311; Mackil 2013: 104.

⁷¹⁰ And had, through some unknown means, once again become a part of the Boiotian *koinon* (Polybius 20.4-7; Aravantinos 2010: 311; Mackil 2013: 107-9). Though the strength of this *koinon* is disputed and the Boiotians are often found, "...caught in the middle of larger military and political contests" (Mackil 2013: 103-4).

⁷¹¹ Mackil 2013: 104.

⁷¹² Müller 2002: 90. It is also possible that the Damon episode, described by Plutarch (*Cim.* 1.1-2.5; see Chapter 1, pages 168-171, 186-9), is evidence that the Chaironeians were participating in this shadowed resistance. This theory is strengthened when we consider Chaironeia's ties to Lake Kopais, as well as the fact that the fine and order to hand over all responsible was issued by Flamininus to the Boiotian *koinon* (Mackil 2013: 127). This does not, however, mean that all of Boiotia was acting as one during this period. For example, Fossey (1979: 587; 1990: 262) points to inscriptions of disputes between Thisbe and Orchomenos (cf. Levin 1997: 13-5 for more on Thisbe and its possible relationship to Phoenicia). We also saw, in the Damon episode described by Plutarch (*Cim.* 1.1-2.5; see Chapter 1, page 179), a tense and at times hostile relationship between Chaironeia and Orchomenos. We must not assume, therefore, that an order given to the *koinon* meant that there were no tensions and issues within that *koinon*.

⁷¹³ Aravantinos 2010: 313; Fossey 1979: 582; Fossey 1990: 253; Mackil 2013: 125-6; Post forthcoming.

Thebes became an ally of Rome, the alliance was a fragile one that saw the disappearance and death of Roman soldiers in Boiotia, in particular in Akraiphia and Koroneia.⁷¹⁴ An investigation in 196 BCE by T. Quinctius Flaminius discovered that the inhabitants around Lake Kopais were robbing and murdering these men (Livy 33.29.6). Flaminius then demanded that the *koinon* hand over those responsible and pay a fine of 500 talents, and when the Boiotians did not agree, he ravaged the countryside.⁷¹⁵

Allied with the Seleukid king Antiochos III from 192/1 to 188 BCE, Boiotia revolted a second time from Rome, again unsuccessfully. A subsequent alliance against the Romans with Macedonian king Perseus (174 BCE) resulted in a decisive defeat at Pydna (168 BCE).⁷¹⁶ Roman victory in 171 BCE saw the levelling of the Boiotian dissenters,⁷¹⁷ and the dissolution of the *koinon*.⁷¹⁸ Further devastation came in 146 BCE during the Achaian War against Metellus, though we have few details of the events,⁷¹⁹ and again with Sulla's campaigns in the region.⁷²⁰ Thus, in a series of revolts from Rome, all ended in defeat and, at times, devastation to Boiotian territory.

⁷¹⁴ Livy 33.29. Aravantinos 2010: 313; Fossey 1979: 582; Fossey 1990: 253; Mackil 2013: 127. Archaeology offers us a tantalizing hint of this violence through the recovery of two mid-Republican helmets from Lake Kopais (Post forthcoming).

⁷¹⁵ Aravantinos 2010: 313; Edlund 1977: 134-5; Fossey 1979: 582; Mackil 2013: 125-7.

⁷¹⁶ Fossey 1979: 582; Fossey 1990: 250-3; Mackil 2013: 128, 135; Müller 2017: 231-2. Aravantinos (2010: 313) lists the pro-Roman poleis as Thespiiai, Chaironeia, Levadeia, and Thebes, and the pro-Macedonian poleis as Thisbe, Koroneia, and Haliartos.

⁷¹⁷ Polybios 27.5; Aravantinos 2010: 313; Mackil 2013: 136.

⁷¹⁸ Müller 2014: 119; Müller 2017: 232. Beck and Ganter (2015: 156) place the order of the dissolution to 146 BCE. Nevertheless, Müller (2014: 122; 2017: 232) points out that there was likely a 'federal memory' of the organization and that it continued to survive in festivals and religious institutions. Moreover, dissolution is common for all the *koina* of mainland Greece (Mackil 2013: 91). Note that this was a slow process, as it took more than 100 years for Boiotia to be absorbed into the Roman province of Achaia in 27 CE (Beck and Ganter 2015: 156). However, as pointed out by Beck and Ganter (2015: 157), a letter from Hadrian calls Naryx a polis of the Boiotian League that contributed a *boiotarch*. We thus find some evidence of the survival of cooperation in the region into the Roman period.

⁷¹⁹ Aravantinos 2010: 313; Fossey 1990: 250, 254.

⁷²⁰ Müller 2017: 233; Quack, Fell, Wirbelauer, Klodt, Kramolisch, and Lohmann 2006; Wallace 1972: 74. For Sulla's role in Chaironeia, see Chapter 1 pages 80-1. A bleak picture of Thebes post-Sulla is painted by both Strabo, who called it a village (9.2.5), and Pausanias, who described its smaller and weakened state (9.7.6). We also hear of Boiotia suffering under the rule of L. Capurnius Piso (Fossey 1990: 254; Wallace 1972: 74).

After Sulla's actions in Boiotia, however, we have few details of the region until Plutarch's writings.⁷²¹ We do find that, for the most part, the Boiotia of the Roman Imperial period was one with little conflict,⁷²² characterized by cooperation with Rome and a regional focus on sanctuaries and their associated practices.⁷²³ A strong example of a Boiotian polis and family cooperating with Rome is found in Thespiiai.⁷²⁴ Thespiiai, the 'most Romanized' of all Boiotian cities in the second half of the first century BCE⁷²⁵ provides a strong example of the benefits of cooperation with Rome, including the title of *civitas liberta et immunis* by Caesar in 47 BCE, the right to mint their own bronze coins, and reconstruction efforts by Emperor Domitian.⁷²⁶ The epigraphic evidence, furthermore, supports a continued positive relationship between this polis and Rome in the first century CE,⁷²⁷ during Plutarch's lifetime. This makes his and Chaironeia's connections to

⁷²¹ Fossey 1979: 587; Fossey 1990: 254. We do have, for example, a description by Strabo (9.403, 410), who says that Boiotia, except for Tanagra and Thespiiai, was essentially only villages and ruins. Cf. Wallace 1972: 71-2. Fossey (1979: 583; 1990: 254; cf. Aravantinos 2010: 337; Bintliff 2019: 131), however, points out that depopulation was not unique to Boiotia, but rather occurred throughout Greece during the late Republic and Early Empire. For more on the idea of the depopulation and/or settlement reduction of Boiotia at this time, see: Bintliff 1996: 198; Bintliff 1999: 27-8; Bintliff 2005: 10; Bintliff 2019: 130-2; Fossey 1979: 584-9 (notice the focus on the flooding of Lake Kopaïs as a potential explanation: see esp. p.584); Fossey 1990: 217-8, 264; Russell 1973: 1-2. Note, however, Alcock's (1997) concerns regarding the idea of depopulation. For more on the population of Boiotia, see: Bakhuizen 1994: 311; Bintliff 1997: 231-252; Buck 1979: 87, 169; Mackil 2013: 3.

⁷²² Müller (2002: 93) marks 50-30 BCE as the time when we can say that there was a strong Roman presence in Boiotia. Cf. Rousset 2008: 313; Zoumbaki 1998-9: 149-151. Stability: Aravantinos 2010: 337; Fossey 1979: 583; Fossey 1990: 254.

⁷²³ Religious overtone of the Boiotian *koinon*: Aravantinos 2010: 342; Müller 2014: 119-120, 129. Cooperation of Boiotian families with Romans: Müller 2002: 99.

⁷²⁴ Marchand 2013; Müller 2002: 96-9; Müller 2017; Schachter and Marchand 2012. For recent survey work on this polis that reveals many of these links as well as the local character of the town, see Bintliff 2019.

⁷²⁵ Müller 2017: 234. Cf. Marchand 2013: 166-7. Although Müller (2017: 234) notes that Tanagra also engaged, "...in a relationship of *patrocinium* (patronage) with Roman promagistrates, among whom one can identify Caesar in 46... Lucius Caninius Gallus..., contemporary of Cicero and perhaps praetor of Achaia, and Marcus Licinius Crassus..., consul in 30 BC and proconsul of Macedonia and Achaia in 29." Perhaps this is why these two poleis avoid the ruin and shrinkage that Strabo describes (9.403, 410). However, Müller (2017: 235) points out, "...that 40 percent of the documents concerning Emperors in Boeotia come from Thespiiai. They cover a huge time-span, from Augustus to Valentinian at the very end of the fourth century AD..." Note also that the Statilii Tauri, the patron Roman family, was also influenced by Boiotian mythological and topographical narratives, as evidenced in the names they gave to their slaves and freedmen (Marchand 2013: 163-4). This demonstrates the reciprocal interest of their relationship with Thespiiai. For more on the reciprocity, see Marchand 2013: 167 and Müller 2017: 235.

⁷²⁶ Aravantinos 2010: 341; Schachter and Marchand 2012: 294 (Thespiiai Museum. Inv. number 3189). Cf. Marchand 2013: 160 and Müller 2017: 236.

⁷²⁷ Marchand 2013: 160. Marchand (2013: 163) hypothesizes that the longevity of this relationship was because the patron Roman family owned land in Thespiiai. For the continuation of the positive relationship into the fourth century CE, see Müller 2017: 235.

Thespiiai⁷²⁸ more tantalizing as potential evidence for his motivations in writing. Did the link between Chaironeia and Thespiiai, and between Plutarch and his friends in Thespiiai, provide the impetus for Plutarch's seemingly pro-Roman stance in his works? Was he, both in crafting his narrative of Chaironeia as one of loyalty to Rome, and in his representation of his friendships, strengthening this tie to subtly align Chaironeia and his own family to this pro-Roman narrative? Possibly.

Finally, we will delve very briefly into what Pausanias, a near contemporary of Plutarch,⁷²⁹ says about the Boiotia of this period. It seems that Thespiiai was not the only polis that was seeing some level of recovery. Pausanias saw many abandoned sites, but he also recorded many flourishing poleis. Sanctuaries were reopened, rituals and games reinstated, and coins were minted in Tanagra, Thespiiai, and Thebes.⁷³⁰ The recovery of the Boiotian region seems to have begun in the second

⁷²⁸ Chaironeia's potential connection to Thespiiai: see Chapter 1, pages 98-100. Plutarch's connection to Thespiiai: see Chapter 3, pages 454-5.

⁷²⁹ This means that Pausanias was writing slightly after Plutarch lived. Nevertheless, his account is important for understanding the Boiotia of Plutarch's time, as it is very close to when Plutarch lived and thus likely reflects some of the conditions, or at least the consequences, of Plutarch's lifetime. However, as Schachter (2016: 146) warns, we must be conscious of the impact of the realities of Pausanias' present on his account of Boiotia and thus we must not make the anachronistic error of transporting his narratives of religious practices, for example, into the past, as these surely evolved and were reinvented over time. One example that Schachter (2016: 134) gives of where we must be cautious between Plutarch and Pausanias is in the flourishing religious activity that is found in Pausanias' narrative. As Schachter (2016: 134) remarks, Plutarch reports many abandoned oracles, painting a very different scene (for Plutarch and the oracles in Boiotia, see below, pages 319-321). It should also be noted that it is dangerous to rely on one source, or so few sources, for our information on Boiotia during the Roman period. However, as Fossey (1979: 587) points out, "(i)n general, after the glut of literary sources for the late republican period, we depend almost entirely on inscriptions for the history of the Kopaïs under the empire." Thus, we do not have much choice but to work with the evidence that remains and to acknowledge its fragmentary nature. As a result, we must be cautious in drawing strong conclusions about the local worlds of this time and to consider other possibilities that may not be evident through our remaining evidence. For the incomplete nature of Pausanias' account of Boiotia, see Fossey 1979: 588.

⁷³⁰ Schachter 2016: 133. This is compared to the Boiotia of Strabo's time, which comes across as desolate and deserted (9.2; except for Tanagra and Thespiiai, which Strabo says fared well in comparison to Thebes [9.2.5]). For a discussion on whether or not we can trust Strabo's account, see Wallace (1972: 71-6), who argues that the possibility of Strabo's autopsy of the region (1972: 71) and its history of conflict with Rome (1972: 74-5), means that Boiotia was likely as Strabo described it (1972: 76). As Schachter (2016: 134) explains, many of these festivals were newly restored after suspensions of activity, which suggests that the conditions in Boiotia had improved. For more on the religious life of Boiotia, see pages 259-270 and pages 317-328 for Plutarch's presentation of what makes Boiotian practices unique.

half of the first century BCE, likely because some of these poleis, such as Thespiiai, sought Roman favour.⁷³¹ It is also probable that this stability, furthermore, enabled people like Plutarch to research and write.⁷³² Therefore, the Boiotia of Pausanias' time was far from the battleground of the previous centuries and reflects the prosperity of Chaironeia in Plutarch's time.⁷³³

The above survey of Boiotian history points to two major themes: warfare and cooperation. The stereotype of the 'dancing floor of Ares' is thus appropriate. However, we must also recognize the implications of these shifting alliances on our understanding of regional unity and competition. Throughout its history, Boiotia often consisted of micro-regions, with alliances both within and outside its macro-regional world. In times of change, such alliances often shifted and affected the local world, as we saw with Chaironeia and Plataia.⁷³⁴ For much of the pre-Roman period, the power politics of the region often focused around one polis: Thebes. When the Romans arrived, however, that power dynamic shifted onto them. Boiotia, therefore, while remaining a playground for Ares, was also, at times, an organized unit that resisted these power players. It is to this political organization that we now turn.

⁷³¹ Schachter 2016: 137-8. For Chaironeia and Plutarch's attempt to curry Roman favour for his hometown, see Chapter 1, esp. pages 186-190. Not all Boiotian sites, Pausanias tells us, were doing well, and we find some that were abandoned, ruined, or which had an economic and cultural drought (cf. Schachter 2016: 135). For example, near the beginning of his account of Boiotia, Pausanias mentions the ruins of Hysiai and a half-finished temple of Apollo (9.3). The state of these micro-regions in Boiotia was likely affected by many factors, including whether they curried favour with Rome. Note, also, the argument of Alcock (1997: 289-290) that we must be cautious when we speak of a supposed depopulation of the Hellenic world under Rome (see, e.g., Fossey 1979: 583-4; Russell 1973: 1-2), since it is a literary *topos* to equate military loss with population loss, but also that this depopulation may simply be a movement of peoples into larger settlements.

⁷³² As Schachter (2016: 139) points out, the Boiotian world was dominated by elites with large estates and industry during this period. As such, Plutarch and his friend Soklaros were not unusual with their large estates (see Chapter 1, page 159 for Soklaros' agricultural endeavours and Chapter 1, page 160 for clues on Plutarch's estate). For more on the Boiotian elites connected to Plutarch, see Chapter 3.

⁷³³ See Chapter 1, pages 91-2.

⁷³⁴ For Chaironeia, see Chapter 1 pages 45-6. Likewise, see above, pages 219-220 for Plataia.

Boiotian Politics

The Boiotians as a people is a concept that is highly debated. The main question is whether and when the Boiotians considered themselves as a distinct people, an *ethnos*, and not just poleis with a political *koinon*. These terms, of course, come with their own set of debates and difficulties, and have been examined extensively by modern scholars.⁷³⁵ The *koinon* is a political organization of member poleis recognized as such by outsiders.⁷³⁶ For *ethnos*, I follow H. Beck's definition: "...a distinct group of people who both regarded themselves as Boeotians and who were regarded as such by others."⁷³⁷ Both topics are covered at length by scholars and thus only a short review will be given here. For now, let us turn to the Boiotian *koinon* and our evidence for its existence.⁷³⁸

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the nature of their land as prime real estate for war, the original references to Boiotians in the literary and epigraphic records were related to warfare.⁷³⁹ Beginning in the Bronze Age, they defended their territory and their cultic shrines, suggesting some kind of cultural entity, though not necessarily a strictly organized one.⁷⁴⁰ Furthermore, H. Beck explains that, "...as regional collaboration between poleis evolved, the Boeotian *ethnos* provided a frame of reference to the vexed relations between settlements and cities and settlements, and to their

⁷³⁵ Most recently (and thoroughly) by Beck and Funke 2015. This topic is a chosen focus of Hans Beck: Beck 1997: 331-344; Buckler and Beck 2008: xi-ii, 13-4; Beck 2014: 19-44; Beck and Funke 2015: 1-29. Cf. Mackil 2013: 6. For the importance of *synteleia* to the Boiotian League and the differences between it and *koinon*, see Bakhuizen 1994: 309-322; H. Beck 1997: 336-7; Gonzalez 2006: 40-3, 51-2.

⁷³⁶ H. Beck (1997: 338) offers the possibility of comparing this League to a federal state.

⁷³⁷ H. Beck 2014: 27.

⁷³⁸ We have seen evidence for the Boiotian League, for example, throughout the historical narrative given above on pages 215-230. The following examination, therefore, will not focus on the chronology of the *koinon*, but rather on the literary and material evidence for regional cooperation in an attempt to mark moments in time where the Boiotians as a people came together (though their motivations for doing so were, of course, varied and tied to the politics and events of each period). Furthermore, the *koinon* deserves its own section, as its exceptionality is often remarked upon (see, for example, Bakhuizen 1994: 324-5; Buck 1979: xii; Buck 1985: 302; H. Beck [1997: 331] who calls it, "...the most developed federal constitution of Greece...").

⁷³⁹ H. Beck 2014: 27.

⁷⁴⁰ Mackil (2013: 22) argues that, in the 8th century, Boiotian identity was as much about competitions as cooperation. Cf. Schachter 2016: 19.

collective interactions with the world around them.”⁷⁴¹ We therefore see that as Boiotia began to develop local identities in the Archaic Age, this eventually shifted (likely before the Classical period) into regional awareness, affiliation, and government.⁷⁴²

Our first indication of an organized alliance is found with the name *Boiotoi* in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (*Iliad* 5.708-710). However, the nature of this alliance or its duration cannot be defined. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize some sort of regional awareness from this period that points to a growing sense of ‘Boiotia’ both from an inside and from an outside perspective. Furthermore, as Boiotia continued to evolve in the Archaic period, regional interaction and cooperation seems to increase.⁷⁴³ Thus, by the end of the sixth century BCE, we see that the *ethnos* of the *Boiotoi* exists.⁷⁴⁴

We find firm evidence of a politically organized Boiotia with leaders, *boiotarchs*,⁷⁴⁵ in Herodotus (5.77.4; 5.79.2, 9.15.1).⁷⁴⁶ Here, whatever the nature of this organization, the Boiotians were

⁷⁴¹ H. Beck forthcoming: section 7.1.

⁷⁴² H. Beck 2014: 36; Beck and Ganter 2015: 138; Hansen 1996: 74-7. Note the argument of Buck (1985: 291-5) that the fourth century BCE Boiotian *koinon* was likely influenced by Athenian democratic ideas. Contra is Bakhuizen (1994: 320), who insists that earlier fifth-century BCE Boiotian practices also likely influenced the fourth-century manifestation of this alliance.

⁷⁴³ H. Beck (forthcoming: section 7) points to ‘translocal cult sites’ around Lake Kopais, using Hesiod, and Boiotos as evidence.

⁷⁴⁴ As pointed out by H. Beck 2014: 27. See also the important work of Larson 2007 for the emergence of the Boiotian *ethnos*. Prior to this, our only first-hand Boiotian evidence comes from Hesiod and, as far as we can tell from his work, there does not seem to be a regional unit during his lifetime, though we do have *basileis* and an established class-structure: see Bonner and Smith 1945: 11-2 and Buck 1981: 48. For more on Hesiod, see below, pages 310-3.

⁷⁴⁵ For more on the *boiotarchs*, their role in the League, the history of their office, and their numbers see: Bakhuizen 1994: 319, 325-6; Buck 1981: 49; Hammond 2000: 84-6; Mackil 2013: 43; Roesch 1965: 95-108. Cf. Roesch (1965: 109-122, 135-152) for more on the Boiotian League and the other positions available, like the *navarch* or the *hipparch* (which is first mentioned by Herodotus for 479 BCE [1965: 109]), as well as the changes to the Boiotian League through time (1965: 122-133). See also Beck and Ganter (2015: 142-4) for more on the division of the League, the representation of the poleis, and the general functions of the *bouleutai*.

⁷⁴⁶ Buck (1972: 99) believes that Herodotus’ insistence of a united Boiotian front (5.74.2) indicates that Orchomenos had joined the Boiotian alliance at this point. Buck (1972: 100) suggests that this alliance began under the leadership of Thebes in approximately 525/520 BCE, and grew from an, “...existing religious association...to form a new military federation...” Whether or not Orchomenos was allied, or still putting up a fight, we do find in Herodotus that the

recognized by outsiders like Herodotus as some kind of alliance.⁷⁴⁷ In fact, we even find this alliance outwardly advertised by the Boiotians in an inscription on a column (*SEG* 54: 518) that derives from the late sixth or early fifth century.⁷⁴⁸ Furthermore, the outside recognition of a Boiotian alliance is witnessed again in Thucydides (2.2.4), who used the term *symmachia* (συμμαχία; 'alliance').⁷⁴⁹ The view of these two historians indicates, at the very least, that this regional identity was being successfully projected outwards.

Epigraphic evidence from the mid fifth century that the people in the region of Boiotia were beginning to see themselves as an *ethnos*, comes from Delphi in a dedication by 'a Boiotian from

alliance of Boiotian poleis had become something more than a regional religious affinity and had grown to also become one concerned with military endeavours. For more on Herodotus and his interpretation of the Boiotian League at this time, see Bonner and Smith (1945: 13-4), who argues that there was an established federal organization during this period. However, Beck and Ganter (2015: 139) contend that since the submission to the King was made city by city and not by the Boiotian League, they were not yet fully organized into a unit, but only had some military coordination. However, they do agree (2015: 140) that Orchomenos joined the alliance at some point in the early fifth century BCE. As evidence, they point to a judgment from Olympia in the mid 470s that shows the *Boiotoi* as an entire *ethnos* levied with a fine (except for the pro-Hellenic city of Thespiiai; cf. Mackil 2013: 32), as well as an inscription from Delphi with an Epiddalos who claimed to be 'a Boiotian from Orchomenos'. This, they contend, is demonstrative that the Orchomenians were now identifying as Boiotians. We thus once again witness a change in local identity, here for Orchomenos, through the shifting political times. It must therefore be stressed that local identity and affiliations change through time and space and, as such, so do regional identities and affiliations. Note, however H. Beck (forthcoming: section 7.2), who insists that, "(w)e should aim for a more inclusive narrative. In late Archaic Boeotia, as elsewhere in Greece, ethnic identities, politics, and religion were all developing simultaneously, and in close conjunction. Herodotus' *Histories* reflect how, by the second half of the sixth century, the Boeotians had emerged as an ethnic group whose members related to each other in a variety of ways."

⁷⁴⁷ Although we can point to some kind of affiliation for the region by the end of the Persian Wars, we still do not have a proposed timeline for when this organized League may have begun. But, it is through this submission and the later punishment that resulted, that we see the Boiotians becoming closer, and bridging the gap between Boiotian poleis like Orchomenos and Thebes, who have a tumultuous history (Beck and Ganter 2015: 139-140; Mackil 2013: 32) In this way, it is not only the external influence of the Persian invasion, but, perhaps more importantly, the effect of the invasion towards the 'othering' of Boiotia that provided the impetus for the creation of the Boiotian League.

⁷⁴⁸ Aravantinos (2006: 374) believes that it was dedicated by the *Boiotoi*. For the implications of this inscription, see H. Beck forthcoming: section 7.4.

⁷⁴⁹ Bakhuizen 1986: 68-9; H. Beck 1997: 333; Bonner and Smith 1945: 11-3; Buck 1979: 34; Buck 1981: 48; Hammond 2000: 81, 86; Larson 2014; Schachter 2016: 19-20.

Orchomenos' (*FD* III 1: 574).⁷⁵⁰ Not only does this inscription demonstrate regional affiliation, but it also indicates how this man wished to project his identity. As Albert Schachter explains,

This suggests that, in their dealings with the outside world, inhabitants of the poleis of Boiotia presented themselves as Boiotians. It is particularly interesting that it should be a citizen of Orchomenos who describes himself in this way, especially if the dedication was made in the 450s, when Boiotia was subject to Athens. (Schachter 2016: 59)

It seems, then, that in the Classical period, the idea of being a Boiotian and Boiotia as a unified region was solidifying. This became a source of pride for some, who wished to advertise their regional affinity outside of Boiotia, thus projecting their regional identity for a foreign audience.

Our most thorough account of Boiotian politics of the Classical period, however, comes from the so-called Oxyrhynchus Historian of the mid fifth century BCE (*HO* 11.2).⁷⁵¹ In this narrative, we learn that Thebes led the *Boiotoi*, whose meetings were held on the Kadmeia in Thebes.⁷⁵² However, despite Thebes' seeming dominance of the League, the Oxyrhynchus Historian also tells us about the *mere*, or districts, of the regional alliance, that allowed for local self-governance and determined the rights, responsibilities, and representation of different members of the League.⁷⁵³

⁷⁵⁰ Schachter 2016: 58. Schachter points to other inscriptions from this time (2016: 56-60), including another one that is found outside of the region, this time in Olympia, that records a decision against the Boiotians as a whole, indicating that they were now seen as both an *ethnos* and a *koinon* by outside sources (2016: 59-60).

⁷⁵¹ H. Beck forthcoming: section 7.2; Beck and Ganter 2015: 132; Hammond 2000: 86; Roesch 1965: 95-108; Schachter 2016: 186.

⁷⁵² As H. Beck and Ganter (2015: 132) argue, "...it created an equilibrium between the intrinsic interests of separate citizen communities (poleis) and their sense of belonging together in an *ethnos*," and that, "(i)t thus recognized both the force of local independence and the desire to aggregate and act together in politics. The tension between these two forces was deeply rooted in Boiotia's history." For more on Thebes' dominance of the League, see Beck and Ganter 2015: 145; Buck 1985: 294-5; Hammond 2000: 80-1. See Schachter (2016: 55-60) for the inscriptional evidence that points to Thebes' dominance of the League.

⁷⁵³ Beck and Ganter 2015: 141-4; Gonzalez 2006: 3740; Mackil 2014: 53-4. Cf. Hammond (2000: 84) for more on the councillors and councils. Representation was not territorial, as one would expect considering the emphasis on the importance of the rich soil of Boiotia throughout this chapter, but rather, based on the number of citizens. This is an important consideration as Beck and Ganter (2015: 142) point out, as, "...the case of the Theban *mere* illustrates that the federal constitution was receptive to power shifts within the *koinon*, and that districts might be reshaped or their citizen bodies be reshuffled over time to keep the league's arithmetic intact." Chaironeia, at this time, was united in a district with Kopai and Akraiphia (Gonzalez 2006: 38). Cf. Gonzalez (2006: 39) for more on the difference in the Oxyrhynchus Historian between the terms polis and *chora*.

The existence of *mere* and the local autonomy granted to the members points to a more complex organization than simple subordination to Thebes.⁷⁵⁴ In fact, it has been claimed that the complexity of this federal organization also represents the *ethnos* and *koinon* becoming one.⁷⁵⁵ We can therefore pinpoint the Classical period as the time and place in which Boiotian identity and political clout were recognized by both insiders and outsiders alike.

At the time of the King's Peace (387 BCE), the Boiotian League was dissolved. This tells us not only that it existed at this point, but also that it was recognized by an outside audience. However, this does not mean that all Boiotia was disunified, only that their political and military alliance was now defunct.⁷⁵⁶ Thus, although the *boiotarchs* were abolished at this time,⁷⁵⁷ we still find cooperation in the region in their religious celebrations, trade, and overall economic environment.⁷⁵⁸ It seems, then, that the political and military organization of Boiotia was not the only defining factor of the *koinon*. The Boiotian Leagues of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods demonstrate a desire for regional unification, represented in their sanctuaries and religious practices.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁴ Scholars that support this view include: Bakhuizen 1994: 321, 326; Beck and Ganter 2016: 150. Cf. Vottero (1998: 107-110) for the view that Thebes was leading the way towards unity.

⁷⁵⁵ Beck and Ganter 2015: 144.

⁷⁵⁶ Mackil 2013: 64-5.

⁷⁵⁷ As Buckler and Beck (2008: 88) point out, the only local government we hear about for this time was the one in Thebes with its *polemarchoi*. For the difference between the role of these *polemarchoi* and those of the *boiotarchs*, see Buckler and Beck (2008: 96), who point to Plutarch's careful distinction of these offices.

⁷⁵⁸ According to Mackil (2013: 65) the religious and economic life was the real core of the *koinon*, meaning that, "...it is partly misleading to speak of the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* in 386; we should rather speak of a temporary institutional crippling enabled by the King's Peace but enforced by Agesilaos's interpretation of it."

⁷⁵⁹ Mackil 2014: 45-7. As Buckler and Beck (2008: 97) state, "(t)he election of four boeotarchs in 378 admits of an easy and simple explanation: it was the declaration of Theban intentions to restore the Boeotian Confederacy." See Hammond (2000: 91) for three inscriptions from c.365 BCE that record decisions made by the *Boiotoi* and the *boiotarchs*, the number of which is confirmed by Diod. 15.52.1, 15.53.3. For more on the fourth-century organization of Boiotia, see H. Beck 1997: 331-344; Buckler and Beck 2008: 15; Gonzalez 2006: 47-9; Schachter 2016: 113. For the third century organization, see Buck 1985: 295; Salmon 1985: 301-6. For mainland Greece and its *koina* during the Hellenistic period, see Bakhuizen 1994: 325-6; Gonzalez 2006: 50; Mackil 2013: 96-125; Roesch 1982: 501-2. For Boiotia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see above, pages 225-6 and 226-230, respectively.

Archaeologically, we also discover evidence of this alliance. First, in the Archaic and Classical period, regional cooperation is reflected in Boiotian coinage, with the easily identifiable Boiotian shield and legend (BOI or BOIO).⁷⁶⁰ Furthermore, in the Classical period, towers and defensive structures were constructed throughout Boiotia.⁷⁶¹ We also find indications of prosperity in the region, not only in their ability to afford and organize the construction of fortifications, but also in the development of harbours, and the potential increase in the regional population, which demonstrates the effectiveness of their defensive and agricultural measures.⁷⁶² If Boiotia was experiencing either internal or external turmoil, these sorts of large scale projects would not have been possible to organize throughout the region, and thus illustrate the growing sense of cooperation in this region in the Classical period.

⁷⁶⁰ Beck and Ganter 2015: 138; Hammond 2000: 81-2; Mackil 2014: 46; Meidani 2008: 157; Schachter 2016: 48-9. Note, however, as Hammond (2000: 87) and Beck and Ganter (2015: 138) point out, that Orchomenos, Thebes, Tanagra, and Thespiiai all issued their own coinage. Thus, while the coinage demonstrates some level of regional cooperation, there are also separate, local identities in this regional space (Head 1884: xxxvi; Mackil and van Alfen 2006: 226-228; Schachter 2014a: 73-74). Note also that Larson (2007: 106-109) argues that these coins are more indicative of a cultural unit than a political one, as she believes that they were festival issues. However, see Williamson (2005: 19-20) for the political importance and identities that coins can represent. For a critical and skeptical response to the use of coinage as being indicative of regional cooperation, see Mackil 2013: 26. For the importance of coinage to the construction of identity, see Papadopoulos 2002 (note, however, that this is a study on coins from southern Italy and Magna Graecia. Nevertheless, the idea of coins as active agents [see e.g., Papadopoulos 2002: 24] in shaping communities can be applied to other regions, such as Boiotia and its use of the Boiotian shield). This is echoed in a study by Howgego (2005: 1-17), who argues that coins can be used as an indicator of culture and identity. For the influence of money on tragedy through the symbolic weight of the coins, see Seaford 1998. For coins in the Imperial period as representative of elite values and used as a stabilizing force, see Weiss 2005: 57-68. This idea is also seen in the study of Macedonian coins by Kremydi-Sicilianou (2005: 95-106), who finds an evolution in the coins from one stressing Roman affinity to one focused on local aspects of identity. Thus, as we see with coins in Boiotia, they are not static but represent shifting allegiances, political circumstances, and even cultural authority (usually through mythology).

⁷⁶¹ Camp (1991: 202) organizes the towers found throughout Boiotia into two types. He argues that, "...the analysis of the military installations along the Attic/Boiotian frontier permits us to consider the following typology of towers: 'compartment' towers in trapezoidal masonry are Boiotian watch/signal towers, whereas round towers in rubble or polygonal masonry, often with a solid base, are Attic signal towers." For the defensive construction projects in Chaironeia and their link to the regional Boiotian world, see Chapter 1, pages 75-6

⁷⁶² Beck and Ganter 2015: 149-150.

The Hellenistic Age offers further confirmation of regional cooperation and affiliation.⁷⁶³ This is true not only of Boiotia, but also of other regions such as the Peloponnese.⁷⁶⁴ Archaeologically, one of our strongest representations of the Boiotian League at this time are the ritual dedications of tripods in the region by all the Boiotians (Βοιωτοὶ ἀνέθειαν) in the early third century BCE.⁷⁶⁵ Furthermore, proxeny decrees and inscriptions show regional cooperation and aid during times of food shortage.⁷⁶⁶ Both imply a growing level of regional cooperation in the Hellenistic era.

This unified Boiotia that was distinct from other regions of Greece continued into Plutarch's day. We see, for example, that the Boiotian *koinon* was involved with the Imperial cult,⁷⁶⁷ and that the Boiotian League appears in inscriptions into the third century CE.⁷⁶⁸ In a letter, Hadrian calls Naryx a polis that contributes a *boiotarch* to the Boiotian *koinon*.⁷⁶⁹ It suggests some survival of this position, as well as regional cooperation into the Roman period, despite being absorbed into the larger Roman province of Achaia in 27 CE. It is not thought that the Boiotian *koinon* had any

⁷⁶³ For more on Hellenistic Boiotia, see above, pages 225-6. Cf. H. Beck (forthcoming: section 12.1) and Müller (2017: 231) for the Boiotian dialect, which was still in use in the Hellenistic period. See Aravantinos (2010: 319) for the continued popularity of clay figurines in the region.

⁷⁶⁴ In this period security was stronger and there was more access to resources (Mackil 2013: 91).

⁷⁶⁵ Mackil 2014: 60. Mackil (2014: 60) explains that, "(t)he inscriptions [IG VII 2723, 2724, 2724a-d, 1795, 3207, 1672, 1673] record not only the name of the deity receiving the tripod, but also the name of the Boeotian archon followed by seven, and in one case eight, officials called aphephriates, designated by name, patronymic, and city ethnic." For more on Boiotian tripods, see below, page 249.

⁷⁶⁶ Mackil 2014: 61. Mackil (2014: 63) argues that, "(e)conomic incentives must also have contributed to the willingness of poleis to become members. The incentives offered evolved over time as the economic logic of federation—the pooling and equitable distribution of resources and the facilitation of regional exchange and mobility—became ever more apparent." For more on the possibility of food crises in the Hellenistic period, see page 225.

⁷⁶⁷ Lozano 2017: 155-8. Buraselis (2020), looking at *Quomodo adul.* 12 (56d-f), suggests that Plutarch saw elements of flattery in the Imperial cult as being dishonourable. This reference, however, is still rather cryptic and does not speak directly to the Imperial cult of his time, nor whether he was involved with the cult in any way.

⁷⁶⁸ With evidence that it met at the sanctuary of Itonia Athena at Koroneia (Fossey 1979: 581). However, it must be noted that the nature of this regional unit in Plutarch's lifetime was different from the League of previous centuries, as the *koina* of Greece, Boiotia included, were not able to maintain their autonomy with the growing power of Rome (Mackil 2013: 91). For more on the religious life of Boiotia, see below, pages 259-270.

⁷⁶⁹ Beck and Ganter 2015: 157.

political power at this point – that belonged to the Romans⁷⁷⁰ – but it nonetheless continued to exist and to make decisions regarding, for example, festivals like the Daidala at Plataia.⁷⁷¹

The shift of power politics in mainland Greece to subordination to Rome changed cooperation in the Hellenic world.⁷⁷² Not only did the Boiotians need to co-exist with their regional group, but also with the larger Roman world. They had to follow new laws, new rules, and new symbolic exchanges (including cooperation with Roman officials who worked in the name of the emperor) that certainly changed the dynamic of the region and the ancient Greek world in general. The projection of Boiotian identity in this period thus likely shifted as well to accommodate these new alliances and exchanges.⁷⁷³

In this summary of Boiotian politics, we have witnessed the growth in cooperation in Boiotia as well as identified the Boiotian League not only as a strong political and military alliance, but also one centered on the religious and economic welfare of the region.⁷⁷⁴ The coherence of this unit

⁷⁷⁰ Mackil 2013: 103-4. Also note the caution by Alcock (1997: 287), who argues that we need to be concerned with how we look at the Boiotia of the Roman period, since we tend to look at it through two larger narratives: elite behaviour and cultural change. Furthermore, she insists that all of Greece incorporated into Rome at different times and with different motivations/stimuli. This is supported by the evidence, or lack thereof, of statue bases in Boiotia dedicated to a Roman public figure. We do not find these for Haliartos, Kopai, or Orchomenos (Fossey 1979: 587). While this may be the result of the accident of survival, or the lack of excavations in the region, we cannot completely eliminate the possibility that some of these poleis did not have these dedicatory inscriptions because they did not fall under Rome at the same time, or, if they politically did so, that they resisted the projection of this part of their identity. Thus, even in the regional world we likely have different poleis coming under Rome at different times. We thus need to evaluate the local responses to Rome in order to understand these nuances. It is for this reason that Plutarch's presentation of Chaironeia and its relationship to Rome (see Chapter 1, esp. pages 186-190), is so important for our investigation of this shift in power politics in the Hellenic world, as it enables us to gauge one local reaction to this outside force and how their narratives shifted.

⁷⁷¹ For more on this festival, see below, pages 264-5.

⁷⁷² Mackil 2013: 104.

⁷⁷³ We can perhaps sense this shift when we review Plutarch's presentation of Chaironeia during the Damon episode (see Chapter 1, pages 186-9). The potential rewriting of this narrative, and thus the change in the projection of Chaironeia's image as one resistant to Rome to one loyal to Rome, may reflect these changing regional dynamics and the desire of some Boiotian poleis to maintain an image of continual loyalty to Rome.

⁷⁷⁴ This does not, however, mean that it did not have its issues, as we witness periods of disagreement, disharmony, and resentment, that affected the narrative of this alliance (Schachter 2016: 17).

was thus expressed through the perceived threat that it posed to outsiders and through the presence of towers, coinage, tripods, and inscriptions in the region that demonstrate regional affinity. Therefore, even if this alliance was not always *politically* stable, it remained *culturally* present in the regional landscape.

Material Landscape

In addition to the material presence of towers for defence, coinage, or the construction of harbours,⁷⁷⁵ there are other projects that speak to the regional life and trends of this area and thus to the identity projection of the Boiotians more generally. However, since Boiotia was so large and contained many sites and local worlds, only the main themes and trends will be addressed.⁷⁷⁶ The numerous and differing local worlds of Boiotia (and other regions of Greece) demand more localism studies to deepen our understanding not only of these local spheres, but also of regions and peoples more generally. Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct some regional trends in the material landscape and thus to identify certain items as 'Boiotian' or 'Boiotian inspired'. Doing so will give us a better view of the network of exchanges for the region as well as the Boiotian projection of identity.

First an investigation of the surveys conducted in the area and some of the more modern archaeological projects will show areas of research focus and some of the major finds. A case

⁷⁷⁵ See above, page 236 for the towers, page 251 for the coins, and pages 208, 236 for the harbours, and the implications of these remains to our understanding of the region.

⁷⁷⁶ For more on specific archaeological investigations in Boiotia, see, for the Mycenaean Period: Buck 1979: 34-42; Fossey 1990: 53-9; Schachter 2016: 6-7. For the Archaic Age, see Schachter 2016: 7. See below, pages 240-3 for information on survey work in Boiotia. For more on specific sites in Boiotia, see below page 243, for ancient Eleon and pages 244-251 for Thebes. For the archaeological survey around Lake Kopaïs, see Chapter 1, pages 57-8. For the archaeological investigations in Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, page 82.

study of Thebes that follows provides a means of comparison to the findings we have for Chaironeia as well as the Boiotia itself. Lastly, a brief discussion of some of the smaller material finds of the region reveals some Boiotian trends and thus uncovers some material evidence for the Boiotian projection of identity, or, at the very least, of their economic landscape.

Boiotian Surveys and Modern Archaeological Investigations

One of the main roadblocks for this examination is the time and resources needed to devote to this kind of local investigative work. In addition, modern local Greeks who live in these areas view archaeological work as a threat. Some of these difficulties are outlined by John Bintliff, who stresses that archaeologists need to nurture an appreciation of the past for these local peoples so that they see this work as a way to connect to their ancestors, rather than as an agricultural and industrial hindrance.⁷⁷⁷ Until this is done, however, it is likely that our analyses of the region and its poleis will focus on the broader survey work being conducted.

Because of its many inscriptions, remains, and geographic space,⁷⁷⁸ Boiotia is a strong candidate for archaeological surveys.⁷⁷⁹ Besides the thorough 2011 GIS study by Farinetti,⁷⁸⁰ we also have the earlier surveys of Bintliff and Anthony Snodgrass. From one of the first publications of their work in the region, we learn that close to 90% of the sites in the area show occupation from the Archaic to the early Hellenistic period.⁷⁸¹ They also claim that, “Many episodes in Boeotian history

⁷⁷⁷ Bintliff 2004. Archaeology as a threat to the locals: 2004: 137. Education of the past as key to building a successful relationship: 2004: 138, 147.

⁷⁷⁸ For Boiotia as a strong candidate for these types of investigations, see Snodgrass 1997: 183-8.

⁷⁷⁹ For the importance of survey analyses, see Alcock 1994: 189-190. Some of the original fieldwork carried out was done by Fossey between 1964-1972, 1974, 1976-7, and 1980-1982 and published in 1988 (Fossey 1988: 15). For the issues surrounding the archaeological work in this region at this point in time, see Fossey 1988: 15-6.

⁷⁸⁰ See Chapter 1, pages 44, 57-8.

⁷⁸¹ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985: 141. An updated view of the duration of the occupation of these sites is found in Farinetti 2011.

become all too readily intelligible if set against such a background of maximal exploitation of land and population-pressure.”⁷⁸² Furthermore, the historical boundaries and soil potential of Classical Boiotia (Fig. 2.4) corresponds fairly well with Farinetti's land capability study (Fig. 2.2).

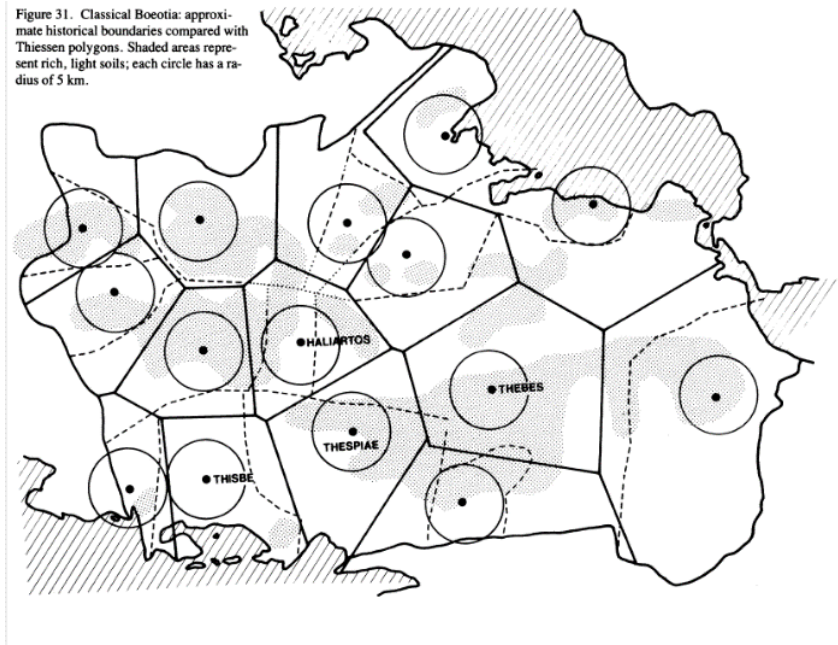


Figure 2.4: The historical boundaries and soil potential of Classical Boiotia (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985: 156; copied with permission, courtesy of www.tandfonline.com)

While some of the boundary markers are slightly different from Farinetti's estimates in Figure 2.2, the layout of these poleis and their territories are similar. Differences, such as Chaironeia and Orchomenos, are generally those that lie in the soft boundary zones of Boiotia.⁷⁸³ Discrepancies between the two figures are thus the result of further developments in survey work between Bintliff and Snodgrass's 1985 study and that of Farinetti's 2011 study. In both, however, the archaeological

⁷⁸² Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985: 144. This fits not only with what we saw for Chaironeia and the desirability of their land, but also for the region more generally: for Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, pages 41-5, 56-67. For the rich soils of Boiotia, see above, pages 204-7.

⁷⁸³ Notice, for example, that the 5km radius given for Chaironeia in this figure goes outside of the regional Boiotian boundaries and into Phokis, thus confirming the likelihood that this micro-region was intricately connected to Chaironeia if only for its proximity. For more on this micro-region, see Chapter 1, pages 48-55.

survey work was able to confirm that Boiotia had rich soils that undoubtedly influenced the development of each polis.

Bintliff's Tanagran project is the perfect example of where further archaeological analyses in Boiotia needs to go,⁷⁸⁴ as the non-invasive survey work was conducted into the *chora*, revealing some of the intricacies of the surrounding land and its relationship to the polis. This is extremely important, as the *chora* complements the urban fabric of the polis, thus deepening our understanding of the demographics, social aspects, and economic changes in Tanagra.⁷⁸⁵ Thus, it is now recognized that the rich soils of Boiotia cannot be separated from its urban developments; they are intricately tied.⁷⁸⁶

Tying in the hinterland as an important investigatory arena, is echoed in a later project, where Bintliff and Bozidar Slapsak argue that Boiotia was essentially an agricultural region, with the majority of its 15 major poleis on cultivatable lands.⁷⁸⁷ The strength of the link of these major Boiotian poleis to their land and to agriculture more generally can thus not be underestimated, and was likely a causal factor towards how they were viewed by outsiders.⁷⁸⁸ Further, if the Boiotian reputation outside the region was so strongly associated with agriculture, the projection of their

⁷⁸⁴ This project is rich in detail for the prehistoric and Bronze Age material from this polis and shows that the Classical polis was built on top of a Neolithic settlement (Bintliff et al. 2004). For a later study that goes into the Roman period of Tanagra, see Bintliff and Slapsak 2007. Cf. Andriomenou 1985 for investigations into the sanctuary of Herakles in Tanagra, as well as Fossey (1991: 197-218) for trends found in Tanagran tombstones, and Marchand 2015 for Tanagran inscriptions and their relationship to the region of Boiotia.

⁷⁸⁵ Bintliff et al. 2004: 543. The lack of investigations into the *chora* of Chaironeia was lamented in Chapter 1, page 44.

⁷⁸⁶ As we saw with Chaironeia (see Chapter 1, pages 33, 40, 44, 56, 79-80).

⁷⁸⁷ Bintliff and Slapsak 2007: 101.

⁷⁸⁸ See, for example, the discussion of 'Boiotian Swine' below on pages 300-1.

identity was therefore firmly tied to their soil. The survey work of the region thus confirms the ancient literary sources: that Boiotia and its people were focused on agriculture.

The most extensive modern investigation currently running in Boiotia is the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP).⁷⁸⁹ One of the more relevant analyses from this site for my project unveiled early exchange between Euboea and Eleon.⁷⁹⁰ Thus, we find another soft boundary area in Boiotia, one on the opposite side of Boiotia from Chaironeia. This evidence demonstrates that Eleon, like other border poleis in Boiotia (such as Chaironeia⁷⁹¹), had connections with outside regions and was thus not as isolated as once presumed. Furthermore, EBAP represents a relatively new interest of archaeology in the digital humanities, through the production of digital 3D models that allow the visitor to explore not only the site but also some of the finds.⁷⁹² This is similar to another online project by Bintliff on his survey work in Boiotia, with a specific focus on Tanagra and Koroneia.⁷⁹³

These digital models and projects represent a growing interest in Boiotia, and thus a movement of scholarship away from Athens and Sparta, and the relatively new accessibility to research being conducted in the region. They thus not only help with acquiring research, but they also allow for new visualizations of space that are important to our understanding of the landscape of a polis and how different features of these local worlds translate to individual experiences of that space.

⁷⁸⁹ <https://ebapexcavations.org/>. See some of their most recent publications and findings from the site: Bullock 2018 (faunal remains); Burns and Burke 2019 (Mycenaean activity); Burke, Burns, Charami and Kyriatzi 2020 (excavation report for the 2012-4 seasons); Burke, Burns, Charami, Van Damme, Herrmann, and Lis 2020 (excavation report for the 2011-8 seasons); Van Damme 2017 (links between Euboea and Eleon). For a full list of publications relating to this site, visit: <https://ebapexcavations.org/publications/>.

⁷⁹⁰ Van Damme 2017.

⁷⁹¹ See Chapter 1, pages 48-55 for Chaironeia and its connection with Phokis.

⁷⁹² <https://ebapexcavations.org/digital/>.

⁷⁹³ <http://www.boeotiaproject.org/site/project-history/>.

Thebes

We must also consider the archaeological remains of the polis that seems to be involved in almost every major historical event: Thebes. Thebes, of course, was a much larger polis with more political clout in the region than Chaironeia. An analysis of the finds from Thebes, however, reveals some material trends permeating Boiotian poleis of varying influence and economic strength despite their comparative size and political allegiances.

Because of the nature of the city as continually occupied and the several destructions that occurred, little of the ancient polis remains. Furthermore, since Thebes was so prominent in this region, excavations began at the birth of archaeology as a discipline, with archaeological work spanning to over 120 years ago that did not employing modern investigative methods.⁷⁹⁴ Despite these complications, we still learn a lot about the polis from the work that has been carried out.

Mycenaean Thebes, for example, is fairly well preserved because the material was so deeply buried and the undressed masonry was deemed unfit to recycle in subsequent periods.⁷⁹⁵ This helps, for instance, to account for the survival of a Mycenaean aqueduct that brought water from the south into the town.⁷⁹⁶ Like the projects of Lake Kopaïs in the Bronze Age,⁷⁹⁷ Thebes was also well versed in water management. It is thus likely that it was somehow involved with the project of the

⁷⁹⁴ These early excavations, of course, come with their own set of difficulties that impact how we understand the polis, including a lack of recording, less scientific analysis (due to the lack of availability at the time), and sometimes a lack of publication. A full list of excavations in the polis can be found on the Archaeological Museum of Thebes website: <https://www.mthv.gr/en/the-museum/the-scientific-work/>. Cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 2.2.

⁷⁹⁵ Symeonoglou 1985: 14. Cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 2.2.

⁷⁹⁶ It was at least 1 km long but was filled with debris during the destruction of Thebes, consistent with the collapse of the Mycenaean administrative system. Part of the aqueduct on the Kolonaki, however, was reused in later times (Symeonoglou 1985: 34, 52).

⁷⁹⁷ See Chapter 1, pages 59-60.

lake, or had ties with Orchomenos, reflecting a Boiotian network of exchange and potential cooperation in the region.⁷⁹⁸

One of the most telling finds from this period for the interconnectivity of Thebes is an unassuming bone figurine (Fig. 2.5), found during a salvage excavation in 1995.⁷⁹⁹ Despite the loss of the head and feet, this little figurine has much to say about Thebes, Boiotia, and the network of exchanges that were present from an early age.



Figure 2.5: Early Bronze Age Bone Figurine (Andrikou 1998: 107; copied with permission)

This is the first Early Bronze Age anthropomorphic figurine uncovered in Boiotia. While it fits the Cycladic figurines of the folded arm type, the use of bone in the Cyclades is almost unknown, as they preferred stone or shell. The material, therefore, suggests that it was not imported from the Cyclades, but its close style and features allude to a relationship between the two areas. We know of other Cycladic finds in Boiotia, strengthening the argument that the two areas were trading at

⁷⁹⁸ Symeonoglou 1973: 32. Thebes also has high quality pottery in this period that derives from a local Theban workshop. This provides a hint to the economic life of the polis at this time and may also suggest some sort of demand for this pottery. Furthermore, it is ceramic remains that hint towards the destruction of the Mycenaean palace (Aravantinos, Godat, and Sacconi 2001, vol. II: 103). For more on the pottery of Boiotia, see below, pages 254-9.

⁷⁹⁹ Andrikou 1998: 103. It is now in the Thebes museum.

this time.⁸⁰⁰ This small find thus provides us with a small hint that Boiotia might have been connected region to the larger Mediterranean world, even as early as the Bronze Age.

The walls of Thebes also help to understand the evolving nature of a polis.⁸⁰¹ Fortifications serve as boundary markers, and the walls of Thebes adjust to reflect the changing boundary of the polis.⁸⁰² The first fortification walls protected the settled area of the city: the Kadmeia. As Thebes' population expanded beyond the Kadmeia, a greater circuit of mudbrick walls was constructed in the Classical era. Like Chaironeia's fortifications, these walls were built as part of a joint effort of Boiotian poleis,⁸⁰³ a reflection of regional cooperation and the necessity to fortify both the boundary poleis and the inner, central poleis. The need to do so is seen most clearly in the events of 335 BCE when Alexander the Great razed Thebes, a polis in the centre of Boiotia, to the ground.⁸⁰⁴ During this time, the outer wall was demolished, but it is likely that the wall protecting the Kadmeia remained intact to safeguard the Macedonian garrison stationed there.⁸⁰⁵ The walls thus provide us with an example of how political changes and physical spaces develop in parallel.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰⁰ Andrikou 1998: 104-6. We can compare this evidence of trade to what we saw with Chaironeia's Archaic and Classical protomes (see Chapter 1, pages 100-3). In the case of this earlier bone figurine, we see a style preference for something that was outside of the region, unlike the protomes, which show a micro-regional preference. This may speak to the malleable nature of the regional world of Boiotia, one that was made up of multiple micro-regions, composed of multiple local spheres. Unpacking these local worlds thus becomes more and more important for rebuilding our understanding of this ancient world.

⁸⁰¹ Remains of the walls can be dated from the Mycenaean Age all the way to the Frankish period (H. Beck forthcoming: section 4.1).

⁸⁰² For a thorough discussion of the walls and gates of Thebes, see H. Beck forthcoming: section 4.1.

⁸⁰³ Pindar is said to have lived in the lower city of Thebes, part of this expansion of the population (Hansen 1996: 109; Symeonoglou 1985: 119). Cf. *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3 *Xen. Hell.* 5.2.25-29; *Arr. Anab.* 1.7.4-1-1.10.2; *Pind. Pyth.* 11.12; *Paus.* 9.8.4. For the fortifications of Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, pages 54, 75-6.

⁸⁰⁴ For more on Alexander the Great in Boiotia, see above, pages 225-6. For Plutarch's views of Thebes and its relationship to Alexander, see Chapter 1, pages 189-190.

⁸⁰⁵ Hansen 1996: 109.

⁸⁰⁶ See, for example, Chapter 1 pages 70-4 for the changing nature of the theatre of Chaironeia to meet the shifting needs of the population and their projection of identity.

It was not the walls that made Thebes famous, however, but its seven gates. The earliest attestations of the seven gates of Thebes are found in Homer and Pindar.⁸⁰⁷ However, there is considerable debate concerning the number of gates in Thebes, which derives from the stress on the number seven in Greek antiquity.⁸⁰⁸ Seven is basic to Greek music, and, according to legend, Amphion created the walls of Thebes by charming stones with his lyre,⁸⁰⁹ an instrument that might have possibly employed seven strings.⁸¹⁰ Further, Amphion had seven sons and seven daughters.⁸¹¹ The desire to associate Thebes with this number, therefore, is not difficult to imagine, as it connected Thebes to the mythological beginnings of the Hellenic world and thus offered a witness to its antiquity. Archaeology has been no help in this equation, so we are left to conclude that no matter the number of actual gates, seven is the legendary number that fuelled the imaginations of the ancient Thebans and fit what they wished to project to the ancient world: a connection to the mythological realm. This association may have been so important that narratives were rewritten to fit the number seven.

The gates of Thebes can thus be interpreted as a *lieux de mémoire* for the local inhabitants. Like the bathhouse in Chaironeia,⁸¹² this space was transformed through the tales and possible rewriting of associated narratives. However, the way that Thebes chose to associate itself with the mythic past is necessarily different from other poleis, as each searched for a unique space or item that

⁸⁰⁷ Hom. *Od.* 11.263; Pind. *Pyth.* 3.90-91; 8.39-40; 9.80; 11.11. Cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 4.1.

⁸⁰⁸ H. Beck forthcoming: section 4.1; Berman 2002: 99; Berman 2004: 8; Symeonoglou 1985: 36.

⁸⁰⁹ Mazzaro 1984: 121-2.

⁸¹⁰ This, of course, reinforces the prevalence of music in Boiotia (see above, pages 213-4).

⁸¹¹ Mazzaro 1984: 122. Seven is also connected to the legends of the Minotaur and the labyrinth (Mazzaro 1984: 122). Furthermore, Apollo's birthday was celebrated on the seventh day of the month (Hesiod *Works and Days* 770), and consultations at Delphi generally took place on the seventh day of the month that the oracle was in session (Mazzaro 1984: 122). Lastly, the number can also be connected to the vowels of the Greek alphabet, the divisions of a man's life, or the stars of the Pleiades (Mazzaro 1984: 122).

⁸¹² See Chapter 1, pages 168-9, 179-180.

served to connect them to the heroic past and that spoke to both the locals and outsiders.⁸¹³ These mythic connections thus became an integral part of the local landscape and the local projection of identity, connecting them in turn to the shared mythological past of the ancient Greek world.

The Kadmeia, where the Boiotian League met and kept their treasury,⁸¹⁴ also had connections with the mythical past. It has been continuously occupied from the foundation of the polis and remained a central physical space with strong links to the past.⁸¹⁵ This is where Kadmos laid the foundations of Thebes and where the Mycenaean settlement grew.⁸¹⁶ After the destruction of the palaces in c.1200 BCE, the smaller palace, referred to as the tomb of Semele, is a strong example of the power of collective memory on narratives of place. For, after its destruction by fire, the narrative shifted away from fire to destruction by Zeus' lightning bolt when Dionysos was born. The space then became a sanctuary to Dionysos, complete with a venerated statue that was said to have fallen from heaven.⁸¹⁷ Here we have yet another example of how tradition can alter the topography of a polis. In this circumstance, the destruction of the palace by fire was rewritten in a positive light as being a divine happenstance that connected Thebes to Dionysos. The space then took on meaning through the subsequent worship of the deity on this land.

⁸¹³ Compare, for example, the sceptre of Agamemnon in Chaironeia (see Chapter 1, page 86).

⁸¹⁴ Beck and Ganter 2015: 145; Hansen 1996: 109.

⁸¹⁵ Berman 2004: 6.

⁸¹⁶ The two Mycenaean palaces on this site date from the 13th century BCE and include workshops, a treasure room (so called for the jewellery found inside), and an armoury (Buck 1979: 42; Gerster 2012: 144; Symeonoglou 1985: 47).

⁸¹⁷ Roesch 1979. The other palace on the Kadmeia was made into the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros. There were also likely other sanctuaries on the Kadmeia, such as those described by Pausanias, whose presence does not survive archaeologically (Paus. 9.12.4).

Our final investigation into the material remains of Thebes is the Ismenion hill.⁸¹⁸ It was here that a temple was dedicated in the Bronze Age to Apollo Ismenios. This temple is the best documented, in archaeological and literary sources.⁸¹⁹ This was, for example, the temple that Herodotus visited and where he saw engraved tripods (5.59).⁸²⁰ It has been suggested that the dedications of tripods at Apollo Ismenios were performed by other poleis in recognition of Theban leadership.⁸²¹ If this is the case, it points to an important regional tradition that evolved from certain Boiotian political circumstances and thus serves to demonstrate how regional affiliations and power structures could alter a local landscape (here with the tripods) and regional economic exchanges. Furthermore, this provides evidence of a Boiotian practice that represented not only power relations, but also regional cooperation and identity.⁸²²

⁸¹⁸ H. Beck forthcoming: section 4.1.10. Current work on the project directed by David Scahill is feverishly creating a 3D digital reconstruction of the temple (Daly, Larson, Charami, and Kontogiannis 2016: 11).

⁸¹⁹ H. Beck forthcoming: section 4.1.10. The original temple was made of wood and brick but burned down and had to be replaced in the sixth century with a poros temple with Doric columns. The fourth century temple, by contrast, was a peripteral Doric building with 6 columns on the front and 12 on each side (Roesch 1979). For more on the temple of Apollo Ismenios, see below, page 269.

⁸²⁰ A tripod base has been found in the vicinity, thus confirming Herodotus' narrative of this place being one where tripods were dedicated (Lavelle 2017; Papalexandrou 2008: 256-7). Herodotus mentioned (5.59-61) the tripod of Amphitryon, which establishes the heroic presence of the Ismenion (Papalexandrou 2008: 257).

⁸²¹ Schachter 1981: 83. This is also argued by Papalexandrou (2008: 277), who explains that, "(i)n the distinctly Boiotian rite of the *tripodephoria*, the ritual usage of the tripods constituted the symbolic actualization of power relations between the dominant center and its periphery." He further argues (2008: 251) that, "...the symbolism of the tripod can be understood only in terms of its local manifestations, which were as rich and variegated as the cultural landscape of the Greek world throughout antiquity." Cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 12.3; Mackil 2014: 49-50. The Panhellenic dedications and Boiotia's lack of early tripod dedications, Papalexandrou (2008: 255) argues, may be representative of the power that Olympia, Delphi, and Dodona had on certain symbolic media. This brings us back to the idea of the tripods as symbols of power politics. However, as we will see, the tripod eventually became a local marker of collective identity and individual social status. This symbol, then, evolved with time to something beyond politics. We witness an evolution, for example, with Pausanias' description and his belief that the tripod of Amphitryon represented Herakles' participation in the Theban Daphnephoria (9.10.4). As Papalexandrou explains (2008: 257), the Daphnephoria of Pausanias' time was one that was relegated to the elites, but one that also represented their tenure as a priest of Apollo." For more on the Daphnephoria, see below, page 266.

⁸²² Another example of tripods as indicative of the regional Boiotian world is found in the evolution of the tripod dedications in Boiotia from the third century BCE. At this time, we find tripods dedicated by the Boiotian League to decree their authority over both the politics and religious affairs of the region. 12 tripods attest to this: seven from the sanctuary of Apollo at Ptoon, three to Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia, and one to the Graces at Orchomenos (Papalexandrou 2008: 270; Roesch 1965: 137-141). Thus, not only was there a collective proclamation that spoke to regional cooperation, but also a declaration of their identity as an *ethnos* and *koinon* through the religious nature of the dedications and the collective spirit in which they were performed. However, the long duration of this practice, from the seventh century BCE into the Roman Imperial period, implies that it was not only ingrained in this regional world, but also likely one that changed through time (Papalexandrou 2008: 252). For more on the collective rites associated

However, like the walls and gates of Thebes, the sanctuary on the Ismenion hill was not static, but evolved with Theban politics. These changes have been documented in detail by Schachter: the first was an oracle, followed by the introduction of Apollo, and lastly, cults and practices were incorporated from other parts of Boiotia, as Thebes became more powerful.⁸²³ We see again how this regional organization affected the local atmosphere of Thebes, more so than the small polis of Chaironeia. For the incorporation of cults and practices from around Boiotia not only created a Theban claim to them, but it also affected the everyday lived experience of the inhabitants.⁸²⁴ Thus, the local Theban landscape spoke to insiders and foreigners alike of Thebes' power.

Thebes, unlike Chaironeia, has drawn a great deal of attention from archaeologists and academics. As a result, we know more of its material history and changes through time. Nevertheless, the focus is starting to move away from these larger poleis to smaller ones, and we are now witnessing a growing interest in other poleis of central Greece, such as Thespiiai.⁸²⁵ The implications are positive. Not only can we now compare what we already know about Thebes to these newer studies, but we can also detect trends in the region that point towards the Boiotian *ethnos* and

with tripods in Akraiphia, see: Papalexandrou 2008: 262, 272. For more on the archaeological work in Akraiphia, see Andreiomenou 1997: 81-134. For tripods in Orchomenos as related to choregic monumnets, see: Papalexandrou 2008: 260-2.

⁸²³ Schachter 1981: 80. This was also the location of an oracle as well as being the place where the Daphnephoria was performed (Larson and Daly 2017. Pind. *Pyth.* 11. Cf. Larson 2018: 34-6). This was the oracle consulted by Epaminondas before Leuktra and was also the source of omens before the arrival of Alexander the Great (Schachter 1981: 82). However, once Alexander razed the city, the oracle of Apollo Ismenios ceased to function (Schachter 1981: 82) For more on the religious life of Boiotia, see below, pages 259-270)

⁸²⁴ Perhaps most notable, is that, for most of its inhabited life, the space of the Ismenion hill was not a shrine, but a cemetery. The Ismenion functioned as a cemetery for Thebes in the Bronze Age and returned to this original use in the fourth and fifth centuries CE (Lavelle 2017). Found in one of the graves, located in the cella of the temple, were pottery and belt buckles dating to the sixth century CE, providing an abandonment date for the temple (Lavelle 2017). Larson explains the significance of this find: "So that means in the 6th century CE, at the time of Justinian, that temple did not exist, that temple was gone. That was pretty exciting when we found it. It means that Thebes was seriously Christianized very early actually. And that makes a lot of sense in central Greece" (Lavelle 2017). The shifting use of the space of the Ismenion hill, not only from cemetery to shrine and back again, but also the changes in the worship conducted while it was a shrine, demonstrates yet again how political developments can affect the physical space of the city, as the polis' evolving leadership and subsequent downfall altered the use of space on the Ismenion.

⁸²⁵ See pages 228-230.

koinon, as well as the elements that make the local worlds of Boiotia unique. Correspondingly, we are slowly building a larger, more complex picture of the ancient Greek world beyond Athens and Sparta, one that tells us different stories and speaks to both group and individual experiences.

Small Finds

To gauge some of the regional trends in the material landscape of Boiotia, a brief look at the small finds is required to identify unique Boiotian markers and evidence of exchange to provide context for Plutarch's regional world.⁸²⁶ Since this thesis is focused on Plutarch's local, regional, and global worlds, only a cursory, summarized presentation, or case studies, will be presented here to provide context for the regional world of which Plutarch speaks.

Boiotian coinage and its symbolic projection of identity speak of local worlds joining together as a regional unit with symbolic imagery often determined by the power politics of the area.⁸²⁷ The coins thus tell us both a political story, and one of local spheres through unique symbols from different mints that convey the important myths or crops of their local areas. As such, the coinage of Boiotia is critical for understanding the relationship between the local worlds and the Boiotian *ethnos* and *koinon*.

Among the first regional artistic markers are terracotta horses and horsemen produced from c.600-500 BCE. Although they seem to be relegated to this period and are usually found in funerary contexts,⁸²⁸ thus limiting their distribution, usage, and interpretation, they remain important for

⁸²⁶ Proxeny decrees are another essential part of the Boiotian world and can be found in Chapter 1, pages 109-115. Cf. Osborne (1985: 321) and the importance of the leasing of land, found in these inscriptions, to building up a community.

⁸²⁷ Boiotian coinage is discussed above (see page 236) and in Chapter 1, pages 65-6.

⁸²⁸ Ostergaard 1997: 166-7.

uncovering local and regional trends in Boiotia for the Archaic period. Jan Ostergaard's typology suggests that the workshops producing these, while in contact with the regional world more generally, were also working with local traditions in their productions, thus accounting for the local variations.⁸²⁹ The importance of local worlds is thus manifested here in material culture. This demonstrates how local tastes can differ even when part of a larger, regional group. In fact, these horsemen may also be tied to inter-regional connections, as indicative of Boiotia's close link with Thrace.⁸³⁰ We thus find more evidence of a network of ideas and trade for Boiotia during the Archaic Age. This trade network crossed political boundaries, was transformed at the regional level to a terracotta funerary item, and was then modified even further to account for local tastes. Thus, in these small horsemen we find the combination of local, regional, and global, and their simultaneous interaction, intermixing, and separation.

We find similar trends in Boiotian tombstones, which display Boiotia's interconnection and local flavourings in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. First, the tombstones speak to the modification of regional trends at the local level, not only in terms of their decorations, but also in relation to politics and military affairs. We see this most clearly in a study by Schachter on the Boiotian military elites and their relationship to the Theban Sacred Band.⁸³¹ Literary evidence (e.g., Thucydides and Diodorus) and the stelae of the region were used to investigate whether the Theban Sacred Band was unique. The funerary monuments show that the men who fought at the Battle of Delion (424 BCE) and who were described as a specialized set of chariot warriors (Diod. 12.70.2), came from all over Boiotia and not just Thebes, and that the Theban Sacred Band was derived

⁸²⁹ Ostergaard 1997: 161-6.

⁸³⁰ Fossey 2014: 117-134. For another example of an item that crossed boundary lines in the exchange of ideas and stylistic preferences, see the protomes of Chaironeia in Chapter 1, pages 100-3.

⁸³¹ Schachter 2016: 193-215.

from this Pan-Boiotian model.⁸³² Therefore the local world of Thebes (and likely other local worlds as well) modified an existing regional institution, which, through time, became synonymous with this specialized corps. Thus, it is only through the investigation of the material remains that we are able to see how specialized military units were, in fact, not a Theban initiative,⁸³³ but rather, one developed by the *koinon* and modified at the local level.

One of our most comprehensive explorations of Hellenistic Boiotian tombstones remains that of Peter Fraser and Tullia Rönne. They explain that, “(i)n its funerary art, as in other fields, Boeotia was a uniform area with marked local differences.”⁸³⁴ Grave stelae can point to similar regional trends, such as the lack of patronymic, but also differentiate in decoration and style,⁸³⁵ suggesting that the local worlds of Boiotia had their own audiences with their own preferences. However, tombstones are not only important for local worlds, they also add to our understanding of inter-regional cooperation and trade during the Hellenistic period with the decorations on Boiotian tombstones potentially influencing those in Phokis.⁸³⁶ If true, this strengthens the idea that there was a tie between Boiotia and Phokis, which points to the exchange of goods and ideas across this soft boundary zone.⁸³⁷ Furthermore, this system of exchange seems to persist during most of the ancient period, with material evidence of a connection between these two regions found in the

⁸³² Schachter 2016: 198-203. This Pan-Boiotian military elite survives into the Hellenistic period: “During the lifetime of the Hellenistic Koinon, the idea of a Pan-Boiotian elite re-emerged in the form of the ἄγῆμα: the name had changed, but the principle remained the same, a special battalion made up of members from each of the member states of the Koinon. It seems not to have outlasted the dissolution of this confederacy in 171 BC” (Schachter 2016: 209).

⁸³³ While it, of course, had unique aspects to it, the inspiration for it came from a regional specialized unit.

⁸³⁴ Fraser and Rönne 1957: 35. Schachter (2016: 7) points to the Archaic sanctuaries of Akraiphia, the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, the Kabiroi sanctuary (west of Thebes), Ritsona, Tanagra, and Thebes, to show the growing prosperity of the region during this time.

⁸³⁵ Fraser and Rönne 1957: 92. For Chaironeia specifically, see Fraser and Rönne 1957: 37. See also, Chapter 1, page 124-130 for more on the funerary landscape of Chaironeia.

⁸³⁶ Fraser and Rönne 1957: 98.

⁸³⁷ See Chapter 1, pages 51-3.

Archaic period, the Hellenistic period, and the Roman period.⁸³⁸ Thus, although they may not be part of the same region, ideas, materials, and peoples traversed these boundaries in a system of exchanges that suggests the highly connected world in which Boiotia played a role. We can therefore not underestimate the importance of these inter-regional ties, nor of their micro-regions.

In addition to inscriptions and figurines, we also learn about Boiotian culture, local worlds, and exchange networks through the pottery of the region. Earlier studies of Boiotian pottery succumb to the Attic stereotype of Boiotia as a backwater of Greece and thus largely speak of Boiotian ware as something borrowed from 'more creative' places and thus inferior.⁸³⁹ Newer investigations, however, see these pieces as unique, worthy of study, and indicative of more than 'borrowing'. We should thus consider them in their own artistic frame, one that was influenced by outside sources, surely, but also one that was altered at the regional and then at the local level to relate to a local audience. We find this view, for example, in the work of Buck, who theorizes that the early

⁸³⁸ Archaic period: see Chapter 1, page 52. Hellenistic period (here). Roman period: through epigraphic evidence and through Plutarch's ties to the area: see Chapter 1, esp. pages 107-8, 114, 122 and page 144, respectively. The proximity and history of exchange between the two regions therefore makes it likely that there was some kind of trade during the Classical period as well.

⁸³⁹ See, for example, the 1932 article by Ure, who claims (1932: 21), for example, that, "(t)he style of the vases is composite, mainly Attic, but with elements derived from Corinthian and Chalcidian, and still more from East Greek ware. This is what we should expect of the Boeotian potters, who lived by borrowing." Later (1932: 32), he compares the shape of the bowl and the animal designs to Attic Vourva examples. His criticism becomes harsher, when he argues (1932: 34) that the Boiotian potters were engaged in plagiarism: "This accords well with the character of Boeotian vase painters, who seem to have been possessed of an exuberance of spirits that shrank from nothing in the way of either plagiarism or experiment." While this is damning of the Boiotian potters, it remains an important article that not only represents the times in which it was written, but also shows keen insights into the artistic styles of these vases as well as their potential practical uses. Another example of a scholar that pushes for Attica as being responsible for Boiotian pottery is Sparkes 1967. In this article, although acknowledging the difficulties associated with comparing Boiotian pottery to Athenian examples, Sparkes argues (1967: 116) that, "(o)ccasionally a Boeotian artist produced work which rivals Attic, but this is uncommon, and it is more likely that such an artist was an immigrant Athenian." This is troubling, as Sparkes provides no evidence to support this and thus speaks more to the Atheno-centric views that dominated the scholarly world of this time rather than the potential of Boiotian potters during the Classical age. Cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 4.4.

development of pottery in the region was largely done at the local level,⁸⁴⁰ with each polis producing unique pottery that spoke to their local audience. As such, imitation became the reinterpretation of global influences. Therefore, Boiotian pieces bring together the different elements of their trading world through material inference. In this way, they are 'locally' expressed, but 'globally' inclusive, creating a unique dialogue that would have been recognized by Boiotians and by others who were aware of the influences.

And, like the tombstones, we find international trade and interconnectivity in the material evidence from at least as early as the Archaic Age. The growing interconnectivity of the Mediterranean world of the sixth century BCE is demonstrable in the field motifs found on Boiotian lekanai, whose style seems to be an imitation of Fikellura ware, found in Rhodes but likely made in Miletus.⁸⁴¹ Although no examples of Fikellura pottery have been found in Boiotia, the imitation of styles implies that some Boiotian potters had encountered Fikellura ware.⁸⁴² Thus, we again witness an exchange of information and increased connectivity for Boiotia as early as the Archaic Age.

One unique item to Boiotia, the Boiotian trick vases of the sixth century BCE, are found throughout the region,⁸⁴³ and are demonstrative of a market in Boiotia based on a cultural affinity for 'mischievous gimmickry'.⁸⁴⁴ Furthermore, unlike the Fikellura ware, it seems most likely that

⁸⁴⁰ Buck 1979: 34. This is echoed by H. Beck (forthcoming: section 4.4) who argues that, "(t)he diversity of local production is important, because it helps to explain the lack of cohesiveness of a style that is commonly labeled Boeotian..."

⁸⁴¹ Kilinski 1977: 65. For more on Fikellura ware and its origins, see the Walters Art Museum: <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/15111/>.

⁸⁴² Kilinski 1977: 65.

⁸⁴³ Kilinski 1986.

⁸⁴⁴ Kilinski 1986: 153.

Boiotian potters were influencing outside sources with these trick wine containers, as no Attic counterparts exist for a generation following the Boiotian examples.⁸⁴⁵ Thus, we see here indications of a regional taste for trickery that initiated the development of a new vase type that reflects the creativity of the Boiotians.⁸⁴⁶ The appearance of Attic versions a generation later speaks to the network of exchanges that existed at this time. And, perhaps more importantly, it is indicative of the mutual exchanges that were occurring, rather than the older views of Boiotia as begging, borrowing, and stealing from other regions.

The Boiotian trick vases are not our only indication of Boiotia exporting pottery. In the Hellenistic period, we find Boiotian ware in the East and in Egypt.⁸⁴⁷ Although not exported in large quantities, it nonetheless is demonstrative of the network of exchanges that existed at this time, as

⁸⁴⁵ Kilinski 1986: 153.

⁸⁴⁶ Kilinski offers us the opportunity to assess one local pottery style from Boiotia, that is, the Boiotian dancers group from Tanagra. He argues (Kilinski 1978: 189, 191; Note, however, Walker's PhD thesis, which argues for Thebes as an important production centre of pottery during this time and that some of these vases that are identified as Tanagran are actually Theban [see, esp. her discussion of the findings on pages 350-370]) that the provenance of these pots, the subject matter, and local terracotta are all evidence of the flourishing industry in Tanagra during the sixth century BCE. He also argues that they were influenced by Attic artists. If this is the case, we once again have evidence of the network of exchange, here of ideas, that was occurring in the ancient Greek world. However, what is not stressed by Kilinski, but only remarked in passing (1978: 189, 191) is the local influence on this artwork. Thus, although we have Attic influence in the style, we have a local festival in Tanagra that modifies it for a local audience. Cf. Avronidaki (2008: 18-20) for the Painter of the Dancing Pan from a Theban workshop. Like the above, this has evidence of Attic influence. However, as Avronidaki (2008: 20) points out, "(t)he Painter of the Dancing Pan uses iconographic motifs known from Attic vase-painting, which he combines to create new compositions: the simultaneous appearance of a bearded and a beardless Pan on the Kassel skyphos (*pl.* 4, 3-4) and the Pyrrhic dancer together with the woman gazing into the mirror and Eros in the women's quarters on the bell-krater Athens 1367 (*pl.* 3,1) are characteristic examples of this phenomenon." This once again points to the global knowledge cultures that were building and gathering force at this time, and how these networks of exchange would be reinterpreted at the local level for the tastes of a local audience. Thus, we see the intermarriage of the fixity in place alongside the fluidity of the ancient world: the two coming together in one vase to show how these two can be combined.

⁸⁴⁷ Merker 1979: 169 (Egypt), 170 (East). Though this is still not a large exportation, it is interesting that it occurs at all. This is contra Sparkes (1967: 116), who argues that, "Boeotia did not export much of her pottery, indeed it is doubtful if she exported any, except to neighbouring Euboea; most that has been found beyond her boundaries is likely to have been taken away casually by individuals." This interpretation is problematic, as it assumes that Boiotian ware was somehow not 'worthy' or traded, thus falling back on the dated view (though not dated for Sparkes) that Boiotia was a backwater that was only borrowing from other regions. Merker's 1979 analysis, which argues for some trade is therefore more consistent with some of the more modern interpretations (such as Kilinski's articles) that Boiotia was involved in trading their wares and that they were not simply plagiarising the art and manufacturing of other regions.

well as Boiotia's active role, not only as a consumer, but also as a producer. Furthermore, the trade with Egypt strengthens the early ties between Egypt and Boiotia, evidenced in the Egyptian cults of Chaironeia.⁸⁴⁸ Boiotia, therefore, was an active player in this growing global world, one that formed bonds and alliances with foreigners, but that also engaged economically and artistically within this web of trade.

Further evidence of this system of exchanges is found in the Classical period in a Boiotian skyphos (#12591) from the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Figure 2.6 below).



Figure 2.6: Boiotian skyphos from the National Archaeological Museum in Athens #12591 (Avronidaki 2008: Plate 5.3; copied with permission)

The presence of the knife is indicative of the intention to sacrifice the dog, an action that at first appears unlikely, as the dog and its iconography are associated with childhood. However, dogs were used as sacrifices in purification rites in both the ancient Greek and Roman worlds.⁸⁴⁹ If this

⁸⁴⁸ See Chapter 1, pages 85, 88, 120-1, 184-6.

⁸⁴⁹ Avronidaki 2008: 10-11. However, Avronidaki does suggest some caution in our interpretation of the sacrifice being depicted here. Although she argues for a possible ritual for Hecate and childbirth, she further warns us (2008: 13) that, "(i)t is true, of course, that dog sacrifices to Boeotian deities of childbirth and *kourotrophoi* are not known, but it should not be forgotten that in reality such rituals were much more commonly practiced than literary sources reveal..." So, although we have no evidence in the literary record for this, Avronidaki believes that the artistic representation should be considered as evidence.

is the case, and purification rites using dogs were a feature throughout the ancient Greek world, then this Boiotian skyphos is indicative of the Hellenic practice (at least once) in Boiotia. When we consider Plutarch's knowledge about dog sacrifices in the ancient Greek world,⁸⁵⁰ it becomes more likely that it was established in Boiotia, perhaps in the Classical period from which this vase comes, and that it continued into Plutarch's lifetime.⁸⁵¹ This skyphos, then, paints a picture in which Boiotia was engaged with the greater Hellenic world, but where the rituals were also likely reinterpreted in local, perhaps private,⁸⁵² contexts.

Boiotian pottery thus combines both the local and global worlds. Although these objects would, of course, send different message to different audiences, they also had features that could be interpreted and symbols that could be recognized by multiple *ethne*.⁸⁵³ We cannot, therefore, undervalue the local world and local audience in the development of art and culture. The above case studies are *exempla* of the global reinterpreted in the local. Although we do not possess many examples or studies from Plutarch's time, and thus cannot speak with any certainty on the continuity of the interconnected nature of Boiotia to the global world, the increase in trade brought about by the Roman Empire,⁸⁵⁴ demonstrates the continuum of this network of exchange.⁸⁵⁵ The

⁸⁵⁰ For Plutarch and dog sacrifices in the ancient Greek world, see Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 68 (280c) and 111 (290d). For more on Plutarch's presentation of dog sacrifices in Boiotia, see below, pages 321-2.

⁸⁵¹ This is not to say that the practice would have been the same, as it very likely evolved (especially with Roman influence) and found different expressions between the 500-year interval of this vase and Plutarch's lifetime. Despite this, it may yet speak to the continued practice, however scarce, of this ritual.

⁸⁵² Avronidaki (2008: 13-4) suggests that this might be part of a private ritual.

⁸⁵³ Furthermore, although these objects are from a time period long before Plutarch's lifetime, they still shed light on the development of the *ethnos* and *koinon* discussed below (pages 270-2) and that evolved into the Boiotia of Plutarch's time. In many ways, these small finds are tied to the expression and development of Boiotian identity that made its way to Plutarch. It is therefore important to understand some of the material culture of earlier ages in order to see the changes in Boiotia from this time to Plutarch's as well as some of the material landscape that likely still existed in his lifetime and thus informed his views.

⁸⁵⁴ See, for example, Paterson 1998. Plutarch's Roman connections and his ability to travel and network are further evidence of the connectivity of Boiotia during the Roman Empire: see the Introduction, pages 8-9, and Chapter 3, e.g., pages 352-4, 378-9.

⁸⁵⁵ One that, of course, evolved and changed.

material finds are thus a witness of both the connectivity of Boiotia, as well as the fixity in place of its people. The local therefore becomes just as important to the individual experience and interpretation of these objects as the global knowledge cultures. In the small finds, we thus discover the complementary nature of these two seemingly contradictory notions that show Boiotia as both a connected world and one made up of unique local spheres.

Religion

From the earliest times in Boiotia, when we begin to sense regional unity, we find that the heart of it is in its religious centres and celebrations.⁸⁵⁶ This continued into the Roman day, with festivals celebrated throughout Boiotia, some of which were mentioned by Plutarch and are discussed below.⁸⁵⁷ Throughout its history, the religious life of Boiotia was one of the main factors that united the region and enabled the creation of the identity of the *ethnos*. Boiotian religion has been studied extensively by modern scholars.⁸⁵⁸ A brief overview of its basic attributes will aid in understanding the identity projected through these practices, the spaces in which they were conducted, and how this identity survived and evolved into Plutarch's lifetime.

⁸⁵⁶ Bonner and Smith 1945: 13; Buck 1981: 48. Note a word of caution from Schachter (2016: 14): "Although it is impossible to speak of a Boiotian religion as distinct from the religion of the other Hellenes, it is possible to identify Boiotian cults as a system unique to the Boiotians, even though the individual deities or component elements of a particular cult may have been common to all Hellenes. It is the way in which they were combined that produces the full local flavour. The ingredients are common, the compound is unique." We must therefore not forget that the Boiotians shared some common beliefs with other regions of the ancient Greek world and that this was one of the factors that tied this world together. However, as we have been seeing with local worlds in Boiotia (see, for example, Chapter 1 for the unique aspects of Chaironeia), there are unique parts of celebration and beliefs that help to define and set Boiotia aside from other regions.

⁸⁵⁷ For Plutarch and Boiotian religion, see below pages 317-328. For the prosperity of Boiotian religion in the Roman age, including in the years after Plutarch's death, see Schachter 2016: 137-9.

⁸⁵⁸ The most thorough study, of course, being the volumes of Boiotian religion by Schachter 1981-1994. Cf. Schachter (2016: 175-192), for a discussion of the deities and sanctuaries of Boiotia and their ties to the history and politics of the region. Although this section will only summarize some of the major characteristics of Boiotian religious life, the accompanying footnotes will provide an indication of the interest this theme draws in scholarship.

Sanctuaries and Festivals

Most of the main divinities had a sanctuary in Boiotia, which might be explained by the numerous Greek legends that derived from the region.⁸⁵⁹ Further, the numerous local worlds established cults and rites that were unique to their space and place.⁸⁶⁰ Sanctuaries were part of the development of Boiotian identity reflected in the evolution and change in their festivals and their associated symbolic meanings for those within and without Boiotia's boundaries.

Cults and their rites are extremely important for building a group and its identity. Angela Ganter has extensively covered the cults of Boiotia and their links to group formation.⁸⁶¹ We also have a detailed study of Boiotian cults and their link to politics in a recent study by Schachter.⁸⁶² Despite the thorough coverage of these topics, it is worth repeating some of the important details here to provide a background for the religious life that Plutarch depicted in his works.⁸⁶³

Religious life in Boiotia was not static. There is a visible shift in the rites that were celebrated as well as the focus on certain religious spaces throughout Boiotian history. Much of this change can be tied to the political developments in the region. For example, as Thebes gained more power, so the religious Theban symbols gained a wider distribution and assumed more prominence. As H. Beck explains,

⁸⁵⁹ Vottero 1998: 205.

⁸⁶⁰ As we saw with Chaironeia: see Chapter 1, pages 88-9. See also, Chapter 1 pages 56-67, for a discussion on the micro-region of Lake Kopaïs as well as the focus of the sanctuaries in this area on divinities related to water.

⁸⁶¹ Ganter (2013: 86) explains that, "(g)enerally speaking, cults are convincingly regarded to be a nucleus of group formation in Ancient Greece. As ancient Greek religion lacked a normative base defining contents of belief and enforcing confession, religious consent was not expressed in discourse, but in practice."

⁸⁶² Schachter's 2016 *Boiotia in Antiquity* covers religion and its tie to political developments throughout his monograph.

⁸⁶³ The cults of Boiotia form the backbone of early Boiotian integration, as well as their later identity in the Imperial period (Ganter 2013: 102). The religious life of the region, therefore, forms the foundational basis of their regional affiliation. Therefore, we must understand this before we scrutinize what Plutarch says about these institutions.

...more so than anywhere else in the Archaic Greek world, religious life in Thebes was entangled with the articulation of a growing sense of regional ethnic solidarity. Religious practice in the city and countryside, e.g., procession rituals, sacrifices, and festivals, or the execution of temple building programs, was always carried out against the backdrop of and in conversation with regional developments in Boeotia. (H. Beck forthcoming: section 11.1)⁸⁶⁴

Thus, the religious associations between Boiotian poleis was also a reminder of their connection to Thebes, and later, of their group dynamic as a regional entity.

However, Thebes was not the only important entity in the building of a regional religious life for Boiotia. For instance, the cults of Athena Itonia at Koroneia (or Alalkomeneis) and Poseidon at Onchestos provided a link for the region from early times and speak to Boiotian identity centering on these cults.⁸⁶⁵ However, unlike in the Hellenistic period, we do not find any Pan-Boiotian worship in these spaces or an institutionalization of these cults.⁸⁶⁶ Instead, what is significant for these two cults is the affinity the Boiotians had for Athena and Poseidon that eventually brought them together and helped to cement their regional entity. This is made evident with the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos, centrally located in Boiotia, which became one of the main meeting places of the Boiotian *koinon*.⁸⁶⁷

Thebes was also a crucial player in one of the main sanctuaries of Boiotia: the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, between Akraiphia and Thebes. This sanctuary and its oracle formed part of an essential religious space for the region from the Archaic through Imperial periods. In fact, the Archaic stone

⁸⁶⁴ See above, pages 215-230 for more on Thebes in Boiotian history. For Thebes' rewriting of the narratives and the increasing power of their symbols in the region, see: Giroux 2020b.

⁸⁶⁵ H. Beck forthcoming: section 11.1; Fossey 1990: 264.

⁸⁶⁶ Ganter 2013: 98. Ganter sets the date of the institutionalization of Athena Itonia as the federal sanctuary of the Boiotians to the fourth century BCE, using the evidence of a Boiotian-Aetolian proxeny decree.

⁸⁶⁷ H. Beck forthcoming: section 11.7; Ganter 2013: 100-1.

temple, and its surviving dedications, from both Boiotians and peoples from other regions and poleis such as Athens, indicate its transregional importance.⁸⁶⁸ It was thus, from an early age, a key player in Boiotian identity. It is likely that this central role was an impetus for the competition to control the area as a symbol of power.⁸⁶⁹ Some of the dedications found there from the *Boiotoi* may, in fact, be from Thebes alone. They would thus represent self-promotion to gain leadership over the region.⁸⁷⁰ While this is a likely scenario, without further evidence we cannot confirm the hypothesis. However, even if this is the case, the term *Boiotoi* and the Theban desire to use this as a statement of their leadership still implies that there was an awareness of regional affiliation tied to the cultic activities of the area.

In the Hellenistic period, there were many shifts in the focus of Boiotian religion, as Schachter explains,

The Hellenistic Koinon adopted as its gods Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios, and as its official oracle Apollo Ptoios. Not surprisingly, the cult of Zeus Karaios shows its greatest geographical expansion during the lifetime of the Hellenistic Koinon. The sanctuary of Athena Itonia became the site of the Pamboiotia, an annual agon restricted to Boiotians and apparently developed in order to control at regular intervals the quality of military training in the member states. (Schachter 2016: 187)⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁸ Ganter 2013: 87. Cf. Beck and Ganter 2015: 136. This is also the sanctuary where we find the first epigraphic evidence of the *Boiotoi* (Ganter 2013: 88; see below pages 270-2 for more on the *Boiotoi* and the difficulties surrounding the interpretations of the *ethnos/koinon* of the Boiotians).

⁸⁶⁹ Combined with control over the shrine of Onchestos (Ganter 2013: 91).

⁸⁷⁰ Ganter 2013: 91. Furthermore, as Ganter argues (2013: 101), a different reading is possible, depending on the audience. From an inside perspective, this is an expression of Theban power, whereas from an outside perspective, they would likely understand this as indicative of Boiotian unity. Therefore, the inscriptions in this trans-regional centre are important for our analysis not only of the inscriptional landscape of Boiotia, but also for the projection of its identity. Where outsiders may see unification, insiders may, instead, understand competition.

⁸⁷¹ These were far from the only important deities during this period. For example, we see the Boiotians swearing to Hera Basileia, Poseidon of Onchestos, and Zeus Basileus, when they were making treaties with their western neighbours (Schachter 2016: 188).

It is evident that the Hellenistic evolution of the Boiotian religious world had close associations to its politics. During this time, the Boiotian shield was now placed on the reverse of its coins as an attribute of Athena or Poseidon, while Zeus or a goddess (either Persephone or Demeter) appeared on the obverse. It is hard to ignore the loss of prominence of place for the Boiotian shield, now an attributive symbol instead of standing on its own, and the associated change in the symbolic language that represented a shift in the character of the *koinon*. When combined with the presence of Persephone/Demeter, this likely reflected the importance of Thebes in the region.⁸⁷² Therefore, it seems that the dominance of Thebes at this time as the potential leader of the Boiotian League, meant that its symbols were placed at the forefront of one of the most distributed items in the ancient world: coins.

We also witness Thebes' presence in many of the festivals of the region. Perhaps the most obvious was the festival of the Basileia at Lebadeia, in honour of Trophonios Basileus. After the Battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE, the Boiotian League established the Basileia as a Pan-Boiotian festival.⁸⁷³ However, this festival was likely at the initiative of Thebes and part of a deliberate political policy.⁸⁷⁴ The choice of Zeus, the Boiotian *ethnos* god, was an important one, as it enabled the Thebans to bring the Boiotians together, but to do so on its terms. Thus, Thebes crafted a Boiotian

⁸⁷² Schachter 2016: 188.

⁸⁷³ Beck and Ganter 2015: 148-9; Mackil 2014: 56-7. The most thorough study of the sanctuaries and festivals in Boiotia and their ties to national identity and political domination is found in Schachter 2016: 175-192. Note, for example, that Schachter (2016: 344-371) finds evidence of other festivals established in other poleis that may not be related to Thebes, such as the Mouseia of Thespiiai. We therefore have evidence of at least one local world functioning relatively independently from Thebes in their rites during this period.

⁸⁷⁴ Schachter 2016: 187. Cf. Ganter (2013: 94) who agrees with this view. Schachter (2016: 117) explains how the Thebans established a festival, set up a sanctuary to Zeus, and named him Zeus Basileus: "It was an overt political statement, intended not only to impress passers-by on the road to Delphi, but also to discourage the Orchomenians and any other potential dissidents."

symbol into one that represented its own power.⁸⁷⁵ Furthermore, the Basileia remained an important festival in future generations, when the *koinon* was mostly engaged in religious matters.⁸⁷⁶

The Thebans chose a clever location for the festival: Lebadeia on the road to Delphi.⁸⁷⁷ The site was thus both visible and accessible, not only for the Boiotians as a group, but also for outsiders who may have been passing through on their way to Delphi. Furthermore, the oracle of Trophonios was at Lebadeia, a popular one for insiders and outsiders alike.⁸⁷⁸ The festival thus advertised the Spartan defeat and the supremacy of Boiotia and, indirectly, of Thebes.

The Daidala at Plataia, in honour of Hera, provides another example of Thebes using a religious festival to advertise their control of the region. Although evidence for the Daidala is late, the worship of Hera in Boiotia goes back to the Bronze Age.⁸⁷⁹ Her importance to the region and her presence were therefore not tied to Thebes, but to the region from its very beginnings. Furthermore,

⁸⁷⁵ Ganter 2013: 94; Schachter 2016: 189. Ganter (2013: 95) explains that Zeus was originally linked with north-western Boiotia and that this area where the Basileia was celebrated, was one with deep links to Orchomenos. Thus, by choosing Zeus and incorporating him into the Theban pantheon alongside establishing the festival in the territory of one of their long-standing rivals, the Thebans manage to absorb them and turn Zeus into a symbol of their power.

⁸⁷⁶ As Schachter (2016: 189) explains, “(b)y an irony of fate, this move, apparently prompted by financial desperation, was destined to provide a tenuous but nevertheless effective link among the Boiotians long after they ceased to have any political aspirations.” Cf. Ganter 2013: 96. See also, Mackil (2013: 9), who stresses the importance of these comings together, even if they are under Theban dominance.

⁸⁷⁷ Beck and Ganter 2015: 149; Schachter 2016: 117.

⁸⁷⁸ H. Beck forthcoming: section 11.7; Ganter 2013: 94. A thorough discussion of the oracle of Trophonios is provided by Bonnechère 2003, who shows links and continuity between the consultations at this oracle in the Archaic and Classical periods, to that of Pausanias' time. This, of course, is important for how Plutarch describes this oracle (see below, pages 319, 321), in that Plutarch's presentation may be based on a tradition, or *longue durée*, that continued into his lifetime. See Schachter (2016: 381-392) for an examination of an inscription found at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios about Kalliklidas of Opous who consulted the oracle of Trophonios for two Boiotian poleis, namely, Lebadeia and Aknaiphia.

⁸⁷⁹ Chaniotis 2002: 24; Ganter 2013: 96-7; Schachter 2016: 184. Note that Plutarch seems to have spoken about the Daidala, but that his descriptions only come to us from a fragment, thus making it very difficult to interpret his position on the subject (Plutarch Fragments 157 [from Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, 3, Prooem]). As a result, this festival is not included in the discussion below on Plutarch's presentation of Boiotian religion (pages 317-328).

the Daidala seems to include multiple Boiotian poleis and, through time, it evolved to include even more, thus suggesting an attempt at a Pan-Boiotian celebration.⁸⁸⁰ So, when the Thebans took over the ritual after the Battle of Leuktra it became a symbol of their control of the region.⁸⁸¹

Many of the Boiotian sanctuaries and festivals were also operating in the Imperial period when Plutarch was alive. These include, the Amphiarraion in Oropos, the sanctuary of Artemis at Aulis, the Charopeion in Koroneia, the Delion near Tanagra, the Graces at Orchomenos, the Kabirion in Thebes, the Muses at Helicon, the Ptoios at Akraiphia, and the oracle of Trophonios in Lebadeia. It seems that these sanctuaries and their associated festivals, as well as other secondary sites, survived into the fourth century CE,⁸⁸² and were thus a presence in Boiotia when Plutarch was writing.⁸⁸³

Despite the numerous sanctuaries and festivals throughout the region, Thebes' looming presence in the religious spaces and activities of Boiotia cannot be denied. Therefore, we must now turn to a brief survey of Thebes and its religious life that serves to characterize the polis and its possible religious atmosphere, and to contextualize what other sources say about Thebes before we investigate how Plutarch presented this place.

⁸⁸⁰ It began as a rite where wooden images (provided by different Boiotian poleis) were bathed and dressed, then taken to be burned on Mount Kithairon (Schachter 2016: 184). Schachter (2016: 184) explains the efforts made to turn this into a more inclusive pan-Boiotian festival, "...by having the logs for the Daidala cut at Alalkomenai, that is, at the religious focus of the old ethnos, but at heart the ritual belonged to those towns where the worship of Hera Kithaironia can be attested, and these are Plataia, Thespiiai, and the latter's dependants. The rite was a survival from the time when this region was more or less self-contained. This much can be deduced from the geographical distribution of the cult. When the rite was taken over and made 'pan-Boiotian' it is simply not possible to say." Note, however, that Ganter (2013: 96) argues that it only became a true pan-Boiotian festival in the Hellenistic period. Cf. Beck and Ganter (2015: 152) for Pausanias' representation of this festival, and Chaniotis (2002) for the Daidala as a combination of three celebrations into one (the *hieros gamos* of Hera and Zeus, a fertility ritual with wooden images, and a fire ritual representative of sacrifice) that was symbolic of the reconciliation between Thebes and Plataia.

⁸⁸¹ For an explanation of the political nature of the festival, see Chaniotis 2002: 36-7.

⁸⁸² Aravantinos 2010: 348.

⁸⁸³ For Plutarch's mentions of Boiotian festivals see below, pages 318-9.

Thebes

The Kadmeia and the walls of Thebes were not the only spaces in Thebes where the landscape was connected to the narratives.⁸⁸⁴ The festival of the Daphnephoria was celebrated in the spring every nine years in honour of Apollo. As with other festivals, such as the Basileia, the Daphnephoria was not static but rather, changed through time. Likely in the fourth century BCE, the procession of the Daphnephoria became entangled with another old rite of carrying an image of the protecting goddess from the city to the edge of the polis. Thus, what was once restricted to a small group of important families became integrated to include and represent the polis. This change symbolized Theban ownership of its territory.⁸⁸⁵ But the Daphnephoria was not only connected to elite Theban families, it was also entangled with Boiotian narratives and cult activities. In this way, the festival is representative of 'a lively cross-fertilization' of religious practices and processes in the region.⁸⁸⁶ The Daphnephoria, therefore, while once a rather private affair, became one with close ties to the landscape of the polis that shifted to represent the growing power and interests of Thebes, and eventually the entanglement of Boiotian religious identity.

Thebes was also the site of many tales from Greek mythology, holding a distinguished position as the birthplace of both Dionysos and Herakles, but also important for Kadmos and Oedipus. As Angela Kühr states, "(i)t is significant that the number of well known myths connected to this

⁸⁸⁴ The local world of Thebes is one that is complex and variegated and cannot be discussed in its entirety here. A thorough discussion on the religious spaces in Thebes with a focus on Kadmos, is given by H. Beck (forthcoming: section 11) and Kühr (2006a). See, of course, Kühr's 2006a monograph *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam* for her argument that the topography of Thebes and of other Boiotian poleis is tied to Theban claims of power, competing claims of power, and Boiotian identity more generally. Cf. H. Beck 2014: 21.

⁸⁸⁵ Schachter 2016: 274-5. Schachter (2016: 274) points to more changes: "There were at least two subsequent revivals, when elements taken from other ephebic rites – the Septerion at Delphi, the Oschophoria at Athens – were incorporated." Another revival is also found in the Roman Empire, likely in the first century CE (Schachter 2016: 274). For another religious celebration in Thebes, the mystery cult of the Kairoi, see Schachter 2016: 315-343.

⁸⁸⁶ H. Beck forthcoming: section 11.7.

polis, which have survived over the centuries, is overwhelmingly greater than that about any other Boeotian polis".⁸⁸⁷ That does not mean, however, that the import of Thebes to mythology is easily explainable, as there are some difficulties in the interpretations of Thebes' mythic past.

One of the greatest puzzles of Thebes' mythology comes from its foundation tales. The reason there is so much debate, is because there are two different stories. The first is the twins Amphion and Zethos, descendants of the river Asopos, who constructed the city walls.⁸⁸⁸ The other concerns the Phoenician Kadmos who came to Thebes looking for his sister. After he consulted the oracle of Delphi, Kadmos founded the city by sowing the teeth of a dragon and bringing forth the first Thebans.⁸⁸⁹ These sown and earth-born citizens gave the city regional and international links.⁸⁹⁰ Unusually, after Kadmos founds Thebes, he did not remain, like other *oikists*, but continued his travels.⁸⁹¹ This foundation myth seems to be earlier than that of the twins, however, the figure of Kadmos was well known even in Homeric times, with references to his daughter Ino in the *Odyssey* (5.333-335), and to his genealogical line in Hesiod.⁸⁹²

⁸⁸⁷ Kühr 2006b: 368. Cf. H. Beck forthcoming: section 11. For Demeter as the *poliouchos* of Thebes, see Hansen 1996: 108; Schachter 2014a: 83; Schachter 2014b: 327. Hansen (1996: 108) also points to Pindar *Isthm.* 7.1-5 as evidence that Dionysos Kadmeios was another patron god of Thebes. It seems that Pindar (*Isthm.* 7.1-5) considers Dionysos as a later addition to the city's protective deities. See also Berman (2015: 111-113) for the deities represented in Thebes in Athenian tragedy, as well as Demeter's place on the Kadmeia.

⁸⁸⁸ Kühr 2006b: 369. We first hear of them in Homer's *Odyssey* (11.263-265).

⁸⁸⁹ He was famous for bringing the alphabet from Phoenicia, installing the cults of the city, fighting a dragon and sowing its teeth in the ground from which sprang the Spartoi. See: Edwards 1979: 19-20; Kühr 2006b: 369; Schachter 1985: 145-153; Schachter 2016: 26, 32. Cf. Pindar *Pythian* 9.82-3. Also note the tie to Phokis. Although Chapter 1 pages 48-55 argued for the importance of the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia to that local polis' identity, other poleis, such as Thebes (as seen here) also have ties to the Phokian region.

⁸⁹⁰ Kühr 2006b: 370.

⁸⁹¹ Schachter 2006: 32.

⁸⁹² Schachter 2016: 25-6 (quoting Hesiod's *Theogony* 933-937, 975-978, 940-943). Cf. Schachter 1985: 149.

The double foundation myth results from different contexts. Amphion and Zethos, were attractive for the Thebans, since they were descendants of the Asopos river, giving this story local roots.⁸⁹³ But the tale of Kadmos grew more popular for the Thebans because it was favoured in Athens and its tradition spread throughout the Greek world, with different poleis claiming that Kadmos had also visited them.⁸⁹⁴ As time went on, the cultural merits of this story outweighed the autochthones aspects of the twins,⁸⁹⁵ creating multiple variations of the double foundation myth. This is indicative, perhaps, of a time when the local and the global come to odds. Here, the local desire for autochthony pushed the Amphion and Zethos myth, however, the fame of Kadmos on the global stage turned Amphion and Zethos into secondary characters. Yet the two myths survived in tandem, implying that both were somehow desirable to the Thebans, once again speaking to the importance of both the local and the global conversations for the inhabitants.⁸⁹⁶ Seeing the Mycenaean remains on the Kadmeia, along with the newer walls, ancient writers used these spaces to consolidate the two foundation myths by relating time and space.⁸⁹⁷ This also allowed both the local and the global discourses to come together and thus for the Thebans to project the importance

⁸⁹³ Berman 2004: 18; Kühr 2006b: 370.

⁸⁹⁴ Kühr 2006b: 370; Schachter 2016: 25.

⁸⁹⁵ Berman 2004: 19; Kühr 2006b: 370.

⁸⁹⁶ For the importance of heroic cults, like these, to bringing people together through ritual and their connection to the emergence of the polis, see de Polignac 1995: 128-149. Interestingly, Schachter (1985: 151) argues that the myth of Kadmos as well as that of Amphion and Zethos may be related to the *synoikismos* of Thebes and the desire of the people around for protection. Note, also, that the existence in tandem of these two myths did not suffice for ancient writers, who wanted to consolidate both myths. The two myths are combined most recognizably in Book 3 of the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus. In this rendition, Kadmos receives an oracle and goes to Thebes. He slays the dragon and, with the advice of Athena, sows the teeth into the earth from which spring the Spartoi. They fight and the five that survive become the Kadmeians who inhabit Thebes. Generations later, in this version, Amphion and Zethos ascend to the throne and build the walls of Thebes (Berman 2004: 2-3. Pausanias [9.5.6] and Diodorus [19.53.4-5] do similar things with the story). Here we have Kadmos founding the Kadmeia, and the twins fortifying it. This is a great example of how the topography of the ancient city of Thebes lent itself to its mythological discourse. For more on how the myth of Kadmos evolves through time, see Edwards 1979: 17-44. The changes seen in Edwards' work are thus further evidence that myths can be divergent and thus used for different purposes, as we see with the rivalry between Thebes and Orchomenos (see pages 217-8).

⁸⁹⁷ Berman 2004: 3. In another tradition Pherekydes of Athens places the twins' foundation of the wall first and has Kadmos come in and refound the city when it was desolate (*FGrHist* 3 F41d).

of their polis not only for the global conversation of Kadmos, but also through the autochthony that these two tales granted to its people through the Spartoi and the twins.

Thebes was also an important centre for divination in Greece.⁸⁹⁸ It possessed five oracles, the most famous of which was the oracle of Apollo Ismenios and its practice of *empyromancy*:⁸⁹⁹ prophecies based on observations of the shape of the flames and the direction of sparks as a sacrifice was burning. *Kledonomancy*, divination based on voices and noises, was practiced at the oracle of Apollo Spodios. At the *oionoskopeion* of the blind prophet Teiresias, *ornithomancy*, divination based on the cries and movement of birds, was practiced. Thebes also boasted an oracle of Ammon-Zeus, imported from Libya, where the movements of cult images being carried in procession, or *iconomancy*, was practiced. Finally, Thebes potentially had an oracle in honour of Amphiaraos. Scholars are divided about its existence in Thebes, but Sarantis Symeonoglou is convinced of its presence because of the numerous literary testimonia. This oracle practiced *hypnomancy* or *oneiromancy*: divination based on dreams induced through sleeping in a sacred precinct.⁹⁰⁰

Thebes, like Chaironeia,⁹⁰¹ and certainly other poleis of the Boiotian world, celebrated its own mythic traditions and religious spaces. However, since Thebes is one of the best documented and draws more scholarly attention, we have more evidence to reconstruct its local world.⁹⁰² Through the practice of dedicating tripods and the annual festival of the Daphnephoria, we find evidence that Thebes was very important to the development of the Boiotian community, but one that also

⁸⁹⁸ See Berman (2015: 156) for the regional rivalries between Thebes and Delphi that led to the diminishing of Apollo Ismenios' importance in literature.

⁸⁹⁹ For more on Apollo in Thebes, see H. Beck forthcoming: section 11.4.

⁹⁰⁰ Symeonoglou 1985: 155-8. For Plutarch and the oracles of Boiotia, see below, pages 319-321.

⁹⁰¹ See Chapter 1, pages 82-91 for the religious life of Chaironeia.

⁹⁰² This is not to say that there are no difficulties associated with this type of investigation for Thebes, as noted above, on pages 267-8.

had strong hegemonic overtones.⁹⁰³ What becomes evident, therefore, is that Boiotia, like other regions of Greece, was composed of numerous local worlds, each with its own beliefs and traditions that often tied into the political and historical narratives. Thebes, as we have seen throughout this chapter, was a heavy entity in Boiotia, one that pushed for power. As a result, its presence in the religious narratives of Boiotia is also a strong one that speaks not only to their own priorities, but also to the larger region and their coming together (or resistance to coming together) to form a recognizable *ethnos* and *koinon*.

What is Boiotian?

Finally, the explanation for clustering is found in homophily – the tendency for like people to connect with each other. You are more likely to know someone picked at random in your neighbourhood than someone picked at random from Beijing because you and your neighbour are homophilous for residence. (Reger 2013: 144-5)

While perhaps a simplistic rendering, what it meant to be 'Boiotian' is encapsulated in the above quotation and points us to the identity of this region, its peoples, and its places: land. Boiotia was connected through its fertile soils, and while this land was often a source of contention from both the inside and the outside, it also brought them together. Although some places in Boiotia were better connected than others (either through alliances or through competition), there remained a recognizable group, a Boiotian *ethnos*. This *ethnos*, however, was more than just a people connected through land for the *Boiotoi* come together in many ways.

⁹⁰³ Mackil 2013: 167-8. Mackil (2013: 170) states that, "Apollo Ismenios was regarded as the source of civic order at Thebes, because he was remembered as presiding over the Boiotian conquest of the region, including Thebes, and the truce achieved with the city's former inhabitants who were driven out to the Orchomenos region." For the dedication of tripods in Boiotia, see Papalexandrou (2008: esp. pp. 262-271) for a discussion of collective dedications of tripods and the link of these tripods to political and territorial power in Boiotia. See above page 249 for more on the tripods.

To investigate what bound them, scholars have turned to different parts of Boiotian culture. They look to their unique dialect as a source of unity and identity,⁹⁰⁴ to their pottery as differing from Attic examples,⁹⁰⁵ to their myths, festivals, and cults as bringing them together in celebration, ritual, and belief.⁹⁰⁶ They also turn to the traditions concerning the settlement of Boiotia as well as the history of the name *Boiotoi*, with their poleis first appearing as a unit in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (*Iliad* 5.708-710), and later as an established people with leaders, *boiotarchs*, in Herodotus (5.77.4; 5.79.2, 9.15.1) and as an alliance, a *symmachia* (συμμαχία), in Thucydides (2.2.4).⁹⁰⁷ These historical narratives then push the idea of the Boiotians as a military culture, grouped together through defence or internal competitions. What is more, throughout the historic narrative and times of cohesion and conflict, Thebes became a looming presence that not only divided, but ultimately brought the region together through attempts at gaining power over it.⁹⁰⁸ In this way, to be Boiotian was also to be embroiled in local and regional claims and competitions for land. However, it was not always about internal conflict, it was also about coming together as a people to defend Boiotia against outside forces, to celebrate rituals, and to recognize commonalities. As such, the Boiotians developed a unique *ethnos* and *koinon* that defined it from other regions. Boiotia and its peoples are thus complex and non-static entities.

⁹⁰⁴ Bakhuizen 1986: 65-9; H. Beck 2014: 27-8; Buck 1981: 47 (among other attributes); Larson 2007: 111-127 (archaizing tendency); Levin 1986: 17-9 (accentuation in papyri fragments); Müller 2016; Pantelidis 2017 (dialectal relationships of Boiotia with its neighbours); Schachter 2016: 21; Vottero 1998 and 2001.

⁹⁰⁵ Avronidaki 2008; Kilinski 1977, 1978, 1986; Ure 1932.

⁹⁰⁶ Bakhuizen 1986: 68-9; H. Beck 2014; Beck and Ganter 2015: 135-6; Bonner and Smith 1945: 13; Buck 1981: 47; Kühr 2006a, 2006b; Larson: 2007; Mackil 2013: 9-11; Schachter 1981-1994, 2016: 21.

⁹⁰⁷ Bakhuizen 1986: 68-9; Bonner and Smith 1945: 11-3; Buck 1979: 34; Buck 1981: 48; Hammond 2000: 81; Larson 2014; Schachter 2016: 19-20.

⁹⁰⁸ Though the bringing together of the Boiotians by Thebes through claims to power (such as we saw with festivals above on pages 263-5, for example) cannot be said to be altruistic and was likely part of their plan for dominance, the effect remains the same: through these claims and competition for power, the Thebans end up bringing the Boiotians together not only in a political and military lead, but also through economic exchange (e.g., coins) and religious festivals.

Although the history and religion of Thebes command our attention, it is far from the only polis that made up this regional unit. Like Athens and Sparta, most of the information we have is from these larger poleis who often held power. As a result, some of the smaller poleis fade into the background in the context of these domineering places. However, as we have seen in the material culture section with Tanagra or Thespiiai, or in Chapter 1 with Chaironeia, Boiotia was composed of many poleis that contributed to the regional unit with their economic, political, and cultural influences. To be Boiotian, therefore, was not just to be a part of a regional *ethnos* or *koinon*, but also to be a part of a local world that helped to define the identity of that regional party.

So now we must ask ourselves, how did Plutarch see Boiotia and its culture? Was it distinct from the rest of Greece? If so, in what ways did Plutarch believe Boiotia was set apart? Did he, for example, point to the rich agricultural land that our survey of Boiotian topography and history made so prominent, not only for the wealth it granted to the inhabitants, but also for the conflict it drew to the region? And, finally, were his mentions of Boiotian cultural identity part of any program or message that he wished to impart to his reader? It is to these questions that I now turn.

Plutarch's Boiotia

Boiotia and its reputation as a backwater of Greece is fuelled by a successful Athenian propaganda strategy that permeated all the way to the modern day.⁹⁰⁹ But, as we have seen throughout this chapter and will now see in Plutarch's narrative of the region, Boiotia was a complex area whose connections defy its stereotypes. However, peeling back the layers of Plutarch's works to garner a

⁹⁰⁹ See above, pages 195-6. The success of this, of course, comes partially from the comedic effect of the stereotype, for as Blakely (2015: 134) explains, "(c)omedy is a powerful index of fame – a joke that needs an explanation is a failed one – as are the material witnesses of the cult's power." We do not wonder at the meaning of 'Boiotian swine', speaking to the potency of the jibe. Instead, we now wonder about its legitimacy.

response to the slander against his fellow Boiotians, and to build a new reputation for Boiotia is not an easy task. It was clearly not his primary purpose in writing. Instead, he focused on philosophical questions, providing *exempla* for his reader, and exploring connections between Greeks, Romans, and barbarians.⁹¹⁰ Yet, it is possible to gain some insight into his understanding of the Boiotian people as unique, but also tied to their wider Greek and Roman worlds. In this way, Plutarch's representation of Boiotia becomes a micro-exploration of those Greek, Roman, and barbarian connections, while also positioning Boiotia as a place and a people worthy of imitation.

The Basics

Boiotia, its peoples, topography, and customs are found sprinkled throughout Plutarch's writings. His comments, even if they do not always provide much detail, nonetheless allow Plutarch to paint a picture of the region. Unfortunately, not all of Plutarch's works survive, but a quick glance through the *Lamprias Catalogue* reveals that he was, indeed, concerned with Boiotia, its peoples, and its customs. For example, we find some treatises that are no longer extant, including *A Collection of Oracles* (#171),⁹¹¹ *On the Descent into the Cave of Trophonios* (#181), and *On the Festival of Wooden Images at Plataia* (#201).⁹¹² While we cannot speak with any authority on the nature, length, or opinions expressed in these treatises, they still provide a clue as to Plutarch's interest in his region.

⁹¹⁰ M. Beck 2014: 4; Duff 1999: 5; Harbsmeier 2015: 25-6; Pérez Jiménez 2002: 105-6; Jones 1971: 103; Mehl 2011: 185-6; Pelling 2002b: 317; Swain 1999: 86, 90; Titchener 2014: 480; Tröster 2008: 15.

⁹¹¹ Though the name of this treatise implies that it did not focus solely on Boiotia, the number of oracles in Boiotia as well as Plutarch's interest in them in his works (see below, pages 319-321), suggests that the Boiotian oracles were at least a part of the discussion.

⁹¹² Note that the numbers listed with these treatises as well as the ones with the lost *Lives* below, are the number that they were given in the *Lamprias Catalogue*.

These three lost treatises clearly express a concern with the religious atmosphere of Boiotia. This fits with Plutarch's interest in the divine in other treatises.⁹¹³ We can draw a very tentative conclusion here. His concern with religion in his realm, which reflects the concern he showed for the same subjects for Delphi and for Greece more generally, implies that Plutarch viewed Boiotia as a region that was just as interesting, or at least interesting enough, to use as an example for his readers. Boiotia, in this way, shared the spotlight with Delphi for these subjects and was thus subtly compared to it. Yet, without more information we cannot push this conclusion too far.

More clues of Plutarch's implicit message about Boiotia are found in the lost *Lives* in the *Lamprias Catalogue*, including Epaminondas (#7), Herakles (#34), Hesiod (#35), Pindar (#36), and Crates (#37). The choice of these men speaks not only to his interest in preserving the traditions and great men of his own region, but also to his belief that they were worthy of comparison with some of the great men of Rome. Thus, without even reading his works, we have an indication of Plutarch's potential message for his audience: the Boiotians were no backwater people, but rather, merited a share in the spotlight with other regions of Greece, such as Delphi, and thus worthy of imitation.

But we cannot rely on lost works to gauge how Plutarch presented Boiotia and its peoples. We must instead turn to the other evidence at hand. All Plutarch's Boiotian references are listed in the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch". The purpose of this section, therefore, is to investigate the numerical implications of his comments before proceeding to explore specific

⁹¹³ See, for example, *De Iside et Osiride*, *De E apud Delphos*, *De Pythiae oraculis*, and *De defectu oraculorum*.

subjects related to Plutarch's representation of Boiotia. The data is presented in Figures 2.7 through 2.12 below.⁹¹⁴

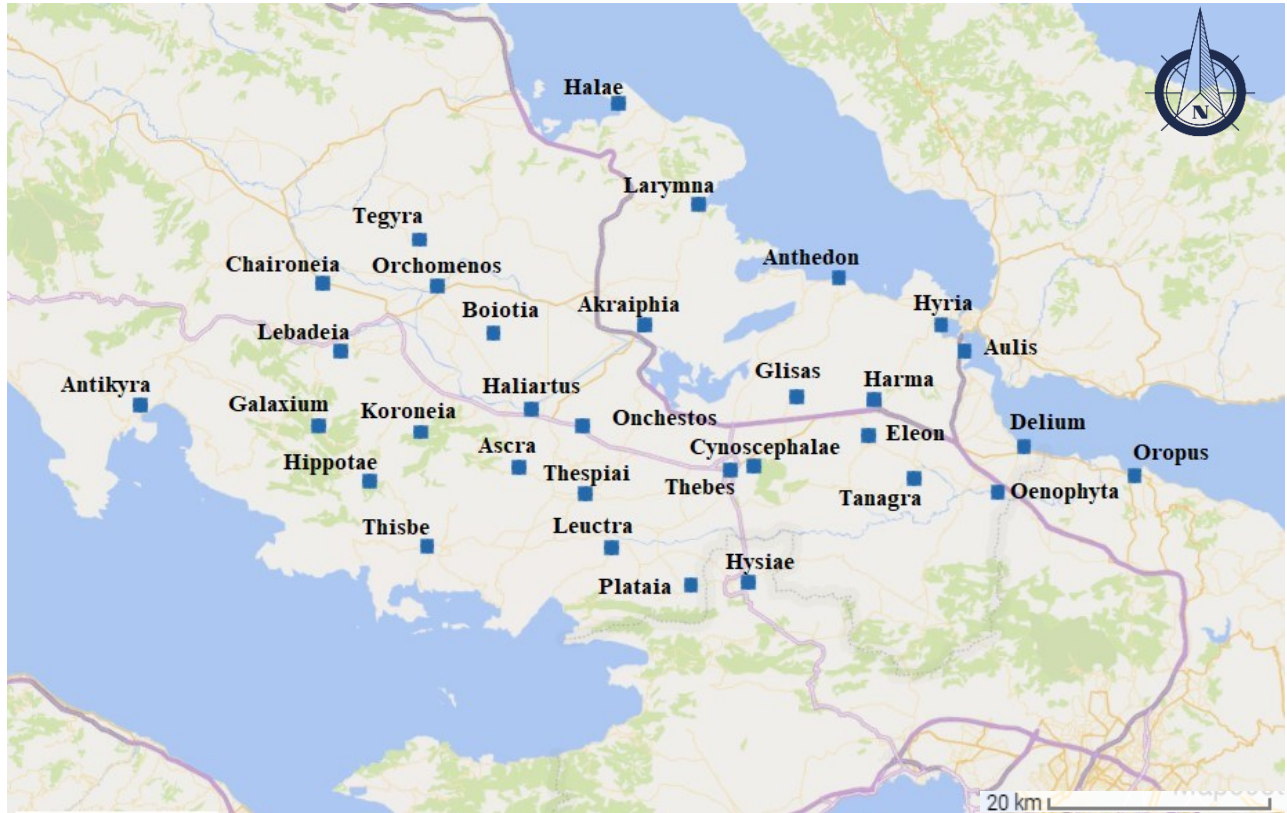


Figure 2.7: Locations in Boiotia Mentioned by Plutarch⁹¹⁵

⁹¹⁴ Note that Figures 2.7 and 2.8 were created using Excel's 3D mapping tool. This allows for a visualization of the data not only in terms of a graph for numerical comparison, but also in terms of geographic range and interest. For more on the visualization of Plutarch's network, see Chapter 3, pages 441-5. Note also that the location of Galaxium was chosen at random, as its location is not known (see below, pages 283-4).

⁹¹⁵ Please note that the dot found in Lake Kopais in Figures 2.7 and 2.8 is a spot chosen by me at random to represent when Plutarch mentioned Boiotia in a general sense. It does not, therefore, represent mentions of Lake Kopais (of which there are only two mentions: *Gryllus* 7 [990d-e]; Fragments 157). For more on Plutarch's mentions of Lake Kopais and other aspects of Boiotia, see the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch".

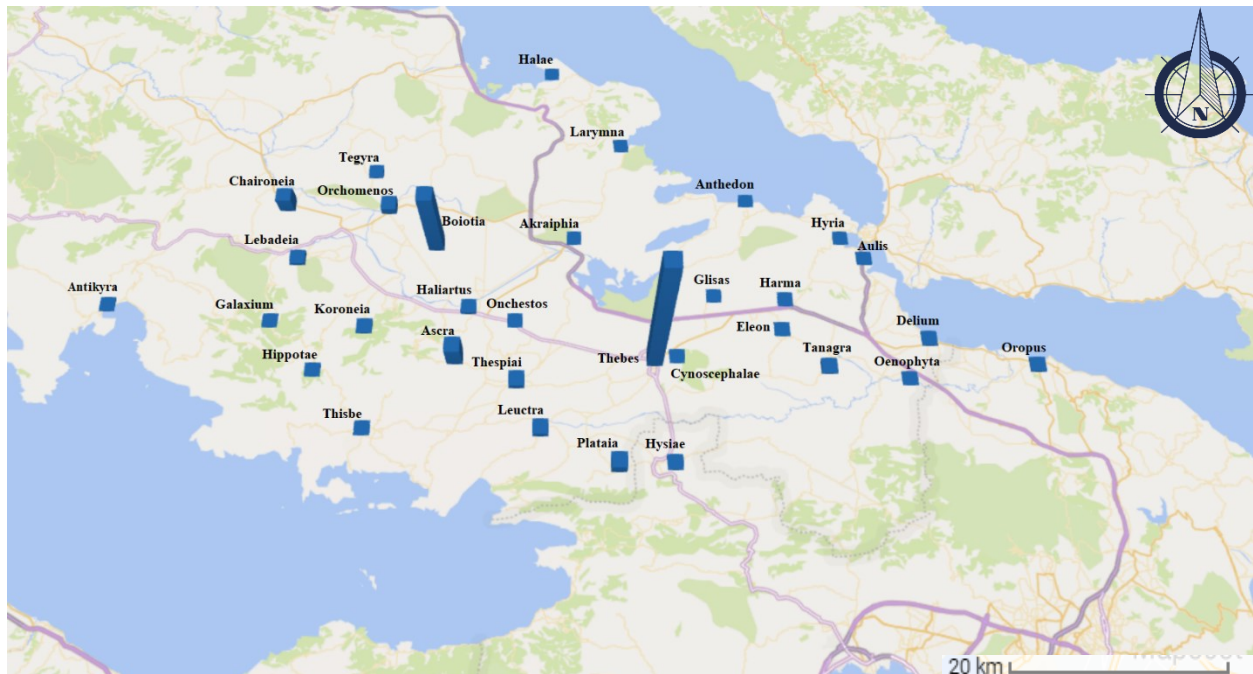


Figure 2.8: Locations in Boiotia Mentioned by Plutarch with Numerical Data

Figures 2.7 and 2.8 provide a geographic visualization of Plutarch's interest in Boiotia and its places. It is evident that Plutarch's interest in his region was not only in the larger poleis like Thebes, but also on smaller ones. However, when the numerical data is added onto the map (Fig. 2.8), we notice that Plutarch spent more time discussing Thebes than any other polis of the region. The stress on Thebes is perhaps unsurprising, given its leading role in Boiotia. What remains to be seen, however, are the contexts of these comments. Figures 2.9 and 2.10 represent Plutarch's war and other mentions for these areas, with Figure 2.9 including the persons Plutarch included from these places. Figure 2.10, in contrast, excludes these people to show any changes in the numbers that represent war versus those that represent other narratives.

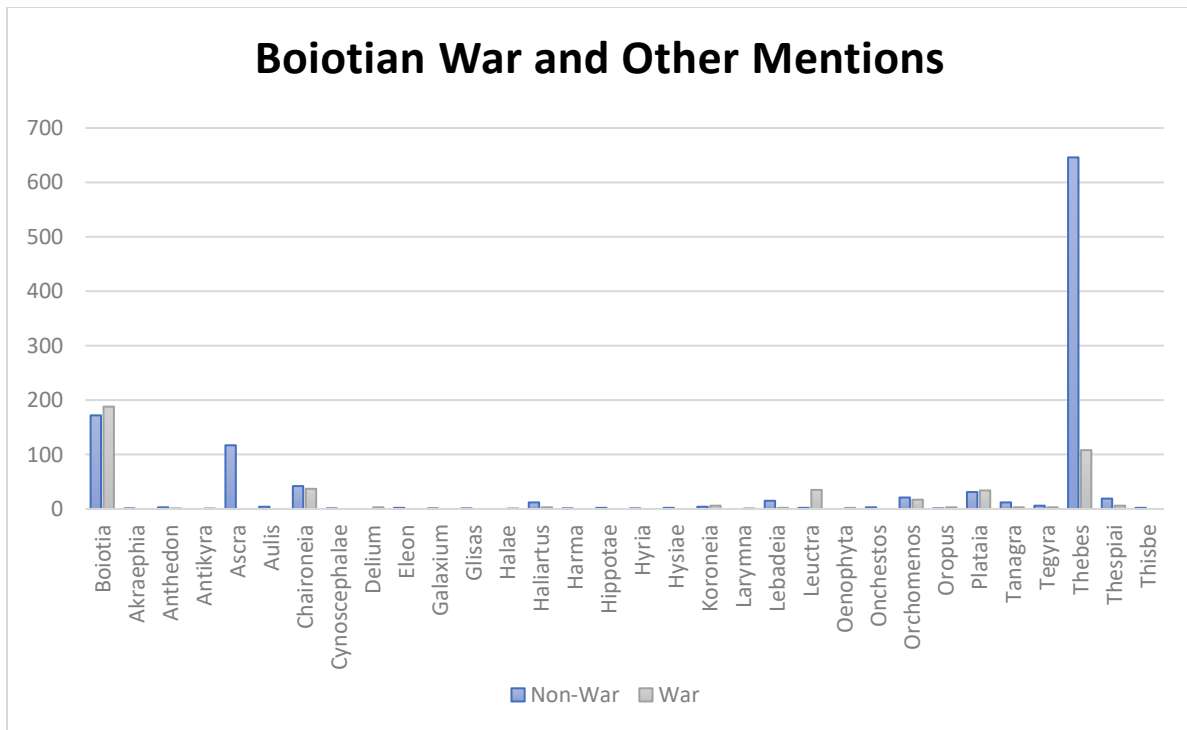


Figure 2.9: Plutarch's Boiotian War and Other Mentions

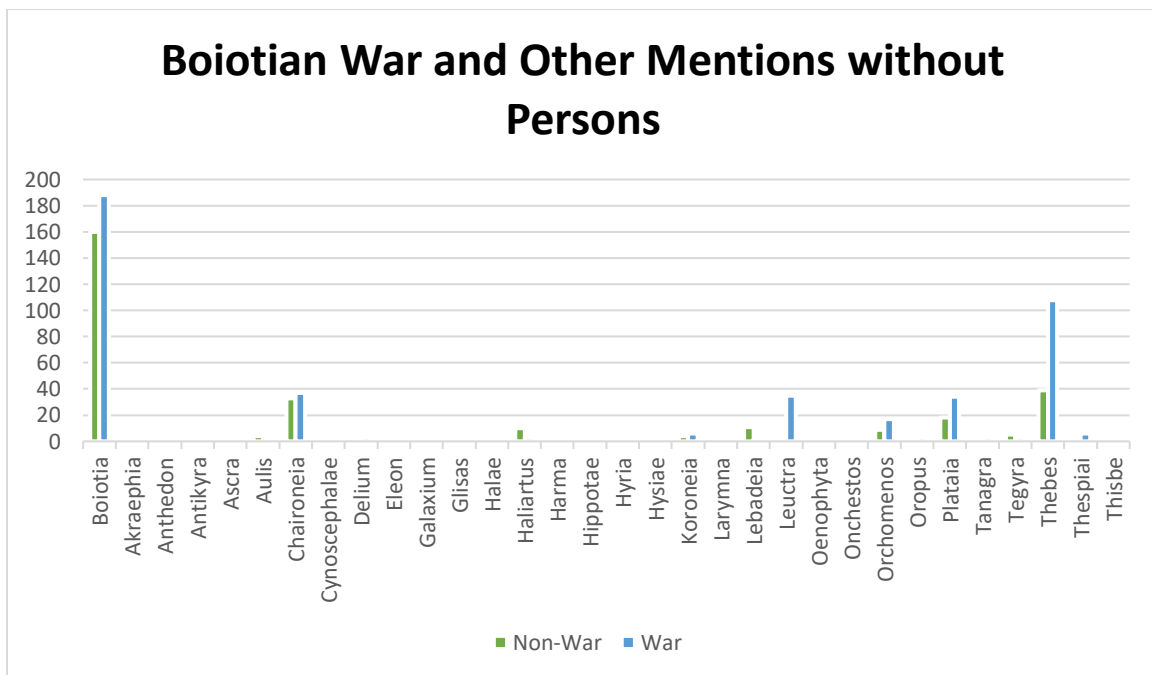


Figure 2.10: Plutarch's Boiotian War and Other Mentions without Persons

Figures 2.9 and 2.10 thus confirm that Plutarch's focus for these areas, when people are not included, was on their involvement in war. What is most interesting is the picture Plutarch painted for Thebes. In Figure 2.9 when we include persons, we see that Plutarch's focus on Thebes was not on war, but rather, on its people and non-war related aspects. For Plutarch at least, Thebes was more than a military aggressor. However, we cannot deny this role for Thebes, and for Boiotia more generally, in Plutarch's oeuvre, as we see in Figure 2.10, where the war references more than double that of other mentions.⁹¹⁶ Based on this data, Plutarch was following the stereotype of Boiotia as the dancing floor of Ares, one in which Thebes played a large role in influencing the course of events.

Figure 2.11 shows data related to what wars Plutarch focused on, whereas Figure 2.12 represents the other foci for the region.

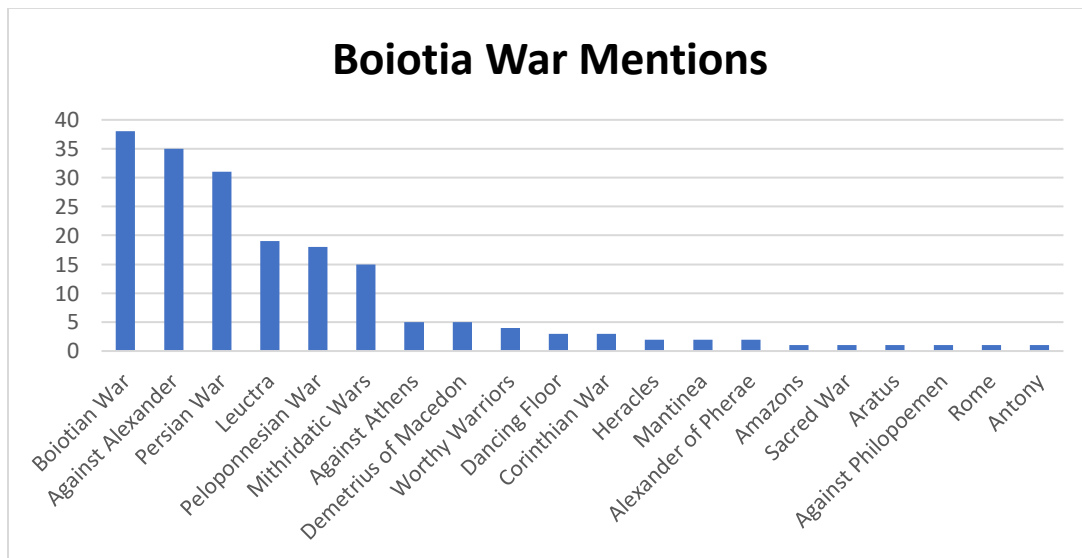


Figure 2.11: Plutarch's Boiotian War Mentions

⁹¹⁶ The numerical breakdown of Plutarch's mentions of Thebes are as follows (from highest number to lowest): Persons (192); Herakles (156); Pindar (116); War (108); Epaminondas (103); Pelopidas (40); the Kadmeia (17); Religious Spaces (7); Love (4); General (4); Places (3); Agriculture (2); Festivals (1); Politics (1). For the location of these comments, see the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch" and the heading "Thebes".

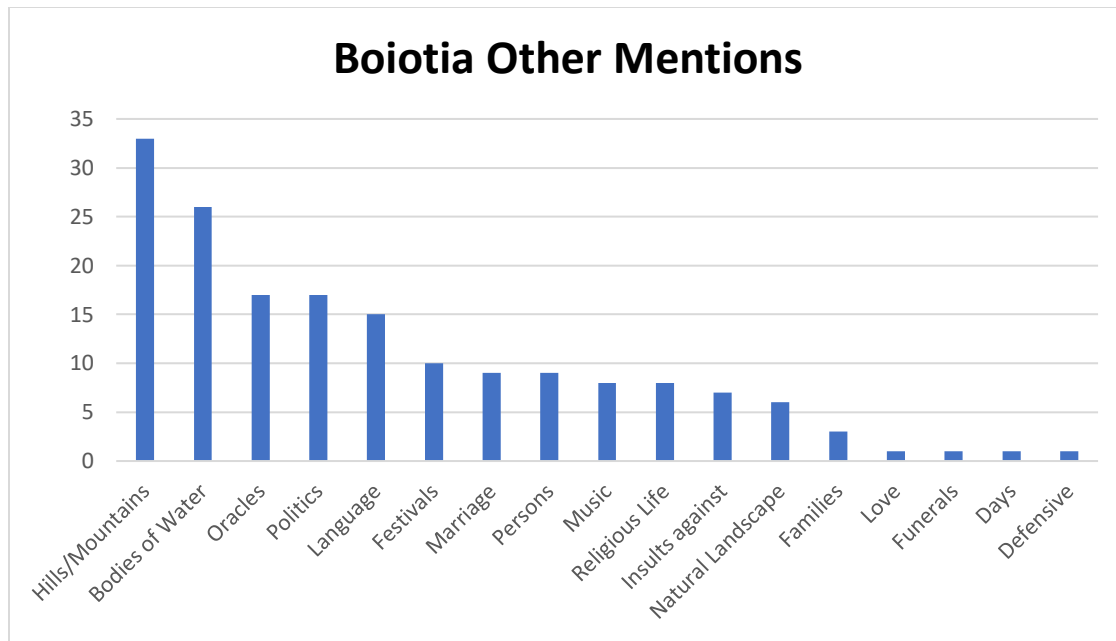


Figure 2.12: Plutarch's Boiotian Other Mentions

As Plutarch is well known to avoid explicit mentions of contemporary affairs, it is perhaps unsurprising that he did not spend much time on the more recent conflicts of Boiotia and Greece with Rome, as he would not have had much to gain from this topic. His focus for the war episodes thus remained in the past, with the most frequent being, in order of mention: the Boiotian War, the war with Alexander and Philip of Macedon, and the Persian War. Leuktra's fourth place in this list is also unsurprising, as this battle fits with Plutarch's focus on Thebes.⁹¹⁷

In terms of his other mentions, the topography of Boiotia held a primary spot for Plutarch. He spent time describing the physical landscape of the region, not just in relation to war, but also out of interest to changing place names, for example. In this way, Plutarch's non-war focus for Boiotia is aligned with its most prominent feature: its land.⁹¹⁸ Further, if we consider the lost treatise on

⁹¹⁷ For more on Plutarch's representation of Leuktra, see Buckler and Beck 2008: 111-126.

⁹¹⁸ The implications of this will be discussed below (pages 280-4). For more on Boiotia and its land, see above, pages 202-8.

oracles, we should not be taken aback by the emphasis placed on oracles in Boiotia. What may come as a surprise, is the number of times that Plutarch mentioned Boiotian language. To unravel what this all means for Plutarch's presentation of Boiotia, an investigation of each of these subjects is warranted.

Topography and Agriculture

Most of Plutarch's mentions of the topography of Boiotia were in relation to war. Many referred to the relationship of topography to battles. Take, for example, the plain of Boiotia being praised by the Persian general Mardonius, "...the land of Thessaly is broad, and the plain of Boiotia is good for brave horsemen and heavy-armed foot soldiers to fight in" (*Arist.* 10.2). This thought is also echoed in *Sulla* (15.2, 20.3-5), where the plains were again brought up in relation to their importance as a good ground for cavalry. When we consider the history of the region and the many wars and cavalry battles that occurred on its soil,⁹¹⁹ these observations that Plutarch made were anything but new. What is perhaps more interesting, is Plutarch's likely firsthand experience with horses on these plains. For, as we saw in Chapter 1, Plutarch's father was well-known for his excellent horses.⁹²⁰ It is therefore very probable that Plutarch was also familiar with horses, riding, and the importance of terrain. His observations were thus a combination of historical battle narratives and personal experiences. These quick remarks about horses and the plains of Boiotia were thus a part of his family's collective memory and served as a means to project not just his family's understanding of the space,⁹²¹ but also the identity of Boiotia as a rich plain made for

⁹¹⁹ See above, pages 215-230 for more on the history of Boiotia, including war.

⁹²⁰ See Chapter 1, pages 161-2.

⁹²¹ It is tempting to push this further and suggest that Plutarch was not only using his own personal knowledge here, but that the emphasis on the plains and its positive relationship with horses might be a subtle reminder to his reader of his own family's estate. If this was the case, it perhaps justifies Plutarch's family's economic and estate endeavours by explaining the affinity of the Boiotian landscape and horses. However, this may be too strong an assumption that

horses. This not only explains why so many battles were fought there, but also brings to light the pastoral landscape that Plutarch was familiar with, one that he actively participated in with his own estate.

The plains and their association as a battleground are not the only place where we find topographic mentions of Boiotia in relation to war. Plutarch has Aratus describe the strength of Boiotia to Philip as a place with 'many towering citadels' (*Aratus* 50.5),⁹²² a description that agrees with the archaeological remains of the region, with its numerous towers and defensive projects.⁹²³ Clearly, the reputation and thus importance of these defensive measures survived into Plutarch's day enough so that he named them, using Aratus' mouth, as Boiotia's greatest strength. Like the horses, we can infer that Plutarch's description must have been based on his own observations.⁹²⁴ So, according to Plutarch, although the Boiotian plains were a strong location for a battleground, the citadels provided a protective counter. Boiotia was therefore not weak and easy to take, but an organized region with a complex defensive system that rivaled other areas.⁹²⁵

requires reading between the lines, and will thus be relegated here, to a footnote, as a possible interpretation of why Plutarch continually references these two things together.

⁹²² ...πολλὰ δὲ Βοιωτῶν ἄκρα καὶ Φωκέων ἐκπεφύκασι τῆς γῆς... Note also, that in this quotation it was not just Boiotia that has these 'towering citadels', but also Phokis. Plutarch thus connected the two regions, enforcing the idea from Chapter 1, pages 48-55, not only that they influenced each other but also that their identities were sometimes intertwined because of the fluid nature of the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia, which encouraged exchange and communication. This is echoed in *Quaest. conv.* 7.4.6 (703f), where Plutarch mentioned the ravaging of Boiotia and Phokis.

⁹²³ See above, pages 217, 236.

⁹²⁴ The importance of Plutarch's autopsy is outlined in an article by Buckler 1992, which includes examples of his observations around Boiotia.

⁹²⁵ In this quotation, the citadels as Boiotia's strength were compared to the strengths of Crete (hills), Phokis (citadels) and Acarnania (citadels). Although this was spoken to Philip as being an ironic strength, as these areas were all under Philip's control despite him not occupying them (*Arat.* 50.5), it remains an important comparison as it links Boiotia to other areas of Greece, thus equating them and therefore showing that Boiotia was not as backwater as the Athenian reputation would have his readers believe.

The topographic links to war do not end there. Rivers act as providing a guide for the locations where generals, like Sulla, crossed.⁹²⁶ We also find the river Thermodon used as a terminus point for Lucullus' incursion (*Luc.* 14.2), and the role of the Hoplites river in warfare (*Lys.* 29.3-7). Clearly, through these mentions of plains, citadels, and rivers, it did not escape Plutarch that Boiotian history and thus its landscape,⁹²⁷ were largely shaped by the battles fought there.

However, Plutarch was also aware that war was not the only thing that defined his region. And so, further mentions of topographic features for Boiotia that are unrelated to war are also evident. For example, he spoke of bodies of water and their relationship with mythology in the area, such as the spring Cissusa near Thebes. Here, Plutarch described the importance of this spring and the surrounding region to the mythological aspects of this space,

There, the legends say that the nurses washed the infant Dionysos off after his birth, for, indeed, it [the water] glistens on the surface with the colour of wine, is translucent, and is very pleasing to drink. And the Cretan storax grows not far away, which the people of Haliartos consider as a sure sign of Rhadamanthus once dwelling on the spot; and they point out his tomb, which they call Alea. And near to this is the memorial of Alcmena, for she was buried there, as they say, since she lived with Rhadamanthus after Amphitryon's death. (*Lysander* 28.4-5)

This quotation is remarkable for a couple of reasons. First, Plutarch described the agricultural richness of the area, not only in terms of the quality of the water, but also in terms of its plant life, adding to our understanding of Boiotia as a fertile area.⁹²⁸ Secondly, it is difficult to ignore the emphasis placed on water and its effect on the senses (its taste and its appearance). In this way,

⁹²⁶ Assus River: *Sull.* 17.3; Cephissus River: *Sull.* 17.4.

⁹²⁷ This includes the current landscape that Plutarch was familiar with. Think, for example, of his mentions of inscriptions (e.g., *De fort. Rom.* 4 [318d]), or his discussions of Chaironeia's *lieux de mémoires* (see Chapter 1, pages 165-6, 189).

⁹²⁸ See above, pages 280-4. Plutarch also described Boiotia as fertile (*Sull.* 15.3). For more on the agriculture of Boiotia through Plutarch, see *Sull.* 20.3-5 (the area around Orchomenos and the plants of Lake Kopaïs); *Quaest. conv.* 5.8.3 (683e-f) and *De facie* 25 (939c-d) for the rich lands of Thebes; and Plutarch Fragments 64 (From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 427).

Plutarch has provided a local descriptive experience that we would not otherwise have. When we consider Lake Kopaïs and its importance to Plutarch's local world of Chaironeia,⁹²⁹ Plutarch's focus in this passage becomes as clear as the water he described. The waters of the lake united Boiotia not only in terms of its geographic extent but also in terms of the economy and religious atmosphere. This brings us to our final point on this passage, that of the mentions of Dionysos, Rhadamanthus, and Alcmene. By describing their relationship to the landscape, Plutarch transformed this place into one charged with symbolic meaning through its connection to mythology.

The mythological connection is reinforced in other passages concerning other areas of Boiotia. For example, in his explanation for why a river near Eleon was named Scamander, Plutarch linked the location to Deïmachus, a companion of Herakles who fought at Troy. Although Deïmachus died in the war, Herakles helped to save his pregnant lover, and after she gave birth to a son named Scamander, Herakles delivered them to Eleon. Later, when Scamander became king, he named the river (formerly called the Inachus river) after himself, another after his mother, and yet a third after his wife (*Quaest. Graec.* 41 [301a-c]). Plutarch gives the Scamander river near Eleon symbolic weight, tying yet another Boiotian local world to the Homeric epics, thus reinforcing the Boiotian connection to this narrative.⁹³⁰

Lastly, another local world in Boiotia is connected to pastoralism and the divine. Plutarch tells us of Galaxium and its copious amounts of milk, which they attributed to the presence of a god (*De*

⁹²⁹ See Chapter 1, pages 56-67.

⁹³⁰ He did this again in *Gryllus* 7 (990d-e), where Agamemnon bathes in Lake Kopaïs. For the importance of the connection that poleis build with the Homeric epics, see Chapter 1, page 86.

Pyth. or. 29 [409a-b]), though Plutarch does not seem to know where Galaxium was located.⁹³¹

Plutarch compared this abundance to the richness of Delphi, thus bringing the two regions together, not only in terms of the agricultural bounty, but also through the relationship of their land to the gods.⁹³²

We thus detect some trends emerging in how Plutarch represents Boiotia. According to Plutarch's description of Boiotian topography, the region was rich both in terms of its agricultural output and its mythological connections to landscapes. The dominating factor, however, was the role that these features played in the wars that occupy Boiotia's soil.

The Dancing Floor of War

The most obvious, explicit mentions of Boiotia in Plutarch's oeuvre are in relation to war. The most common referral to places in Boiotia concerns the locations of conflict, battles, or strategic movements and withdrawals. Plutarch mentions battles in Boiotia not only in relation to his hometown of Chaironeia, but also to Anthedon, Eleutherai, Halai, Haliartus, Kithairon, Koroneia, Larymna, Lebadeia, Leuktra, Orchomenos, Oropus, Plataia, Tanagra, Tegyra, Thebes, Thespiiai, and Boiotia in general.⁹³³ The first impression is that Plutarch also saw Boiotia mainly as a

⁹³¹ Note also, in *De def. or.* 8 (414a), Plutarch mentioned that it was a frequent occurrence to see a human pasturing his flocks near Ptoion, where an oracle exists. Agriculture, Boiotia, and the divine thus come together in more than one episode in Plutarch's works. H. Beck (2020: 145-6) posits that Galaxium was located in the Theban *chora* on its western edge. He adds (2020: 145) that, "(c)ow milk could be a hint. Most likely, the Galaxion referenced Kadmos's cow track to Thebes in one way or another, providing the story with a real site that vouched for its validity." Cf. Schachter 1981: 48-9; Schachter (1999: 174) also discusses Galaxium and its possible connections to Delos.

⁹³² By doing so, Plutarch again established a link between Boiotia and Phokis (see above, pages 48-55), thus connecting his two local worlds.

⁹³³ The war mentions for each of these poleis can be found in the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch". Unfortunately, the confines of this thesis do not allow for a full investigation of Plutarch's representation of each war, however, a list of these wars is found in the same Appendix Item under the header "At War". Therefore, instead of going through each of the battles in turn, I cover the major themes that Plutarch pushed for Boiotia and the Boiotians at war. For more on Plutarch's representation of Chaironeia and war, see Chapter 1, pages 164-171. Note the only

landscape of war. He even had his favourite Boiotian, Epaminondas, call Boiotia, 'the dancing floor of Ares' (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 18 [193e]; *Marcellus* 21.2). Plutarch's views thus seem to agree with our current narrative of battle and conflict. But what about those Boiotians who fought in the battles? How did Plutarch represent the people of Boiotia?

Although we debate whether the Boiotians were a people or simply a regional alliance of poleis at the time of the Persian Wars, Plutarch was less hesitant. Throughout his work and the history that he covered, the Boiotians are presented as a single cultural unit, although at times a tumultuous one.⁹³⁴ This is likely a reflection of the current circumstances of Boiotia in the first and early second centuries CE that served as a lens through which Plutarch interpreted the past, whether consciously or subconsciously, we cannot say. Whatever the cause for his certainty, the Boiotians for Plutarch, were a united people in the Archaic and Classical periods. And one of the factors that united them, unsurprisingly, was their military prowess.

Thebes

One of the poleis that Plutarch focused this military strength upon is Thebes. For instance, Plutarch tells us of a grievance made by the Spartans, "... indeed, it seems that there was no insignificant charge against Agesilaus, since, through his continuous invasions and campaigns into Boiotia, he had made the Thebans a match for the Spartans" (*Apophth. Lac.* Lycurgus 11 [227c-d]). However,

Boiotian locations that have no mention of war or conflict in Plutarch's works: Askra, Cynoscephali, Eleon, Galaxium, Harma, Hyria, Hysiai, Onchestos, Mt. Phicium, Thisbe.

⁹³⁴ He did not seem to do this for other regions, like Attica, but he did this for Boiotia. He did not, however, shy away from their internal conflicts, which he also brought up (see the Appendix item "Places and People in Plutarch").

although he presented them as being strong militarily,⁹³⁵ Plutarch's opinion of Thebes can be complicated to unravel.

Although subtle, Plutarch seems to build a narrative that used Thebes as a scapegoat for the Boiotians as a whole. For instance, in one place (*Them.* 7.2), Plutarch states that, "...the Thessalians had attached themselves to the King and everything, so far as Boiotia was concerned, medized, so that the Athenians were, by this time, more intent on the naval policy of Themistocles, and he was sent to Artemisium with ships in order to guard the narrows." Here, it was all of Boiotia that went over to the Persian King. However, while Plutarch acknowledged the medising tendencies of the Boiotian poleis during the Persian War, he put a positive spin to it. First, the Boiotians were not alone – the Thessalians were also supporting the King. Secondly, it was because of their support of the King that the Athenians followed Themistocles' plan, ultimately winning the war.

In another *Life*, that of *Aristides*, the idea of medising returns, but here, Plutarch named them the 'medising Greeks' (τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδίζοντες; 18.4), rather than specifying the Thessalians or Boiotians. Later, however, he refers to the Boiotians, but he shifted the blame to the Thebans (18.6). And yet, even though he recognized Thebes' involvement in the medising, he was careful to temper this by saying that it was the fault of influential men, who brought the multitude with them, "...not according to general opinion, but because of the leadership of a few" (18.6).⁹³⁶ So, although he once again acknowledged the role of Boiotia in supporting the Persian King, he focused the blame on one polis, Thebes, and then alleviated this charge by saying that it was not

⁹³⁵ For more on Plutarch and his representation of Thebes, see Cawkwell 2010: 109. For Plutarch and the Theban Sacred Band, see Schachter 2016: 193-7, 203.

⁹³⁶ Also note *Alc.* 16.5, where the Thebans warned Mardonius about the Athenian and Spartan plans.

the popular decision, but one made by a few misguided men. In these instances, Thebes, in relation to Boiotia, became the Antony to the Romans. In other words, he understood that the Thebans made mistakes, and he did not hide this, but he tempered and explained these mistakes to mitigate blame as well as to show that the Thebans were not wholly bad, just influenced by men who made poor choices. This is then reinforced in *On the Malice of Herodotus* 31 (*De Herod. malig.* 864d-865f), where Plutarch passionately defended Boiotia and, more specifically the Thebans, against Herodotus' account, saying that they too fought with Greece against the King and were, in reality, friends of Leonidas.

In fact, Plutarch did not focus his portrayal of Thebes on its medising, or negative history in relation to supporting the rest of the Greek world, but rather, on the strength of its military. He says that, at the time, the Thebans had the best soldiers in Greece (*Dem.* 17.4-5). This is then displayed in an act of bravery: when the Thebans allied with Athens against Alexander, the Athenians lost their courage and abandoned the Thebans, who fought on their own and lost their city (23.2-3). In this passage, the Thebans come across more positively than Athens, since they stood their ground, lived up to their word, and fought, unlike the Athenians, who scampered away.

Thebes also equalled other regions of Greece in its commanding men. We see this most explicitly with Plutarch's portrayal of Epaminondas. Although his *Life* is no longer extant, the Theban general shines brightly in other parts of Plutarch's oeuvre, including *Pelopidas*. Furthermore, since the life of Epaminondas was likely one of the first one that Plutarch composed, we cannot doubt the respect that Plutarch had for the man, as he was the first one that jumped to Plutarch's mind as

being worthy of this project.⁹³⁷ We learn, for example, of Epaminondas' many strengths, including restraint in dining (*Quaest. conv.* 2.1.9 [633e]), not indulging in drinks (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 6 [192e]; *Ad princ.* 4 [781c-d]), and his modesty (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 11 [193a-b]).⁹³⁸ One of the most important strengths was his balanced lifestyle that was comparable to Pericles, Archytas of Tarentum, or Dion of Syracuse (*De lib. ed.* 10 [8b]). Here, Plutarch overtly compared Epaminondas to these great men and even used them to frame the other two (Archytas and Dion), thus providing emphasis on the comparison between Pericles and Epaminondas. As such, he reminded his reader that the men of Boiotia could and did live up to those of Athens, Tarentum, and Syracuse.⁹³⁹

⁹³⁷ Frakes 2017: 453; Russell 1995: 80; Ziegler 1951: 897-900.

⁹³⁸ He was also noble and pious (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 7 [192e-f]; *De gen.* 8 [579f]; *De gen.* 16 [585e-586a]; *Prae. ger. reip.* 13 [808e]), he took whatever position he received and made it more dignified (*Prae. ger. reip.* 15 [811a-c]; cf. Chapter 1, pages 138-140 for how Plutarch turned himself into the Epaminondas of Chaironeia), he was sparing with words (*De rec. rat. aud.* 3 [39b]; *De gen.* 23 [592f]; *Prae. ger. reip.* 26 [819c]), famous rhetoric (*Quomodo quis suos* 15 [85a-b]; *De tuenda san.* 25 [136d]; *Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 2 [192c], 7-10 [192f-193a], 14-20 [193c-f]; *De se ipsum* 16 [545a]; *Prae. ger. reip.* 14 [810f]), he had family values (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 10 [193a]; *An seni.* 6 [786d]; *Non posse* 17 [1098a-b]; *Coriolanus* 4.3-4), he was frugal (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 4 [192d], 5 [192d-e], 13 [193b-c], 14 [193c], 21 [194a]; *De cup.* 7 [527b]; *De gen.* 14 [583f]; *Prae. ger. reip.* 13 [809a]; *Non posse* 17 [1099b-c]; *Aratus* 19.2; *Arist.* 1.4; *Comp. Aristides-Marcus Cato* 4.4-5; *Fab.* 27.2; *Lyc.* 13.3; *Pel.* 3.2-3; *Phil.* 3.1); he did not pander to the people (*Comp. Alcibiades-Coriolanus* 4.5-6); he helped his countrymen (*Prae. ger. reip.* 11 [805f]); he was patriotic and wanted to avoid bloodshed (*De gen.* 3 [576d-f], 13 [582d]); and he was a good general (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 1-3 [192c-d], 8 [192f], 12 [193b], 18 [193e], 22 [194a], 24 [194c]; *Apophth. Lac.* Agesilaus 74 [214c], 75 [214c-d]; *Par. Graec. et Rom.* 12 [308d-e]; *De gloria Athen.* 2 [346c-f], 7 [349c-d]; *De se ipsum* 9 [542b-c]; *Quaest. conv.* 1.2.6 [618c-d], 5.6.1 [680b]; *An seni* 8 [788a], 27 [797a-b]; *De anim. procr.* 3 [1128f], 4 [1129c]; *Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus* 1.1, 2.1-2; *Pel.* 20.1-2, 24.1-2; *Phil.* 14.1-3). Note, however, that he was also the recipient of jealousy and thus was put on trial (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 23 [194a-c]; *De se ipsum* 4 [540d-e]; *Prae. ger. reip.* 23 [817e-f]; *Pel.* 25), and that he also had his own detractors (*Prae. ger. reip.* 10 [805c]; *De anim. procr.* 33 [1127a-b]).

⁹³⁹ We see Athens and Thebes again compared in *De cup.* 7 (527b). In this episode, two negative examples, Callias of Athens and Hismenias of Thebes, were compared to Socrates and Epaminondas in terms of their wealth and what they achieved. Plutarch thus showed that both poleis had virtuous men and others who sought wealth and not a virtuous life. This reinforced the idea that it did not matter which polis you were from, but rather, how you were raised and how you chose to act. Yet again, we see Epaminondas compared to an Athenian (*Arist.* 1.4). In this instance, Epaminondas' frugal nature was compared to that of Plato, equating their natures and their virtuous ways of living. He was also compared to Aristides and Metellus in *Comp. Alcibiades-Coriolanus* 4.5-6. His strength in leadership was compared to that of Miltiades and Themistocles, thus likening him to these men in *De gloria Athen.* 7 (349c-d). He was also compared to Pericles as the great leaders of their respective poleis (*Dem.* 20.1). Another comparison of Epaminondas and famous men is found in *De tranq. an.* 13 (472d), where Plutarch compared men whom others tended to be jealous of as well as what they envy: Plato and Democritus (writing), Euphorion (married and wealthy), Medius (a companion to Alexander), Ismenias (wealthy), and Epaminondas (valour). Epaminondas was thus held up to the same standards as these other men and was used here as the epitome of the value that he represented (valour). This is seen yet again in *De anim. procr.* 3 (1128f) where Epaminondas was held as the epitome of generals alongside other

We see this yet again in *How a Man may become Aware of his Progress in Virtue* 15 (*Quomodo quis suos* 85a-b) where Plutarch named Epaminondas as an example worth considering before any business transaction, taking any office, or when encountering Fortune. One should look to what Plato would have done, what Epaminondas would have said, and how Lycurgus and Agesilaus would have acted. Plutarch again placed Epaminondas in line with illustrious men, here framed by Athens and Sparta. The reader should therefore understand that Epaminondas, and the Boiotians more generally, were worthy of imitation and could achieve the same heights as those of Athens or Sparta.⁹⁴⁰

In fact, in another description of Epaminondas' strengths, Plutarch compared his character to that of Alcibiades. He argued that although Epaminondas (and Agesilaus) had power, he maintained his modest dress, conduct, language, and style of living (*Quomodo adul.* 7 [52f]). On the other hand, Alcibiades shifted all of these things with each place that he went (*Quomodo adul.* 7 [52e]). Thus, Plutarch tells us that even in a city as great as Athens, one of its leading men could still have an ignoble character and that we must, therefore, search for a virtuous character elsewhere. It is interesting that his choice was not another Athenian, like Pericles,⁹⁴¹ but rather, Epaminondas (and Agesilaus). Plutarch thus strengthened the impression that Boiotian men, and Epaminondas in particular, could live up to the reputation of Sparta and even surpass that of Athens.⁹⁴² Thus, just

great men and their fame, namely, Lycurgus (laws), Thrasybulus (slaying tyrants), Pythagoras (teaching), Socrates (conversing), and Epicurus (writing). By doing this, Plutarch once again insinuated that the Boiotians were just as worthy of imitation and praise as men from other regions.

⁹⁴⁰ Plutarch again compared Epaminondas to a Spartan, when he said that Epaminondas and Lycurgus were both frugal men who avoided extravagance (*Lyc.* 13.3). This reinforced the idea that a Boiotian could be as virtuous as a Spartan and therefore were also worthy of being considered as *exempla*.

⁹⁴¹ This is even more notable when we consider that Plutarch did compare Pericles and Epaminondas as the best leaders of their respective poleis (*Dem.* 20.1).

⁹⁴² Alcibiades and Epaminondas were again compared by Plutarch in *Phoc.* 3.4, where Plutarch said that the nature of their bravery was something different. Note, also, that Plutarch spoke of Epaminondas as being superior to other Athenians, such as Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades in that he did not suffer the same

as his *Lives* included illustrations of great and lesser men who provided negative *exempla* for his readers, Plutarch emphasized that, to become virtuous, character was more important than the region or polis of origin.

Plutarch again compared Athens and Thebes (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Epaminondas 15 [193c-d]; *Prae. ger. reip.* 14 [810f]), when the Athenians used Oedipus to put down Thebes as an unworthy polis with a tainted history.⁹⁴³ Epaminondas noted that, while they had parricide in their history, Thebes had expelled these men, but Athens had received them. Here, Plutarch used Epaminondas to neatly turn the tables on the Athenians, making them appear, if not to condone parricide, to at least excuse it. Thebes, not Athens, thus appears in a positive light by exiling Oedipus. As a result, the Athenians, according to Epaminondas and Plutarch who reported these words, should be seen negatively in this episode, not the Thebans. Plutarch's reader should thus understand that the Athenians could also be guilty in their history and actions and that they must think critically when encountering these narratives on the actions taken by a polis.

Plutarch also tied Epaminondas to the successes of the Macedonian kingdom (*Pel.* 26.5). Plutarch says that, while he was a youth in Thebes, Philip became a 'zealous' (ζηλωτής) follower of Epaminondas, for which Plutarch assigned Philip's military success, although he did not live up to Epaminondas' restraint, justice, or gentleness. As such, Epaminondas remained the better man. Once again, we witness Plutarch using his narrative, and Epaminondas in particular, to showcase

envies, jealousies, and dissensions that these men saw in their political careers (*Pel.* 4.2-3). In this way, Plutarch set Epaminondas as better than the greats of Athens. In fact, in another narrative (*Arat.* 19.2), he called Phocion and Epaminondas the 'most just and best of Greeks' (Ἐλλήνων δικαιοτάτους καὶ κρατίστους). It is perhaps for this reason that Plutarch told us that Timoleon (*Tim.* 36.1-2) and Philopoemen (*Phil.* 3.1) most emulated Epaminondas.

⁹⁴³ See also, *De curios.* 14 (522b-c), where the death of Laius by Oedipus is described by Plutarch.

Boiotia's equality in the ancient Greek world. Here, he pushed it beyond equating the Boiotians to Athens and Sparta, to a likeness with Macedon, even going so far as crediting Thebes for Philip's success. For Plutarch, his readers, whether Greek or Roman, should not ignore Boiotia's military might.

Finally, Plutarch brought Epaminondas into his contemporary world, by comparing him not only to Greeks, but also to Romans. In the *Comparison of Aristides and Marcus Cato* (4.4-5), Epaminondas' frugality and way of living are likened to Aristides, Manius Curius and Gaius Fabricius.⁹⁴⁴ Further, Cato admired Epaminondas when he said that no king was worthy of comparison to Epaminondas, Pericles, Themistocles, Manius Curius, or Hamilcar (*Cat. Mai.* 8.8). Once again, Epaminondas is compared not only with the greats of Athens, but also with a Roman and a Carthaginian who once threatened all of Rome. Cato even placed him first in the list, thus emphasizing his merit. Finally, in *On Tranquility of Mind* 6 (*De tranq. an.* 467e), Plutarch asked his reader what Boiotian they would rather be than Epaminondas, or what Roman they would rather be than Fabricius. He thus set these two men up as the epitome of their respective worlds. But we can read more into this. By choosing Epaminondas instead of another Greek from another region, Plutarch again emphasized Epaminondas' worthiness and, by extension, that of Boiotia and its people. By comparing Epaminondas with a great man of Athens and then those of Rome, Plutarch informed his reader that Epaminondas was a worthy *exemplum* for both his Greek and his

⁹⁴⁴ We find another comparison of Epaminondas with a Roman (*Fab.* 27.2). In this episode, Plutarch related how Epaminondas was buried at public expense because of his poverty. In a similar way, Fabius was also buried at public expense but for him it was not his poverty that initiated this endeavour, but because he was beloved by the people who saw him as a father. As such, Plutarch reminded his reader of the potential positive connotations and implications of living a frugal life, but also of the worthiness of Epaminondas and, indirectly, Boiotia and the Boiotians, of consideration as *exempla* for his Greek and Roman readers alike. In yet another narrative, Epaminondas was compared to Alcibiades and Metellus in that they did not pander to the people (*Comp. Alcibiades-Coriolanus* 4.5-6), thus reinforcing the possibility of using not only Athenians and Spartans as *exempla*, but also a Boiotian.

Roman audience. This reinforced his implicit message that Boiotia and its men were also worthy of consideration as *exempla* for the Roman world.

In all these mentions, Plutarch compared Epaminondas to the greats of other, larger, more famous places. He does this by showing Epaminondas' strengths and how he equalled the reputation of the illustrious men of other cities. Further, by occasionally pointing to the weaknesses of the men of Athens and how Epaminondas surpassed them, Plutarch demonstrated how Epaminondas, and therefore a Boiotian, could, with a proper upbringing, surpass a man from a great city. For Plutarch, it was not about where you lived, but about how you were raised and conducted yourself. In these portraits he was imparting a lesson to his reader: that the Boiotians were also worthy of imitation. In other words, even if Athens and Sparta were great, so were other places, like Thebes. As such, Plutarch helped to rewrite the narratives surrounding his region and showed his people as worthy *exempla*.

Most importantly, Plutarch credited Epaminondas' noble nature to his father, Polymnis, and his choice to raise his children with a philosophic education (*De gen.* 16 [585d]). Plutarch explained that Epaminondas' choice to live a life of poverty was alleviated by his devotion to philosophy (*Pel.* 3.3), implying that Epaminondas' philosophic inclinations brought about his strengths and the admiration of his fellow citizens.⁹⁴⁵ By doing so, Plutarch emphasized the importance of the study of philosophy, for with it, men could achieve the heights of greatness. The value Plutarch placed on studying philosophy was reflected in the education of his sons and later, in his

⁹⁴⁵ His schooling is again brought up in *De gen.* 3 (576d-e) as being the reason that he was set apart from his fellow Boiotians.

interactions with Trajan.⁹⁴⁶ By focusing on the importance of philosophy to the development of a virtuous nature, Plutarch not only highlighted Epaminondas' nature, but also the importance of his own works. Epaminondas thus became the *exemplum* for Plutarch's audience,⁹⁴⁷ the epitome of what could be achieved by leading a philosophic life.⁹⁴⁸

Plutarch set up not only the men of Thebes, but also its women as possible *exempla*. This is best demonstrated in the narratives related to Timokleia, found in two places in Plutarch's works: his *Life of Alexander* (12), and as an *exemplum* in his treatise on the *Bravery of Women* 24 (*De mul. vir.* 259d-260d).⁹⁴⁹ Timokleia, a Theban noblewoman, was violated and robbed by a Thracian mercenary after the battle of Chaironeia (338 BCE). By means of a trick, Timokleia led her violator to a well and shoved him in, throwing stones on top of him to kill him. The Thracians ultimately led her to Alexander for punishment. But instead, he released her and her children because he was so amazed by her actions.

⁹⁴⁶ See Chapter 1, pages 144-6 (education of his sons), and Chapter 3, pages 415-425 (Trajan).

⁹⁴⁷ Note also that Epaminondas is not an exception. While he is arguably a favourite of Plutarch's, Plutarch also found other Boiotians who were worthy of emulation. We see this below in the section on the arts, for example (see pages 302-314), but we also find another general, Epaminondas' friend Pelopidas, who was set up as an *exemplum*. Like Epaminondas, Pelopidas was given his own *Life* in which Plutarch outlined the main events as well as his character (for a list of comments related to Pelopidas and their context, see the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch"). Like Epaminondas, for example, Pelopidas was sometimes compared to the Athenians and Spartans and shown to be alike or superior (e.g., *Non posse* 17 [1098a-b]; *Pel.* 30.2-5).

⁹⁴⁸ Epaminondas as represented by Plutarch has been an interest of scholarship for many years, starting with Ziegler 1951: 896. For Plutarch's admiration of the Theban general, see Cawkwell 2010: 101-3. For an overview of the debate of those who seek to reconstruct aspects of Epaminondas' *Life*, see Frakes 2017. See also, Tuplin 1984, who concludes (1984: 352) that Pausanias was not drawing on Plutarch (contra: Shrimpton 1971). For more on the *De genio Socratis* and Epaminondas' link to Socrates, see Georgiadou 1996. For studies related to the trial of Pelopidas and Epaminondas as seen in Plutarch, see: Buckler 1978.

⁹⁴⁹ Note that parts of this discussion on Timokleia are echoed in Giroux forthcoming b. Interestingly, although her brother Theagenes was mentioned briefly as leading the Thebans at the Battle of Chaironeia where he died (*De mul. vir.* 24 [259c]), it is Timokleia who gets the spotlight. This, of course, is likely related to the context of this anecdote, which is given in the *Bravery of Women*. However, the repetition of the story in *Alexander* should hint to the reader that Plutarch really did see Timokleia as exceptional. Nonetheless, her brother Theagenes was compared to Pelopidas and Epaminondas (*De mul. vir.* 24 [259c]), high praise from Plutarch, and thus should also be considered as one of the worthy Theban men whom Plutarch used to show that the Boiotians could live up to their more famous Hellenic neighbours.

In this episode, Plutarch shows us not only the virtues he expected for an ideal woman, but also how a woman should interact with a figure of authority. Timokleia was calm, dignified, and brave (*De mul. vir.* 24 [260c]; *Alex.* 12.3), despite having been raped and robbed. Therefore, like Plutarch's wife Timoxena,⁹⁵⁰ Timokleia's restraint became central to her social performance. She did not react emotionally, but rather, carried herself calmly and in no way revealed any inner turmoil or her emotional state. Plutarch once again urged the importance to women of such exemplary ways, for, in her successful performance, Timokleia escaped punishment for murder and was instead rewarded with freedom for herself and her children.

Timokleia's similarity to Timoxena did not end there. The Thracian mercenary demanded to know the location of her gold and silver (*De mul. vir.* 24 [259f]; *Alex.* 12.1), thus implying that Timokleia was unadorned. Because she wore no expensive jewelry, she was able not only to conceal her wealth and thus to retain it, but also to trick the mercenary and save herself. Her modesty, then, became her saving grace. The emphasis that Plutarch set on simplicity and avoidance of extravagance for women cannot be exaggerated, as both Timokleia and Timoxena reflected this ideal and were rewarded for it.

Furthermore, Timokleia's reaction to death was also similar to Timoxena in that they both remained stoic and showed no emotion. As such, Timokleia became an *exemplum* not only for Plutarch's audience, but also for the addressee of the treatise, Plutarch's friend, Klea.⁹⁵¹ In the preface, Plutarch stated that he wrote this piece as a result of a conversation they had about the death of Leontis, a mutual friend, and that they were partially consoled with a conversation aided

⁹⁵⁰ See Chapter 1, pages 146-152.

⁹⁵¹ For more on Klea and her relationship to Plutarch, see Chapter 3, pages 371-3.

by philosophy (*De mul. vir.* 242f). Therefore, Klea, like Timoxena, must have remained stoic in the face of the death of a loved one and, again like Timoxena, turned to philosophy for comfort. In this way, Klea became another paradigm of female virtue and the appropriate social performance following the death of a loved one. This also highlights Plutarch as the teacher of these virtues, as he guided Klea immediately after the death and continued to do so with this treatise. As such, Plutarch mentored his reader, by displaying himself and his relationships as *exempla*.

However, when it came to female loyalty to a man, Timokleia and Timoxena part ways. Interestingly, when Alexander asked who she was, Timokleia did not respond as a wife, but as the sister of Theagenes, who fell fighting against the Macedonians at the battle of Chaironeia (*De mul. vir.* 24 [260c]; *Alex.* 12.3).⁹⁵² Plutarch even said that, “after he himself died, a sister remained alive who bore testimony that the virtue of the family and his nature produced a great and illustrious man” (*De mul. vir.* 24 [259e]). Plutarch made sure that this was a powerful association, by comparing Theagenes' aspirations to those of Epaminondas and Pelopidas (*De mul. vir.* 24 [259d-e]), the two Theban generals whom Plutarch admired and included in his *Parallel Lives*.⁹⁵³ Timokleia's feminine virtue was therefore associated not with her duties as a wife or mother, but as a sister.

⁹⁵² Perhaps Timokleia was a widow, but, unfortunately, Plutarch does not tell us.

⁹⁵³ For more on Plutarch and these two men, see Buckler 1978; Cawkwell 2010: 101-3; Shrimpton 1971; Tuplin 1984; and pages 287-293.

Plutarch's creation of the association of Timokleia and Theagenes thus usurped her domestic role and may be due to the respect that Plutarch accorded to her brother as a general.⁹⁵⁴ Voicing their relation thus may have served as a sort of vengeance for his death, while simultaneously acting as a courageous move by standing up for her countrymen and their freedom.⁹⁵⁵ Her connection to her brother, therefore, served to highlight his achievements rather than her own. Timokleia displayed courage by speaking of her brother to Alexander, his enemy. This action is important for two reasons. The first is that Timokleia, rather than groveling at Alexander's feet, remained loyal to her family and placed her outward social standing as more important than her life. Thus, like Timoxena, her social performance of female virtue supplanted any fear of personal safety. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, it showed a level of willingness to sacrifice herself personally. Timokleia ran a risk in revealing her kinship to Alexander, since association with Theagenes, who resisted Macedonian rule, could have resulted in her own death. Instead, her bravery enabled Alexander to make a moral choice. We see here that Plutarch allowed women to interact with authority in the same way as men, namely, to advise a ruler, but not to overstep or insist. In the end, Timokleia, like Plutarch, deferred to the authoritative figure.

Lastly, by remaining calm and speaking bravely to Alexander, Timokleia reflects another belief that Plutarch had concerning virtue and how one should interact with authority, namely, that words speak more to character than deeds. Plutarch indicates that Timokleia's words, and therefore her learning and philosophical leanings, were of primary importance. For, after hearing of her story,

⁹⁵⁴ For Plutarch's views on military achievement as an important masculine virtue, see: Asirvatham 2019 (not to be exaggerated); Mittag and Mutschler 2010: 536.

⁹⁵⁵ Catherine (2019: 201) theorizes that, "(s)elflessness is a quality that unites all of the heroines of the tyranny-stories. When these female protagonists act, they never do so out of concern for themselves; instead, they are avenging a loved one, protecting other women, or fighting for their community's freedom."

Alexander, "...had marvelled at her virtue and statement, which had very greatly appealed to him, and he gave orders to his commanders to take heed and to keep guard so that an insolent act such as this not happen again to a notable house" (*De mul. vir.* 24 [260d]). Therefore, Timokleia's social performance for Alexander, one in which she was modest and brave, became an *exemplum* for women in crises, and one which demonstrated how to interact with authority: be noble and defer to the higher station. This is an important point, since this work was addressed to Klea, a friend of Plutarch and a priestess in Delphi, who certainly dealt with authoritative figures. As a learned woman,⁹⁵⁶ she would have had the same philosophical training as Timokleia. Plutarch, by including this story therefore reminded Klea of her place when speaking to those above her station, as well as the importance of guiding them to a path of virtue.

Note, however, that Plutarch generally only allowed women to step into the roles of men under exceptional circumstances, and only then to restore order.⁹⁵⁷ Here, Timokleia's husband is not evident, her brother is dead, and she has been raped and robbed by Alexander's mercenaries. Her circumstances, therefore, were certainly exceptional. This also allowed Alexander the opportunity to display his wisdom and proper conduct as a ruler, not only by sparing her, but also at restraining his emotions when others in the audience were weeping (*De mul. vir.* 24 [260d]).⁹⁵⁸ Alexander thus becomes an *exemplum* for Plutarch and his audience for how a proper ruler should conduct himself.

⁹⁵⁶ McInerney 1997a: 272; Puech 1992: 4842; Stadter 1999: 174. Plutarch dedicated two treatises to her: *De mulierum virtutibus* and *De Iside et Osiride*, both of which contain allusions and learned material that demonstrate her erudition.

⁹⁵⁷ Catherine 2019: 194, 196-7; McInerney 2003: 333-4; Stadter 1999: 182.

⁹⁵⁸ For more on Alexander's actions in this episode, see Catherine 2019: 205-7. Cf. Stadter (2002c: 9; 24 n52) who suggests that Alexander's actions here may be used by Plutarch to contrast Vespasian's anger toward a Gallic woman who spoke out against him (*Amat.* 25 [771c]).

This case study of Timokleia thus reinforces the idea that the Thebans, in Plutarch's mind, were not always negative *exempla* for his reader. Not only did they have a strong army that was equal to other poleis outside of Boiotia, but their people could also be virtuous. This complies with his general presentation of the Boiotian people as courageous and militarily strong.

The Boiotian Army

Throughout Plutarch's works, the Boiotian army appeared as a force that was strong, hard to defeat, and highly organized. For example, when Plutarch recounted Demosthenes' surprise night attack at Epipolae, Syracuse, he had the Boiotians show unity, organization, training, and courage in managing to be the first to form into battle array and rush the Athenians, preventing their success (*Nic.* 21.5-6). In another *Life*, Plutarch mentioned a Spartan law which said that they could not attack the same enemy too many times because they had attacked the Boiotians so often that they were now just as strong as the Spartans (*Lyc.* 13.5-6). Further, Plutarch said that this was a part of their character: "since most of his descendants were warlike and manly in nature, they were destroyed in Persian attacks and contests with the Gauls, because they didn't spare themselves" (*Cim.* 1.1-2).⁹⁵⁹ And, finally, he had the Athenian Phocion give voice to Boiotian military might by advising the Athenians to, "...to fight with words, in which they are superior, not with arms, in which they are inferior" (*Phoc.* 9.4).

⁹⁵⁹ Plutarch equated these two yet again in the *Dialogue on Love*, where he says that, "therefore, not only are the most warlike of peoples also the most amorous, such as the Boiotians, Spartans, and Cretans..." (*Amat.* 17 [761d-e]). Note, however, that this dialogue may be spurious and thus not represent Plutarch's words. What it does seem to reflect, however, is Plutarch's belief that Sparta and Boiotia could be equated not only in terms of their military prowess, but also in their character. Furthermore, even if this treatise was not written by Plutarch, it nonetheless represents an ancient view of these nations. Its authorship by someone other than Plutarch would, in fact, make it more interesting, as it would show another ancient author who believed that the Spartans and Boiotians could be similar in character.

Plutarch, in all the passages above, conceived of the Boiotians as a warlike and military culture. In fact, Plutarch explained that their natural gift for warfare, alongside the continual invasions of their lands, meant that the Boiotian army was equal in skill and strength to the Spartan, and was thus intimidating to the Athenians.⁹⁶⁰ Taking this into consideration when we look at the treatise *Were the Athenians more Famous in War or in Wisdom?* (*De gloria Athen.*) brings to light some interesting observations. Throughout this work, Plutarch concluded that Athens' greatest success was not in its philosophy, but rather, in its military might (*De gloria Athen.* 7 [350a-b]).⁹⁶¹ By saying that the Athenians were more glorious in war than in wisdom, he defined their culture in the same terms as that of Sparta and Boiotia. He was therefore comparing the Athenians to the Spartans and Boiotians based on their military past, their leaders, and the discipline of their troops. And in this implicit comparison, the Athenians were, on more than one occasion, thwarted by the Boiotian army, whom Phocion admitted, was better. As such, in his explicit mentions of Boiotian military culture, Plutarch implicitly showed that the Boiotians could stand up with the greats of the ancient Greek world, and thus, I argue, could also be used as a model for his Roman audience.

Plutarch's evaluation of Boiotian identity was one focused on military might and thus worthy of Roman emulation and imitation. This is perhaps also seen when he said that "...even as

⁹⁶⁰ Note, however, that Plutarch stated that Leuktra was the first instance that taught 'the other Greeks' that it was not the location of Sparta that produced warriors, but rather the upbringing of men (*Pel.* 17.4-6). He therefore implied that the polis and thus the region had nothing to do with military success. Nevertheless, as we are seeing throughout this section, Plutarch did equate certain cultures with certain attributes, and the Boiotians, according to Plutarch, were natural warriors. The above quotation, therefore, was meant as inspiration for his readers on being able to overcome an obstacle and rise to the heights of something that was not generally claimed to be theirs. Plutarch, likewise, did the same, despite being from the small village of Chaironeia. Thus, according to Plutarch, it was not the place, but the man who must be considered.

⁹⁶¹ See also, for example, his discussion of paintings compared to the Athenian victory at Mantinea (*De gloria Athen.* 2 [346b-f]). Immediately following this, Plutarch suggested that historians did not match the actions of generals (*De gloria Athen.* 3 [346f-347e]). Not even poetry lived up to the men who performed great deeds (*De gloria Athen.* 4 [347e-348b]), or tragedy (*De gloria Athen.* 5 [348b-d]), or even orations (*De gloria Athen.* 8 [350b-d]). For, Plutarch states, it was the military victories that the polis celebrated (*De gloria Athen.* 7 [349e]). Cf Babbitt 1957: 490-1.

Epaminondas named the Boiotian plain the 'dancing floor of Ares'...it seems to me, that someone, at that time, might have called Rome, according to Pindar's language, 'a piece of land dedicated to much-warring Ares'" (*Marc.* 21.2).⁹⁶² Here, the Romans and Boiotians are brought together as living in a world of similar circumstances, thus providing a link and showing how, in war, they were akin. Plutarch therefore made it clear throughout his works that Boiotian culture was ruled by its military might, akin to the Spartans, and superior to the Athenians. Both its fighting force and its generals were thus worthy of emulation, and therefore also worthy of being *exempla* for his Roman readers.⁹⁶³

Discourse and Language

However, portraying the Boiotians as a purely military people could potentially play into the stereotypes propagated by Athens, ones of which Plutarch was clearly aware. See, for example, *On the Sign of Socrates* 1 (*De gen.* 575d-e), where Plutarch has Caphisias, a Theban, say that he would not, "...raise from the dead the old reproach against the Boiotians for hating discourse (εἰς μισολογίαν), which was already dying away in the time of Socrates." Plutarch also complained that, "...the Athenians call us Boiotians thick-witted, senseless, and stupid, mostly on account of our gluttony: 'those men are swine...' and Menander calls us, 'those who have jaws'..." (*De esu carnium* 6 [995e-f]).⁹⁶⁴ Interestingly, Plutarch made it obvious here that he was aware that Athens

⁹⁶² Cf. *Reg. et imp. Apophth.* Epaminondas 18 (193e). Here, my translation follows F.C. Babbitt 1962 (Loeb Classical Library, Plutarch's *Lives*, volume 5) in supplying 'language' with κατὰ Πίνδαρον.

⁹⁶³ Epaminondas was stressed as being the best Boiotian general to emulate. Positive references to Epaminondas include: *De tranq. an.* 6 [467e]; *De lib. ed.* 10 (8b); *De rec. rat. Aud.* 3 (39b); *Quomodo adul.* 7 (52f); *Quomodo quis suos* 15 (85a-b); *De amic. mult.* 2 (93e); *Comp. Alcibiades-Coriolanus* 4.5-6; *Arat.* 19.2; *Cat. Mai.* 8.8; *Fab.* 27; *Comp. Lysander-Sulla* 4.3; *Tim.* 26.1; *Phil.* 2.1-2; *Lyc.* 13.3-4. For more on Plutarch and these two men, see Buckler 1978 (on the trials of these two men for holding onto the position of *boiotarch*); Cakwell 2010: 101-103; Shrimpton 1971 and Tuplin 1984 (on the influence of *Epaminondas* on Pausanias' work); Ziegler 1951: 896. See also Rzepka 2010 for Plutarch's views of Theban history.

⁹⁶⁴ This jibe comes up yet again in the *Table Talk* when Plutarch's brother Lamprias is teased about his 'Boiotian gluttony' (ἀδδηφαγίαν Βοιώτιον [*Quaest. conv.* 2.2 (635a)]). The idea that the Boiotians did not know how to

championed some of these narratives. He claimed that some were the result of trying to please an Athenian audience (as he says Peisistratus did with the works of Hesiod and Homer [*Thes.* 20.1-2]). Others, he contended, derived from tragic poets and their effect on the reputation of a person.⁹⁶⁵ Plutarch thus presumably had a similar impression of how Athenian narratives could also have affected the reputation of a people like the Boiotians.⁹⁶⁶ And so, on a few occasions, Plutarch took the time to discuss other aspects of Boiotian culture, such as language, and showed how they could be equal to other regions of the ancient Greek world.

For example, he elaborates on some of the differences in the Greek language, speaking of colloquialisms, like the Boiotian term *platioiketas*, which Plutarch explained referred to someone who lived and owned an adjoining property (*Quaest. Graec.* 8 [292d]).⁹⁶⁷ Most often, the differences in idiosyncrasies of terminology were found in different calendars.⁹⁶⁸ In one anecdote, Plutarch tells us that,

Therefore, on the 5th day of the month Hippodromius, which the Athenians call Hecatombaion, a stand was made where the Boiotians came together to seize two

converse is also found in *Phocion* 9.4 and in *Alcibiades* 2.4-5, though in the latter it was relegated to the Thebans. Note also that Plutarch explained that individuals must seek to learn the cause of any slander against them (*De cap. ex inim. util.* 6 [89e]). I believe that Plutarch was also doing the same thing when he brought up the negative Boiotian stereotypes. His work, I argue, was his way of fighting these associations.

⁹⁶⁵ See, e.g., Minyas, who complained that, “for it really seems to be a difficult thing to be hated by a polis that has a language and the arts” (*Thes.* 16.2). For more on this jibe, see H. Beck forthcoming: section 2.1, section 8.1-2.

⁹⁶⁶ For which, of course, we can turn to *On the Malice of Herodotus* (*De Herod. malig.*) as evidence (see below, pages 328-331).

⁹⁶⁷ Another example of Plutarch explaining the Boiotian dialect is found in a fragment, where Plutarch discussed the Boiotian use of the word *rhothoi* (Plutarch Fragments 34 [from Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 220]). For Plutarch's representation of Kadmos' role in the Greek alphabet, see *Quaest. conv.* 9.2.3 (738a-b, f).

⁹⁶⁸ Boiotian month of Alalcomenius is the same as Maimacterion (*Arist.* 21.1-5; cf. Roesch 1982: 42-5). The month of Boukatios is the fifth month of the new year: *Pel.* 25.1. Cf. Plutarch Fragments 71 (from Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 504 and Hesychius, s.v. *Ἀλναιών*), where the author explains that Plutarch connected the month named Lenaion to the Boiotian month Boukatios or Hermaios (cf. Roesch 1982: 33-6). The month of Damatrios as equivalent to the Athenian Pyanepsion and the Egyptian Athyr (*De Is. et Os.* 69 [378e]; cf. Roesch 1982: 41-2). The month Panamos was the same as the Athenian month Boedromion (*Arist.* 19.7; cf. Roesch 1982: 37-9). The month Prostaterios was the Athenian month of Anthesterion (*Quaest. conv.* 3.7.1 [655e]; cf. Roesch 1982: 36-7). For more on the Boiotian calendar, see: Buck 1979: 88 (as a connecting cultural framework for the Boiotians); Pinsent 1986: 33 (Boiotian calendar poetry); and most thoroughly, Roesch 1982: 5-70. Interestingly, Roesch (1982: 54) explains that the Boiotians were still using the same calendar during the Roman Empire, thus pointing to some continuity in their telling of time.

very remarkable victories which set the Greeks free: the victory at Leuktra, and the victory at Keressos, more than 200 years before Leuktra, when they conquered Lattamyas and the Thessalians. (*Cam.* 19.2)

Conversely, the month of Metageitnion, which the Boiotians call Panemos, has not been favourable to the Greeks. For, on the 7th day of this month, they were completely destroyed when they had been defeated in the battle of Krannon by Antipater. And, before this, they failed when they fought against Philip in Chaironeia. And on this day itself, in the month of Metageitnion, in the same year, Archidamos and his men, who had crossed over into Italy, were destroyed by the barbarians there. (*Cam.* 19.5)

Note the interesting chiasmic structure that appears between these two passages. In comparing the good and bad dates, Plutarch left the positive examples for the Boiotians, placing the Athenian equivalent in parenthesis for reference, and in the bad dates he did the reverse. Once again, he was subtly reminding his reader of the superior Boiotian army, in comparison to the Athenian one, while also equating their cultures by saying that they shared the belief of positive and negative dates. What is more, this anecdote was given in the context of explaining the Romans, who regard a day of the Allia as the unluckiest. This thus becomes another example of relational identity not only for the Greeks to the Romans, but more specifically for the Athenians and the Boiotians to the Romans.

Boiotia and the Arts

Plutarch not only ensured that the Boiotians were equal to the Athenians and therefore to the wider Greek world in terms of their military might, but also in their artistic and intellectual cultures. In this way, Plutarch ensured that the Boiotians could be viewed as more than a brute force, and instead as a people who had much to offer his readers as *exempla*. His audience, therefore, would gain the impression that Boiotia and its peoples were more worthy than the Athenian jibe of the Boiotians as dull, gluttonous, and slow-witted.

Music

The micro-region of Lake Kopaïs provided reeds for flutes that were valued throughout the ancient Greek world. Unsurprisingly, many Boiotian poleis around the region built infrastructure in the forms of theatres (and likely music schools) to support the development of music in their communities, and even developed a unique artisanal epistemology that included a particular vocabulary for the raw materials.⁹⁶⁹ Plutarch was no stranger to the prevalence of music in Boiotia and used this as a prime example of how the Boiotians could be culturally superior to other regions. For example, he remarked on the superior skill of the Boiotians in flute playing.⁹⁷⁰ Plutarch was not being subtle here and left nothing to be questioned. The Boiotians bested the rest of the Greek world in music. However, he still needed to enhance the importance of music for it to become more relevant for his readers.

Plutarch ensured that his audience understood music as an important component of education. Plutarch quoted Pindar as saying that Kadmos believed that the gods deemed music a fit endeavour.⁹⁷¹ Plutarch thus used the authority of Pindar and Kadmos for the importance and worth of a musical education. In fact, in the quotation, it was the theologians of ancient times, 'the oldest of philosophers' (οἱ τε πάλαι θεολόγοι, πρεσβύτατοι φιλοσόφων ὄντες), who were credited with the statues of gods holding musical instruments as symbols of concord. This is important, as Plutarch deemed philosophy as the most important endeavour for the creation of a virtuous

⁹⁶⁹ As we saw in Chapter 1 (pages 71-2), and above, pages 213-4. For the idea of a 'technical jargon' for the raw materials, see H. Beck 2020: 106. For Plutarch's explanation of the reeds that grew in Lake Kopaïs, see *Sulla* 20.3-5.

⁹⁷⁰ *Alc.* 2.4-6 (Thebans as the best); *Per.* 1.5; *Demetr.* 1.6. Note that he also discussed famous Boiotian flute players, such as Antigenides (*De Alex. fort.* 2 [335a]; *Demetr.* 1.6) and Ismenias (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Ateas [174f]; *De Alex. fort.* 1 [334b]; *Quaest. conv.* 2.1.5 [632c-d]; *Demetr.* 1.6; *Per.* 1.5).

⁹⁷¹ *De anim. procr.* 33 [1030a-b]). Cf. *De Pyth. Or.* 6 (397b) where the story of Kadmos' legitimizing music through the gods is repeated by Sarapion. Note, also, that Plutarch said that Pindar was moved by the sound of flutes, like music-loving dolphins (*De soll. an.* 36 [984b]).

character.⁹⁷² Therefore, by throwing not only the gods into the mix, but also philosophers, Plutarch granted legitimacy to music and established it as worthy of study for the creation of a virtuous character.

Plutarch also agreed with Terpander and Pindar that Spartan poetry and marching songs accompanied by the flute were associated with valour, and credited music with Spartan military success (*Lyc.* 21-3.4). If we consider this with the quotation above that the Boiotians were the best with the flute, we can argue that Plutarch used music to equate Spartan and Boiotian culture. Thus, Plutarch implicitly argued that Spartan and Boiotian dedication to musical training explained their military success and should be seen as worthy of imitation, not only for their own virtue, but also for the success of their countrymen.⁹⁷³

Plutarch even used the example of Alcibiades and his rejection of the flute as an illustration of his negative character. According to Plutarch, Alcibiades justified his rejection of the flute because Athens had Athena as a founder, who had thrown away the flute, and Apollo as a patron, who had flayed the flute-player Marsyas. Athens followed his example and stopped including the flute as part of a good education. Thebes and Sparta, on the other hand, retained the flute even though flute-playing resulted in facial distortion and prevented simultaneous vocalizing, the reasons for

⁹⁷² See Chapter 1, pages 145-6 for Plutarch and philosophy.

⁹⁷³ In another comment, Plutarch said that there was no harm that came from a deaf person who showed indifference to music and compared it to Teiresias' blindness. These two things, however, were followed by what Plutarch saw as greater misfortunes: Athamas and Agave who saw their children as lions and deer, and Herakles, who killed his family in madness (*De superst.* 5 [167c-d]). The comment that there was no harm in not being able to hear music is therefore not a statement that Plutarch believed music to be unimportant, rather we can interpret this quotation in the opposite way. Plutarch here stated that it was better to be deaf and blind than to see things incorrectly or to go mad. He was comparing things that are difficult. Thus, deafness to music was a misfortune and one that was comparable to blindness. Furthermore, he did not say that the misfortune was related to not being able to hear a conversation, your children, birds singing, or any other kind of sound. Instead, he picked music as being the unfortunate part that a deaf person misses. So, in this comment, Plutarch was actually speaking to the importance of music.

Alcibiades' rejection. Thebans, according to Alcibiades, were not great conversationalist anyway, a subtle sling against Thebes sustaining its unfavourable image (*Alc.* 2.4-5). This is in direct conflict with the quotation above, where Pindar and Kadmos gave the flute to Apollo and Athena, thus implying that they were supporters of this instrument. Plutarch thus used this narrative to help shed light on the negative characteristics of Alcibiades, whose *Life* was used as one of the negative *exempla* in the *Parallel Lives*. Not only did Alcibiades seem to misunderstand the divine legitimacy of the flute, but he also rejected it for superficial reasons: the distortion of his face and his inability to speak. Therefore, Alcibiades did not gain the same kind of training that the Spartans and Boiotians did, for example. His rejection of the flute thus becomes a symbolic representation of his negative character and once again shows that the Athenians could also have rotten fruit within their groves.

Lastly, the treatise *On Music* (*De mus.*), believed to be spurious,⁹⁷⁴ provides an ancient perspective of Boiotian music, even if the author may not be Plutarch. It tells of Telesias of Thebes, who was raised with the best kind of music, including compositions by the Thebans Pindar and Dionysius, and other lyric poets (*De mus.* 31 [1142b]),⁹⁷⁵ thus enhancing our knowledge of the Theban music curriculum and the regional emphasis placed on music. Also, in this treatise, Corinna, a Boiotian (Tanagran) poetess of whose poetry we only have fragments,⁹⁷⁶ credited Athena with teaching the *auloi* to Apollo (the slayer of flute-playing Marsyas; *De mus.* 14 [1136b]), thus providing more insider perspectives on the regional emphasis placed on music. Corinna also portrayed the gods

⁹⁷⁴ Einarson and Lacy 1967: 344 (Loeb Classical Library); Gostoli 2019; Pöhlmann 2011.

⁹⁷⁵ For more on Pindar and how Plutarch used him as an *exemplum* for his reader on the worth of Boiotia and the Boiotian people, see below, pages 307-310.

⁹⁷⁶ Plant 2004: 92. For more on Corinna and her relationship to the epic history of Boiotia, see Larson 2007: 19-20, 23-4. For a potential Corinna fragment, see Cingano 1997. For Corinna's Boiotian dialect, see Levin 1986.

playing the *aulos*, thus giving the instrument produced from the reeds of Lake Kopais divine agency.

Music was clearly an important aspect of Boiotian culture, one that fuelled their education and economic life. Plutarch was aware of the intertwined nature of Boiotia and music, specifically in the form of the *aulos*. As such, he stressed the importance of musical education in antiquity through the authoritative figures of Pindar, Kadmos, and the ancient theologians to show how musical training could lead to a virtuous character and to concord in one's polis. Furthermore, by pointing out that the Boiotians excelled at the flute, Plutarch thus implied that the Boiotians had virtue and concord. Therefore, Plutarch again portrayed the Boiotians as being equal to, and sometimes surpassing, the other greats of Greece. By doing so, he not only set the Boiotians up as *exempla* for his audience, but he also countered the Athenian rhetoric about the nature of the Boiotians.

Boiotian Intellectual Culture

Plutarch did not stop with music. When he mentioned Boiotian writers, be they historians, philosophers, or poets, they were either taken as authorities on their own, or compared and placed on an equal scale with the 'best' of other regions of Greece, like Homer or Sophokles.⁹⁷⁷ In fact, we have an explicit example of this argument in *On the Fame of the Athenians* 4 (*De gloria Athen.* 347e-348b). Plutarch mentioned Pindar and Corinna in the same breath as Menander and Homer,

⁹⁷⁷ See for example, the following persons, whom Plutarch quoted as authoritative or alongside other authoritative persons: Mentyllus, who wrote a *Boiotian History* (*Par. Graec. et Rom.* 14 [309b]); Ctesiphon, who wrote a *Boiotian History* (*Par. Graec. et Rom.* 12 [308e]); Daimachus of Plataia (*Comp. Solon-Publicola* 4.1). Philo, who, among others listed, wrote about Alexander's marriage and whom Plutarch defended using a letter of Alexander (*Alex.* 46.1-2). Crates of Thebes, a Cynic philosopher: *Quomodo adul.* 28 (69c-d); *De cap. ex inim. util.* 2 (87a); *De tuenda san.* 7 (125f); *Praec. conj.* 25 (141e).

saying that Athens had no comparable famous epic poet. Thus, in Plutarch's opinion, when it came to poetry, the Boiotians bested the Athenians.⁹⁷⁸

Plutarch reserved a pride of place for Pindar in his works, one that not only used him for comparison to the Athenians, but also to other illustrious writers.⁹⁷⁹ As we see in Figure 2.13, Plutarch most often quoted Pindar alone as the sole authority on a subject. The next most frequent occurrence of Pindar's name is together with Homer, with whom he was often equated. For example, Plutarch mentioned that they did not inscribe the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, or the paeans of Pindar on the temple of Pythian Apollo in Delphi, but rather maxims such as 'Know Thyself' and 'Avoid extremes' (*De garr.* 17 [511a-b]). This suggests that Plutarch, at least, considered the writings of Pindar just as relevant and influential as those of Homer. Furthermore, Plutarch compared Pindar to Euripides and Menander, claiming that they were all cleansing for those who spent too much time listening to bad music and lyrics (*Quaest. conv.* 7.5.4 [706d]).⁹⁸⁰ In these two brief examples, Plutarch equated Pindar to the greats of Greece, not only in terms of the Athenian ones, but even to Homer, the greatest of them all. As a result, Plutarch imparted to his reader that Boiotia too had excellent writers worthy of being *exempla*.

⁹⁷⁸ For Plutarch and poetry, see: Bowie 2014; Russell 1973: 47-9.

⁹⁷⁹ For a full list of Pindar's quotations in Plutarch's works, see the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch". See Figure 2.13 below for a numerical representation of this data.

⁹⁸⁰ Plutarch lamented that more people did not listen to Pindar in his times. He complained that they did not understand his diction. In older times, Plutarch said, everyone enjoyed his songs, no matter how lowly their class (*De Pyth. or.* 24 [406c]).

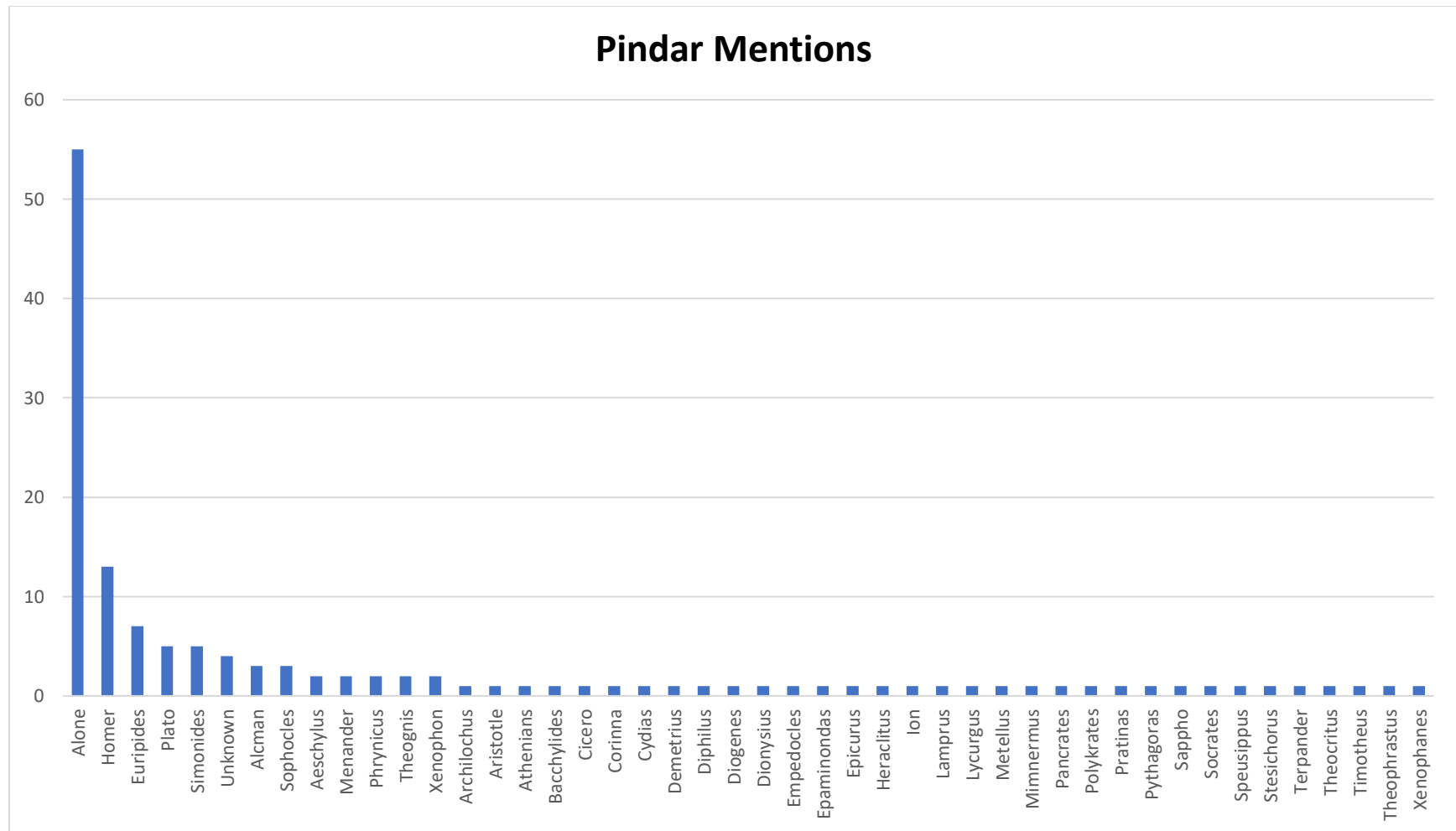


Figure 2.13: Mentions of Pindar in Plutarch's Extant Works

Plutarch also brought Pindar into the global sphere through a connection to both Alexander the Great and the Romans. In the first instance, Plutarch tells us that Alexander spared the descendants of Pindar when he burned down Thebes (*Alex.* 11.6). Plutarch's readers are thus not so subtly urged to emulate Alexander's admiration for the Theban poet. In another example, Plutarch used Pindar to discredit some Greek and Roman tales (*Rom.* 28.6), thus showcasing Pindar's authoritative voice. Furthermore, Plutarch has both Pindar and Hesiod quoted by a Roman senator, Cassius Longinus (*Quaest. conv.* 9.1.3 [737c]); Pindar was also admired by Metellus (*Mar.* 29.3), which brought the Boiotian poet into the global realm of Plutarch's day. The implications of this should not be ignored. By saying that we should listen to Pindar, Plutarch explicitly spoke to the superior nature of the Boiotian poet, thus setting him up as an *exemplum* for his own times, one that could be used by both his Greek and his Roman audience.

Lastly, Plutarch described Pindar as favoured by the divine. Not only did Plutarch say that Pindar was born during the Pythian Games, an omen for the hymns to Apollo which he would write, but he did so in the context of other omens, such as the date of the death of Alexander the Great, Diogenes the Cynic, King Attalus, and Pompey the Great (*Quaest. conv.* 8.1.1 [717c-d]). Plutarch thus linked Pindar to these men, equating his worth to theirs. Furthermore, Plutarch said that Pan sang Pindar's compositions (*Non posse* 22 [1103a]; *Num.* 4.6), suggesting that even the divine believed them to be worthy of expression. This adds clout to Plutarch's statement that Pindar's work was an important educational tool to be studied and admired, since it was also admired by the gods.

Even Pindar's dying moments are linked to the gods. Plutarch relates how, after Pindar told the deputies of the Boiotians who were sent to consult the oracle to ask what was best for mankind, he received an answer that mentioned the death of Trophonios and Agamedes – the Boiotian architects of the temple of Apollo at Delphi – who asked Apollo for their reward, which the oracle said would be forthcoming in seven days. On the seventh day, the brothers received their reward, a peaceful death following seven days of merry making. The oracle said that, because Pindar desired to learn by experience, the reward would also be his. Pindar understood that his death was near, and a short time later, he passed away.⁹⁸¹ Pindar's life is thus framed with the divine: the omen of his birth showing divine favour and his gift of song, and the oracle of his death, again showing divine favour through its gift. In this way, Plutarch heightened Pindar and his work as worthy of study, thus showing that the Boiotians possessed a gem as valuable as Homer whom all should bring into their educational repertoire.

As with Pindar, Plutarch enhanced Boiotian culture with Hesiod.⁹⁸² Plutarch says that Hesiod was also favoured by the divine (*Num.* 4.6). Further, like Pindar, Hesiod is most frequently used as the sole authority on a subject (see Figure 2.14 below). However, it is also not uncommon for Hesiod to be cited with another author.

⁹⁸¹ *Consol ad Ap.* 14 (109a-b). Note that this story is also given after that of the Argives Cleobis and Biton (14 [108f]) and before the Roman example of Euthynous (14 [109b-c]). Plutarch thus used this opportunity to connect Boiotia, Argos, and Italy.

⁹⁸² For a full list of Hesiod's quotations in Plutarch's works, see the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch". See Figure 2.14 below for a numerical representation of this data. For more on Plutarch, Hesiod, and the Mouseia of Thespiiai, see Lamberton 1988 and Lamberton 2001: 19. For more on Hesiod more generally, see: Bonner and Smith 1945: 11-2 (political and judicial world of Boiotia through Hesiod); Buck 1981: 48 (as an authority on the development of the Boiotian political structures); Schachter 2016: 27-8 (Hesiod's immigration to Boiotia).

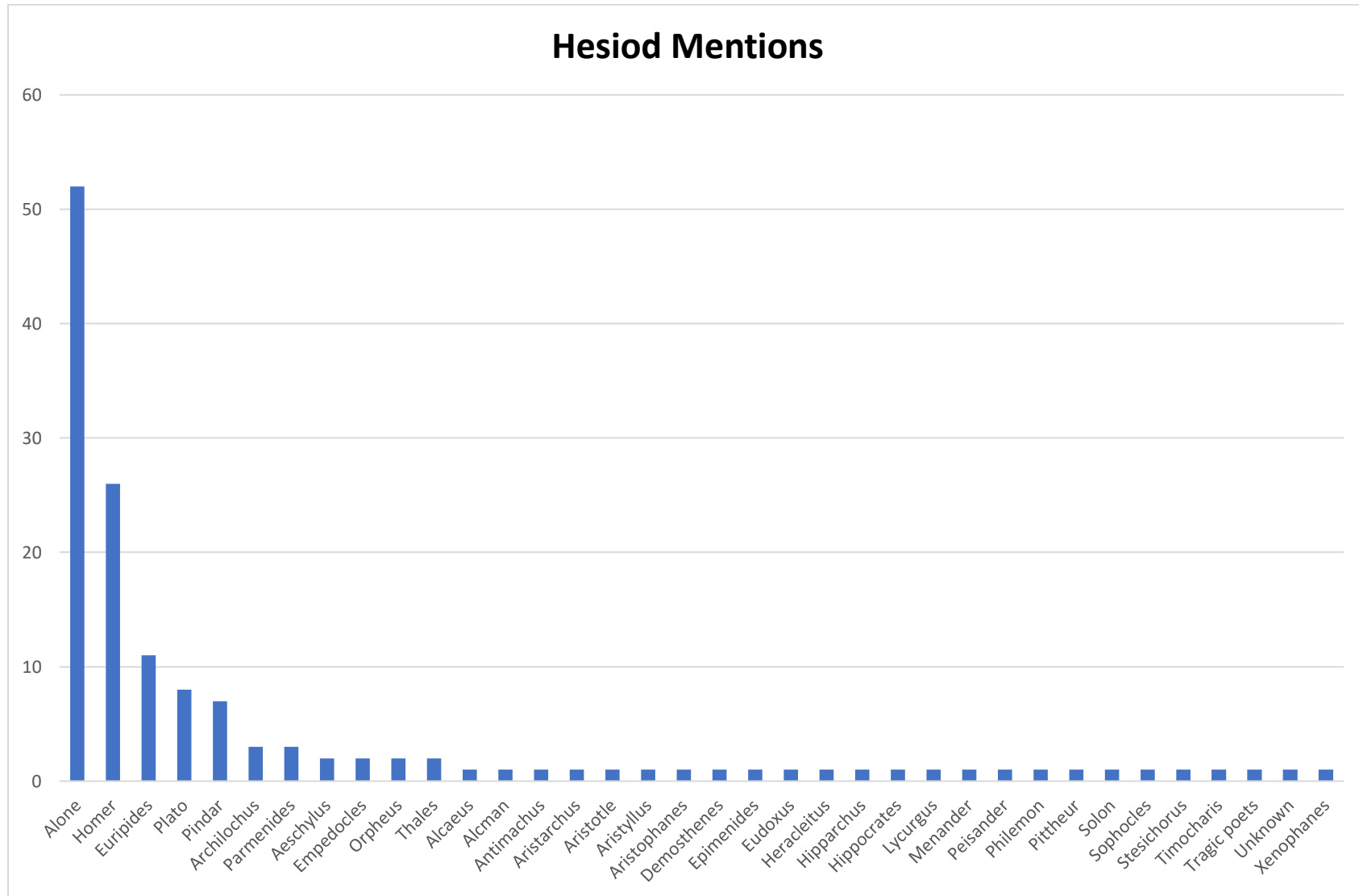


Figure 2.14: Mentions of Hesiod in Plutarch's Extant Works

Plutarch did not shy away from comparing Hesiod and Homer.⁹⁸³ And while he acknowledged that Hesiod is second to Homer in time and reputation,⁹⁸⁴ he nonetheless presented Hesiod as worthy of comparison and almost his equal.⁹⁸⁵ In the *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*, one discussion concerned the merits of Hesiod (*Conv. sept. sap.* 14 [157e-158b]). The context, rather than the authenticity of the passage or the information about Hesiod, is important for our discussion. For, in this narrative, Plutarch had Solon praise Hesiod, to which none of the other sages (Anacharsis, Bias, Chilon, Cleobolos, Pittacus, Thales) or attendees protested.⁹⁸⁶ Thus, not only were those that took part in this discussion of Hesiod and his merits the best kind of men (philosophers), but they were also the best of the best. Plutarch thus raised Hesiod to their level as a man worthy of emulation and respect by his readers.

Plutarch also compared Hesiod to other authors, particularly Athenians.⁹⁸⁷ Sometimes Hesiod was even listed as being correct over another, such as in *De sera* 9 (553f-554a), where Plutarch placed Hesiod over Plato with respect to the nature of punishment and suffering. This is remarkable

⁹⁸³ Plutarch was not alone in this comparison. See the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, where Hesiod was judged victor of a poetry contest against Homer (West 2015). Cf. Plutarch *Conv. sept. sap.* 10 (154a-b).

⁹⁸⁴ *Consol. ad Ap.* 7 [105d]. Note, however, that he did not say anywhere whether he agreed or disagreed with this assessment. Even if he agreed, placing Hesiod second to Homer still spoke of the respect with which Plutarch accorded the writer, something his audience surely did not miss. Furthermore, Plutarch also recalled the contest between Homer and Hesiod in which Hesiod won the tripod (*Conv. sept. sap.* 10 [154a-b]). Note, however, in the Plutarch Fragments 84 (from Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 651-662), the author says that Plutarch believed this to be silly. Without the context, we are left to wonder what exactly Plutarch interpreted as silly.

⁹⁸⁵ For example, Hesiod and Homer were both mentioned as examples that restraint is needed when drinking (*Conv. sept. sap.* 13 [156e]). For more on Plutarch's representation of Hesiod's views on drinking, see: *De vit. pud.* 4 (530d); *Quaest. conv.* 6.7 (692c); *Quaest. conv.* 7.3.1 (701d); *Quaest. conv.* 7.6.2 (707c); *Galba* 16.4. In another place, Homer and Hesiod's verses were compared to the oracle, once again equating the two men (*De Pyth. or.* 5 [396c-f]). For more comparisons, see *De def. or.* 10 (415a-b) and Plutarch Fragments 79 (from Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 580).

⁹⁸⁶ Note in another treatise, Plutarch said that Hesiod, at times, had a better understanding than some philosophers (*De def. or.* 43 [433e]). As such, Hesiod could be counted in their number and held in the same level of respect.

⁹⁸⁷ See, for example, a comparison with Aeschylus in *Amat.* 13 (756f), where Hesiod was said to be more scientific, or, later in the treatise, when he was equated with Plato (*Amat.* 18 [763e]). In another, Plutarch told his reader to listen to Hesiod (and others) over Herodotus (*De Herod. malig.* 14 [857e-f]).

because Plutarch is regarded as primarily a Platonic philosopher.⁹⁸⁸ Thus, by comparing the two and saying that sometimes Hesiod's advice was the better one to heed, Plutarch set him up against his own hero philosopher and showed how a Boiotian could stand alongside some of the great minds of other regions.⁹⁸⁹

Plutarch also rated Boiotian philosophers highly. He placed Cebes of Thebes with the likes of notable Athenian philosophers Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Aeschines (*De lib. ed.* 15 [11e]). Thus, as we have seen with our other Boiotian examples (such as Epaminondas, Pindar, and Hesiod), Plutarch also believed that the philosophers of Boiotia could be as impressive as those of Athens. This is even more obvious when we consider that Cebes is the only non-Athenian on this list.⁹⁹⁰

Plutarch rated Boiotian philosophy so highly that he even devoted one of his *Lives* (now lost)⁹⁹¹ to the Cynic philosopher Crates of Thebes. Julian considered it the only resource a person would need on the man (Julian, *Orat.* 7 [200b]). Like the other Boiotian examples, Plutarch placed him

⁹⁸⁸ Beneker 2014: 505; Buckler 1992: 4790; Dillon 2014; Duff 1999: 72; Jacobs 2017b: 15-6; Pérez Jiménez 2002: 105; Jones 1971: 14; Opsomer 1996: 177; Roskam 2002: 183; Roskam 2014: 517; Scheid 2012a: 8; Schmitz 2014: 35; Stadter 2014a: 6, 137; Xenophontos 2016: 18; Zadorojnyi 2010.

⁹⁸⁹ Note however, that like Plato, Plutarch showed that Hesiod could also be wrong: *De frat. am.* 6 (480e-f). Note also, that, like Pindar, Plutarch spoke of Hesiod's international fame. He mentioned, for example, that Cassius Longinus quotes him (*Quaest. conv.* 9.1.3 [737c]). Furthermore, again like Pindar, Hesiod was honoured in death. We get the best impression of this when Plutarch discussed his tomb: he said that the location, somewhere near the temple of Nemean Zeus, had been kept secret because the people of Orchomenos wanted to recover the remains, as they had been told to do by an oracle (*Conv. sept. sap.* 19 [162e-f]). Cf. Plutarch Fragments 82 [from Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 639-640]). Clearly, Hesiod's bones were seen as powerful, thus adding weight to his persona and his writings. The fact that the oracle said this to the Orchomenians also spoke to the divine favour that Hesiod held, as his bones, like those of Theseus, for example (see Giroux 2020a), could shift the luck of the Orchomenians.

⁹⁹⁰ Although, we should note that after he studied under Philolaos, he went to Athens and became a disciple of Socrates: see Fitzgerald (1983: 1-2) and Rowe (2012) for more on Cebes and for the associated primary source citations on Cebes' contribution to the debates of the Socratic circle.

⁹⁹¹ See above, pages 273-4 for Plutarch's lost works related to Boiotia.

with other Greek examples for his reader.⁹⁹² But he also considered him worthy in his own right. Plutarch often mentioned Crates' insistence on modest living and the avoidance of extravagance.⁹⁹³ As noted previously,⁹⁹⁴ Plutarch held modesty, restraint, and a lack of extravagance (frugality) as indicators of a noble and virtuous character. Therefore, Crates, like Epaminondas, became a prime example of the ability of Boiotians to not only reach the height of other Greeks, but to, at times, surpass them.

Plutarch presented Pindar, Hesiod, Cebes, and Crates as worthy of respect, placing them next to some of the greatest and most famous examples of their crafts. By doing so, Plutarch implied that the intellectual culture of the Boiotians could be comparable to other areas of Greece, especially Athens, and thus worthy of recognition. This further advanced his implicit narrative that Boiotia and the Boiotians were equal to the greats of Greece and thus worthy of being considered as *exempla* for his Greek and Roman readers alike.

Boiotian Customs and Practices

Plutarch had more to say on specific Boiotian customs and practices that set them apart from other Greeks.

⁹⁹² E.g., he is quoted after Phocion: *De se ipsum* 17 (546a). His lifestyle was also equated to that of Diogenes: *De cap. ex inim. util.* 2 (87a); *An vit. ad infel. suff.* 3 (499c).

⁹⁹³ *Quomodo adul.* 28 (69c-d); *De tuenda san.* 7 (125f); *De cap. ex inim. util.* 2 (87a); *De tranq. an.* 4 (466e); *An vit. ad infel. suff.* 3 (499c); *De vit. aere al.* 8 (831f); *Demetr.* 46.2.

⁹⁹⁴ See above, page 288 for Epaminondas as being modest and 294 for Timokleia. Cf. Chapter 1, pages 148-9, 157-8.

Marriage

Plutarch considered Boiotian marriage customs as a differentiating factor. Take, for instance, his remark that every Boiotian (and Lokrian) marketplace had an altar and image of Eucleia, before which the brides and grooms offered sacrifice (*Arist.* 20.6).⁹⁹⁵ Plutarch thus felt the need to mention that these altars to Eucleia were both common in Boiotia (and Lokris) and, by pointing out the regional affiliation, different from other regional landscapes. Her altar thus provides a landscape marker of identity for Boiotia. Furthermore, the sacrifices performed by the bride and groom to the persona of Eucleia add another item that linked the region together and set it aside from others. Thus, Plutarch provided a unique indicator of Boiotian identity, one that was tied to Eucleia and marriages.

Another unique Boiotian marriage custom concerned the bride's headgear and its significance. The bride was veiled and put on a crown of asparagus (*Praec. conj.* 2 [138d-e]).⁹⁹⁶ The idea, Plutarch said, was that the bride acted as the fruit of this plant and withstood the unpleasantness of her husband's thorns. Here, Boiotian marriage practices were set apart from other peoples, and were not used to explain a commonality. Therefore, when it came to marriage at least, Plutarch viewed the Greeks as having different customs from each other, the Boiotians from the Athenians, and the Spartans.⁹⁹⁷

⁹⁹⁵ Note two other interesting details in this narrative: [1] she is sometimes considered the daughter of Herakles, thus reinforcing the tie to Boiotia, and [2] she also receives rights in Lokris. This reinforces the idea of regional exchange and affinity between Boiotia and its neighbours (see e.g., page 237 for regional exchange during food crises).

⁹⁹⁶ This is also notable in that it plays on the agricultural nature of Boiotia more generally. Since it is such a fertile region, it is unsurprising that the Boiotians incorporated other aspects of their landscape (besides water, for example, see above page 209), into the rites and practices of their lives.

⁹⁹⁷ Spartan marriage customs: *Lyc.* 15.3-9 (Plutarch praised them). Athenian marriage customs: *Sol.* 20.1-5. Marriage customs that seemed to be shared by all Greeks: *Per.* 7.4 (libations and wedding feast); *Artaxerxes* 23.2-5 (Greeks cannot marry their daughters, like Artaxerxes did – a case of Plutarch using customs to 'other' another culture; other examples of 'othering' include the Persians with their wives [*Praec. conj.* 16 (140b)], wives in Egypt [*Praec. conj.* 30 (142c)], and the wedding rites of Leptis [*Praec. conj.* 35 (143a)]). Another practice where Plutarch showed a

However, Plutarch did not always use marriages to make Boiotia unique. For example, in order to explain why the Romans did not allow the bride to cross the threshold themselves, Plutarch employed the Boiotian example of burning the axle of the bridal carriage in front of the door, a symbolic gesture to say that the bride must remain (*Quaest. Rom.* 29 [271d]). Plutarch thus used a Boiotian practice to help bring understanding and sympathy to the two parties, serving as an additional example of relational cultural practices.⁹⁹⁸

Funerals

With respect to Boiotian funerary practices, Plutarch was rather scarce in his descriptions. However, we do have Plutarch's description of practices that were forbidden by Solon (*Sol.* 21.4-5). Most were to curb extravagant displays,⁹⁹⁹ and thus Plutarch seemed to encourage and agree with the laws. At the end of the description, however, Plutarch noted that these practices were also forbidden by Boiotian laws, thus once more bringing Boiotia and Athens together. By doing so, Plutarch again established the Boiotians as a worthy example, who avoided extravagant displays of wealth and emotion. However, to separate Boiotia from Athens, Plutarch continued his remark by saying that the Boiotian laws were harsher than the Athenian ones and that offenders were charged by a board of censors for women for 'unmanly and effeminate extravagances of sorrow'. Offences included laceration of the flesh by mourners, the use of set lamentations, the bewailing of any one at the funeral ceremonies of another, and sacrificing oxen at the grave (*Sol.* 21.4-5).

commonality between Boiotians and other Greeks is found in his explanation of the funeral laws of Solon, where he explained that these practices were also forbidden by Boiotian laws, but with a more serious punishment: *Sol.* 21.4-5.⁹⁹⁸ Another example of Plutarch explaining Roman customs using a Greek one is found in the description of the nuptial cry of the Romans: *Rom.* 25.1-3; *Pomp.* 4.2-5. Cf. *Rom.* 15.3. Note, however, that this example is one that compared the Greek world in its entirety to that of Rome, not just Boiotia.

⁹⁹⁹ The list included: women can only wear 3 garments; they cannot carry more than 3 obol's worth of food and drink; they cannot lacerate their flesh; they must use a set of lamentations and avoid wailing; they cannot sacrifice an ox; their dead cannot be buried with more than 3 changes of clothing; you can only visit the tombs of your family, except for burials.

Plutarch's reader, therefore, should gain the impression that the Boiotians took these laws more seriously than their Athenian counterparts. As a result, Plutarch implied that the Boiotians were more worthy of imitation than the Athenians in how they handled any trespasses to these laws.

Plutarch's descriptions of Boiotian marriage and funerary customs demonstrate what made the region unique and bound it as both an *ethnos* and a *koinon*. Despite his insistence on the uniqueness of these practices to his region, Plutarch still implied an undercurrent of understanding between Boiotia and Rome for marriages, and Boiotia and Athens for funerals. In this way, he showed his audience that the Boiotians were worthy *exempla*, as they shared affinity to these two illustrious cities, but also in terms of their behaviour, which, at times, exceeded Athenian models. Therefore, Plutarch continued to equate Boiotia with the greats of Greece and built his own narrative of relational practices to rehabilitate his region.

Religion and Mythology

Buckler speculated that Plutarch did not describe anything in detail about Boiotian religious sites, cults, and practices, but merely used them as illustrations without discussing their implications.¹⁰⁰⁰ However, when taken together, Plutarch's accounts of festivals, oracles, rituals, and mythology offer an insight into Plutarch's perspective of Boiotia and its links to the wider world.¹⁰⁰¹

¹⁰⁰⁰ Buckler 1992: 4805-6.

¹⁰⁰¹ For a list of all of Plutarch's religious mentions, see the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch". Although this appendix is organized by polis, the frequency of religious entries and sites cannot be ignored and speaks to Plutarch's interest in these areas of Boiotia.

Festivals

Plutarch discussed Boiotian religious practices to highlight that the Boiotians were just as worthy of recognition as other areas of Greece, like Athens and Sparta, and thus worthy of consideration by the Romans. For example, at the Agrionia, a festival held in Orchomenos, Plutarch referenced Boiotian women posing riddles and questions to each other after drinking and dinner, thus showing the proper balance of entertainment and discourse. For, as Plutarch explained, the ritual of engaging in this kind of conversation while drinking ensured that the revelers remained restrained (*Quaest. conv.* 8.0 [717a]).¹⁰⁰² Plutarch once again emphasized that the Boiotians were a people who knew how to converse and not indulge, thus responding to the jibes against them. This is also stressed by the fact that restraint was shown not only during a festival, a time of celebration, but also by women. By presenting Boiotian women as able to demonstrate this level of restraint and philosophic exchange, Plutarch implied that the society in which they lived, the Boiotian one, was one that was focused upon philosophical behaviour and teachings.¹⁰⁰³

Another festival, the Eleutheria, Plutarch explained, was a general assembly of all the Greeks every four years at Plataia since the time of the battle and continuing to his day, that paid homage to

¹⁰⁰² The Agrionia is discussed in another passage, this time in a more negative light in relation to the Psoloeis and Oleiae, the daughter of Minyas (*Quest. Graec.* 38 [299e-300a]). In yet another description (*Quaest. Rom.* 112 [290e-291b]), Plutarch's narrative distanced this festival from that of Rome by saying that the ivy was a part of it and another Boiotian practice, the Nyctelia, as they were observed at night, but that the priest of Jupiter in Rome was forbidden from being close to this plant or touching it. However, he avoided complete alienation of Boiotia and Rome in this rite by saying that the ivy was also not found in the temple of Aphrodite at Thebes or that of Hera at Athens. Thus, even though he showed how the Boiotian festival was different, he still provided affinity between Boiotian and Roman practices in another instance. Furthermore, by saying that the ivy was only a part of the Agrionia and Nyctelia because they were performed at night, he justified the inclusion of the ivy and thus diminished the contrast between the Romans and the Boiotians.

¹⁰⁰³ Note also Plutarch's mention of religious officials for Boiotia as a whole (*Ages.* 6.4-6), implying that there was organization and regulation associated with other forms of religious activity in the region.

those who died against the Persians on that soil (*Arist.* 21.1-5).¹⁰⁰⁴ This narrative of a festival is unusually lengthy for Plutarch and included a description of the procession, the priest, and the rites that were performed. He concluded the description by saying that the words spoken with the libation were, “I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes”, and that these rites were still performed in his day. By doing so, Plutarch again lessened the medising effect in Boiotia¹⁰⁰⁵ by emphasizing those poleis, like Plataia, who helped save the freedom of the ancient Greek world. Furthermore, by bringing these rites into his own day, he granted legitimacy to the festival through the length of its practice and thus stressed the important role that Boiotia played in this war.

Oracles

Plutarch also mentioned the numerous deities or oracles in Boiotia and the power that they either still possessed (Trophonius) or had in the past.¹⁰⁰⁶ Interestingly, Plutarch described the silence of the Boiotian oracles as a drought, as streams that have dried (*De def. or.* 5 [411d-412d]). This emphasized the importance of water to Boiotia, reminding the reader not only of Lake Kopais and its water divinity associations, but also of the rich soil that existed there as a result.¹⁰⁰⁷ In this way,

¹⁰⁰⁴ For more on Plataia, see Wallace 1985 (on the sanctuary of Demeter and its relationship to the reconstruction of the battle of Plataia), and Kalliontzis 2014 (for Plataia as a *lieux de mémoire* and the understanding of the memory of war in Boiotia).

¹⁰⁰⁵ For more on Plutarch relieving the Boiotians of this accusation, see above, pages 285-7.

¹⁰⁰⁶ The oracles are discussed throughout *De def. or.* The oracle of Trophonios in Boiotia as still active: *De def. or.* 5 (411d-412d). The experience of visiting the oracle of Trophonios was also described by Plutarch: *De gen.* 21-2 (590a-592a). Unsurprisingly, the theme of water comes forth in this description, yet again emphasizing the importance of water to Boiotia and the connection of their sacred spaces to this natural element. For the connection between Lebadeia, where the oracle was located, and Arcadia, see *Quaest. Graec.* 39 (300b). Silent oracles mentioned by Plutarch include: the oracle of Amphiaraus (*De def. or.* 5 [411d-412d]); the oracle on Ptoion (*De def. or.* 5 [411d-412d], 8 [414a]); the oracle of Teiresias (*De def. or.* 44 [434b-c]); the oracle of Tegyra (*De def. or.* 5 [411d-412d], 8 [414a]; *Pel.* 16.3-5).

¹⁰⁰⁷ For the connection of water and Boiotia, see above, pages 209-210. For Lake Kopais, see Chapter 1, pages 56-67.

the silent oracles become ghostly reminders of the dangers and fluctuations of the Boiotian water world.

Plutarch connected the Boiotian land to another deity, when he mentioned that there was a tradition that Apollo was born in Tegyra (*De def. or.* 5 [412b]; *Pel.* 16.3). Plutarch did, however, temper this statement with his language. In *De def. or.* 5 (412b), he said that the place was *recorded* as being Apollo's birthplace (ὅπου καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἱστοροῦσι). Likewise, in *Pelopidas* 16.3, Plutarch mentioned that the belief came from *legends* (ἐνταῦθα μυθολογοῦσι τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι). Thus, Plutarch neither confirmed nor denied the assertion. Nevertheless, he recorded it twice, providing some level of emphasis on the idea.¹⁰⁰⁸ Plutarch thus laid claim to yet another divinity.¹⁰⁰⁹ If Apollo was born in Boiotia, as Plutarch alleged, this might help to explain the amount of oracles in the land and implied the possibility that oracles originated in Boiotia, a concept reinforced by his statement that the first Sibyl arrived from Mount Helicon, in Boiotia, where she was reared by the Muses (*De Pyth. or.* 9 [398c]).¹⁰¹⁰ Plutarch, once again made his region the origin of an extremely important aspect of the ancient Greek world, oracles, thus emphasizing the importance of Boiotia and its religious spaces.¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰⁰⁸ It also spoke to a local tradition, one that gives pride of place to Tegyra over Delos. Furthermore, since *De def. or.* was concerned with oracles, the claim that Apollo was born in Boiotia lends further weight to the idea that the region was one that was rich not only in mythical tales, but also in its firm connection to the gods, in particular to Apollo, who spoke through these Boiotian oracles.

¹⁰⁰⁹ For example, Plutarch gave Boiotia a claim to Odysseus. Plutarch tells us that Odysseus was born near the Alalcomenium in Boiotia (*Quest. Graec.* 43 [301d]). He did preface this, however, by saying that this was something that Ister of Alexandria writes. Nowhere did Plutarch say whether he agreed with this tale, however, the mere inclusion of it within his works and to answer one of the *Greek Questions* is indicative of the interest Plutarch found in the story. At the very least, Plutarch wanted his reader to know that it was possible that Boiotia had some claim to this hero and thus another connection to the Trojan War.

¹⁰¹⁰ Note, however, that he also mentioned that some people said that she came from the Malians, but he made this remark as an afterthought, giving preference to the Boiotian version.

¹⁰¹¹ These are interesting and strange observations for the priest of Apollo at Delphi to make. These connections between Delphi and Boiotia were perhaps obvious to Plutarch and came as second nature, as his two local worlds of Chaironeia and Delphi bridged the regional gap for him on a regular basis (see the Conclusion, page 490 for more on Plutarch and Delphi).

The importance of the Boiotian oracles is again accentuated through anecdotes that describe when the Boiotian oracles were functioning. In these, we find that on many occasions it was the Boiotian oracles that helped the Greeks.¹⁰¹² But it was not only the Greeks who were aided by Boiotian oracles, Plutarch also showed how the oracle of Trophonios supported Sulla by announcing his victory (*Sull.* 17.1-2). What is most important about this, is that Plutarch was able to use this anecdote to continue the narrative of loyalty to Rome. He thus not only pursued this narrative for his hometown,¹⁰¹³ but also, when possible, for Boiotia more generally.

Rituals

Besides oracles, Plutarch used Greek ritual practices to show common ground between the Greeks and the Romans, his go-to strategy in relation to Rome and Boiotia. In one passage, Plutarch compared the Roman practice of not allowing the priest of Jupiter to touch ivy or pass along a road with a vine growing on the tree, to an Athenian and Theban practice (*Quaest. Rom.* 112 [290e-291b]).¹⁰¹⁴ In another, he explained why Roman priests avoided dogs with a comparison to a Spartan ritual as well as a Boiotian ceremony of purification (*Quaest. Rom.* 111 (290d)).¹⁰¹⁵ In yet

¹⁰¹² For example, Pausanias prayed to the gods of the Plataian land that if they should die, to at least make sure that they did great deeds. A seer then announced victory (*Arist.* 18.1-2). In another example, Amphiaraus gave a prophecy that helped in the Persian Wars: *De def. or.* 5 (411d-412d). In yet another, the Thebans received an oracle during the Peloponnesian War from Apollo Ismenios: *Lys.* 29.6-7. Cf. *Arist.* 19.1-3 and *De gen.* 21-22 (590a-f). See *De def. or.* 5 (411d-412d), 44 (434c); *De facie* 30 (944e); *Lys.* 29.6-7; *Pel.* 16.3-5, 20.3-4; and *Sull.* 17.1 for more on the many oracles in Boiotia. For Plutarch's understanding of individuated gods and their connection to sacred spaces versus more abstract gods or daemons, see Lipka 2017 (who finds that Plutarch, in his language use at least, is by no means an exception in his understanding of sacred spaces and their rites [see, e.g., 301-2], but that Plutarch's world was essentially a monotheistic one in which sacred spaces and individuated gods were nothing but nostalgia pieces [see, e.g., pp.303-4]).

¹⁰¹³ For Plutarch's narrative of Chaironeian loyalty to Rome, see Chapter 1, esp. pages 186-190.

¹⁰¹⁴ Note, however, page 318 note 1003 above, which discusses this in more detail.

¹⁰¹⁵ Here we have Boiotia equated not only with Rome, but also with Sparta, thus showing the relation between the three and therefore Boiotia's worthiness as a subject of imitation. Note, however, that Plutarch also referred to dog sacrifices in the rest of the Greek world as a ceremony of purification: *Quaest. Rom.* 52 (277a-b), 68 (280b-c). Cf. Avronidaki 2008: 10-14. Thus, we have evidence for dog sacrifices across the Greek and Roman worlds, but Plutarch reserved the one practice of public purification (*Quaest. Rom.* 111 [290d]) in Boiotia as unique but akin to a Spartan and Roman one. Thus, although the sacrifices were common, the rites themselves differed from region to region.

another narrative, Plutarch compared the differences in keeping an eternal flame, by contrasting the Roman Vestal Virgins with widows performing the same task in the Greek world (*Num.* 9.5). On more than one occasion, he compared the Roman Mater Matuta and the rituals associated with her, to the Greek equivalent, Leukothea, who had a temple in his town of Chaironeia.¹⁰¹⁶ In these references, Plutarch not only showed the difference in Roman and Greek culture, but he diminished the divide through relational practices, which served to break down ideas of othering in order to equate them.

Mythological Figures

Comparisons between Greek and Roman in respect to mythological figures were also made. Plutarch described that when Romulus died, his body disappeared, and his friends claimed that this was because he had become a god (*Rom.* 28.4). Plutarch then compared this episode to the bodies of the poet Aristeas of Proconnesos and the boxer Kleomedes of Astypaleia, which also disappeared after death. Framing the disappearance is Alcmene, the Boiotian mother of Herakles. Plutarch explained that her body also disappeared and was replaced by a rock. He argued, however, that these sorts of narratives were used by authors incorrectly to ascribe divine aspects to human mortality (*Rom.* 28.6). By ending the comparisons with a Boiotian one, and using it to explain the Roman, Plutarch emphasized the affinity between Boiotian and Roman tales, while also showing a similar thought process in their compositions. As such, Plutarch subtly implied that the two were worthy of comparison.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Apophth. Lac.* Lycurgus 26 (228e); *Quaest. Rom.* 16 (267d-e); *De frat. am.* 21 (492d); *Cam.* 5.2. Cf. Chapter 1, pages 164 and 185 for a discussion of this practice and the local world of Chaironeia. Note that Plutarch also mentioned Theban sacrifices and lamentations to Leukothea: *Apophth. Lac.* Lycurgus 26 (228e). By bringing something from his hometown into the wider Boiotian region, Plutarch connected the space and transformed the connection between Chaironeia and Rome to one that encompassed his wider, regional world.

In his description of the attempted removal of Alcmene's bones to Sparta on Agesilaus' orders, Plutarch refuted the Athenian stereotype that the Boiotians were not quick witted or good speakers (*De gen.* 5-7 [577e-579a]).¹⁰¹⁷ In the anecdote, the tomb raiders found a plaque with ancient letters similar to Egyptian characters. Since the men could not make them out, Agesilaus sent a transcript to the Egyptian king.¹⁰¹⁸ The translation that was sent back asked the Greeks to institute games in honour of the Muses, and for all the Greeks to live in peace and with philosophy, in honour of the Muses. They should, according to the translation, set aside their weapons to solve their disputes with reason and discourse. This is an interesting tale, as it makes Boiotia the centre of peace rather than war. The call to use reason and discourse, which the Boiotians were ridiculed for not possessing, is almost ironic, as the cry comes from Boiotia, in a Boiotian tomb and inscription. Furthermore, we must remember that Plutarch provided us with an example of Boiotians practicing philosophy and discourse in the Agrionia, where the women turned to philosophy and discourse instead of drinking, as the Muses would have it (*Quaest. conv.* 8 [717a]).¹⁰¹⁹ He thus demonstrated how the Boiotians currently followed this ancient demand, perhaps implying a continuity between then and now. Thus, Plutarch used the tomb to again refute the jibes against the Boiotians and to show that, actually, the call for reason, discussion, and harmony originated in the land of the Muses.

¹⁰¹⁷ The location of Alcmene's tomb is mentioned in *Lysander* 28.4-5 as being near the spring Cissusa, by Haliartos. For more on Plutarch's representation of heroic bone transfer, see Giroux 2020a, with relevant bibliography.

¹⁰¹⁸ This is interesting, as it provides another link between Boiotia and Egypt, thus reinforcing the ancient exchange network and therefore Boiotia's participation in the ancient 'global' world (see above, pages 208, 256-7 and Chapter 1, pages 120-1, 184-6). Plutarch, in fact, conceived of the very ancient world as one that was as connected as his current. We find evidence of this, for example, in Plutarch Fragments 212 (from Theodoretus, *Cur. Graec. Affect.* 1.468a), where he described how the rites of the Dionysia, the Panathenaic festival, the Thesmophoria, and the Eleusinian mysteries were brought to the Greek world through Orpheus, an Odrysian, after he had visited Egypt. In yet another example (*De Is. et Os.* 69 [378e]), Plutarch said that there were common practices between the Greeks and Egyptians, once again strengthening the tie between these two peoples. This suggests that Plutarch's conception of his own world as well as the legacy of the very ancient past, was one of networks, connections, and exchange.

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf above, page 318 for more on the Agrionia.

Herakles

But Plutarch took the idea of Boiotia as the beginning of the great aspects of the ancient Greek world further in his anecdotes of the Boiotian hero, Herakles, Alcmene's son.¹⁰²⁰ Although his *Life* is no longer extant, we are able to reconstruct some of the main themes from which Plutarch built his narrative for this hero.

As he did for Epaminondas,¹⁰²¹ Plutarch crafted Herakles as a virtuous man worthy of emulation. For example, he described him as calm and dignified (*De cap. ex inim. util.* 8 (90d); *Marc.* 21.4-5), what appears to be, from our investigations,¹⁰²² a *topos* for Plutarch's *exempla* of restraint. His courage (*Cat. Min.* 52.4-5), his skill in tactics (*Nic.* 25.1), and the joke that there was nothing negative to say about his character (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Antalcidas 3 [192c]; *Apophth. Lac.* 2 [217d])¹⁰²³ also merited mention. These are but a few of the positive attributes that Plutarch assigned to Herakles,¹⁰²⁴ whom he built as a representative of Boiotia.

¹⁰²⁰ For references in Plutarch to Herakles as a Boiotian, see *De E delph.* 6 (387d). Although Plutarch said negative things about Herakles' Boiotian character in his youth in this passage (he was spontaneous and did not think logically), it was, in some ways ironic. This is noticeable when we consider who was telling the story, that is, Theon, a Boiotian and a learned man (for more on Theon, see Chapter 3, pages 367-8). Thus, although the qualities listed here were seen as negative attributes of a 'Boiotian character' they were not what defined the Boiotians as a people, as we see not only with Herakles' transition beyond his youth, as well as the learned nature of Theon. Cf. *Amat.* 9 (754d-e) for more on Boiotian practices and their likening to Herakles. Note also, Plutarch's anger with Herodotus for giving Herakles an Egyptian and thus foreign, pedigree: *De Herod. malig.* 14 (857e-f). In fact, in other places, Plutarch actively worked to remove any association of Herakles with the Egyptian world: *De Is. et Os.* 29 (362b). Further, he also created distance between Herakles and Tingis (*Sert.* 9.4-5). There is no simple answer as to why Plutarch would want to pull Herakles away from these two places. However, it is possible that his desire to distance Herakles from Egypt did not stem from a dislike or lack of respect for that culture, but rather from a wish to discredit the idea that Herakles was not originally Boiotian. The further he took him from Egypt, therefore, the more this tenuous this claim became. For Herakles and his association to Thebes, see H. Beck forthcoming: section 11.2.

¹⁰²¹ See above, pages 287-293.

¹⁰²² See his description of Timokleia (pages 293-8) or, in Chapter 1 (pages 146-152), his description of Timoxena.

¹⁰²³ Note, however, that this was a famous saying and thus not representative of Plutarch's view of Herakles. However, since Plutarch included it, he must have found it clever and in some ways an interesting portrayal of the mythic hero. Nonetheless, Plutarch did not shy away from pointing out some of Herakles' weaknesses, such as his destructive nature (*De Is. et Os.* 40 [367c]), or that he showed favour to flatterers (*Quomodo adul.* 18 [60c]). Plutarch also lamented the madness that caused Herakles to kill his family (*De superst.* 5 [167c-d]). Though, by saying that it was madness, Plutarch takes away some of the responsibility from Herakles for this action.

¹⁰²⁴ For a full list, see the Appendix item "Places and Peoples in Plutarch".

One of Plutarch's most important themes, however, was Herakles as the progenitor of the great poleis and civilizations of the ancient world, thus making Boiotia the beginning of it all. Plutarch claimed that Theseus, the Athenian hero, was haunted by Herakles' achievements, in the same way that Themistokles was haunted by those of Miltiades, so Theseus aimed to mimic Herakles (*Thes.* 6.6-7, 11.1-2).¹⁰²⁵ Theseus thus set up the Isthmian games in emulation of Herakles' setting up of the Olympian games (*Thes.* 25.4). Theseus also gave back the dead of his enemies, but Plutarch mentions that Herakles was the first to do this (*Thes.* 39.4-5). Most importantly, Herakles was responsible for saving Theseus from execution, for which Theseus renamed the precincts in Athens that were set aside for him as Herakleia, instead of Theseia.¹⁰²⁶ So, not only did the Boiotian hero save the great Athenian one, but he became the impetus for Theseus' actions and achievements in Athens through the imitation and emulation of Herakles' deeds. As a result, Theseus became known as 'another Herakles' (τὸν ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς; *Thes.* 29.3). Athens, Plutarch implied, evolved out of Boiotian culture.

Plutarch repeats this claim for Sparta. According to Plutarch, not only did the Spartan kings descend from Herakles, which Plutarch reminds us of frequently throughout his works,¹⁰²⁷ but Spartan foreign policy was based on a sort of emulation of Herakles' interactions with foreign peoples and tyrants (*Lyc.* 30.2). So, the two greatest poleis in Greece, according to Plutarch at least, were the product of the emulation of a Boiotian hero. But it was not just Athens and Sparta,

¹⁰²⁵ Note that Plutarch also mentioned that they were cousins (*Thes.* 7.1-2).

¹⁰²⁶ All except for four, which he kept: *Thes.* 35.1-2. See also, *Thes.* 22.5, where Plutarch wrote that some people believed that certain rites were done in Athens for the Heracleidae, though he himself was skeptical. Despite his doubt, this is strong evidence for the collective memory of these stories in Athens, one that speaks to the importance of Herakles for their polis and to their hero, Theseus. Cf. Plutarch *Them.* 1.2-3 for a gymnasium dedicated to Herakles outside of Athens (Cf. Duff 2008b: 168).

¹⁰²⁷ *Reg. et imp. apophth.* Lysander 2 (190e), Nicostratus 1 (192a); *Apophth. Lac.* Lycurgus 1 (255f-266b), Lysander 14 (229f-230a); *De vit. pud.* 16 (535a-b); *Ages.* 3.5; *Ag.* 11.2; *Alc.* 22.3, 22.6, 24.3-5; *Cleom.* 13.1-2, 16.4, 31.2; *Comp. Agis-Cleomenes-Gracchi* 2.4; *Lyc.* 1.3, 36.1; *Lys.* 2.1-3, 7.4.

who became illustrious thanks to Herakles and his descendants, but the Argive kingdom, until their family became extinct (*De Alex. Fort.* 8 [340c]). Thus, Herakles became the one responsible for the growth, reputation, and beginnings of the ancient Greek world. In this way, Herakles evolved from being 'from' Thebes, to being 'from' Greece in its entirety.¹⁰²⁸

But the influence of Herakles did not end there. Plutarch took Herakles into the global arena, first with Macedonia, then with Rome. Plutarch reminded his reader that Alexander the Great was descended from Herakles through his father's side (*De Alex. fort.* 2 [334d]; *Alex.* 2.1). Not only this, but Plutarch said that Alexander was imitating Herakles and that his success was based on a desire to surpass him (*De Alex. fort.* 10 [332a-b], 13 [326b]).¹⁰²⁹ In fact, it seems that, for Plutarch, Herakles was the only person worth comparing to Alexander as he said that Alexander was the best of men and surpassed those of old (*De Alex. fort.* 12 [343a-b]).¹⁰³⁰ He could not have done so, however, without his imitation and emulation of Herakles. Thus, like Theseus, Alexander's success was partially built on a foundation of imitation and competition with Herakles.

¹⁰²⁸ Herakles even said that he did not come from a single place, but that Greece was his home (*De exil.* 5 [600f]). Note, however, the context in which this quotation is given, Plutarch's treatise on exile in which he was trying to comfort his friend who had been exiled from his home. He thus used Herakles as an *exemplum* for the attitude one should take. Nevertheless, this passage is an interesting one as Plutarch, throughout his work, showed Herakles' evolution from a Theban to a 'man of the world', not just any man of the world, but one who built much of what the Hellenic world became famous for. We can therefore cautiously interpret this transition as Plutarch's subtle message that Boiotia was equal to and in many ways responsible for the successes of Greece.

¹⁰²⁹ It seems that in his imitation he was in some ways successful, as Plutarch tells us of the gift of citizenship given to Alexander, which had only been conferred upon Herakles before him (*De unius* 2 [826c-d]). In yet another anecdote, Plutarch has Alexander deny that he has reached the same height as Herakles when his friends pronounce this to be true (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* Alexander 27 [181d]).

¹⁰³⁰ Cf. *De Alex. fort.* 11 (341f). Note another anecdote in which Alexander was supported by Herakles and Apollo (*Alex.* 24.3-4). This is notable, as we have the combination of Plutarch's two local worlds, that is, Chaironeia as a part of Boiotia through Herakles, and Delphi through Apollo. This not only speaks to the support Alexander received from these two gods, however, as it may also be a comment on Plutarch's personal connections as well. This is not to say that Plutarch was comparing himself to Alexander, only that he saw a kinship between Apollo and Herakles through Alexander that perhaps nicely reflected his own associations with Delphi and Boiotia.

The other global sphere that Plutarch brought Herakles into is that of his own world: Rome. First, he tells us that Roma, the woman who gave her name to Rome, as well as the family of Marc Antony¹⁰³¹ and that of Fabius Maximus,¹⁰³² claimed descent from Herakles.¹⁰³³ Thus, like the Spartans, some of the most illustrious families of Rome, ones who often guided and influenced the state, were descendants of Plutarch's Boiotian hero. Plutarch also mentioned that the conceptions of Romulus and Herakles occurred with good omens (*De fort. Rom.* 8 [320b]). This enabled Plutarch to once again equate a Boiotian to a Roman,¹⁰³⁴ thus reinforcing the idea that Boiotia and Rome were in some ways alike and, as a result, that the Boiotians were worthy of respect and emulation. Furthermore, Herakles influenced not only some of the rites of the Romans,¹⁰³⁵ but also the spaces in their city.¹⁰³⁶ His presence in Rome, therefore, cannot be denied and thus helped to bridge a gap between the Roman rulers and their Boiotian subjects.

¹⁰³¹ *Ant.* 4.1-2, 36.3-4; *Comp. Demetrius-Antony* 3.3. In fact, Plutarch tells us that Antony believed this descent to be true because his appearance was similar to that of Herakles' statues, and thus began to imitate him in other aspects of appearance, such as his clothing (*Ant.* 4.1-2). However, he did not strive to imitate Herakles character and ways of living, instead he imitated Dionysos (*Ant.* 60.3). By claiming this, Plutarch distanced himself and his Boiotian hero from Antony and his legacy, and thus ensured that the Boiotians, even in their mythological tales, remained loyal to Octavian. For Plutarch's narratives as being related to one of loyalty to Rome, see Chapter 1, esp. pages 186-190.

¹⁰³² *Fab.* 1.1. Later, Fabius Maximus placed a colossal statue of Herakles next to himself on the Capitol (*Fab.* 22.5-6. Cf. H. Beck 2002: 483-5). Plutarch's readers surely would not have missed the association of this move to Fabius' descent from Herakles and thus would likely have picked up on the narrative that Plutarch was creating where Fabius was trying to cast himself as similar to his supposed ancestor.

¹⁰³³ *Rom.* 2.1. Note, however, that this was one of many possibilities of descent given by Plutarch. Nevertheless, when we consider the other claims to descent from Herakles in Rome, as well as the narrative that Plutarch was constructing of Herakles influence on the growth of Rome, we should still consider this comment as being relevant to the picture that Plutarch was building of affinity between Boiotia and Rome.

¹⁰³⁴ As he does with Epaminondas, for example (see above, pages 291-2).

¹⁰³⁵ He credited Herakles with civilizing the ancient Romans, which led to a rite in which the Romans threw figures that they called 'Argives' into the Pons Sublicius (*Quaest. Rom.* 32 [272b-c]). He also posited that the Romans might have learned augury from Herakles (*Quaest. Rom.* 93 [286b]). Plutarch also explained the sacrifice of dogs to Herakles in Rome: *Quaest. Rom.* 90 (285e-f). For Roman women and rites to Herakles, see *Quaest. Rom.* 60 (278f). For Roman children and swearing by Herakles, see *Quaest. Rom.* 28 (271b-c). For the worship of Herakles and his nephews and the comparison of this to the worship of Leukothea and her nieces and nephews, see *De frat. am.* 21 (492c-d).

¹⁰³⁶ Temple of Herakles in Rome: *Quaest. Rom.* 35 (272f); *Prae. ger. reip.* 20 (816c). Shared altar with the Muses: *Quaest. Rom.* 59 (278d-e). Wealthy give a tithe of their property to Herakles: *Quaest. Rom.* 18 (267e-f); *Crass.* 2.2, 12.2; *Sull.* 35.1.

For Plutarch, not only was Boiotia connected to the Greek cities of Athens and Sparta through Herakles, but also to Alexander the Great, and to the most powerful city of Plutarch's time, Rome. And while Plutarch always gave an authority for these subjects, and thus tells us that they were part of a tradition and not his imagination, it is still important to recognize not only that he ensured to mention these tidbits of information, but also *where* he inserted these messages: the foundational hero of Athens, the lawmaker who built the society of Sparta, and the woman who gave Rome her name, alongside one of its biggest families. A Boiotian hero thus became the progenitor and impetus for these illustrious cities and their cultures.

Against Herodotus

Plutarch's implicit message throughout his works was that Boiotia and its people were worthy of consideration as *exempla*, just like Athens and Sparta. The message was not so subtle, however, in his treatise *De Herodoti malignitate*. The entire treatise is a defense of the Boiotians and Corinthians by examining the faults of Herodotus.¹⁰³⁷ Plutarch even stated that Herodotus told lies about 'the best and greatest cities and men of Greece' (...περὶ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ μεγίστων, τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων καὶ ἀνδρῶν...; *De Herod. malig.* 43 [874b-c]). Plutarch thus directly stated that the Corinthians and Boiotians were a part of the great men of Greece. We have, therefore, a confirmation of what we have been suspecting all along: Plutarch viewed the Boiotians as equal to Athens, Sparta, and the rest of the poleis of the ancient Greek world.

¹⁰³⁷ Plutarch found many faults with Herodotus' writing, including (though not limited to): omitting the bad or the good (*De Herod. malig.* 15 [858b]); falsifying Delphic responses (*De Herod. malig.* 23 [860c-d]); making Herakles a foreign hero (*De Herod. malig.* 12-3 [857a-f]); Herodotus was a flatterer (*De Herod. malig.* 1 [854f]); Plutarch, of course, wrote a treatise against flatterers: *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur*; Herodotus was too severe against those who medized (*De Herod. malig.* 35 [868a]); this statement helps us to understand why Plutarch worked so diligently to lessen the implications of this charge for Boiotia; he invented betrayals against the Thebans (*De Herod. malig.* 29 [864b]).

Perhaps most importantly, he opened *De Herodoti malignitate* by saying that he would defend his ancestors (1 [854f]), thus laying out his motivation for speaking against Herodotus.¹⁰³⁸ However, Plutarch not only defended the Boiotians in this treatise, but rather, he used parts of his entire corpus to help rehabilitate the Boiotians and to establish them as *exempla*. In a way, then, Plutarch's writings can be described as *Against Athens*.

Plutarch clearly did not believe the jibes about the Boiotians, preferring, instead, to help rewrite the narrative and rehabilitate his people. However, since he was writing primarily for the education of men, providing *exempla*, he did not create an outright praise-piece for his people, but rather, he dusted his narrative with Boiotian references, writers and achievements, and sprinkled it with comparisons to Athens, Sparta, and Rome in order to bring them to light as great Greeks. And in so doing, he subtly spoke to his reader.¹⁰³⁹

For in Plutarch's explicit mentions, focused on Boiotian military culture, he gave the Romans, who had a grand history of empire and conquest, a people they could relate to. As such, he offered the Boiotians and their leaders, especially Epaminondas, as *exempla* for his Roman readership, worthy of consideration next to men like Themistocles and Aristides.

¹⁰³⁸ Note, however, that Roskam (2017) argues against this interpretation, positing instead that Plutarch's purpose was not patriotic, but rather, ethical in that he was angered by how Herodotus approached literature. While this is certainly possible, it seems strange to deny the outright statement by Plutarch that he was defending his ancestors (*De Herod. malig.* 1 [854f]). I thus believe that Plutarch may have been motivated by both causes, but that it was more likely that the one he explicitly laid out for his audience served as a primary motivator. Furthermore, as we have seen throughout this chapter, Plutarch worked tirelessly in many places of his corpus to rehabilitate Boiotia and its peoples against the slanders of Athens, thus once again hinting that the prime motivator here was likely one that helped his kinsmen and their reputations.

¹⁰³⁹ But he did not do so blindly. Just as his *Lives* spoke of the positive and negative characteristics and choices of the men contained therein, so did his presentation of Boiotian culture.

But it is also in his implicit comparisons of Boiotian religious practice, intellectual and literary figures, and other cultural frameworks like language and calendars, that all point to something very interesting. For it is in these passages, these beads of water that I have gathered, that we see Plutarch lifting Boiotia to meet the other influential players in the ancient Greek world, that is, Athens and Sparta. The Boiotians shared a similar history with men who were just as courageous. Boiotian writers, like Pindar and Hesiod, stood next to Athens' greatest. Their mythological hero, Herakles, was responsible for not only for the culture of Athens, but also that of Sparta, and Rome, entangling them in joint lineage and cultural practices that linked the strongest elements of this connected world to a supposed backwater of Greece.

But, if Plutarch was so keen to focus on military aspects of Greek culture and thus made military endeavours Athens' highest achievement, did his downplaying of Athens' intellectual culture, mixed with his constant equating of Boiotian writers with Athenian ones, also imply that he saw Boiotia as having a literary, historic, and philosophic culture that was vibrant and worthy of consideration as equal to Athens? In other words, did he, by modifying our view of Athens' achievements as being mainly military, and by subtly boosting Boiotia's intellectual achievements in reference to those of Athens, balance the scales?

H. Beck argues that Athens created the negative narrative of Boiotia in order to claim cultural superiority and leadership.¹⁰⁴⁰ Plutarch, then, was equalizing their successes and identifying flawed Athenian narratives in response to their Boiotian slanders. And while he did this mainly through implicit references, his work, taken as a whole, still becomes the response we seek to these

¹⁰⁴⁰ See above, page 197.

Athenian jibes. For as Plutarch himself lamented, "...it really seems to be a difficult thing to be hated by a polis that has a language and the arts" (*Thes.* 16.2).

Chapter 3: Six Degrees of Connection

Life on the spot surely cannot yield an experience of place, of being *somewhere*. To be a place, every somewhere must lie on one or several paths of movement to and from places elsewhere. Life is lived, I reasoned, along paths, not just in places, and paths are lines of a sort. It is along paths, too, that people grow into a knowledge of the world around them, and describe this world in the stories they tell. (Ingold 2016: 3)

Introduction

No one questions that elites in Rome had an advantage in that they had access to large networks through the centrality of the city in the Mediterranean.¹⁰⁴¹ But what about upper-class men who were not in this hub? Men like Plutarch, who remained in the rather small and rural Chaironeia, a village in what was perceived to be a backwater of Greece.¹⁰⁴² How did Plutarch manage (or did he?) the same kind of connections as those who were established in Athens, Rome, or other growing centres like Pergamon? And finally, what can this tell us about the ability of elites from small poleis in the Greek world to network and climb the social ladder of the Roman Empire? Plutarch is a good case study for these questions because his works offer an abundance of information that we do not have for other elites in small poleis. And while Plutarch is reluctant to speak about his personal life, his corpus is filled with incidental remarks that enlighten our

¹⁰⁴¹ The centrality of Rome and the role the emperor plays in this aspect is discussed by Purcell 2012. For the power and centrality of Rome more generally, see Horden and Purcell 2000: 112 (large city with a large trading empire), 449 (where they describe Rome as a ‘Mediterranean hub’ and ‘the centre of the world’); Flückiger, Hornung, Larch, Ludwig, and Mees 2019 (the connectivity of Rome and its influence on economics); Scheidel 2014 (the connectivity of the Roman world). Cf. the contributions in Pitts and Versluys 2014. Some of the elite capability to connect with people from all over the Roman world has been tied to the ability of people to travel during this period: Büttner 2006; Casson 1974: 234; Lomine 2005; *ORBIS*; Romero 2013; Strumpf 2013. See also Barrow (1967: 22) who argues that travel under the Empire was commonplace because of the safety that the empire afforded to people under its jurisdiction. For a discussion of travel in the Roman Empire and its relationship to the polis of Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, pages 171-7. For Rome and the idea of its empire as a ‘global’ world, see the Introduction, pages 16-9.

¹⁰⁴² For Plutarch’s presentation of Chaironeia as small: see Chapter 1, pages 27-9.

perception of his world.¹⁰⁴³ Plutarch forged many paths and he left traces of these in his corpus. Here I refer not only to the literal lines of a network map, but also to the figurative ones in the relationships that he fostered. Plutarch was a connected man. These connections certainly would have affected his writing, his hometown of Chaironeia, and him as person. And so, this chapter investigates what we can infer from Plutarch's social network about his ambitions as well as his motivations in writing.

In the chapter on Chaironeia, we explored the connections of other elite Chaironeians during Plutarch's lifetime, as well as the unique aspects of this polis, to show that Plutarch's local world was complex.¹⁰⁴⁴ However, any study of Plutarch and his hometown would be incomplete without an analysis of his social network, not only in terms of his relationships to his fellow Chaironeians, but also those of his regional sphere (Boiotia), and his global entourage (individuals throughout the Roman Empire). As such, this chapter moves away from a solely qualitative analysis of Plutarch's world in terms of his local, regional, and global environments, and his interactions within each of these, into one that also considers a quantitative approach that looks at the numbers and breadth of his social network.¹⁰⁴⁵ Plutarch is an invaluable resource for this kind of analysis because he documented his friendships in a way that we do not have for any other Greek writer of this period.¹⁰⁴⁶ Therefore, Plutarch offers a unique opportunity to gain an understanding of the extent, both geographic and numeric, of his social network to begin to uncover how interconnected

¹⁰⁴³ As we saw in Chapter 1, pages 138-190, and Chapter 2, pages 272-331.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See Chapter 1 pages 124-138 for the elite Chaironeians, and Chapter 1 more generally for the unique aspects of this polis. For more on the concept of the 'local' and the notion that it is both a physical and imagined space, see the Introduction, pages 15-6.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Both approaches, however, are considered since the quantitative analysis here of Plutarch's social network gives meaning to the qualitative implications of his connections. By approaching this chapter in this way, I hope to begin to fulfill the desire of Barker, Bouzarovski, Pelling, and Isaken (2010: 24) that the two approaches (qualitative and quantitative) should be 'married' to enhance our understanding of space in an author's text.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Stadter 2014a: 10-1.

a member of the elite of a small Greek polis could be, and, perhaps, in what ways these connections may have benefitted him and his hometown.

In this chapter, by ‘social network’, I mean the relationships between peoples, sometimes in very different locations.¹⁰⁴⁷ These social relationships are important for our understanding of the ancient world, in that they have the power to cross physical and political boundaries, releasing us from the static view of Plutarch’s experiences as being isolated by geographic and political entities. By focusing on the social web of connections and interactions, we can weave our way around or between bounded geographic and political forms. Doing so enables a more malleable and flexible perspective of these spaces, one that blurs the territorial lines. This chapter will thus bridge the gap between my two previous chapters by intertwining them through the investigation of Plutarch’s social network to reflect the interconnected and global nature of his world.

To bring Plutarch’s social network to life, I first review the scholarship associated with his social network and how my analysis adds to the discussion. This necessarily brings forth some of the larger questions explored in this chapter, as well as any methodological issues that might impede finding potential answers. Following these considerations, I approach each degree of categorization in Plutarch’s social network by addressing how I have defined them, who is a part of them, and the pertinent observations derived from these connections. Then, the mapping processes used for this chapter are considered. I begin this section by outlining other digital projects of the ancient world, followed by an explanation of the programs that I used and why I

¹⁰⁴⁷ As such, this study is focused on social interactions, where the nodes of the matrices are representative of the individuals and the edges by their interactions. For more on nodes, edges, and their representation in the social network maps of my chapter, see below, pages 441-5.

chose them. Finally, I consider the importance of visualizing Plutarch's social network and close this chapter with some conclusions of the implications of the visual, quantitative, and qualitative natures of Plutarch's web of friendships.

By tracing this social network, I demonstrate that Plutarch was highly connected in the Roman world.¹⁰⁴⁸ I show this through a partial quantification and visualization of Plutarch's social network to establish that it was possible for an elite male of this time to build an impressive network that spanned the geographic boundaries of the Roman Empire, even if he was not based in a 'centre'. The geographic extent that is revealed, as well as the number of powerful individuals in Plutarch's social network, adds to my argument from Chapter 1 that Plutarch's choice to stay in Chaironeia was not necessarily one that hindered him.¹⁰⁴⁹ Furthermore, by investigating how Plutarch presented some of his relationships with powerful individuals, we once again witness Plutarch establishing himself as an *exemplum* for his reader on how to interact with those in power in order to maintain harmony. Lastly, by exhibiting how the number of influential members in this network increased throughout Plutarch's life, I argue that Plutarch was both ambitious and that he was successful in his career.

Literature Review

It is widely acknowledged that the elites of antiquity were well connected, well travelled, and that they developed a variety of connections in different environments (local, regional, and global)

¹⁰⁴⁸ As has already been theorized and argued. See, for example: Barrow 1967; Jones 1971: 42; Puech 1992; Stadter 2014a; Ziegler 1951.

¹⁰⁴⁹ See the summary of findings from Chapter 1 on pages 191-2. The other elites of Chaironeia, therefore, also potentially had the opportunity to make far reaching and diverse connections.

through friendships, patronage, and other alliances.¹⁰⁵⁰ What I seek to understand, is to what extent we can trace Plutarch's social connections, and what these connections tell us about his world, its social interconnectivity, and its potential effects on his writing.

Plutarch's social connections have been widely studied.¹⁰⁵¹ The most recent comprehensive work, however, was carried out by Puech in her 1992 article, "La prosopographie des amies de Plutarque". Puech scrutinized Plutarch's corpus in order to find and list contemporaries mentioned by Plutarch. Puech's impressive gathering of individuals thus forms the basis of this chapter for information pertaining to whom Plutarch knew and in what capacity. However, the following pages add to Puech's thorough prosopography by moving beyond the immediate social connections. It will thus explore not only who Plutarch portrayed himself as knowing, either well or in passing, but also who these people knew and the implications of the resulting network on Plutarch, his works, and Chaironeia. Thus, this chapter moves beyond prosopography and into an analysis of social networks and local connections.

The international nature of Plutarch's social network has not been lost on scholars.¹⁰⁵² The challenge of this chapter, therefore, is not only to push this network one step further by exploring

¹⁰⁵⁰ Foxhall 1999: 138-9. As Stadter (2014a: 219-220) explains for the Greeks of Plutarch's age, "(f)or those not involved directly in the imperial administration, their prestige in their local cities meant that they would be responsible for the stability of the local government and for dealings with the provincial governors and with Rome." And for Plutarch's friends directly, "Plutarch's Greek friends, through their education and frequent trips to Roman with embassies and on other occasions, would have had an unusual degree of contact with the highest ranks of the empire – as is indeed shown by Plutarch's Roman acquaintances – and with the emperor himself" (Stadter 2014a: 235). See also, Chapter 1 pages 171-7 for the idea of tourism and individual travel in the ancient world. Cf. Wendt 2016. A comprehensive literature review of Plutarch and his works can be found in the Introduction, pages 8-13. This section thus provides an overview of the main themes of this chapter and their relevant scholarly discussions.

¹⁰⁵¹ See, for example: Barrow 1967; Jones 1967, 1970a, 1970b, 1971, 1972; Stadter 2014a; Stadter 2014b; Ziegler 1951. These scholars and the importance of their work to Plutarchan scholarship are discussed in the Introduction, pages 8-13.

¹⁰⁵² E.g., Pouilloux 1980: 295 n.73; Puech 1992; and Stadter 2014a: 32.

whom Plutarch knew, either well or in passing, but also whom these people knew, as well as to visually display this network for the first time. Ultimately, we will gain an appreciation of how socially interconnected a small polis could be under the empire, and the ramifications of this interconnectivity on Plutarch and on his work.

Scope and Approach

The first challenge of this chapter is to understand not only those who were a part of Plutarch's central areas, but also the significance of his relationships outside these places. By 'central', I refer to the locations in which he spent most of his time and thus were portrayed most frequently in his corpus. These places include: Athens, where he received his education;¹⁰⁵³ Chaironeia, where he grew up and remained;¹⁰⁵⁴ his other local world, Delphi;¹⁰⁵⁵ and, finally, Rome, where he spent many years and made many international connections.¹⁰⁵⁶ Since these are the places where Plutarch allocated himself most of his time, thus becoming the background of his writing, it is unsurprising that they are where we find most of the links in his social network.

Despite the emphasis on these locations, there are some intriguing associations to people who originated in the periphery of the Roman Empire. The questions for these 'outside' links, then, is how they came to know Plutarch and the significance of these decentralized individuals. By 'outside' I do not mean to imply that they were not part of the connected Roman world. Rather, I use this word to emphasize the distance of their location of origin from those areas where Plutarch represented himself as spending his life (Athens, Chaironeia, Delphi, Rome). It is this distance,

¹⁰⁵³ Jones 1971: 109.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See Chapter 1, pages 139-156 for Plutarch in Chaironeia.

¹⁰⁵⁵ See the Conclusion, page 490.

¹⁰⁵⁶ See the Introduction, pages 11-2.

this ‘outside’ nature, that makes them even more striking, as they came from afar to Plutarch’s ‘central’ areas. Why travel such a distance? What does this travel imply for the mechanisms of the Roman world and, for the purposes of my study, for Plutarch’s social network? If, for example, Donald Russell is correct that Plutarch did not have many connections on the Asiatic mainland, which was, at that time, the centre of the growing movement of the Second Sophistic, what does this mean for Plutarch’s network and its influence on his works?¹⁰⁵⁷ These are the questions that concern this part of my chapter.

These inquiries, and the network map from which they derive, thus open the door for the other focus of this chapter, that is, to question the argument that Plutarch’s insistence on remaining in Chaironeia was a decision that negatively impacted his career and his influence in the wider Roman world.¹⁰⁵⁸ This premise will be challenged here. I contend that by visualizing Plutarch’s social network, and by analyzing its extent, its overlapping entities, and its possible reach, we will see that there was more potential than previously thought for an elite of the Greek world in the first and early second centuries CE to build a strong, powerful social network.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Russell 1973: 6-7.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See, for example, von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1995 [1922-6]: 52. Lamberton (2001: 60) also questions the ability of the Roman world to influence Plutarch, arguing that, “(a)lthough Plutarch himself became a Roman citizen, and many of his friends and acquaintances were Roman citizens, the intellectual, literary, and philosophical culture of Plutarch and his circle owed almost nothing to Rome. The Greek world was reorganized by Rome; its social and economic dynamics were transformed, along with its material culture. But philosophy and rhetoric, as well as literature, advertised their conservatism and their direct continuity with the Greek past. In these areas, it was the Romans who consented to be hellenized, rather than the reverse.” I believe that this may be an exaggeration and that Plutarch’s circle owed more than social, economic, and material influence to the Roman world. I argue that the Roman sphere also impacted the Greek literary, philosophic, and rhetorical circles, and that this is evident in Plutarch’s writing. See, for example, Chapter 1, pages 189-190, or Chapter 2, pages 284-300, for examples of how Rome may have influenced Plutarch’s approach and motivations in writing.

I put forward in my chapter on Chaironeia that Plutarch's polis was more complex than is generally believed, and that it was permeable to outside influences and trends.¹⁰⁵⁹ I also argued that Plutarch was concerned about his reputation in relation to Rome and its officials, and thus took careful pains to ensure that he represented Chaironeia's relationship to Rome in a positive light.¹⁰⁶⁰ Finally, in both my chapters on Chaironeia and that of Boiotia, I asserted that Plutarch's constructed narratives of these areas and his actions within them were motivated by a desire to craft himself as an *exemplum* for both his Greek and his Roman audience. Here, I propose to investigate his social network to see if the same trends are apparent through an analysis of those with whom he represented himself as associating with, and those with whom he cultivated friendships.

To do this I have divided Plutarch's social network into different degrees of connection.¹⁰⁶¹ This in and of itself could be considered problematic, as there is no way to know whether Plutarch or the individual to whom he referred, considered themselves good friends, friends, or just acquaintances. There is also the difficulty that relationships and their closeness tend to change over time. Lastly, many of the connections derive from Plutarch's *Moralia* and the *Parallel Lives* and are thus representative of Plutarch's ideal and what he wished to represent to his reader. Therefore, we cannot forget that the social network of these works is a literary construct and not necessarily reflective of reality. Thus, the presentation of Plutarch's social network below is necessarily artificial, a creation that does not always reflect its certain dynamic nature, as it only shows the relationships as Plutarch presented them at one point in time.

¹⁰⁵⁹ See Chapter 1, pages 39-123.

¹⁰⁶⁰ For Plutarch's presentation of Chaironeia in relation to Rome, see Chapter 1, esp. pages 167, 178, and 186-190.

¹⁰⁶¹ See the Appendix item "Degree of Connection Catalogue" for a full list of individuals in each degree.

Despite these challenges, there is value in understanding whom Plutarch chose to depict as close and those whom he merely mentioned in passing. I argue that his presentation of the individuals in his social network may help us to better understand his supposed purpose in writing, as well as what he believed to be important for the reader. In other words, I am theorizing that these connections may fit patterns that we see in his work and thus may coincide with what scholars believe is his presumed intention in writing, namely, to advise and to provide *exempla*.¹⁰⁶² Plutarch's connections, as he portrayed them, therefore, may reflect a desire to show his reader to whom one should be connected and in what capacity. In this way, I argue, Plutarch becomes an *exemplum* through his representation of his social network.

To provide order to Plutarch's network connections, I categorized individuals into different degrees of connection. The popularized idea that two people can be linked through a small number of human connections was first conceived by the Hungarian Frigyes Kainthy in a short story called "Chains" found in his 1929 work *Everything is Different*. The premise rests on the idea that the modern world is shrinking because of its global nature. Further, he posits that this shrinking can be demonstrated using the social phenomenon of selecting any two individuals and connecting them through a short chain of mutual acquaintances.¹⁰⁶³

The spirit of this theory is an intriguing one. First, it speaks to the focus of this chapter, that is, to analyze the global nature of Plutarch's world using a social network model. Secondly, it allows us

¹⁰⁶² Scholars who discuss the idea of *exempla* in Plutarch's works include: Barrow 1967: 51-65; Hägg 2012: 273; Jacobs 2017a; Jacobs 2017b; Jiménez 2002; Stadter 1988: 293; Stadter 2014a: 230-8; Van der Stockt 2014: 323; van Hoof 2014; Zadorojnyi 2010.

¹⁰⁶³ For more on this argument and the impact it made to the development of social network theory, see Newman, Barabási and Watts 2011: 9-11.

to test the theory that Plutarch lived in a sort of ‘global’ world, by seeing if it is possible to trace him to other people throughout the empire by means of their acquaintances. If Kainthy’s assumption that this phenomenon is a result of a shrinking modern world is correct, then this social network model should only be possible for the ancient world if it too was shrinking. By using this theory of a socially interconnected global world, I show that Plutarch did live in a global world in terms of the geographic boundaries of the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁶⁴

Despite its appealing nature, we run into one large problem with the application of this theory to the ancient world, namely, that we do not have the sources available to chart such a model. As a result, my study ends with the traditional second degree of separation, that is, with those who have one link between them and Plutarch. Exploring beyond two degrees of separation would not only create confusion as to the nature of their connection with Plutarch, but also moves beyond the aims and scope of my thesis. Therefore, within this confined two degrees of separation, I have instead categorized Plutarch’s connections based on their levels of intimacy with the Chaironeian. The degrees of connection are thus arranged as follows:¹⁰⁶⁵

1. Immediate family
2. Extended family
3. Close ties
4. Friendships and acquaintances
5. Those connected to Plutarch through another
6. Those not directly connected to Plutarch, but those he likely met or of whom he had knowledge

This categorization allows for a more complex view of how individuals in the two degrees of separation are connected to Plutarch, and thus for a more detailed analysis of what these links imply for Plutarch’s world and his social network. Degrees 1 through 4 contain individuals who

¹⁰⁶⁴ For more on the global nature of the Roman world, see the Introduction, pages 16-9.

¹⁰⁶⁵ The definitions of each category are found in their respective sections in this chapter.

are clearly linked to Plutarch, since they appear in his works. They are therefore only one degree of separation from him but are categorized differently depending on their relationship to the Chaironeian.

Individuals placed in the 5th degree are included in this social network because they have a firm connection to Plutarch through someone(s) found in degrees 1 through 4. People in degrees 5 and 6 thus have a more tenuous link to Plutarch than those in degrees 1 through 4, because they cannot be directly linked to the author. These two categories thus represent the traditional second degree of separation, subdivided to reflect their potential relationship to Plutarch. Despite not being directly linked to him, it is nevertheless important to trace these connections not only to understand the potential extent of Plutarch's social network, but also to witness the possibility of a Chaironeian's reach in the Roman Empire. Including the 5th and 6th degrees thus allows for a widening of Plutarch's world and gives some indication of the possibility of its geographic and extensive breadth.

Finally, I also divided Plutarch's social connections by chronological periods of his life.¹⁰⁶⁶ This combination of geographic and periodic arrangements allows for further inquiries into his social network. Not only will this grant us insight into how Plutarch's network changes and grows, but it also demonstrates the shifting and complicated nature of his social connections. We will see, for

¹⁰⁶⁶ See the Appendix items "Geographic Catalogue" and "Chronology Catalogue" for a full list of who is placed in which region and in which period of Plutarch's life. The chronological periods of Plutarch's life are divided as follows: his youth (birth - c.75 CE [0-30 years old]), his maturity (c.75-100 CE [30-55 years old]), and his old age (c.100 CE - death [55-75 years old]). Some individuals, however, are present in Plutarch's life for more than one of these periods and have therefore been arranged in categories to reflect this continuance in association.

example, that Plutarch's social network gains more influential members as time goes on, potentially even reaching the emperor of Rome.

Methodological Challenges

This kind of research, however, is accompanied by some methodological challenges. Like all studies of the ancient world focused on connections, some evidence is missing. As a result of this lack of data, the established relationships necessarily focus on the elite in Plutarch's world: the people who left behind inscriptions and writings that allow for the creation of a partial social network map.¹⁰⁶⁷ This means that the lower classes of Chaironeia, for example, are not included since the evidence of their existence is too sparse.¹⁰⁶⁸ The social network map is thus incomplete. Nevertheless, piecing together the testimony that survives allows for a partial visual representation of Plutarch's social network, helping us glimpse, and better understand, the connections that governed not only his personal world, but also that of his polis. What we must keep in mind, however, is the fragmentary nature of this network and the possibility that it was larger, or perhaps smaller,¹⁰⁶⁹ than Plutarch represented.

¹⁰⁶⁷ The difficulties of prosopography and the contention that it is not an exact science is considered by Spawforth 1996: 168. However, for the value of prosopography to the interpretation of evidence, see Nathan in Huebner and Nathan 2016: 336. Since Chapter 1, pages 37-8 already covered the issues surrounding epigraphy for Chaironeia, they will not be repeated here.

¹⁰⁶⁸ The lower classes were not inconsequential to Plutarch's life, quite the contrary, this was a landscape with which Plutarch was intimately familiar. Although the lower classes were an important element for Plutarch and the life of Chaironeia, we unfortunately do not have a lot of evidence for them. This chapter must therefore restrict itself to analyzing the elite of Plutarch's world. However, there is some evidence for the lower classes in Chaironeia, as seen in Chapter 1, pages 115-8. While the manumission records that bear witness to this social class are not from Plutarch's time and suffer from being filtered through an elite lens, they nonetheless give us a unique, partial glance into the lives of the non-elite who lived in Chaironeia and who contributed to its visual landscape. This in and of itself is important, as this would be a landscape that was Plutarch was intimately familiar with, and thus may have conditioned his understanding of his polis and those who inhabited it.

¹⁰⁶⁹ A smaller social network for Plutarch is not likely. Since Plutarch is so reluctant to speak about his personal life, it is more probable that he omitted people rather than added them. Therefore, based on the elites who were alive during his lifetime (see Chapter 1, pages 124-138) as well as his silence on individuals in the lower classes, it is very plausible that his social network was larger than he represents it in his corpus.

In order to build this network for Plutarch and Chaironeia, I consulted epigraphic sources, something that presents more methodological issues, not only because of the accident of survival, but also because of the formulaic practices of this material evidence that is based on societal norms and expectations from this period,¹⁰⁷⁰ a period that we are divorced from and thus not easily able to decipher. However, as in my chapter on Chaironeia,¹⁰⁷¹ inscriptions are an essential element in constructing the local life of the polis. Therefore, in this chapter, I continue to use epigraphic evidence to help reconstruct a network map for Plutarch that enables us to see the possibility of the extent of his connections, despite having lived in a small village.

My other main source for Plutarch's connections, is of course the man himself. I have built his network by looking at his writings, the dedicatees of his works, and the men found within. However, Plutarch composed for an audience and this means that he had some kind of motivation in his writing, something that governed what he said and how he wrote.¹⁰⁷² Unfortunately, we cannot know what his intentions were, and can therefore only speculate. Furthermore, using Plutarch's work to understand his family, his connections, and his local worlds is also problematic because Plutarch only hinted at his personal life to provide context or to shape a moral lesson. As such, what we learn of his social network is probably only a sample of the reality of his connections. It is also likely that he remained silent on many people with whom he had daily contact, such as servants in his household. This is also true of the women with whom Plutarch must have interacted, but about whom Plutarch is largely silent.¹⁰⁷³ As a result, the female

¹⁰⁷⁰ This is discussed in Chapter 1, pages 37-8.

¹⁰⁷¹ For the Chaironeian network built from inscriptions, see Chapter 1, pages 124-136.

¹⁰⁷² For more on the difficulties of approaching Plutarch's text for understanding his world, see Chapter 1, pages 38-9 and Chapter 2, pages 200-1.

¹⁰⁷³ Plutarch was mainly silent on women in his life. For example, it is only by chance, through the *Consolation to his wife* (*Consol. ad uxorem*), that we learn of the name of his wife, Timoxena. Although he seemed to take pains to discover the names of women from history (for example, see Myszkowska-Kaszuba [2017: 482] for a list of Spartan mothers

perspective of his social network is largely lacking.¹⁰⁷⁴ Thus, the women whom he did mention and with whom he was connected become even more important as sources of analyses, since they offer some small hints as to Plutarch's perception of the female role in history and in his contemporary society.

What Plutarch presented in his oeuvre was part of his version of an ideal world, one where his reader learned from the positive and the negative *exempla* they encountered throughout his works. This makes it difficult to determine how to represent the personal connections in his corpus, not only individually, but also chronologically. Thus, this chapter does not focus on an exploration of the growth of his network throughout his life,¹⁰⁷⁵ but rather, it is centered on an examination of the geographic extent of his network and tracing Plutarch's links to powerful men in the Roman world. In this sense, this chapter becomes a study of the possible extent of a network of an exceptionally learned Greek male in the first and second centuries CE, who chose to remain in a small town. It is not meant to represent a small moment in time, but rather the cumulative outcome, a gathering of a lifetime's work.

whom Plutarch referred to by name), he did not do the same for those of his contemporary times, unless they were being used as *exempla* or were found in an educational context. For Plutarch's ideal woman as one who was domestic, intelligent, had high levels of self-control, but above all, was subservient to men, see: Harries (1998: 184-194), Hawley (1999: 124), Foxhall (1999: 150), Llewellyn-Jones (2007: 251), Russell (1973: 6), Walcot (1999: 166-7), and Warren (2018: 79, 82-3). For more on Plutarch's presentation of women, see: Blomqvist 1997: 73-97; Castellani 2002: 142-155; McNerney 2003: 319-344; Nikolaïdis 1997; Pomeroy 1999b: 35; Stadter 1999: 182; Swain 1999: 88; Tsouvala 2014: 191, 205; Walcot 1999: 167-178; Xenophontos 2016: 55.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Studies concerning women in antiquity have come a long way since the publication of Sarah Pomeroy's *Goddesses, Whores, and Slaves* (1975). See, for example, Dixon 2001 (Roman women); Foxhall 1999: 142-3 (the stronger notion of personhood for women in Rome than in Greece); LaFosse 2016 (expectation that the matriarch in the Roman East acted as a model of virtue for other women); Nevett 2002: 81-100 (the spatial organization of ancient households as reflective of changes in the expected social behaviour of women).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Although this is touched on below, in pages 428, 458-460.

Since we are dealing with a constructed world built by Plutarch and enlarged by inscriptions, the division of individuals into degrees is not meant to reflect any sort of hierarchy or preference that Plutarch had for these people. Rather, the degrees are a way of conveniently categorizing individuals connected to Plutarch. While some categories assume a closer intimacy to Plutarch (degree 3 as compared to degree 4, for example), in most cases, it cannot be determined who was closer to whom and the strength of their bond. Nonetheless, dividing the evidence in this way offers a thought-provoking perspective of the literary and material records. As long as we keep in mind that it is incomplete and missing the majority of the people who called Chaironeia home, we can still learn something about the trends of Plutarch's social network. The six degrees of connection, therefore, should be viewed simply as a categorization tool and not as ranked groupings that assume intimacy.

Similarly, organizing these individuals into a geographic setting presents another source of difficulty. We do not always know the origins of the people mentioned in Plutarch's works, nor are their affiliations with the Greek or the Roman world always clear.¹⁰⁷⁶ For example, these individuals did not necessarily self-identify or spend most of their time in their poleis of origin. They travelled, as is evident from where Plutarch geographically places them in his works. As a result, when possible, individuals are placed in the geographic context given by Plutarch. This benefits the analysis of Plutarch's social network not only by seeing the world as Plutarch wished it to be portrayed, and thus giving us the potential to learn more about what he saw as important to the presentation of his world, but also by providing a stimulating visualization of mobility in

¹⁰⁷⁶ Puech 1992; Russell 1973: 10; Stadter 2014a: 32. Isayev (2014: 127) reminds us that this difficulty is also present for epigraphic sources.

the ancient world and how this mobility¹⁰⁷⁷ created an interconnected web of elites from all around the Roman Empire.

Degrees of Connection

The degrees of connection below are not necessarily reflective of the intimacy with which these people knew Plutarch, but rather are used as categorization tools to better enable discussion and analysis. A complete listing is found in the Appendix in the “Degree of Connection Catalogue”. The number of people considered in this catalogue (434) does not allow for a discussion of each individual,¹⁰⁷⁸ and so, only a few cases studies have been chosen for each degree. After the explanation of the degree and the case studies presented therein, broader conclusions and analyses are found in the “Mapping Plutarch” section below.

1st Degree

Individuals found in the 1st degree of connection are members of Plutarch’s family. This includes his childhood nuclear family (i.e., his grandfather, father, and brothers)¹⁰⁷⁹ as well as his nuclear family when he is married to Timoxena.

¹⁰⁷⁷ I follow Isayev (2014: 124) in using the term ‘mobility’ instead of migration, since mobility provides a more neutral term. Using ‘mobility’ also avoids the issue of creating any kind of correlation of the terminology of movement used here with colonialization and thus with globalization theories that are only associated with the modern world.

¹⁰⁷⁸ For more information on any of the 434 individuals, including the scholarship associated with each person, please consult the “Name Catalogue” in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Note that there was no mention here of Plutarch’s mother. While Plutarch undoubtedly had a mother, there is no evidence in Plutarch’s works or in inscriptions of her, her name, or any influence she may have had over him. This, along with the possibility that his brother Timon was his half-brother, has led to the speculation that Plutarch’s mother may have died while he was young and that his father remarried and had more children after her death (Russell 1973: 4; Ziegler 1951: 645).

There is considerable debate in scholarship as to the nature of family and kinship in the ancient world. In general, there is more focus on the Roman family than on families in the Greek world.¹⁰⁸⁰ However, although the defining 1968 monograph of Walter Lacey was one of the only works on families in the ancient Greek world for many years, the rise of family studies in the 1990s increased interest in the discipline so that current scholars have more resources to consult.¹⁰⁸¹ Clearly, one of the main difficulties with understanding the ancient Greek family is in how we should define it. As Beryl Rawson states, “(t)here is no simple definition of ‘family’ for Greek and Roman culture. Neither *oikos* nor *familia* conveys exactly what common English usage of ‘family’ conveys.”¹⁰⁸² Therefore, although it is assumed that there were many more people living in Plutarch’s home than

¹⁰⁸⁰ Laurence 2012: 2. Scholarship on the Roman family is vaster than that of the ancient Greek world and includes some studies with more specific topics than one can find for Greece. See, for example Dasen and Späth (2010) for children in Roman culture, or Dixon’s 1988 monograph on the Roman mother. Other studies include Bradley 1991, Dixon 1992, and Papaioannou 2007. Current scholarly concern for the Roman family seems to have shifted from institutions to studies centered on relationships and cultural influence, something that Dasen and Späth (2010: 10) argue reflects the societal interests of the twenty-first century.

¹⁰⁸¹ Rawson (2011: 8) suggests that the lack of scholarship on families in the ancient Greek world may be a result of both [1] the thoroughness with which Lacey tackled the topic, making strong use of literary and legal sources, [2] alongside a lack of new sources and perspectives with which to view the topic. However, since the 1990s, interest in the ancient Greek family has risen, with numerous studies that are starting to echo both the specificity and the volume of those on the Roman family. See, for example, Parkin 2019 on the best age to have children in the ancient Greek world (Parkin [2019: 11] also discusses Plutarch’s views on the best age to marry). See also: Bardis 1964, Patterson 1998. Unsurprisingly, given the amount of evidence available, attention is still largely focused on Athens: Griffith-Williams 2012, Hame 2004, Nevett 1999, Nevett 2010, Sutton 2004. Comparative approaches, however, are on the rise. See the contributions in Rawson’s 2011 edited volume for a variety of studies on both the Greek and the Roman family, household, children, death, etc. See also *Families in the Greco-Roman World* (Laurence and Strömberg [eds.] 2012) for a comparative approach to the discipline, or *Mediterranean Families in Antiquity* (Huebner and Nathan [eds.] 2016) for a good summary of the subject and where scholarship needs to go from here (shifting our focus to also look at the aesthetics of society).

¹⁰⁸² Rawson 2011: 3. The ambiguity of the term ‘family’, not just in antiquity, but also in modern times, makes defining the family problematic, as variations in living patterns, household arrangements, economic property (e.g., slaves and servants), local conditions, and political circumstances are too vast to allow for one strict definition. Or, as Laurence (2012: 2) puts it, “(f)amilies are not neat and tidy, they are often messy and complicated and vary within a culture.” For a discussion on the different kinds of families in antiquity and a debate concerning the Cambridge household classification system of five different kinds of families set out by Peter Laslett in the 1970s, see Huebner 2011: 73-4 and Huebner 2016: 5. Scholars who push for seeing families in the ancient world as complex and diverse include: Huebner 2016 (discussing regional diversity in households), Manning 2018, Sutton 2004, Tirado 2018. Huebner (2011: 75) even points to Plutarch for evidence that household arrangements varied depending on the circumstances of the family. Here, two examples are given: [1] the Aelii Tuberones, who had 16 male members and their wives and children under one roof because they were poor (*Aem.* 5), and [2] the Licinii Crassi, two married brothers who lived together after their father’s death (*Crass.* 1). For non-biological members of a household, see Dasen 2011: 307-8 and Golden 2011: 266. For a similar view, but in a Roman context, see Dixon 1992: 2, 11.

just his nuclear family, the 1st degree includes only members of what we would understand as his nuclear family.¹⁰⁸³ This may, perhaps, place unwarranted emphasis on the biological component of family that may not necessarily reflect the reality of the intimacy between members of Plutarch's household,¹⁰⁸⁴ but since we lack evidence for the relationships outside of these biological ones, they are not included here.

Furthermore, what we today would associate as the nuclear family seems to dominate the epigraphic record, suggesting that this was an important bond that supplanted other potential members of a household in antiquity.¹⁰⁸⁵ And while it is likely that the individuals who made up Plutarch's family and household continually evolved and shifted,¹⁰⁸⁶ the lack of data on these

¹⁰⁸³ Here, I follow Huebner (2011: 76-7) who accepts that household is not identical to family and that family is not identical to those who live in the household. As such, even though Plutarch's brothers likely did not live with him while he was married to Timoxena and raising his children, they are still considered part of his nuclear family. Bradley (1999: 187) argues that Plutarch saw parenting as a joint endeavour between wife and husband. Similarly, the stress that Plutarch placed on the importance of education, led Jones (1971: 26, pointing to *Amat.* 2 [749b]; *Quomodo adol.* 1 [15a], *Cat. Min.* 20.4-7; *Quaest. conv.* 1.4 [620a], 2.3 [636a], 2.9 [642c], 4.3 [666d], 7.2 [700e], 8.2 [719c], 8.6 [725f], 8.10 [735c]) to believe that Plutarch devoted a lot of time to his family. This would suggest that he was actively involved in his children's lives and thus that they were an important part of his everyday experience. For more on Plutarch's children, see: Babut 1981. For Plutarch and education, see: Duff 2008a; Gill 1983: 470-3; Morgan 2011: 505, 518; Pelling 2002b: 283; Xenophontos 2016: 42-78.

¹⁰⁸⁴ For example, based on the *Consolation to his Wife* 2 (*Consol. ad uxor.* 608d), Plutarch's daughter Timoxena seemed to share a strong bond with her wet nurse, perhaps one that was more intimate than her relationship with other members of her household. However, since she died young and Plutarch did not discuss her bond with anyone but her parents and her nurse, this cannot be confirmed. In order to avoid confusion, therefore, the wet nurse is placed in the second degree with Plutarch's in-laws and extended family.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Laurence 2012: 2. See also, Lindsay (2011: 349), who argues that, in Classical Athens at least, marriage and legitimate children are of fundamental importance to the welfare of the polis (quoting Aristotle, *Politics* 1253b). This, however, is based on evidence that is divorced geographically and chronologically from Plutarch. Nevertheless, many scholars still argue that the nuclear family remained an important and essential component of family in antiquity. See, for example, Rawson (2011: 3), who contends that, "(t)here are concepts of property in the Greek and Latin terms, especially for Roman society where large numbers of slaves belonged to the *familia*. There is no term for what we understand as 'the nuclear family'. And yet the nuclear family – father, mother, and children – is an important element of both *oikos* and *familia*." Golden (2012: 181) agrees, saying that we must, "...recognize that even the smallest family was nuclear, not an indivisible atom." For a different view that considers more than biological relationships, scholars frequently turn to the issue of economics and household, and what this meant for household management and composition in antiquity (Golden 2012: 181; Manning 2018: 173; Leshem 2016: 223-6; Sutton 2004: 328). For more on the problematic nature of assuming that the nuclear family was the most important unit of a household, see Huebner's 2016 study on funerary inscriptions and the commemorative patterns that govern their erection. Cf. Bradley 1991: 3-4; Martin 1996: 40.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See Huebner 2016: 3, for the family life cycle. Golden (2012: 182) likewise argues that we need to start considering how family and relationships between the individuals in these families change across time.

changes means that those who were part of his childhood and adult nuclear families are likely the only stable elements, and thus are the only ones considered in this degree.

The oldest member of the 1st degree of whom we are aware is Plutarch's grandfather, Lamprias (Λαμπρίας; node number 5).¹⁰⁸⁷ Appearing in at least six places in Plutarch's corpus,¹⁰⁸⁸ Lamprias was clearly a strong influence in Plutarch's early life. His role has sometimes been equated with that of Plutarch's teacher, Ammonios (Ἀμμώνιος; node number 76),¹⁰⁸⁹ since he seems to have been a teaching model for Plutarch. Lamprias' learned nature and life of leisure, hints that Plutarch's family had achieved wealth at least by Lamprias' generation.¹⁰⁹⁰ However, Plutarch does not indicate that his grandfather played any kind of influential role or fostered any powerful relationships. Plutarch's representation thus confines Lamprias to Chaironeia, and so, to see when Plutarch's family network begins to expand beyond their local world, we must move onward to the following generation, that of Plutarch's father.

Plutarch's father Autoboulos (Αὐτόβουλος; node number 2) appears as often as Lamprias in Plutarch's works.¹⁰⁹¹ However, he does not seem to be represented as having the same wit and ingenuity as his father or his son. But his elite status, exemplified by his interest in horses and hunting, suggests that, although he probably was educated to some degree, he did not follow

¹⁰⁸⁷ The node numbers for each individual appear the first time they are discussed in this chapter. These numbers were assigned in the Appendix item "Degree of Connection Catalogue". The number corresponds to their number in the social network map. For more on the node number and how they were assigned, see the "Degree of Connection Catalogue" and below, pages 439-449.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Ant.* 28; *Quaest. conv.* 1.5 (622e), 5.5 (678e), 5.6 (680b), 5.8 (684a), 5.9 (684d).

¹⁰⁸⁹ See, for example, Xenophontos 2016: 174. Ziegler (1951: 642) also mentions the vivid role that Lamprias plays in Plutarch's works. For his teacher Ammonios, see below, page 353.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Jones 1971: 9.

¹⁰⁹¹ *De soll. an.* 1 (959a); *Quaest. conv.* 1.2 (615e), 1.3, 2.8 (642a), 3.7 (655e), 3.8 (656c), 3.9 (657e).

intellectual pursuits.¹⁰⁹² Beyond this, his father is a shadowy figure and, like Lamprias, does not appear to have an extensive network or friends beyond the realms of Chaironeia. They were local men. Yet, it must be acknowledged that it is possible that Plutarch simply did not mention their connections. His father and grandfather, for example, did not partake in discussions concerning friendships, meaning that Plutarch would have had no reason to mention their social networks. Furthermore, Plutarch did not talk about their lives more broadly, remaining consistently, and frustratingly, silent. Thus, it is possible that these men had social webs that extended beyond their little polis, but if they did, no evidence from Plutarch reveals these contacts.

It is, however, possible that the generation before Plutarch was connected to more than the elites of their local world. For instance, Autoboulos' cousin, Aristo (Ἀρίστων; node number 17) appears in the context of a dinner at Athens, where Sosius Senecio (node number 31) was present (*Quaest. conv.* 1.1 [612f]). Here we have an example of a member of Plutarch's family with a connection beyond his immediate polis. What we do not know, however, is whether this connection was fostered by Plutarch, whether Aristo constructed his own elite network, one that, like Plutarch's, extended into Rome, or whether the men were meeting for the first and only time at this dinner. Plutarch does not elaborate. Therefore, based on Plutarch's literary representation of these

¹⁰⁹² Horses: *Quaest. conv.* 2.8 (642a); Hunting: *De soll. an.* 1 (959b). For more on Plutarch's family estate in Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, pages 145-6, 153, 160. See Jones 1971: 9 and Ziegler 1951: 643. The presentation of Autoboulos in Plutarch's oeuvre led von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1995 [1922-6]: 49) to suggest that, "Boeotia offered no possibilities for higher education, and so Plutarch's father, who himself had no such education and was more concerned with good horses than with any scholarly discipline, sent his sons to Athens." Based on Plutarch's steady affection for his father, Autoboulos' offering of sage advice in Plutarch's youth (Ziegler 1951: 643; although Ziegler [1951: 643] does acknowledge that he did not have the same wit or ingenuity as Plutarch or Lamprias), and the education of Lamprias, however, leads me to believe that he would have received some kind of education and was, indeed, a learned man, but not one who chose an intellectual life, such as the one Plutarch chose for himself.

members of his family, we cannot say with any certainty whether his nuclear family had any kind of international network before Plutarch reached maturity.¹⁰⁹³

Plutarch did not mention any more of the older generations of his family, including his mother. We therefore do not know to whom Autoboulos was married or what role, if any, she played in Plutarch's life. This led Ziegler to suggest that she may have died early and that Autoboulos remarried and had another son, one of Plutarch's brothers, Timon.¹⁰⁹⁴

Plutarch had two brothers: Timon (Τίμων; node number 9) and Lamprias (Λαμπρίας; node number 6). It seems that, unlike the previous generation, his brothers fostered friendships outside of Chaironeia. Timon, like Plutarch, was friends with the Avidii brothers, important political men of Rome.¹⁰⁹⁵ Plutarch speaks of his brother Timon affectionately, implying that they were close (*de frat. am.* 16 [487d-e]). Their degree of closeness and the association with the Avidii brothers may imply, then, that Timon travelled to Rome with Plutarch, because there is no evidence in Plutarch's works that the Avidii brothers travelled to Greece, but we do know of many occasions when Plutarch was in Rome.¹⁰⁹⁶ Apart from this, Timon only appears twice in the *Moralia*, once as the host of a dinner party (*Quaest. conv.* 1.2 [615c]), and again as part of a discussion that took place in Delphi (*Quaest. conv.* 2.5 [639b]). Thus, Timon appears to have connections to three places that were important to Plutarch: his hometown of Chaironeia, as one would expect of a brother; Plutarch's second local world of Delphi, where Plutarch was priest; and Rome, where

¹⁰⁹³ For more on Aristo and the possibility that he may be part of an elite family from Thespiiai, see Jones 1970a: 232 and Puech 1992: 4837.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ziegler 1951: 645. This would make Timon a half-brother. However, this relationship is speculative, so I have left him above as 'brother' rather than 'half-brother' as both distinctions still indicate a blood relationship.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Jones 1971: 24. The Avidii are discussed in more detail in their respective degree (the 4th degree) on pages 397-9.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See, for example, *de tuenda san.* 16 (131a); *Aem.* 25.5-7; *Sat.* 7.3.15. Cf. Buckler 1993: 69; Jones 1971: 22-5, 42; Lamberton 2001: 19; Scheid 2012a: 7; Stadter 2002c: 10-1; Stadter 2014b: 14-6.

Plutarch maintained many important social connections and spent a significant amount of time. The only other important sphere that is missing, is Athens. Since Timon does not appear in any of the dialogues in Athens from Plutarch's youth,¹⁰⁹⁷ there are three possible scenarios: [1] he was younger than Plutarch and was thus not educated in Athens at the same time; [2] he did not receive the same education as Plutarch and Lamprias; or [3] he was present, but Plutarch did not mention him. Considering that Plutarch mentioned his other brother Lamprias in Athens under the tutelage of Ammonios (*de def. or.*; *Quaest. conv.* 9.5 [740a], 9.6 [741b]), and that Plutarch mentioned Timon's great affection for Plutarch himself, I do not believe that the third choice is likely. Given Timon's connections to the Avidii brothers and his closeness to Plutarch, I think that Timon was younger than Plutarch and thus did not receive his education at the same time. Nevertheless, since we do not hear more of Timon, we can only guess at his education and social connections, and thus he remains a shadowy figure.

Plutarch's other brother Lamprias appears more frequently. Like Plutarch, he was educated in Athens under Ammonios (*Quaest. conv.* 9.5 [740a], 9.6 [741b]). He was clearly also invested in local cults, since he served as a priest, not in Delphi like Plutarch, but at the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia (*de def. or.* 38 [431c-d]), close to Chaironeia. Lamprias therefore seems to have had a similar upbringing and trajectory to Plutarch. Based on Plutarch's work, Lamprias did not share a connection with Plutarch's Roman friends, as he did not appear in any of the dialogues with them. Perhaps Lamprias was so invested or interested (maybe even driven by local ambition), in his local world that he did not travel to Rome, as Plutarch did. This would make sense if Lamprias was the

¹⁰⁹⁷ See, for example, *Quaest. conv.* 3.1-2 (645d-649f), 9.1-6 (736d-741b).

older brother,¹⁰⁹⁸ because he would inherit his father's property. Perhaps the responsibility of caring for this property, in addition to his duties as priest, meant that he was not able to travel as frequently as Plutarch. Later in life, after he was married and settled, Plutarch would have similar responsibilities as priest of Delphi and managing his own estate in Chaironeia. If Plutarch was the younger brother, however, he likely had more time in his youth and at the beginning of his young adulthood to travel, visit Rome, and make connections, since he did not inherit property from his father. This is purely conjectural but remains a possibility when considering their birth order.

It is evident, at least from Plutarch's two brothers, that his father made it a point to educate his sons. Their education ensured that they would be leading members of Boiotian society, with Plutarch serving as priest in Delphi and, likewise, Lamprias as priest in Lebadeia. Their connections, unlike those we can discern for the two generations before them, extended beyond the local world of Chaironeia into Greece (Lamprias) and Rome (Plutarch and Timon). However, Plutarch represented himself as having the most and the strongest connections outside of Boiotia and in the Roman world. Is this simply because Plutarch did not reveal a lot of information about his brothers? Or does this indicate that Plutarch was more successful in building these relationships, or, at the very least, that he wanted to portray himself as being more successful in this endeavour?

In whatever way he constructed his social network, Plutarch seems to have begun building his network early, before he became firmly planted in Chaironeia with a family of his own. He married

¹⁰⁹⁸ Jones (1967: 205) argues that since he has their grandfather's name, he was likely the oldest son of Ammonios, based on naming practices.

a woman, likely from Thespiiai,¹⁰⁹⁹ named Timoxena (Τιμοξένα; node number 10).¹¹⁰⁰ She bore him one daughter and four sons, three of whom survived childhood.¹¹⁰¹ Although we do not know much about Plutarch's family, a closer look at their names is revealing. Unfortunately, there are not many instances of his wife's name, Τιμοξένα, in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (henceforth the *LGPN*),¹¹⁰² with only 11 occurrences recorded, two of whom are Plutarch's wife and daughter. That eight are from Boiotia, hints at the possible regional nature of this personal name. Further, two of these 11 individuals are from Thespiiai and lived in the first century CE. It is possible that this is yet another indication that Timoxena is from Thespiiai and that she was given a name traditional to the region and perhaps to Thespiiai more specifically.¹¹⁰³ If this is true, then we can change her listing in the *LGPN* as being from both Thespiiai and Chaironeia,¹¹⁰⁴ and alter

¹⁰⁹⁹ Contra Russell (1973: 5) and Ziegler (1951: 647), who argue that Timoxena's family was from Chaironeia. As Jones (1970a: 232) notices, "(t)he second name of Flavia Archela, Timoxena, is also that of Plutarch's wife; and it is curious that Plutarch was particularly well informed about the rites of Grieving Demeter, Δημήτηρ Ἀχέα, of which Archela was the priestess at Thespieae" (cf. *de Is. et Os.* 69 [378e]). When this is considered next to the tale in a *Dialogue on Love*, where the young Plutarch and Timoxena travelled to Thespiiai for the festival of Eros, and where their parents ended up disputing (*Amat.* 2 [749b]), it seems likely that Timoxena had some kind of connection to Thespiiai. With the exception of her father, Alexion, being mentioned in one other place in the *Moralia* of which no location is listed (*Quaest. conv.* 7.3 [701d]), her parents are not found in any other geographic location. Thus, their mention as being in Thespiiai becomes more striking. Furthermore, Timoxena seemed to have a strong educational background (for example, she probably wrote a book, *To Aristylla, On Personal Adornment*, which is listed in the Lamprias Catalogue [n.113] and was mentioned by Plutarch [*praec. conj.* 48 (145a)]. Cf. Russell 1973: 6 and Ziegler 1951: 647). As a woman, it was unlikely that her parents would have sent her away to receive an education (like Plutarch's father who sent his sons to Athens), so she was likely trained locally. Thespiiai was, at this time, one of the largest towns in Boiotia (Russell 1973: 5), and thus probably had the resources for Timoxena to receive her training.

¹¹⁰⁰ For more on Timoxena and her role as a model for women, see Chapter 1, pages 146-152.

¹¹⁰¹ Ziegler 1951: 648-9. For more on the number and order of Plutarch's children, as well as the death of his daughter Timoxena, see Babut 1981. I have connected the two children that passed away, Chairon and Timoxena, to individuals in the first, second, and third degree, when chronologically appropriate. The idea being that Plutarch's family, in-laws, and close friends would have been aware of their existence and passing. Given that we do not know Chairon's age when he passed (as opposed to Timoxena, who died around the age of two [Ziegler 1951: 648]), it is possible that he was so young that Plutarch's close friends did not have the chance to meet him, and he would not have been aware enough to establish a relationship with them. However, since it is very probable that individuals in these degrees at least *knew of* Chairon, I added the same connections for Chairon as I did for Timoxena.

¹¹⁰² For the welcome page, see: http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi.

¹¹⁰³ It should be noted, however, that the name does not occur in Thespiiai before the first century CE. Further, while it is tempting to claim one of these older Timoxenas as a possible relative of Plutarch's wife (for example, Timoxena, daughter of Olympikos in *IG VII* 2151), there are no certain connections that can be made through onomastics or prosopographic analysis.

¹¹⁰⁴ If Timoxena originated in Thespiiai, this would increase the personal connections that both Plutarch and his wife had in this polis. Furthermore, it also speaks to Plutarch's relationship to Thespiiai, not only through his wife's origins, but also because it was the hometown of his closest friends, Philinos (see below, pages 368-371). These connections

the statistic for the name Timoxena to ¼ of them being from Thespiiai. Given the small sample size and the difficulties with the records of ancient women more generally, however, Timoxena's origins in Thespiiai remain speculative.

Similarly, when looking at the names that Plutarch and Timoxena chose for their sons, it is perhaps unsurprising that they also adhered to the social convention of naming¹¹⁰⁵ sons after themselves (Plutarch [Πλούταρχος]; node number 7)¹¹⁰⁶ and their parents (Autoboulos [Αὐτόβουλος]; node number 3).¹¹⁰⁷ There are two exceptions to this rule. The first is their son Soklaros (Σώκλαρος; node number 8), who was named after a friend of Plutarch, thus indicating the close relationship of these two men. It also, perhaps, speaks not only to Plutarch's desire to strengthen his family's connection to that of Soklaros, who was prominent in Thespiiai and Delphi,¹¹⁰⁸ but also to the expectation that his son would follow in both his and his namesake's footsteps to achieve similar success. Whether or not he did, remains a mystery for the modern audience.¹¹⁰⁹

thus made it likely that Thespiiai was a local world that held some sort of import to Plutarch and thus that he likely had more social contacts here than what he mentions in his writings.

¹¹⁰⁵ See the Lexicon of Greek personal names for naming conventions in ancient Greece: <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/names/practices.html>.

¹¹⁰⁶ There are 80 results for this name in the *LGP*N, none of whom can be confidently linked to Plutarch. It is thought-provoking that the last 10 mentions of the name all occur in Athens from the third through fifth centuries CE, which is perhaps indicative of the popularity of Plutarch's writings there at this time, or maybe of the aspirations of the parents who named their children after the famous writer.

¹¹⁰⁷ Yet again, we cannot make any definite connections to Plutarch's family with individuals listed in the *LGP*N who predate Plutarch, but we can connect some of those who come afterwards. After Plutarch's son, there were seven people named Autoboulos: four from Chaironeia, two in the tribe Pandionis in Athens, and one in Ekkarra (Thessaly). Three of these were descendants of Plutarch's family, with the inscriptions they left behind making this connection explicit (*Syll.*³ 844 A and B). This therefore not only demonstrates the continued naming tradition, but also the desire to link themselves to Plutarch and thus his popularity and the weight that his name carried after his death.

¹¹⁰⁸ See below, pages 373-4 for more on Soklaros.

¹¹⁰⁹ I believe, however, that it is extremely likely that the L. Mestrius Soklaros, who was a witness in *IG IX* (1) 61 (lines 41-42) in 118 CE, was Plutarch's son, given the identical cognomen. If so, this hints at his presence and possible influence in Phokis. In a way, his being named as a witness to this decree showed that he, to some extent, lived up to his father's expectations when he gave him this name.

The other compelling case is that of Plutarch and Timoxena's son, Chairon (Χαίρων; node number 4).¹¹¹⁰ In the *Consolation to his Wife*, where we learn of Chairon (*Consol. ad uxor.* 5 [609d]), Plutarch does not explain the naming of their son after the mythical founder of Chaironeia.¹¹¹¹ It is tempting to see this as a sort of discreet manifesto on the importance Plutarch placed in remaining in Chaironeia, a sort of public announcement of his devotion to his small polis. Without any further information, however, likely because Chairon passed away at a young age, Plutarch's motivation for naming his son Chairon does not merit further comment.

We do not hear much else about his family; Plutarch only made occasional references to them throughout the *Moralia*.¹¹¹² However, at the sad occasion of the death of his daughter Timoxena (Τιμοξένα; node number 11), we uncover another relative, a niece of Plutarch's (node number 19), whom he was visiting in Tanagra when he received the news (*Consol. ad uxor.* 1 [608b]).¹¹¹³ Plutarch's family thus had another connection beyond Chaironeia, probably through the marriage of his niece, though it is not clear how she ended up in Tanagra, whose child she was, the implications of this connection to Tanagra, or even her name.¹¹¹⁴ This is a good example of Plutarch's silence on the women in his life. In fact, it is only in this passage that we also learn of his wife's name. Nowhere else is his wife's name mentioned. These silences may therefore be hiding other links that Plutarch and his family must have to Boiotian places or people. Did Plutarch

¹¹¹⁰ According to the *LGP*N, we know of only 27 individuals who possessed this name, with it occurring most often in Sparta. None of the other Chairons, however, show any link to Plutarch's son, which makes sense seeing as he died in infancy.

¹¹¹¹ Paus. 9.40; Plut. *Sull.* 17.

¹¹¹² For example, we find his son Autoboulos, of whom we learn the most, in the following passages: *Amat.* 1 (748f); *De anim. procr.* 1 (1012a); *Quaest. conv.* 4.3 (666d), 8.2 (719c), 8.6 (725f), 8.10 (734c). From the evidence in *Syll.*³ 844A, Jones (1971: 11) believes that Autoboulos became a minor Platonist after Plutarch's death.

¹¹¹³ Plutarch's niece, since she was not part of his nuclear family, is placed in the second degree of connection from Plutarch.

¹¹¹⁴ Is it possible, for example, that Plutarch was present for her wedding in Tanagra?

have any sisters? How many more nieces? What about the spouses of his sons?¹¹¹⁵ Clearly, for Plutarch, these connections were not significant to his overall motivation in writing and thus he did not discuss them. Perhaps Plutarch only discussed women when it was related to marriage and the implications of their behaviour within that union.¹¹¹⁶

The 1st degree of connection thus reveals little about Plutarch's family or their potential connections. For example, although we know that his brother Lamprias was a priest in Lebedeia, we have no clues as to his social connections in this polis. Similarly, Timon's link to the Avidii is a tantalizing clue that he was connected to the Roman world,¹¹¹⁷ yet we do not know more beyond this. Surely Plutarch's brothers had social networks of their own, but their lives and networks, as well as those of the generations preceding them, are lost to us. Therefore, we cannot establish that anyone in the 1st degree of connection held any sort of ambition to climb the Roman social ladder, or that they were well enough positioned to assist Plutarch in this endeavour.

Despite the challenges and silences of this degree, we can still make some pertinent observations. For example, as presented by Plutarch, the 1st degree is the least socially connected. While Plutarch did depict his family as making broader associations with each successive generation, he nonetheless confined these external (to Chaironeia) links as part of his own personal network. It

¹¹¹⁵ For example, we know that Autoboulos got married (*Quaest. conv.* 4.3 [666d]), but we know neither the name of his bride nor her origins.

¹¹¹⁶ The most striking example of this, of course, is the treatise *Advice to the Bride and Groom* (*praec. conj.*). However, even the *Bravery of Women* (*De mul. Vir.*) seems to mainly depict women who were strong and virtuous as mothers and wives. For example, the *Consolation to his Wife* (*Consol. ad uxorem*) focused on Timoxena and how well she handled herself after the death of their beloved daughter, thus making her an example to others of moral unrighteousness. This is consistent with how scholars describe Plutarch's views on women (see note 1074 above). This is also in line with our understanding of expressions of grief in antiquity: Dixon 1988: 212-3 (Roman expressions of grief), Laes 2011: 315, 320-1 (grief in general), Xenophontos 2016: 47 (Plutarch and grief).

¹¹¹⁷ See above, pages 352-3.

seems, then, that Plutarch was not necessarily interested in touting his nuclear family's success at social networking, but rather focused his exposé to highlight his own. By doing so, Plutarch retained his position as an *exemplum* by concentrating on his own ability to network.

2nd Degree

The 2nd degree aims to resolve some of the difficulties in defining family and household in antiquity by placing in-laws, extended family, and other household members into the same category.¹¹¹⁸ By putting these individuals in a prominent position in Plutarch's social network, we confront the difficulties of whom to include as family as well as the issues of household and those who live in it. The 2nd degree individuals are kept separate from Plutarch's nuclear family, since we do not know whether these individuals were as close to, or as present in Plutarch's everyday life as his nuclear family. However, by inserting them in the 2nd degree, we leave open the possibility that some may have been closer to Plutarch than certain members of the 1st degree. Without any firm evidence, however, it would be remiss to categorize them in the same degree as Plutarch's nuclear family.

One case study of the 2nd degree provides insight into the importance of this category. Plutarch mentioned that his daughter Timoxena had a wet nurse (*Consol. ad uxor.* 2 [608d]). Although he

¹¹¹⁸ In this way, I follow Emily Varto (2010: 83, 95) and Harders (2012: 14) with their idea that kinship ties are not always biological in nature. However, Varto extends this to include, "...relationships involving actions, obligations, rights, and privileges..." For the purpose of Plutarch and his network, this is too broad, since it could, theoretically, incorporate any person with whom Plutarch interacted as a guest in their household, or from whom he received something, as in the case of Mestrius Florus granting him Roman citizenship (see below, pages 377-8). Therefore, this 2nd degree only includes extended biological members of Plutarch's family, or those who were a part of his household, such as the wet nurse for his daughter, Timoxena. A good basic introduction to kinship studies is found in Parkin 1997, but for more on kinship and its importance to networking, see Schweizer and White 1998: 1-2.

does not tell us any more about this woman,¹¹¹⁹ clearly, she played a significant role in their household while Timoxena was young. The wet nurse would have had daily contact with Plutarch and his nuclear family. However, his subsequent silence on her presence, her sex, as well as the likelihood of her lower social status, was almost certainly the result of a social divide. She is the only mention that we have of any kind of servant from Plutarch's household. Surely Plutarch had more than a wet nurse in his home in Chaironeia, yet we cannot know because he never refers to them. Therefore, the brief mention of this wet nurse becomes more important as a hint of the lived experience of Plutarch and his family, and its similarity to other elite households of this period.

It is not nephews, nieces, or everyday servants from his household who receive the most attention in the 2nd degree of connection, but Plutarch's in-laws, possibly married to his nieces.¹¹²⁰ The link between the three in-laws, Firmos (Φίρμος; node number 12), Patrokleas (Πατροκλέας; node number 14), and Krato (Κράτων; node number 13), and Plutarch himself is never made explicit in his writing. We thus are ignorant of their relationship to Plutarch, other than being members of his extended family.¹¹²¹

First, we do not know much about Firmos, who only appears once in the *Moralia*.¹¹²² Ziegler, however, was able to determine that this was likely the Firmos who was archon in Delphi.¹¹²³ This

¹¹¹⁹ Such as her name or whether she was involved with his other children. This may be because Plutarch saw wet nurses as being beneath him, not only socially, but also morally. For example, in *De lib. ed.* 5 (3c), Plutarch comments that, "...wet nurses and nurses possess goodwill that is insincere and assumed, seeing that they love for wages."

¹¹²⁰ Ziegler surmises (1951: 651) that these are the husbands of Plutarch's nieces, but we cannot determine this with any certainty.

¹¹²¹ Firmos as a relative (ὁ γαμβρὸς ἡμῶν Φίρμος): *Quaest. conv.* 2.3 (636a). Krato as a relative by marriage (Κράτων ὁ γαμβρὸς ἡμῶν): *Quaest. conv.* 1.4 (620a). Patrokleas as extended family (Πατροκλέας ὁ γαμβρὸς): *Quaest. conv.* 2.9 (642c); (Πατροκλέα τὸν γαμβρόν): *Quaest. conv.* 7.2 (700e).

¹¹²² *Quaest. conv.* 2.3 (636a).

¹¹²³ Ziegler 1951: 675. Puech (1992: 4850) agrees with this assessment, pointing to the inscription *FD* III 4.111.

places Firmos in a sphere in which Plutarch was very active as a priest. Unfortunately, we cannot know what the implications of this joint sphere of influence were, except as two men who were related and who held offices in Delphi. It is possible that this was the means by which Plutarch's family, both nuclear and extended, gained influence in the Roman world, demonstrated by the fact that Firmos appears in the *Moralia* at a discussion in Rome at the house of Sosius Senecio. Firmos may have been a guest in Rome at Sosius' house because he was invited as a member of Plutarch's family, or he may have been present as an invitee in his own right. This would not be impossible, if Firmos is the same archon in Delphi mentioned by Ziegler.¹¹²⁴ An archonship at this important shrine would have allowed him a certain level of prestige and likely encounters with visiting Romans. However, seeing as Sosius Senecio was a close friend of Plutarch,¹¹²⁵ it seems most likely that Firmos' presence in Rome was somehow connected to Plutarch and his friendship with Sosius Senecio.

Patrokleas, another of Plutarch's in-laws, also appears in Rome, and is represented more often than Firmos in the *Moralia*.¹¹²⁶ He seems to inhabit the same local worlds as Plutarch, namely, Chaironeia, Delphi, and Rome.¹¹²⁷ Unfortunately, we do not know how often he was present in any of these locations, but clearly Plutarch and members of his family who were close to him (such as Timon), were represented by Plutarch as moving in similar circles, including those of Rome.

¹¹²⁴ Ziegler 1951: 675.

¹¹²⁵ See the 3rd degree of connection, below, pages 366-386.

¹¹²⁶ *Quaest. conv.* 2.9 (642c), 5.7 (681d), 7.2 (700e); *De sera* 1-3 (548b), 7-8 (552e), 17 (560d).

¹¹²⁷ Patrokleas in Delphi: *Quaest. conv.* 7.2 (700e); *De sera* 1-3 (548b), 7-8 (552e), 17 (560d); in Rome: *Quaest. conv.* 7.2 (700e); in Chaironeia: *Quaest. conv.* 2.9 (642c). Note that the location of the last conversation was not specified in Plutarch's text, however, given that the following conversation (*Quaest. conv.* 2.10) was set in Chaironeia, the one preceding this one (*Quaest. conv.* 2.8) was also likely taking place in Chaironeia (I base this assumption on the presence of Plutarch's father, who, as mentioned above [see pages 350-1] does not seem to have many associations outside of Chaironeia). Considering that he is Plutarch's son-in-law and is from Boiotia, he was likely present in Chaironeia at some point.

This may be indicative of the general situation in Greece at this time, with the elite of the Greek world becoming increasingly interconnected with the Roman elite. Even elite members of Boiotia, like Timon, Lamprias, Plutarch, Firmos, and Patrokleas, people who did not live in the major centres of this period like Athens or Rome, were able to make these connections and effectively climb the social ladder.¹¹²⁸

The last of Plutarch's in-laws, Krato, also seems to have moved in similar circles to Plutarch. Unlike Firmos and Patrokleas, however, Krato appears in a discussion in Athens,¹¹²⁹ a possible indication that he might have earned his education in Athens, although there is no proof of this. Plutarch does make it obvious, however, that Krato was a learned man, one with apparent medical knowledge.¹¹³⁰ There was also a physician by the name of Krato in Athens in the early Roman Empire.¹¹³¹ It is possible that these were one and the same person, although it is impossible to discern this with any certainty. However, the small number of occurrences of this name in the first and second centuries CE,¹¹³² together with their common occupation, and Plutarch's placement of his in-law in the same setting, seem to indicate that the two were the same individual. This implies that Krato practiced in Athens, thus pushing Plutarch's extended family beyond Boiotia and into Attica.

¹¹²⁸ See the entries for Anthemion (node number 45), Archela (node number 223), Aristo (node number 17), Dorkylis (node number 224), Lysandros (node number 226), Mondo (node number 227), Mondo (node number 228), Mondo (node number 229), Pemptides (node number 44), Philinos (node number 23), and Timoxena (node number 10) in the Appendix item "Name Catalogue".

¹¹²⁹ *Quaest. conv.* 1.1 (613a). Krato also appeared in Tithorea (*Quaest. conv.* 2.6 [640c]) and Aedepsus (*Quaest. conv.* 4.4 [669c]).

¹¹³⁰ In *Quaest. conv.* 4.3 (669c), during a discussion concerning eating marine life, Plutarch described how Zeno (only mentioned in this passage) and Krato prescribed fish for people who were ill. This implies that Krato and Zeno were both physicians (Ziegler [1951: 668] agrees that he is a doctor). In *Quaest. conv.* 2.6 (640c) Krato also displayed knowledge of the grafting of plants, once again suggesting that he was a learned man.

¹¹³¹ As pointed out by Clement and Hoffleit 1969: 349, based on the inscription *IG III 1327*.

¹¹³² Possibly 23 individuals, as per the *LGPN*, although 5 of these are listed as 'Imperial' and thus may not be as early as the first or second centuries CE.

The most relevant study pertaining to the ability of the elites of Boiotia to climb the Roman social ladder is by Jones, who uses inscriptions to trace the Roman network of a leading family of Thespiiai, one that happened to be associated with Plutarch.¹¹³³ Because of the abundance of inscriptional evidence from Thespiiai, this analysis is one of the most thorough in tracing the lineage of a Boiotian family and the growth of their Roman imperial friendships. It thus offers us the best comparative study for Plutarch's extended family and their relationships to Romans in the upper echelons of power. This is the best comparative case not only because of the contemporary nature of the individuals discussed and their mutual associations, but also for the proximity of Thespiiai to Chaironeia,¹¹³⁴ and thus its similar nature as a Boiotian town. What Jones shows is that it was possible for a Boiotian family to network with powerful Romans and even to gain the attention of the emperors of Rome. This leading family of Thespiiai therefore functions as a precedent for my study, one that demonstrates that, while some of this chapter is based on conjecture, the hypothesis that Plutarch's family, a family from a small Boiotian town, could network their way up the Roman social ladder, is one that is sound through its non-solitary nature. This has important implications for our understanding of the Roman world of the first and early second centuries CE. It seems that, for the elites of Boiotia, or at least for those of Chaironeia and its surrounding regions, it was not absolutely necessary to live in the major centres in order to be connected to the wider intellectual and political spheres of their time.

We also see this in the reach of Plutarch's extended family, which moves beyond the realm of geography and into that of social and political relevance. This comes from one of the most fascinating individuals in this category, Plutarch's nephew Sextos (Σέξτος; node number 18).

¹¹³³ Jones 1970a.

¹¹³⁴ Approximately 41 km according to Google Maps (<https://www.google.ca/maps>).

Strangely, Plutarch is silent on Sextos. We thus do not know exactly how he was related to Plutarch, or where Sextos received his education. What we do know is that Sextos became the tutor of Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.¹¹³⁵ Sextos thus gives us a clear and very important link between Plutarch's extended family and the emperors of Rome, but we do not know how this link was created. Did Sextos' success depend on his relation to his uncle Plutarch, or his own merit? It is tempting to credit some of Sextos' rise to become a tutor of the emperors to his uncle Plutarch and Plutarch's efforts to build an influential social network in the capital.

Plutarch appears to be part of the first generation to attempt to extend the social network of his elite Chaironeian family beyond Boiotia.¹¹³⁶ And it seems that Plutarch achieved some success with this networking through his indirect, and at times direct, links to the emperors of Rome.¹¹³⁷ Furthermore, Plutarch's role as a teacher of philosophy and his establishment of a school in Chaironeia¹¹³⁸ makes it likely that his nephew Sextos benefitted from this, either through correspondence with Plutarch, as a pupil in Plutarch's school, or perhaps mentorship. But, since Plutarch does not mention Sextos and no connection between them appears in other sources, we cannot confirm this. Nevertheless, given Plutarch's successful career, the quick diffusion of his writings, and his ability to network into the higher echelons of Roman society, something that led to his renown, he likely played a part, either directly or indirectly, in aiding his nephew's career.

Like the 1st degree of connection, the 2nd degree seems to relegate individuals to the locations most frequented by Plutarch, that is, Chaironeia, Delphi, Athens, and Rome. Plutarch thus represented

¹¹³⁵ Jones 1971: 11 (quoting *PIR*¹ S 488), 54 (quoting *HA* Verus 2.5); Russell 1973: 6; Ziegler 1951: 650.

¹¹³⁶ See above, pages 350-2.

¹¹³⁷ See below, pages 406-428.

¹¹³⁸ For Plutarch's school in Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, page 146.

his nuclear and extended family as mainly having influence in their local worlds. While they were by no means isolated, their representation emphasized the ideal that Plutarch presented elsewhere of devotion to one's polis (*Dem.* 2.2).¹¹³⁹ Perhaps Plutarch represented his nuclear and extended family as being chiefly relegated to these places to reflect how they followed and supported his ideals. If this is the case, then the members of these two degrees would thus serve to emphasize Plutarch as an *exemplum*, for they heeded his advice. Maybe his reader should too? Moreover, the social links that Plutarch represented for his extended family members are again tied to his own personal network. Is it possible that Plutarch might have represented his family and his extended family as extensions of himself to highlight his own social network and his interactions within it?

The evidence of the reach of Plutarch's extended family, from Athens (Krato) to Rome (Firmos, Patrokleas, and Sextos), suggests that living in a small town like Chaironeia, or coming from the region of Boiotia was not necessarily an impediment for social advancement in the first and early second centuries CE. It was possible for local elites to remain in their hometowns and still hold influence, not only through the priesthoods of their regions, but also through some level of social influence in the Roman world.¹¹⁴⁰ It becomes increasingly likely that Plutarch's insistence on staying in Chaironeia 'lest it become smaller' (*Dem.* 2.2), while possibly having some level of authenticity, was also part of a *topos* of humility. For while it sounds as if he was making a sacrifice by remaining, the reality of his and his extended family's connections makes that statement seem less and less like a sacrifice. Therefore, we should understand Plutarch's world as hyper connected,

¹¹³⁹ See Chapter 1, esp. pages 139-144.

¹¹⁴⁰ For a comparative case of a family in Thespiiai who held religious positions but also gained some level of social influence in the Roman world through their Roman social network, see: Jones 1970a; Marchand 2013; Müller 2002; Müller 2002: 96; Müller 2017; Schachter and Marchand 2012.

not only for those living in Athens or Rome, or other major centres, but also for individuals living on the horizon of empire.

3rd Degree

The 3rd degree is the first to move away from family bonds and household and into the realm of friendships, specifically, those considered by scholars to be on intimate terms with Plutarch. As such, this degree has great potential, like the 4th degree that follows, for hinting at the importance and influence of these friendships to Plutarch's overall ability to socially network in the ancient world. Of course, as a member of the elite, Plutarch was already in a position from which networking was a possibility, perhaps even an inevitability.¹¹⁴¹ However, based on the lack of evidence that Plutarch's father or grandfather had any connections outside of Boiotia, it seems that Plutarch presented himself as being able to succeed where they did not. My hope for the 3rd and 4th degree connections, therefore, is to see if there are any clues concerning Plutarch's success in his depiction of his social network, and whether this was by chance, or through his own ambitions.

Deciding on who belongs in the 3rd degree presents some challenges. For example, we cannot know with any certainty whether the nature of their relationship with Plutarch was the same as that represented by Plutarch. It is possible, for instance, that Plutarch had friends who were closer to him or more engaged with his everyday life than those he portrayed in his works as being close. It is also possible that those he represented as being close friends were not, in reality, as close as he rendered them, and that he had another motivation for depicting their relationship as intimate. But we cannot know with any exactitude what Plutarch's motivation was. Therefore, I have approached

¹¹⁴¹ Lamberton (2001: 2), for example, believes that elite families who cooperated with the Roman Empire prospered under the Pax Romana, which, "...was the single pervasive social fact." See page 363 above for a comparative case.

this category not with the idea of trying to peel back layers to reveal the ‘truth’ of Plutarch’s relationships, but rather, to understand whom he presented as close and what the implications might be for his overall communication to his readers.

It is unsurprising that the 11 people in the 3rd degree come from the places in which Plutarch was most active: three from Boiotia, six from Phokis, and two from Rome. What is notable, however, is that Plutarch did not represent himself as having close friends from Athens. Was this because of the changing nature of Plutarch’s friendships over time? Or perhaps some of the 11 who were represented as close friends were also educated with him in Athens where they became close. Or, maybe Plutarch had a hidden agenda in his desire to depict certain men as close friends. We cannot know for sure. What we can do, however, is begin to understand the implications of his portrayal of his friendships with these 11 men by investigating these individuals more closely.

Having grown up and then established himself in Boiotia,¹¹⁴² Plutarch must have formed many associations in the region and he and his family must have been on intimate terms with some of them. Theon (Θέων; node number 21) of Boiotia was the friend most frequently mentioned throughout the *Moralia*,¹¹⁴³ indicating that they likely spent a lot of time together and that Plutarch knew his character well.¹¹⁴⁴ Plutarch made sure to refer specifically to him as his friend (Θέωνα τὸν ἐταῖρον; *De E delph.* 6 [386d]). It seems, too, that Theon was present throughout Plutarch’s

¹¹⁴² For more on Plutarch and Boiotia see Chapter 2, pages 272-331.

¹¹⁴³ Theon appears in *De E delph.*, *De Pyth. or.*, *Non posse*, and *Quaest. conv.* 1.4 (620a-622b), 4.3 (666d-667b), and 8.6 (725f-727a).

¹¹⁴⁴ Although Plutarch never specifically stated Theon’s origins, Puech (1992: 4886) points to Boiotia as the most likely candidate, given that Theon named his son Kaphisias. Cf. *SEG* 43: 211 on the ‘Kaphisias Family’. I am in full agreement with Puech (1992: 4886) that Theon was not fictitious. There is no indication of his being fictitious anywhere in Plutarch’s writing. In fact, his frequent appearance seems to me to indicate quite the opposite and shows that Plutarch and Theon were good friends. It would also be odd to refer to the mutual acquaintance of Sarapion and Theon (*De E delph.* 6 [386d]), if Theon were not real.

life, including being involved with Plutarch's school in Chaironeia (*Non posse* 2 [1086e]).¹¹⁴⁵ Their closeness is also reflected in their shared acquaintances, such as Sarapion (Σαραπίων; node number 83)¹¹⁴⁶ and Sosius Senecio.¹¹⁴⁷ Despite their intimacy, Plutarch relegated Theon to a local environment, having him appear only in Delphi, Chaironeia, and Corinth.¹¹⁴⁸ It is possible, and likely,¹¹⁴⁹ that Theon moved outside of these places at least once, but not on the authority of Plutarch. Although we are largely ignorant of Theon, we can see that Plutarch benefitted from his friendship through their vivid and lively discussions, which Plutarch felt obliged to record. However, Theon, by remaining within his local and regional spheres, seems to present no aid to Plutarch in building his social network outside of Chaironeia or Boiotia.

Two more close friends of Plutarch come from Boiotia. The first, Sosikles of Koroneia (Σωσικλῆς; node number 22), was given a banquet by Plutarch to celebrate his victory at the Pythian Games in Delphi, where Plutarch was a priest (*Quaest. conv.* 2.4-5 [638b]). This, together with his presence at a feast at Plutarch's brother's (Timon's) house in Chaironeia (*Quaest. conv.* 1.2-3 [618f]), and a lost treatise to him found in the Lamprias Catalogue (#57), hints at a relationship that is beyond one of acquaintance.¹¹⁵⁰ Further, he was portrayed as having a social circle similar to Plutarch's. For instance, Sosikles was connected to the other Boiotian listed here as a close friend of Plutarch, that is, T. Flavius Philinos of Thespiiai (Τ. Φλ. Φιλῖνος; node number 23).

¹¹⁴⁵ For more on Plutarch's school in Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, pages 146.

¹¹⁴⁶ Plutarch placed them together in the discussion of *De Pyth. or.* and mentions in *De E delph.* 6 (386d) that he assumed that Sarapion knew Theon.

¹¹⁴⁷ I assume their acquaintance, since they were both invited and were present at the wedding of Plutarch's son in Chaironeia where they both engaged in a discussion (*Quaest. conv.* 4.3 [667a]).

¹¹⁴⁸ Delphi: *De E delph.*, *De Pyth. or.* Chaironeia: *Non posse*, *Quaest. conv.* 4.3 (666d-667b), 8.6 (725f-727a). Corinth: *Quaest. conv.* 8.4 (723a-724f).

¹¹⁴⁹ Considering, for example, his learned nature in the discussions throughout the *Moralia*, Theon was probably educated somewhere outside of Chaironeia.

¹¹⁵⁰ The belief that they were close friends is shared by Ziegler (1951: 685), who points to the lost treatise as evidence of this but admits that he cannot say anything further about it.

Philinos is mentioned on numerous occasions throughout the *Moralia*.¹¹⁵¹ His relationship with Plutarch, as Plutarch presented it, appears closer than that with Sosikles, because Philinos and his family were familiar associates of Plutarch's family for at least the previous generation.¹¹⁵² Philinos also participated in discussions in Delphi, Hyampolis, and Rome.¹¹⁵³ His concern for the sanctuary in Delphi, evident through his participation in its renovations,¹¹⁵⁴ points to the shared interests of these two men. Both were from Boiotia, yet active in Delphi, supporting the idea that the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia were permeable in numerous ways, including in the exchange of information and also in the movement of peoples.¹¹⁵⁵ Both Philinos and Plutarch, Boiotian elites, along with many others from their area, took up positions in priesthoods outside of their local worlds, which suggests a potential fluid movement of elite men under the empire, one that engaged in a system of exchanges across these borders.¹¹⁵⁶ This, of course, would also aid the men who held these positions, not only through the recognition of their elite status, but also in possible benefits of such positions, such as expanding one's social network by meeting elite men of the Roman Empire, as well as those that held power in Rome.¹¹⁵⁷

¹¹⁵¹ *Quaest. Conv.* 1.6 (623d-625a), 2.4 (638b-f), 4.1 (660d-664a), 5.10 (684e-685f), 8.7 (727a-728c); *De Pyth. or.; De soll. an.* 23 (976b). He is also known through many inscriptions: *IG* VII 3422 = *Syll*³ 843; *PIR*² F 330; *IG* VII 1830; *IG* VII 1829; *IG* VII 2521.

¹¹⁵² Jones 1971: 10. Jones (1971: 10 n42) further suggests that the Aristo of this family in Thespias may be the same one that was a cousin of Plutarch's father. If this is the case, their relationship should be moved into the 2nd degree of connection, with members of Plutarch's family. However, since this is not certain, and even if it was it would make them second cousins, it does not seem remiss to place Philinos in this 3rd degree of connection category, representing some kind of close tie between them.

¹¹⁵³ Delphi: *De Pyth. or.* (narrated by Philinos), *Quaest. conv.* 2.4 (638d). Hyampolis: *Quaest. conv.* 4.1 (660d-664a). Rome: *Quaest. conv.* 5.10 (684e-685f), 8.7 (727a-728c).

¹¹⁵⁴ Puech 1992: 4869. Philinos was also involved in *euergetism* in his home of Thespias, with renovations to the principal sanctuary in the city (*IG* VII 1830): as per Puech 1992: 4869.

¹¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 1, pages 48-55, for the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia as a place of exchange and movement of peoples, goods, and ideas.

¹¹⁵⁶ The exchange in this example being one of service to a sanctuary.

¹¹⁵⁷ These kinds of friendships with powerful men of the city of Rome could amount to benefits such as the granting of citizenship, as Mestrius Florus does for Plutarch (see below, pages 377-8).

Not only was Philinos active in Delphi, but he was also very engaged in his own polis of nearby Thespiiai,¹¹⁵⁸ the possible hometown of Plutarch's wife, Timoxena. Philinos' provenance thus creates a second connection for Plutarch to this Boiotian polis.¹¹⁵⁹ Further, since the link is created through two people who were on very intimate terms with Plutarch (Philinos and Timoxena), a significant number considering the overall nature of our evidence, and if we consider the proximity of Thespiiai to Chaironeia,¹¹⁶⁰ we should regard this polis as one that was important to Plutarch. Although the links that we have for Plutarch to Thespiiai are not strong enough to claim it as another local world for the Chaironeian, it should be recognized as a location that has a more robust link to the author than other poleis in Boiotia.

The most striking illustration of the close relationship between the two men is not the locations where Philinos was represented or the number of occasions he appeared in the *Moralia*, but rather, the bust that Philinos set up for Plutarch in Chaironeia.¹¹⁶¹ On this, he named Plutarch as his 'benefactor' (εὐεργέτης):

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Φιλεῖνος # ⁵⁶ Πλού-
ταρχον # ⁵⁶ τὸν # ⁵⁶ εὐ[ε]-
ργέτην # ⁵⁶ θεοῖς # ⁵⁶
[ἀ]νέθηκεν # ⁵⁶ | <i>Philinos, dedicated this statue of Plutarch,
 his benefactor,
 to the gods</i> |
|---|---|---|

¹¹⁵⁸ Here, I follow Jones (1970a), who connects Philinos to a prominent family in Thespiiai. Puech (1992: 4869) agrees with this conclusion. This is contra Ziegler (1951: 681), who places Philinos as a citizen of Chaironeia. The erection of a statue to him in Thespiiai by his daughter, Flavia Eupraxis, strongly supports the placement of Philinos and his family in Thespiiai (*IG* VII 2521). The one that Philinos dedicated to Plutarch in Chaironeia (see immediately below, page 371), does not support Philinos being a Chaironeian citizen, since it does not mention Chaironeian citizenship, but also because it makes sense that he would erect a statue of his friend in his friend's hometown to which Plutarch seemed to have been very devoted.

¹¹⁵⁹ Although it is tempting to suggest that his marriage to Timoxena brought about this connection, or that his friendship with Philinos spurred his introduction to Timoxena, there is no evidence for either scenario in inscriptions or in Plutarch's works.

¹¹⁶⁰ Approximately 41 km, according to Google maps (<https://www.google.ca/maps>). This makes it an easily accessible location for Plutarch.

¹¹⁶¹ *IG* VII 3422 = *SIG*³ 843B.

The erection of this monument in a public space demonstrates the dedicator's strong desire to be forever closely associated with Plutarch. Furthermore, his choice of the word 'benefactor' indicates public recognition of Plutarch's active interest in Philinos. Their relationship, however, was probably not one sided. As Jones points out,¹¹⁶² Philinos and his family were actively engaged with the Roman elites, especially those who lived in Thespiiai. In fact, Philinos' family earned Roman citizenship one generation before the family of Plutarch.¹¹⁶³ It is possible that Plutarch's association with this family, and his cultivation of his friendship with Philinos, were partially responsible for his ability to network effectively with those in power in Rome and gain recognition with the elites of its empire. Whether or not Plutarch could credit some of his social networking success to Philinos, their reciprocal relationship, as indicated by the erection of this monument to Plutarch, as well as the frequent appearance of Philinos in Plutarch's oeuvre, all point to the closeness of their friendship.

Some of their intimacy may have been the result of Philinos' activities in Delphi,¹¹⁶⁴ where Plutarch fostered other close relationships. One of the more thought-provoking of these friendships is the priestess Klea (Κλέα; node number 25), whose family was active in Delphi.¹¹⁶⁵ Plutarch dedicated two of his works to her: *De mulierum virtutibus* and *De Iside et Osiride*. In fact, Klea was one of only three Greek women (Timoxena, Klea, and Eurydike) to whom Plutarch dedicated a treatise.¹¹⁶⁶ The close nature that Plutarch constructed with Klea is thus indicated through this

¹¹⁶² Jones 1971: 44.

¹¹⁶³ Jones 1970a: 234; Puech 1992: 4869.

¹¹⁶⁴ Puech 1992: 4869.

¹¹⁶⁵ Puech (1992: 4842) points to her position as *archeis* of the Thyiades as evidence for a Delphic origin. Bowersock (1965: 268) illustrates the same connection through the *nomen* Memmia and the other Memmii at Delphi. For Klea's position in Delphi, see Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 35 (364e). For more on Delphi and the Thyiades, see McInerney 1997a (for Klea, see p.272).

¹¹⁶⁶ At least of the ones that are extant. There is always a possibility that one of the treatises in the Lamprias Catalogue was for a woman. Klea's daughter Eurydike, received a treatise (with her husband Pollianos) *Coniugalia praecepta*.

dedication. It also demonstrates the respect which he accorded her. For example, Plutarch made it clear that Klea was an educated woman by mentioning her ability to engage in philosophic discussion (*De mul. vir.* 1 [243d]). Indeed, her education seems to have been on par with Plutarch's male readers, as made evident in the works that were dedicated to her in, "...Plutarch's normal sophistication of language, thought, and allusion."¹¹⁶⁷ It is possible that Klea was, in some ways, mentored by Plutarch and that this was why she entrusted the education of her daughter, Eurydike (Εὐρυδίκη; node number 24) to him.¹¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, Eurydike subsequently married one of Plutarch's students, Pollianos (Πολλιανός; node number 28) of Tithorea, the son of Plutarch's close friend, T. Flavius Soklaros (Σώκλαρος, Τ. Φλ.; node number 29).¹¹⁶⁹ The close association of Plutarch to Klea is thus established not only through their written correspondence, such as the treatise above, but also through the marriage of Klea's daughter to the son of one of Plutarch's closest friends.

The only other woman was Plutarch's wife Timoxena, the dedicatee of *Consolatio ad uxorem*. No other female dedicatees exist in the extant corpus.

¹¹⁶⁷ Stadter 1999: 174.

¹¹⁶⁸ Plutarch stated that Eurydike was his pupil: *praec. conj.* 48 (145e). He also mentioned her strong education in subjects like astronomy: *praec. conj.* 48 (145c-d). Note that Bowersock (1965: 267) and Russell (1973: 6) believe that the Klea addressed by Plutarch was the daughter and not the mother of Eurydike. This is contra Puech (1981: 189; 1992: 4849) and Stadter (2014a: 9n.35), whom I follow here.

¹¹⁶⁹ Another one of Soklaros' sons, Agias (Ἀγίας, Τ. Φλ.), as well as Soklaros' father Aristio (Ἀριστίων), are also included in the third degree of connection, since Plutarch and Soklaros' families were clearly bonded. Note also that Agias, Pollianos, and their father dedicated a statue to Nerva in Tithorea (*IG IX 1, 200*) (Puech 1981: 186; 1992: 4873). It seems, then, that Soklaros' family was still paying homage to the Roman emperors a generation after Plutarch. Is it possible that Plutarch surrounded himself with like-minded individuals, that is, those who also pushed for a positive relationship with the Romans? Or did he model himself and his actions off those like Soklaros' family?

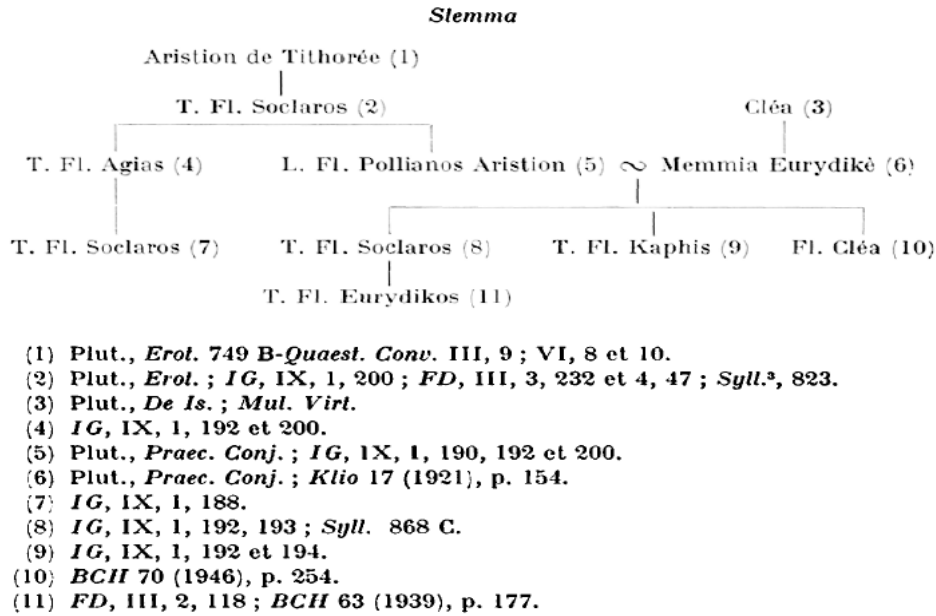


Figure 3.1: The joining of the family trees of Klea and Soklaros (Puech 1981: 189; copied with permission)

Soklaros of Tithorea (Phokis),¹¹⁷⁰ another associate of Plutarch who held a position in Delphi,¹¹⁷¹ is represented throughout the *Moralia* as one of Plutarch's most intimate friends. Not only were their families close,¹¹⁷² insinuating that they likely grew up together, but Plutarch even named one of his sons after him, indicating the affection that he continued to hold for his friend.¹¹⁷³ Their

¹¹⁷⁰ Like Thespiiai, Tithorea is not far from Chaironeia: approximately 22-26 km, according to Google Maps (<https://www.google.ca/maps>). The friendship of Plutarch and Soklaros' families thus provides us with further evidence that the elite Greeks were moving and forming relationships and bonds throughout this region. It seems that this mobility allowed them to develop close relationships, thus indicating the overall connected nature of Boiotia at this time and, by association, of Chaironeia and Plutarch. This supports the opinion of Jones (1970a: 233), who states that, "(i)t is a familiar pattern: himself a member of a wealthy house at Chaeronea, Plutarch found his friends among his own class in the other cities of Greece and the Greek-speaking world." We can push this further and make it more specific by saying that Plutarch found close associations in his regional world of Boiotia, facilitated by the easy movements of peoples between its poleis.

¹¹⁷¹ Pouilloux 1980: 289-290; Puech 1981: 187 (his positions and *euergetism* for Delphi are discussed here); Puech 1992: 4879. See also: Daux 1943: 91 (P10) *FD* III 3, 232; *FD* III 4, 47. Stadter (2002c: 12, 25 n.67) points to *SIG*³ 823A-C to establish that Soklaros aided in the construction of, "...a house for the Pythia, a library, and a structurium connected with the gymnasium."

¹⁷² Soklaros' father, Aristio, appeared in *Quaest. conv.* 3.9 (657b), 6.7 (692b), 6.10 (696e) and *Amat.* 2 (749b) as a friend of Plutarch's father, Autoboulos. His son, Pollianos, was Plutarch's student and married another one of Plutarch's pupils, Eurydike.

¹¹⁷³ For Plutarch's son, see above, page 356. Note that there is debate about whether Soklaros was one or two people: Puech 1992: 4879–4880, Ziegler 1951: 647. Here, I follow Puech (1992: 4879–4880), who draws the logical conclusion

friendship may also, as Jones points out, explain Plutarch's rich knowledge of Kaphis of Tithorea, who aided Sulla during the first Mithridatic War (*Sull.* 12.6-8, 15.5).¹¹⁷⁴ This may yet be another gesture of Plutarch's pro-Roman association. Not only did Plutarch seem favourable to Rome in his writings,¹¹⁷⁵ but he also maintained close friendships with other elites in Greece, such as Soklaros and his family, who had a history of being supportive of the Romans. The frequency with which Soklaros appears in the *Moralia*, Plutarch's naming of his son after him, and the closeness with which Plutarch represented their friendship may also be indicative of Plutarch's overarching goal of giving his reader an *exemplum* of one's appropriate association with a ruling power. He does this by showing his audience that he maintained an intimate friendship with a family that had a history of being pro-Roman.¹¹⁷⁶ Plutarch, therefore, not only presented himself and his polis as being in harmony with Rome,¹¹⁷⁷ but also ensured that his closest connections were the same, thus granting more credibility to himself as an *exemplum* for both his Roman and Greek readers.

The closeness of their families extended to the next generation. Soklaros sent his son Pollianos to be educated by Plutarch in Chaironeia.¹¹⁷⁸ This provides Plutarch's reader with a different kind of *exemplum*, but one that was tied to the importance of maintaining positive, pro-Roman friendships. That Pollianos came from Tithorea to be educated not in Athens, but in Chaironeia, is a subtle reminder to Plutarch's audience of the necessity of remaining and promoting one's hometown.

that the Soklaros in an inscription from Chaironeia (*IG* IX 1, 61) is the son of Plutarch, and the one mentioned throughout the *Moralia* is that of Tithorea (*FD* III 3, 232; *FD* III 4, 47; *Syll.*³ 823; *IG* IX 1, 200).

¹¹⁷⁴ Jones 1971: 41-2. Jones (1971: 42 n13) urges that we, "(n)ote the Caphis son of Aristio from Tithora, *IG* 9.1.192, line 1, contemporary with Plutarch's friend, also son of an Aristio *amat.* 2 (749b), *PIR*² F 369..."

¹¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 1, pages 167, 178, 189-190 for Plutarch's attempts at showing Chaironeian loyalty to Rome.

¹¹⁷⁶ We may wonder if the closeness of Plutarch and Soklaros' families helped to explain Plutarch's seemingly pro-Roman stance, since he would have been influenced by Soklaros' father, Aristio, as well as the tales of their ancestor, Kaphis. Even if this was not the case, Plutarch's intimacy with Soklaros and their likeminded nature towards Rome is indicative of the kind of people with whom Plutarch represented himself as surrounded by.

¹¹⁷⁷ For Plutarch and his ideal to present himself and Chaironeia as pro-Roman, see Chapter 1, pages 186-190.

¹¹⁷⁸ For more on Pollianos, Eurydike, and their education with Plutarch, see: Puech 1992: 4873; Ziegler 1951: 682-3.

Through his school, Plutarch not only educated local Boiotian elites, but also managed to attract pupils from other nearby regions like Phokis. It is highly unlikely that the same scenario would have taken place if Plutarch had not chosen to remain in Chaironeia.

That Pollios, from Phokis, attended school in Chaironeia, Boiotia, together with Plutarch's activities in Delphi, and the relationships that he built there, further complicates our understanding of regional divisions in ancient Greece. First, it demonstrates the importance of the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia to Plutarch and his world.¹¹⁷⁹ For, not only were information and goods being exchanged, but people were also moving from one region to the other and forming close relationships with those in the other regions, thus illustrating the malleability of boundary lines. Plutarch was firmly established in Chaironeia as a teacher and with his estate and family, but he was also tied to Delphi through his friendships and priesthood. Plutarch thus had two local worlds that communicated through him as an individual. This is also likely indicative of identity code-switching:¹¹⁸⁰ in Delphi, Plutarch's identity was that of a priest, hence the dedications to his fellow priestess and the subject of one of those dedications being of a religious nature, but in Chaironeia Plutarch's identity was that of a family man and scholar. However, these were not the only identities that Plutarch possessed. He was also a philosopher, aimed at educating the highest echelons of Roman society.

¹¹⁷⁹ For more on this micro-region, see Chapter 1, pages 48-55.

¹¹⁸⁰ A good introduction to the concept of identity code-switching in scholarship and its evolution as a theory is provided by Hall and Nlele (2015). They argue (2015: 598) that, "...code-switching has been importantly reliant on the theorization of identity, with both transformed through escalating contact set into motion by globalization." I have argued that the ancient world should be understood on its own terms as 'global' (see the Introduction, pages 16-9). It is unsurprising, then, that the increased level of contact that Plutarch had with members from around the Roman Empire, as we are seeing in this chapter, led to a personal kind of identity code-switching in which Plutarch presented himself as adapting to different scenarios and individuals dependent on his and their role in political and social hierarchies. See, for example, how he approached advising Emperor Hadrian on pages 425-7, which is starkly different from how he approached advising Menemachus (see page 387).

From a young age, Plutarch engaged with the elites of Rome and even became friends with some of the leading members of Roman society.¹¹⁸¹ But these friendships are problematic when analyzing Plutarch's social network. One of the greatest difficulties arises with the two Romans whom Plutarch represented as close friends, Mestrius Florus (node number 30) and Quintus Sosius Senecio (node number 31).¹¹⁸² These men were important in the Roman world and held significant power at the time. As a result, some scholars ask if they were not actually friends of Plutarch, but rather, patrons.¹¹⁸³ Is it possible, for instance, that Plutarch interpreted their relationship as friendship while they viewed it as a sort of sponsorship? Or was Plutarch's presentation of his relationship with these men symptomatic of a more cunning strategy? If so, is it imaginable that Plutarch was trying to portray what an ideal close relationship between a Greek and a Roman of the highest echelons should look like? Before answering these questions, we must first investigate how Plutarch depicted his ties to these Romans.

¹¹⁸¹ As Stadter (2014b: 17) remarks, "(i)n addition to Florus, Rusticus, Quietus, and Sosius, five other acquaintances held consular rank."

¹¹⁸² Jones (1971: 49) does not believe that Plutarch was closer to Mestrius Florus than his other Roman friends and uses the lack of dedications to him as a reason for this. While it is surprising that Plutarch did not dedicate any of his extant works to Mestrius Florus, something that we would expect if they were good friends and if Plutarch was indeed his intellectual patron, the lack of dedications may actually be the opposite: a declaration that their relationship was built mainly on friendship and not patronage. Perhaps Plutarch did not advise Mestrius Florus in the same way as he did, for example, Sosius Senecio. This may be because Mestrius Florus was older (Jones 1971: 48, quoting Arrian *Diss. Epict.* 1.2.12-18), or because, as mentioned below, Mestrius Florus seemed to be an educated man who was engaged in intellectual conversations, and thus Plutarch saw him as more of a kindred spirit than as someone whom he needed to advise (see, for example *Quaest. conv.* 8.10 [734d], where Plutarch referred to Mestrius Florus' philosophical spirit). Another difficulty, of course, comes with the loss of some of Plutarch's works. It is possible that Plutarch dedicated one of the lost works to Mestrius Florus. Nevertheless, as will be shown below, it seems that Plutarch and Mestrius Florus were good friends and that their sons continued this relationship (Jones 1971: 63). Note that Ziegler (1951: 688) speculates that the lack of dedications to Mestrius Florus may have been a result of Mestrius passing away by the time that Plutarch began to seriously take up writing (he died sometime before Plutarch turned 70 [Jones 1971: 32]). It must be noted, however, that despite the influence that these men held in Rome, their origins are uncertain and are possibly from outside of that area (Mestrius Florus as from the transpadane zone: Jones 1970b: 103; Sosius Senecio as being of some sort of eastern origin: Jones 1970b: 103).

¹¹⁸³ This is discussed by Jones 1971: 49 and Stadter 2014a: 21-44. The two concepts, friends and patrons, are, of course, not mutually exclusive. It is likely that Plutarch's friendships with these men also brought him some benefits, though he did not say what.

Mestrius Florus, from whom Plutarch earned his Roman citizenship, is portrayed as a close friend in the *Table Talk*. A friendship with a man like Mestrius Florus might have offered Plutarch opportunities in Rome, such as speaking engagements, or chances to connect with the Roman elite through Mestrius Florus' network. Mestrius Florus, an officer of Otho, a consul under Vespasian, and a proconsul of Asia under Domitian, was certainly a powerful individual in the Roman Empire.¹¹⁸⁴ After his retirement, however, he surrounded himself with learned people and philosophers, of whom Plutarch was one. Since Mestrius granted citizenship to Plutarch and hosted him in Rome, some argue that he was not Plutarch's friend, but his patron.¹¹⁸⁵ This becomes even more likely when we consider the fact that Mestrius probably also granted citizenship to the Stoic philosopher Euphrates.¹¹⁸⁶ It seems that, at least in some capacity, Mestrius Florus was providing learned Greek men, specifically philosophers, with benefits for their friendship, such as Roman citizenship. Plutarch was one of the men Mestrius promoted.

Plutarch offered a different view of the situation. In the *Table Talk*, Plutarch represented Mestrius Florus as a friend and did not discuss the privileges that he might have received from him.¹¹⁸⁷ In

¹¹⁸⁴ Otho 14. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 22.3. Puech 1992: 4860, Ziegler 1951: 687. Puech (1992: 4860) also points to his presence in money from Smyrna (BMC Ionia 310, p.274) as well as inscriptions (*AE* 1966: 426; *Syll.*³ 829A). For more on Mestrius Florus, his origins, his family, and his career, see Jones 1971: 48-9.

¹¹⁸⁵ Jones 1971: 22, 49; Stadter 2014a: 34-6. For a discussion on Roman citizenship, see Foxhall 1999. Stadter (2014a: 135) suggests that it is possible that the Mestrius Florus' patronage led to Plutarch learning Latin, something that was necessary when he began to compose the *Lives*, perhaps as early as the 70s when Plutarch was in his late 20s or early 30s.

¹¹⁸⁶ Puech (1992: 4860, n.107) argues that Mestrius Florus was the one to grant Euphrates citizenship, since his name became L. Mestrius Euphrates (*IG* II² 3945). Further, Stadter (2014a: 40) suggests that Mestrius Florus may have helped with the renewal of Delphi at Plutarch's request, another potential benefit that this friendship may have brought, and perhaps indicative of his patronage of Plutarch.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ziegler (1951: 650) believes that this is because Plutarch was too much of a Hellene to flaunt this, "er selbst hat in seinen Schriften den römischen Namen und sein römisches Bürgerrecht niemals erwähnt; dazu fühlte er sich zu sehr als Hellene." Note that Stadter (2014a: 36) contends that the, "*Table Talk* portrays Plutarch as a close friend of Florus. Although there is no suggestion of subservience or ulterior motives on either side of the relationship, the conversations manifest Plutarch's eagerness to respond fully to Florus' queries and support his positions, typical of a younger man trying to please." I am not in full agreement that Plutarch was eagerly trying to please his friend, rather, I believe that Plutarch found Mestrius Florus' company and intellectual inquiries stimulating, as we see in *Quaest. conv.* 8.10 (734d). While it is generally agreed that Plutarch portrayed the Romans in his works as being intellectually

fact, we only learn of Plutarch's Roman citizenship through epigraphic evidence from Delphi.¹¹⁸⁸ Therefore, even if Plutarch did receive benefits from Mestrius Florus, such as Roman citizenship, he chose instead to represent their relationship as one based on mutual intellectual curiosity.¹¹⁸⁹ Mestrius Florus held his own in the conversations in Plutarch's work in which he is present,¹¹⁹⁰ and is seen as actively engaged with the Greek intellectual world. In Plutarch's terms, he was a philosophically natured man (αἱ φιλόσοφοι φύσεις; *Quaest. conv.* 8.10 [734d]). He also mentioned that Mestrius Florus celebrated the birthdays of Socrates and Plato (*Quaest. conv.* 8.1-2 [717d]). Plutarch, therefore, portrayed Mestrius Florus as a kindred spirit, perhaps using him as an illustration of a Roman who actively accepted and embraced Greek learning. His friendship with Mestrius Florus is thus the *exemplum* of how a close friendship of a Greek with a Roman should look.

And they were close. Not only did Plutarch engage in many intellectual conversations with Mestrius Florus in his works, but he also travelled with him to Bedriacum, Brixellum, and Ravenna (*Otho* 14.2, 18.2, *Mar.* 2.1) to learn from him about the battles fought there.¹¹⁹¹ Once again, we have an example of how Plutarch's friendship with a Roman elite provided a sort of benefit, here, as before, an intellectual one. Plutarch learned from a Roman, but ultimately what he learned from him will be used by Plutarch to educate others. Mestrius Florus thus became the vehicle through

inferior to the Greeks, it seems that he had a level of respect for Mestrius Florus, whom he said, in *Quaest. conv.* 8.10 (734d), had a 'philosophical spirit' (αἱ φιλόσοφοι φύσεις).

¹¹⁸⁸ *Syll.*³ 829A; *Syll.*³ 842, 844A.

¹¹⁸⁹ See, for example, *Quaest. conv.* 8.10 (734d), which opens with Florus reading a copy of Aristotle's *Scientific Problems* and asking questions, "as was natural for a philosophical spirit": Προβλήμασιν Ἀριστοτέλους φυσικοῖς ἐντυγχάνων Φλώρος εἰς Θερμοπύλας κοιμισθεῖσιν αὐτός τε πολλῶν, ὅπερ εἰώθασι πάσχειν ἐπικῶς αἱ φιλόσοφοι φύσεις... The intellectual side of Mestrius Florus is also hinted at with the numerous dinner parties that were attended only by Greeks: *Quaest. conv.* 1.9 (626e), 3.3-5 (650a-653b), 5.7 (680c-682b), 5.10 (684e-685f); as noticed by Stadter 2014a: 34-5.

¹¹⁹⁰ For a full list of where Mestrius Florus is found in Plutarch's work, consult the "Name Catalogue" in the Appendix.

¹¹⁹¹ And possibly more: see Jones 1971: 22.

which Plutarch demonstrated the possible benefits of a friendship with a Roman, since they could travel with and learn from these elite men about their personal experiences. While this reflects earlier Republican habits of Roman senators travelling with Greeks, the two scenarios are not the same. The relationship between Romans and Greeks, as Jones points out,¹¹⁹² had undergone many changes since the Republican period. We can, perhaps, see this as an instance where Plutarch functioned as a sort of advisor for Mestrius Florus, an echo, if you will, of past traditions of Romans travelling with Greek intellectuals. Here, however, the relationship is more balanced. Plutarch presented Mestrius Florus as a learned Roman who sought more knowledge and stimulation from other learned people, such as Plutarch. There is a degree of respect for Mestrius Florus that becomes apparent in their discussions. Mestrius Florus might have been a part of the Roman ruling class, but he was also still learning from the Greeks, and specifically, from Plutarch. We should therefore look at these episodes of Roman battlefield tourism as Plutarch trying to show the importance and benefits of reciprocal friendship: a Greek learning from a Roman, and a Roman learning from a Greek, who, according to Plutarch's example at least, was concerned with the Roman past and with transmitting it for the future.

Mestrius Florus was not only concerned with Rome's past and transmitting it to Plutarch, but he also took interest in the ancient Greek world. In the *Table Talk*, for example, Mestrius Florus is present not only in his local world of Rome, but also in Plutarch's local spheres of Delphi and Chaironeia.¹¹⁹³ While Delphi, as a sanctuary that attracted many Romans, is not a surprising place to find an elite Roman in the first century CE, Chaironeia is astonishing. If Chaironeia was as small

¹¹⁹² Jones 1971: 49.

¹¹⁹³ Mestrius Florus in Rome: *Quaest. conv.* 7.4 (702d), 7.6 (707c); in Greece: *Quaest. conv.* 1.9 (626e), 3.3-5 (650a), 5.7 (680c), 5.10 (684e); in Delphi: *Quaest. conv.* 7.2 (710a); in Chaironeia: *Quaest. conv.* 8.1-2 (717d). He also appears in Thermopylae: *Quaest. conv.* 8.10 (734d).

and unassuming as Plutarch described it (*Dem.* 2.2), then Mestrius Florus would have no reason to stop in Chaironeia while passing through the area either to or from Delphi,¹¹⁹⁴ unless to visit those who lived there. Plutarch's presence thus attracted a powerful Roman to a small town. Maybe this was one of the benefits that derived from a relationship with a powerful man (*Prae. ger. reip.* 18 [814c-d]). Is it possible, that by placing most of the conversations in which Mestrius Florus took part in Chaironeia, that Plutarch was indirectly showcasing the benefits that Chaironeia received from his friendship with him? He did not tout any personal gain, but, through his cooperation and fostering of this friendship, Plutarch demonstrated how he managed to remain in his small town without disadvantage, bringing in powerful people, and creating a sense of respect between Rome and a small polis in Greece. In this way, Mestrius Florus was not so much a patron of Plutarch, but rather, of Greek intellectuals overall and, as a result of his friendship with Plutarch, of Chaironeia.

Evidently, Plutarch wished Mestrius Florus to be understood as his friend. While we cannot comment on Plutarch's exact motivation, or even the reality of the nature of their relationship, we have no reason to disregard Plutarch's portrayal of his close connection with Mestrius Florus. We can still ask, however, if it is possible to discern anything from Plutarch's representation of these men that may hint that Plutarch's goal in showcasing their proximity was more than a mere reflection of reality. Is it valid, for example, to suggest that Plutarch illustrated a close friendship with Mestrius Florus to provide an *exemplum* of a Greek friendship with a Roman? In order to unpack this, we must examine another close relationship of Plutarch with a Roman, that of Sosius Senecio.

¹¹⁹⁴ For Chaironeia's location as being on the route to Delphi, see Chapter 1, page 42.

Like Mestrius Florus, Sosius Senecio provides another example of one of Plutarch's close friendships with an important man of Rome.¹¹⁹⁵ Senecio held many prominent positions, including quaestor in Achaia (85-90 CE), tribune of the plebs (c. 90 CE), praetor (92-94 CE), consul ordinarius (99 and 107 CE), and some kind of military command in the Dacian Wars (10-2, 105-6 CE).¹¹⁹⁶ His political career ensured that it was virtually, "...impossible to be closer to the emperor than Senecio was during the first years of the second century."¹¹⁹⁷ Despite the fact that Senecio was as powerful as (or even more powerful than) Mestrius Florus and might have gained some favours for Plutarch,¹¹⁹⁸ there does not seem to be any scholarly debate as to whether Senecio was Plutarch's patron, friend, or both.¹¹⁹⁹ First, Plutarch's language in reference to Senecio in the *Table Talk* was one of familiarity. Secondly, Senecio's appearance at family events, such as the marriage

¹¹⁹⁵ Jones 1971: 54-5; Stadter 2002c: 5; Stadter 2014a: 36-40. Note that it is possible that Senecio originated in Asia Minor, but, as Stadter (2002c: 5-6, 23 n27) points out, he always presents himself as a Roman and held high positions in the Roman administration. Thus, he concludes, this is indicative "...of the difficulty of establishing cultural identity in this period." Dillon (2002: 33) argues that Plutarch may have met Senecio when Senecio was quaestor in Achaia in the 80's CE, and that this is why he is always placed in Greece in Plutarch's corpus. This is possible, but we have no way of knowing if it is true. It is equally likely, considering Plutarch's travels to Rome, that he met Senecio in the capital but that their friendship grew while Senecio was quaestor in Achaia, accounting for his continual presence there. This may also have served Plutarch, who presented Senecio as an ideal Roman who was interested in Greek philosophy (see below, pages 382-4). By placing Senecio in Greece, therefore, he emphasized Senecio's patronage of Greece and its intellectuals, thus providing an *exemplum* of how a Roman politician should behave. For more on Senecio, see Syme 1968: 101 n.127 and Jones 1970b: 103.

¹¹⁹⁶ Jacobs 2017b: 26; Jones 1970b: 102; Jones 1971: 55-6; Puech 1992: 4883; Russell 1973: 10; Ziegler 1951: 688. Scholars believe that his quaestorship was the occasion on which he met Plutarch (Jones 1970b: 102; Jones 1971: 22; Puech 1992: 4883). His success as a commander during this time earned him the privilege of a statue paid for by the state (Jones 1971: 29; Puech 1992: 4883).

¹¹⁹⁷ Stadter 2002c: 5. His son-in-law, Pompeius Falco, also became prominent and some of his successes may have been the result of Sosius Senecio's career and connections (as Jones [1970b: 102-3] speculates for Falco's Spartan ties). However, von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1995 [1922-6]: 56-7) believes that Falco had these names because his mother likely originated in Sparta. He argues (1995: 56-7) that this is indicative of the 'mixing' of Greeks and Romans during this period. In either case, Sosius Senecio and his family had strong ties to Sparta and the elites of that polis. For Falco's connection to C. Julius Eurykles Herkulanos, see *ILS* 1035-36; *PIR*² I/J 302.

¹¹⁹⁸ Jones speculates (1971: 56) that it was Sosius Senecio who managed to get Plutarch the honour of consular ornaments. Jones states (1971: 56) that, "(a)t some time under Trajan Plutarch received the consular ornaments, a distinction that ranked him with the advisers of emperors and above more rich and powerful men of contemporary Achaia." He also thinks that it was possible (Jones 1971: 56), with Plutarch's connection to Sosius and Avidius Nigrinus, that Plutarch was in Hadrian's acquaintance. Ziegler (1951: 689) argues that Plutarch's close relationship with Sosius Senecio also makes it likely that he held some kind of influence on Trajan. For more on Plutarch and the emperors, see below, pages 406-427.

¹¹⁹⁹ Jones 1971: 55; Russell 1973: 10.

of Plutarch's son Autoboulos in Chaironeia (*Quaest. conv.* 4.3 [666d]), constructed a world in which Senecio was close to Plutarch and his family. That Senecio was able to spare time in his busy and well-documented career to attend a wedding in Chaironeia is a clear indication that Plutarch wished his reader to see his relationship with Senecio as intimate.¹²⁰⁰

So occupied with his impressive career was Senecio that Stadter contends that Plutarch likely maintained his friendship with Senecio mainly through correspondence.¹²⁰¹ The fact that Plutarch did not mention Senecio as often as Mestrius Florus,¹²⁰² and the lack of any evidence that Plutarch and Senecio travelled together, support the above conclusion. This makes his presence at Plutarch's son's wedding even more notable.

Like Mestrius Florus, Plutarch also represented Senecio as having an interest in Greek intellectual life.¹²⁰³ Aside from his friendship with Plutarch, Senecio is portrayed as a learned man, one who had enough knowledge of Greek culture to, for example, recite Sapphic verses (*Quaest. conv.* 1.5 [622c]). Unlike his relationship with Mestrius Florus, however, Plutarch was a mentor for Senecio. For instance, Plutarch instructed his friend on the necessities for entertaining (wine [οἶνος], bread [σιτίον], meat [ῥψον], couches [στρωμνή], and tables [τράπεζα]), and what was unnecessary but provided for pleasure (music [ἄκρόαμα], shows [θέαμα], and jesters [γελωτοποιός]: *Quaest.*

¹²⁰⁰ Jones 1970b; Jones 1971: 55; Stadter 2014a: 38.

¹²⁰¹ Stadter 2014a: 38.

¹²⁰² Stadter (2014a: 36) points out that he only hosted three dinners and participated in another three. Despite his few appearances, it is notable that he was found attending and hosting dinners in Athens, Patras, and Chaironeia.

¹²⁰³ Neither Mestrius Florus nor Sosius Senecio likely originated in Rome proper. Mestrius Florus seems to be from the Transpadane zone. On the other hand, Sosius Senecio's origins, though uncertain, may be the East and related to Domitian's patronage of the area and admittance of individuals from there to positions in Rome (Jones 1970b). This is notable, as it indicates a potential rise to the heights of Roman power by a provincial man, meaning that it was not impossible for people outside of Rome or Italy proper to engage with the *cursus honorum*. For more on Senecio's career, see Jones 1970b.

conv. 2.0 [629c]). Here, Plutarch explicitly counseled Senecio that the former *Table Talk* provided examples of each (*Quaest. conv.* 2.0 [629d]). It is likely that Plutarch was fulfilling the role of mentor for the younger Senecio.¹²⁰⁴

Plutarch's coaching of Senecio is made even more obvious in his dedications to him. Not only is the entire *Table Talk* dedicated to Senecio (Plutarch says that it was commissioned by him: *Quaest. conv.* 1.0 [612e]), but also the *Parallel Lives*, arguably Plutarch's largest literary endeavour. The attention that Plutarch paid to Senecio through these sizable literary works should not be ignored. First, it hints at the strong bond between the two men (or at least Plutarch's constructed reality of their friendship), indicating a degree of familiarity and reciprocal respect.¹²⁰⁵ That Senecio commissioned a work from Plutarch also speaks to the reputation that Plutarch may have gained at this point in his career: one that led to his thoughts and writing as valuable by at least one eminent Roman official. More important is the fact that Plutarch was advising a man who was as close to the emperor as one can be.¹²⁰⁶ His compositions for Senecio, therefore, were not the actions of a passive spectator, but rather demonstrate a degree of ambition to advise those in power. And it seems that, through one of Rome's most influential men, Plutarch was in some ways realizing his ambition.

Even though Plutarch was mentoring Senecio by means of his works, it does not mean that Plutarch viewed Senecio as an inferior. In many ways, Plutarch represented Senecio as the embodiment of

¹²⁰⁴ Jones 1971: 55, based on an inscription from Rome that covers Senecio's career: *CIL* 6.1444 = *ILS* 1022.

¹²⁰⁵ Senecio, by commissioning works from Plutarch showed a level of respect for Plutarch's learning and advice. For Plutarch, the contents of these works, especially the Greek philosophical discussions that were found throughout the *Table Talk*, are indicative of the respect that he held for Senecio in that their inclusion demonstrates a belief that Senecio was not only interested in these affairs but was learned enough to engage with them. For the importance of Greek philosophy for Plutarch's evaluation of men, see Chapter 1, pages 144-6 and Chapter 2, pages 292-3.

¹²⁰⁶ Stadter 2014a: 9.

an ideal Roman. As Pelling puts it, “...this is a lover of the Greeks and yet a great Roman, a military man with a taste for the past and for culture, a symbol of the interplay of different worlds and pursuits which the *Lives* will explore.”¹²⁰⁷ But it is not only the *Lives*, but also the *Moralia* that Plutarch wished to bring to Senecio’s attention. In his dedication of the *Table Talk*, Plutarch continued to epitomize Senecio as the ideal Roman, that is, a philhellene. Plutarch’s dedication of these two different works also hints at his desire to reach other like-minded men and his ambition to educate and influence important Roman men. His dedications to Senecio of his two largest works, together with the dedications that he made to other prominent Romans, are evidence of his desire to influence these men and their actions.¹²⁰⁸

In Plutarch’s depictions of his relationship with these two influential Romans, he does not speak of any potential benefits, socially, politically, or otherwise.¹²⁰⁹ Their relationships, as Plutarch represented them, appear to be simply friendships. However, if we consider that Plutarch was writing to help educate his audience and to provide *exempla*,¹²¹⁰ it seems all the more likely that he also represented his relationships with powerful men with the same purpose in mind: to educate and provide an example of desirable behaviour. Perhaps Plutarch’s writings were not just about the men in the *Table Talk*, or the heroes he chose for his *Lives*. Perhaps we can push this one step further and view his portrayal of his interactions with his social network as instructive lessons for his reader. Thus, Plutarch’s representation of his friendships with powerful Romans demonstrates

¹²⁰⁷ Pelling 2002b: 270. Jacobs (2017b: 27), Wardman (1974: 39) and Xenophontos (2016: 177) are also of this opinion.

¹²⁰⁸ Stadter (2014a: 33) notices that the dedicatees are equally divided between Greeks and Romans, with the Romans all belonging to the governing elite. As such, we have an indication of the audience to whom Plutarch was writing but also what he expected of them: i.e., to listen to his advice and to imitate the men and good deeds that he set out.

¹²⁰⁹ We know, for example, that he earned his Roman citizenship from Mestrius Florus (see above, pages 377-8), yet he did not speak of this. Jones (1971: 25) surmised that men like Avidius Quietus and Sosius Senecio also provided Plutarch with protection.

¹²¹⁰ See the Introduction, pages 10-2.

a desirable and harmonious exchange. His friendships appear easy, close, and supportive – exactly as he described his ideal relationship for Greece and Rome. In Plutarch’s view, friendships with influential men in Rome, and thus cooperation between Rome and Greece, were essential, especially to benefit one’s city (*Prae. ger. reip.* 18 [814c-e]). In his works, therefore, he enlightened his reader on how this could be accomplished using the micro-example of his friendships as ones that embodied a spirit of partnership. In this way, it was not merely the people who appeared or who were discussed in Plutarch’s work that became the examples, but Plutarch himself.

If so, it shows a different kind of ambition for Plutarch. He displayed a desire for intellectual and social influence. He strove to educate men and to provide guidance for those in power. And in his writings, he used himself to epitomize how this should be done. In other words, he did not hesitate to put his success in these endeavours on display. Maybe Plutarch omitted mention of the benefits he gained, such as his earning Roman citizenship from Mestrius Florus, because they were not part of his overall ambition. He wanted intellectual and social influence, and he clearly gained this. Thus, in using himself and his friendships as *exempla*, Plutarch, although appearing cautious, betrays a desire on the one hand to teach others how to climb the ladder of influence, and on the other hand to instruct those who have reached the top of the ladder.¹²¹¹ As such, Plutarch reveals his wish to be something akin to Dionysius II’s Plato.¹²¹² Surely, he must have succeeded on some level, even if only in his ability to socially network and position himself, because in one more generation, his nephew Sextos became an official advisor of the emperor.

¹²¹¹ For more on this desire, see, for example, the discussion on Trajan below, pages 415-425.

¹²¹² For Plato and the philosopher king: *Republic* 519c-521b. Plato tried, unsuccessfully, to educate Dionysius II (Stadter 2002c: 6, 19). Despite Plato’s failure, Plutarch seems to be looking to educate the highest powers of his time, like the great philosopher he admired and followed. For Plutarch as following Plato, see the Introduction, page 10.

The 3rd degree of connection is very different from the first two degrees. In this degree, we see elites from other regions of Greece sending their sons and daughters to be educated by Plutarch in Chaironeia, thus speaking to his fame and influence as a philosopher and teacher in the Greek world. However, this degree is not just relegated to Greece, as find, for the first time, powerful men of Rome, who held influence and were close to the emperor. Plutarch constructed his relationships with these men as one of reciprocal respect; they listened to his advice and even actively sought it out. It seems, therefore, that in the 3rd degree we witness Plutarch's social network expanding to unprecedented levels of influence. Plutarch, through his self-representation as the first of his family to successfully advise the highest echelons of the Roman world, crafted himself not only as someone with worthwhile advice, but also, through his successful social networking skills, as an *exemplum*.

4th Degree

The 4th degree consists of Plutarch's friends and acquaintances. These two are necessarily combined, since it is too difficult to distinguish clearly between them. There is an understanding here that his closeness to these individuals likely varied and differed throughout his lifetime. Nevertheless, since the only evidence we have is Plutarch's voice, this chapter and thus this degree will focus on Plutarch's static presentation. In many ways, then, the difficulties of the 4th degree and the individuals within, are the same as those for the 3rd degree, namely, that we cannot know the reality of their closeness to Plutarch, only how Plutarch represented them. We can therefore only speculate on his reason for including them in his oeuvre. Further, given the large number of individuals in this degree (159), only a small number of particular interest are discussed here.

Statistics concerning these individuals and the comparison with other degrees of connection are provided in the following section.

Unsurprisingly, Plutarch's friends were all elites in their respective locations.¹²¹³ The geographic range represented by his friends and acquaintances should draw our attention. Most come from the places where Plutarch was most active, namely, Boiotia (23), Phokis (20), Attica (31), and Italy (21). This is logical since Plutarch was writing about his experiences as well as writing to people with whom he had developed a relationship. It is thus cogent that they would be in the places in which Plutarch spent a lot of time. However, unlike the 1st through 3rd degrees, which only have individuals from the locations in which Plutarch was most active, the fourth degree of connection branches into points on the geographic map where Plutarch may only have visited briefly. For example, Plutarch wrote to a young elite man who was about to embark on a political career in Sardis, Menemachos (Μενέμαχος; node number 89), with advice on how to conduct oneself in politics.¹²¹⁴ We do not have any evidence that Plutarch visited Sardis, so it is likely that he met Menemachos elsewhere, perhaps in Athens or Delphi, although we cannot say with any certainty.

Similarly, we find Diogenianos of Pergamon (Διογενιανός; node number 85) mentioned in Plutarch's oeuvre. Plutarch possibly visited Pergamon but did not spend much time there.¹²¹⁵ The

¹²¹³ Jones (1971: 43) and Stadter (2014b: 17) already noticed this, with Stadter pointing out (2014a: 33) that the Greek dedicatees were local dignitaries whereas the Romans that Plutarch dedicates works to were part of the governing class. Jones (1971: 43) also remarks that, "Plutarch's friends in Asia Minor are of the same kind..."

¹²¹⁴ He was the dedicatee of *praecepta gerendae reipublicae*. Cf Stadter 2014a: 48-9, 235. Menemachos gains attention from many scholars, mainly because he was the dedicatee of this treatise, which dealt with how to govern in a Greek polis under Roman rule: Jacobs 2017b: 280; Jones 1971: 43, 110-1; Puech 1992: 4859; Xenophontos 2016: 128; Ziegler 1951: 678. Note that three other individuals in Plutarch's social network also came from Sardis: Pardalas (Παρδαλᾶς) [Puech 1992: 4865-6], Tyrrhenos (Τυρρηνός) [Puech 1992: 4891], and Zeno (Ζήνων) [Puech 1992: 4891; Ziegler 1951: 686].

¹²¹⁵ Hägg 2012: 239; Jones 1971: 15.

mentions of Diogenianos do not elaborate on how they became friends. Diogenianos, however, attended a banquet hosted by Plutarch in Chaironeia (*Quaest. conv.* 7.7-8 [710b], 8.1-2 [717b], 8.9 [731b]), and was active in Greece not only as Plutarch's guest in Chaironeia, but also as a visitor to Delphi (*De Pyth. or.* 1 [395a]).¹²¹⁶ His presence in the two local worlds of Plutarch, suggests that Diogenianos may have been closer to Plutarch than his placement in the 4th degree of connection implies,¹²¹⁷ but, without any further information on their association, he is relegated to the 4th degree. Perhaps there is an indication of their closeness in Plutarch's mention of Diogenianos' son (Διογενιανός; node number 86; *De Pyth. or.* 1 [395a]). Although Plutarch did speak of the children of other friends, we cannot necessarily use this as evidence of their intimacy.¹²¹⁸ Nonetheless, Diogenianos II provides further insight into the reach of Plutarch's social network. This family was clearly making a mark in the Roman world, as Diogenianos II was known not only by Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 1 [395a]), but also to Galen as the recipient of *De succedaneis*.¹²¹⁹ As such, we have an indirect link between Plutarch and Galen, although Galen was born after Plutarch's death.¹²²⁰ Through men like Menemachus and Diogenianos, Plutarch

¹²¹⁶ Diogenianos' son, Diogenianos, is also present in this dialogue. Ziegler (1951: 673) believes that he must be at least 20 years younger than Plutarch.

¹²¹⁷ It is tempting to suggest that Plutarch went to Pergamon as a guest of Diogenianos, but we have no evidence for this, and it is just as likely that his visit to Pergamon was the occasion in which he met Diogenianos.

¹²¹⁸ Plutarch, for example, mentioned the families of Ammonios (*Quaest. conv.* 8.3 [722d]), Apollonios (*Consol. ad Ap.*), Archidamos (*Amat.* 2 [749b]), Dioysios (*De soll. an.* 8 [965c]), Epitherses (*De def. of.* 17 [419b]), Euthydamos (*De soll. an.* 8 [965c]), Leon (*Quaest. conv.* 7.5 [705b]), Marcus Sedatius (*Quomodo adol.* 1 [15a]), Simon (*Amat.* 2 [749b]), Soklaros (see pages 373-5), and Zeuxippos (*Quaest. conv.* 8.1-2 [717e]).

¹²¹⁹ Puech (1992: 4846) believes that it is likely that these are the same people as it is chronologically possible. She does, however, advise caution since we have no other evidence to prove this hypothesis. Given the similarities in name, the chronological link, and the nature of the ease of movement and travel for elites under the Roman Empire, I am inclined to agree with Puech's assumption that this is the same person.

¹²²⁰ Note, however, that it is impossible that Plutarch and Galen knew each other, since Galen was born after Plutarch's death. I have nevertheless placed Galen in the 5th degree, found below. The reason he is included even though he lived after Plutarch's lifetime, is as a representative of the influence that Plutarch and his works wielded. He is thus a symbol of the reach of Plutarch's social network, as well as Plutarch's success in his endeavour to advise. Galen, because of his mutual acquaintances, likely heard stories of Plutarch as a living man, and thus as more than a literary predecessor. This is a fair assessment, as there is evidence that Plutarch's works were spreading almost immediately after his lifetime (Schmidt 2013: 396), and because Plutarch and Galen share mutual acquaintances, which also includes Favorinus. Favorinus is mentioned by Plutarch on numerous occasions (*Quaest. conv.* 8.10 [734d]; *De primo* 1 [945f], 12 [949f], 23 [955c]; *Quaest. Rom.* 28 [271c]; Lamprias Catalogue number 132) and seems to be an individual whom

was conversing and building friendships with individuals who were in the highest echelons of society, men who were thus exerting some kind of influence with the elites of the Roman world.¹²²¹

Plutarch's social network was not only vast in terms of his influence on the elites, but, as mentioned above, in terms of its geographic extent. Many of these further-afield connections were likely the result of Plutarch's activities in Athens, Delphi, and Rome. The most significant site for expanding his network was the Panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi, where Plutarch's priestly duties ensured that he was able to develop a relationship with individuals from across the ancient Greco-Roman world. Although most of these links from Delphi were made with elites of mainland Greece,¹²²² they also extended beyond, as evidenced by Demetrios of Tarsos (Δημήτριος; node number 93), who was travelling home from Britain.¹²²³ It is the occasion of Demetrios' presence in the *Moralia* that

Plutarch admired (Bowie 1997: 3; Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 675). The respect is mutual, as Puech (1992: 4850) points out, with Favorinus composing a treaty of his own to Plutarch called, "Πλουτάρχος, ἡ περὶ τῆς Ἀκαδημαϊκῆς διαθέσεως". Furthermore, Plutarch's association with Favorinus creates another intriguing link between Plutarch and another writer, since Favorinus was a friend of Aulus Gellius (Duff 1999: 289). Like Galen, however, Aulus Gellius was born after Plutarch's death and is thus not included in Plutarch's social network map.

¹²²¹ In the Greek world, these men may not have had as much political power as their Roman counterparts, but they were still highly influential in the Roman Empire and known by the Roman Empire's elite. It is therefore possible to tentatively conclude from these friendships that Plutarch fostered, that his social network was reaching a place where he could exert influence, even if only indirectly, through his friendship or through his dedications of writings to men like Menemachos, who were entering into local politics. We must also recognize that these friendships and those with powerful Romans also likely related back to Plutarch through potential benefits that he earned from them (see, for example, Mestrius Florus granting him citizenship, discussed above on pages 377-8). Furthermore, it is also likely that these men affected Plutarch's writing. We see this most clearly with his desire to present himself and his local world of Chaironeia as being pro-Roman (see Chapter 1, esp. pages 186-190). This representation was probably based not only on Plutarch's wish to craft himself as an *exemplum*, but also on the positive impact these Roman friendships represent in Plutarch's work towards creating and maintaining harmony. Had Plutarch only experienced negative associations, it is unlikely that he would have pushed such an agenda in his writings. We must, therefore, view these friendships as reciprocal modes of exchange, influence, and benefit.

¹²²² For example, Aristotimos of Elateia (*De soll. an.* 2 [960a]), who was a fellow priest (Jones 1972: 264; Puech 1992: 4838); Eubiotos of Hypata (*De soll. an.* 8 [965c]), a very active man in the politics of his city, of Delphi, and of the provincial League (Jones 1972: 264; Larsen 1953: 92; Pouilloux 1980: 291; Puech 1992: 4847-9); Petraios of Hypata (*Quaest. conv.* 5.2 [674f], *De Pyth. or.* 29 [409c]); Menekrates of Thessaly (*Quaest. conv.* 2.5 [639b]); and Symmachos from Nikopolis (*Quaest. conv.* 4.4, 4.6 [667e, 671c]).

¹²²³ Demetrios is found in *De def. or.* 3 (491e) and following.

Plutarch made it clear that Delphi still served as a place where men from all over the world could meet:

And a short time before the Pythian Games, which occurred during Kallistratos' term in our own time, two revered (ἱεροὶ) men,¹²²⁴ who came together from opposite ends of the earth, happened to be in Delphi. On the one hand, Demetrios the grammarian returned home from Britain to Tarsos. On the other hand, Kleombrotos the Spartan, who had wandered many times in Egypt and around the land of the Troglodytes, and had sailed further than the Erythraean Sea [Persian Gulf]... (*De def. or.* 2 [410a])

Demetrios' travels to Britain are supported by two inscriptions found in York (*IG XIV 2548*):¹²²⁵

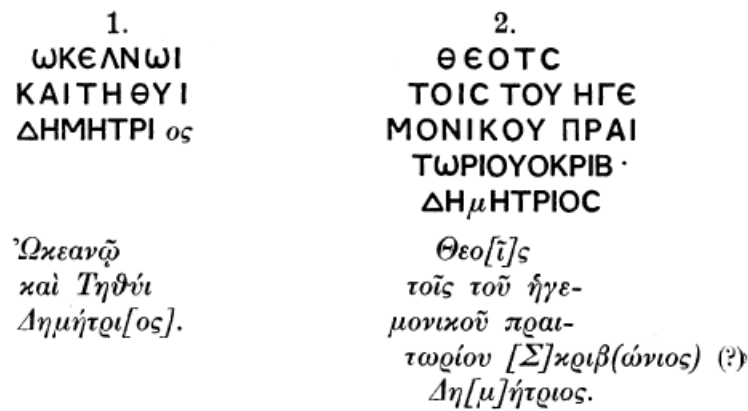


Figure 3.2: Two inscriptions from York, UK (Dessau 1911: 157)

The likelihood that these inscriptions refer to the same man as the one mentioned in Plutarch are high, considering the number of coincidences that are pointed out by Puech: the mention of his travels by Plutarch, the consecration to Oceanus and Thetis in the inscription, the language of the inscription, and the education of princes in Britain at this time by Agricola, who likely funded all of it.¹²²⁶ Again, Plutarch's account is confirmed by material evidence. And although Plutarch was

¹²²⁴ Here I borrow the translation of ἱεροὶ from F.C. Babbitt 1962 (Loeb Classical Library, Plutarch's *Moralia*, volume 5).

¹²²⁵ Dessau 1911. Note Puech's (1992: 4844) caution concerning these inscriptions, since they are not dated and Demetrios' identification is based only on his homonym.

¹²²⁶ Puech 1992: 4844-5. Ziegler (1951: 672) certainly believed this to be likely, as he also claimed that the expedition was made possible by Agricola.

not our long-distance traveller, it is nonetheless noteworthy that he had a connection to those who were and who related their experiences. Surely the anecdotes he might have heard from these men about their travels would have influenced Plutarch's understanding of his world and the extent of its reach.¹²²⁷

For Plutarch, the inhabited world stretched from the British Isles to the Persian Gulf. So, although Plutarch admitted that these places were far away (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τῆς οἰκουμένης περάτων), he still included them as part of his world. Therefore, Plutarch's view of the earth really was one that was global, at least for his time.¹²²⁸ He did not see these places as impossible to reach, and although their mention was perhaps to signal that they were exceedingly far, and thus not commonly visited, he still knew Greeks who had travelled there for leisure (Kleombrotos [Κλεόμβροτος; node number 171]) and for work (Demetrios of Tarsos). It seems, then, that not only did Plutarch see the geography of the Roman Empire as global, but he also represented his social network as being able to reach these ends of the earth. We can thus say that, as Plutarch depicted it, his social network was one that had global influence.¹²²⁹

¹²²⁷ It may also have affected how he understood and represented those he considered to be 'barbarian', i.e. anyone not Greek or Roman, although we cannot know any of this for sure. Unfortunately, we have lost Plutarch's treatise *Barbarian Questions*. Despite this, Schmidt (2000, 2002, 2008) is able to reconstruct some of Plutarch's impressions of barbarians, revealing his potential attitude towards these peoples (see the Introduction, page 11).

¹²²⁸ In other words, he counted all the inhabited places in the world that he was aware of as being part of his world. In modern terms, this would not be global, but for Plutarch's understanding of the world, it was. For more on globalization and the idea of a global Roman world, see the Introduction, pages 16-9.

¹²²⁹ Without more information we cannot grow the 5th degree to include men whom these men knew from their travels. For example, although Demetrios likely taught elite men in Breton, we do not know who these men were nor how many he encountered. Nevertheless, we can assume that Demetrios made connections here and therefore the 5th degree of Plutarch's network would reach these far-off lands. However, without any data, this cannot be represented in the 5th degree and is therefore left out of the social network analysis. For more on the 5th degree and what comprises it, see below, pages 401-2.

Another sphere for building his social network was also one that was global in scope, that is, Athens, where Plutarch earned his education. Since Athens was still a popular location for the education of elite males, Plutarch was able to meet elites from around the Empire while he was being educated. One of his fellow students was Asklepiades of Pergamon (Ἀσκληπιιάδης; node number 84), to whom Plutarch wrote a consolation that is no longer extant but found in the Lamprias Catalogue (#111).¹²³⁰ Like many elite Greek men in the first and second centuries CE, Asklepiades was also tied to the Roman elite. Sometime after Plutarch's death (c.128-132 CE), a member of Asklepiades' family erected a statue to Hadrian.¹²³¹ Thus, like many of Plutarch's close friends, such as Soklaros (after whom he named his son), Asklepiades and his family were careful to pay homage to the Roman emperor. Plutarch seemed to have had an attachment to like-minded individuals who shared a desire of cooperation and placation of the Roman upper class. Plutarch's association with Diogenianos and the consolation to Asklepiades underline his connection to Pergamon. Although having a friendship with someone from a certain polis does not automatically indicate that Plutarch visited that location, the hint that he went to the east and witnessed their festivals,¹²³² alongside the friendships that he mentioned with men in Pergamon, increases the likelihood that Plutarch did travel there.

Not all of Plutarch's acquaintances, however, provide evidence that he visited their homeland as part of this elite network of travel. For example, while in Athens, Plutarch also became acquainted with Philopappos (Φιλόπαππος; node number 81), the grandson of the last sovereign of

¹²³⁰ Puech 1992: 4839-4840; Ziegler 1951: 671.

¹²³¹ *IvP* II 374 A (Puech 1992: 4840 n.26).

¹²³² *Anime an corporis* 4 (501e-f). Jones (1971: 14-5) certainly believes that this was the case, although he champions Smyrna as the location that Plutarch visited based on the popularity of the cult of Dionysos at Smyrna (1971: 15 n.11).

Commagene.¹²³³ Despite the provenance of Philopappos' family, they were ousted from their ancestral lands and were now established in Athens. Philopappos' appearance in the *Table Talk* (*Quaest. conv.* 1.10 [628a]), is an indication that Plutarch had spent time with him while in Athens and that they had mutual friends. More telling was Plutarch's dedication to Philopappos of the treatise *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend* (*Quomodo adul.*). Philopappos was an important benefactor in Athens, active in civic, political, and religious spheres, as inscriptional evidence suggests.¹²³⁴ Philopappos evidently had a lot of influence in the Attic polis and, at least according to Plutarch, needed some guidance.

Plutarch's advising of Philopappos also provides us with an example of Plutarch exerting influence on a man who had political power beyond Greece. Philopappos' power was not only relegated to Athens, but he also had leverage in Rome, as his membership in the senate, given by Trajan, suggests.¹²³⁵ Philopappos was the only one of Plutarch's friends who, despite not being a Roman in origin, was a member of the Roman senate.¹²³⁶ Philopappos, then, is representative of a transitional time in Rome when it was beginning to be possible to gain some influence and status in the capital without being from Rome. This increases the likelihood that Plutarch did have some kind of influence in Rome, not only through the lectures that he gave there,¹²³⁷ which were attended

¹²³³ For more on Philopappos' contemporary family, see Spawforth 1978, especially p.260.

¹²³⁴ Puech (1992: 4870-2) goes through many of the inscriptions that bear witness to Philopappos' activities in Athens. The most telling evidence of his influence was that he was given the privilege of a burial in the heart of the city, *IG* 2/3² 3451, *ILS* 845 = *OGIS* 409 (Puech 1992: 4873).

¹²³⁵ *ILS* 845. Jacobs 2017b: 26; Jones 1971: 59. Jacobs (2017b: 26) also mentions that he was made suffect consul in 109.

¹²³⁶ As pointed out by Stadter 2014a: 8.

¹²³⁷ For more on Plutarch and Rome, see the Introduction, pages 11-2 and below, pages 395-6.

by some elite members of the Roman world, but also through his friendships and mentoring of individuals who had political influence.¹²³⁸

Plutarch readily gave Philopappos guidance in *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend* (*Quomodo adul.*),¹²³⁹ where the implications of Philopappos' political reach were made explicit: further evidence that Plutarch was trying to be an educational model for people in high places. For an outsider, Philopappos achieved a status that was very high under the Roman Empire. Plutarch's advising him thus becomes telling of his goals as a philosopher. He was not content to merely sit at home debating philosophy, but rather, he was reaching to the highest levels of both Greek and Roman society through men like Diogenianos and Philopappos, to exert some effect over how to lead their lives and the friendships and connections that they should foster. This was not the action of a modest man who was not seeking influence, but of a keen mind. While it is true that this does not illustrate that Plutarch was aiming for their political power, his writings still express a desire to guide the arm of whomever held the sword.

Plutarch did, in fact, have friends in Rome who quite literally held the sword. In addition to Mestrius Florus, Plutarch was also friends with Minicius Fundanus (Μινίκιος Φουνδάνος; node number 156), who served as legate of Dalmatia,¹²⁴⁰ was consul suffect in 107 CE and proconsul of Asia in 122/3 CE.¹²⁴¹ Although Fundanus held at least one legionary command during his career,

¹²³⁸ As van Meirvenne (2002: 142) points out, "(s)ince Philopappos is the dedicatee of *De ad. et am.* the expectations for political relevance run high: perhaps Philopappos was not *just* an 'apt addressee' for our essay; perhaps Plutarch also wanted to address him particularly in his role of political leader..."

¹²³⁹ Note, however, that Plutarch did not mention in this treatise whether Philopappos wanted or needed the advice. The sheer act of composing it implies that Plutarch believed that he needed it, but we do not know whether this was something Philopappos requested.

¹²⁴⁰ The date he held this position is not certain but was sometime between 108 and 111 CE (Eck 1983: 194).

¹²⁴¹ Jones 1971: 58; Puech 1992: 4861.

there is no hint in his letters to Pliny of warfare.¹²⁴² Rather, it seems that Fundanus was a man after Plutarch's heart: he was dedicated to oration. As such, it is possible that Plutarch and Fundanus' affinity for philosophy and public speaking meant that they were closer than the 4th degree of connection suggests.¹²⁴³ However, without further evidence it is dangerous to presume a close relationship based only on one treatise, and as such, Fundanus remains in the 4th degree of connection.

Plutarch's connection to Fundanus, like his connection to Diogenianos, and Asklepiades, allows for a widening of Plutarch's social network web through Fundanus' link to Pliny the Younger (node number 259).¹²⁴⁴ Furthermore, this was not Plutarch's only tie to Pliny, as his friend Junius Arulenus Rusticus (node number 140) was an associate of Pliny and a friend of Tacitus (node number 263).¹²⁴⁵ Pliny the Younger and Tacitus are thus placed in the 5th degree of connection below, since the link between Pliny the Younger, Tacitus and Plutarch was not direct, but rather through shared associations with the same individual.

Plutarch's friendship with Junius Arulenus Rusticus (henceforth referred to as Rusticus) provides an important scenario. While giving a talk in Rome, Plutarch says that a letter from Emperor Domitian arrived for Rusticus (*De curios.* 15 [522d-e]). Instead of reading it, however, Rusticus

¹²⁴² Jones (1971: 58 n60) points to the following letters of Pliny that detail the nature of his correspondence with Plutarch: *Piny Ep.* 1.9, 4.15, 5.16, 6.6, 7.12.

¹²⁴³ Jones (1971: 58) believes that they were close, based on Fundanus' character in the treatise on anger (*De cohib. ira* 1-2 [452f-454b]). I agree with Jones here, since it would be unlikely that Plutarch would write to someone about the death of their child if they did not have some kind of intimate bond. However, this cannot be proven. Further, there does not seem to be any evidence of Fundanus in Chaironeia or Delphi, Plutarch's local worlds, despite the fact that he seemed to travel for his appointments. If he were as close as, for example, Soklaros, we might expect to find him visiting Plutarch in his polis, especially since Plutarch took pains to point to other influential men, like Sosius Senecio, who pay homage to his little town with their presence.

¹²⁴⁴ Jones 1971: 58.

¹²⁴⁵ Puech 1992: 4855. For more on Plutarch, Pliny, and their shared world, see Fields 2020.

asked that Plutarch's lecture continue, winning praise from the audience and from Plutarch himself. This is rightly interpreted as Plutarch presenting an example of a man with patience and appropriate conduct.¹²⁴⁶ However, I argue that it is possible to read into this a little further. Plutarch's opinion of Domitian was unfavourable, which is unsurprising given Domitian's execution and banishment of philosophers, some of whom, including Rusticus,¹²⁴⁷ were Plutarch's associates.¹²⁴⁸ Through this narrative, Plutarch aligned himself with Rusticus, a man who was charged and executed for his actions against the emperor.¹²⁴⁹ Was Plutarch taking a stab here at Domitian, using Rusticus as the Roman paradigm of good behaviour? Possibly.

Furthermore, Rusticus was very famous and thus his attendance at Plutarch's lecture should earn our attention.¹²⁵⁰ I contend that Plutarch's insertion of this anecdote was not only a paradigm for proper behaviour, but also served to present Plutarch himself in a positive light. He did this by showing that a man as distinguished as Rusticus not only attended his lecture but refused to be interrupted during it. Rusticus thus gave credibility to Plutarch as a philosopher and advisor. Plutarch's audience would have surely understood the subtext. Plutarch was clearly exerting some influence in the Roman world.

¹²⁴⁶ E.g., Ziegler 1951: 655 and Jones 1971: 23.

¹²⁴⁷ Who was executed on charges of treason: *De curios*. 15 (522d). Given the atmosphere of the narrative, Jones (1971: 23, 51) placed the lecture in which Rusticus ignored the emperor's summons as being in 92 CE, not long before Rusticus' execution in 93 CE. For more on Rusticus and his career, see Jones 1971: 51 and Stadter 2014a: 8.

¹²⁴⁸ For more on Domitian and Plutarch's views of his reign, see below, pages 412-5.

¹²⁴⁹ Rusticus was charged with supporting tyrannicide, since he wrote a laudatory piece on Thrasea Paetus, who was anti-Nero and pro-Cato and therefore an opponent of the Caesars in general (Stadter 2014a: 8; Tacitus *Agr.* 2.1). Note that Thrasea Paetus wrote a laudatory piece for Cato, something that may have contributed to his downfall. Geiger points out that it is possible that Plutarch was drawn to Thrasea's writing through Tactius (Geiger 2002: 98). According to Jones (1966: 72), this treatise was written after 96 CE, thus after Domitian's death. This would follow with Plutarch's general tendencies of caution towards the Roman emperors (see below, page 415).

¹²⁵⁰ As Ziegler (1951: 656) remarks.

Rusticus is not the only high-ranking Roman who belongs to the 4th degree. Plutarch was also friends with two generations of the Avidii. Like Mestrius Florus, Fundanus, and Rusticus, the Avidii held important political positions in Rome. Avidius Nigrinus I (node number 136), the more obscure figure of this family,¹²⁵¹ was proconsul under Domitian, but he likely died in the 90s when Plutarch was at the height of his career.¹²⁵² This might explain why he received less attention than his brother, Avidius Quietus I (node number 138). It is also possible that Nigrinus did not hold as many positions as his brother, who lived longer,¹²⁵³ since we do not find the same inscriptional evidence for him as we have for Avidius Quietus I.

Quietus had an illustrious career. He was legionary legate under Vespasian or Domitian,¹²⁵⁴ proconsul of Achaia in 91-92 CE,¹²⁵⁵ consul in 93 CE,¹²⁵⁶ a friend of Thrasea Paetus (node number 198) who, after Thrasea's death, defended his progeny,¹²⁵⁷ and, finally, a friend of Pliny.¹²⁵⁸ Avidius Quietus was thus a prominent member of Roman elite society. Plutarch, although only mentioning his provincial position, showed respect for Quietus, using him as an example of someone whose hands were clean and thus favourable to jokes about bribery.¹²⁵⁹ Quietus, according to Plutarch, was a good proconsul leading a virtuous life, and thus a worthy *exemplum*. It also implies that Plutarch wanted recognition of his friendship with such a man because it would

¹²⁵¹ He and his brother are the dedicatees of *De frat. am.*

¹²⁵² Jones 1971: 51; Russell 1973: 9; Puech 1992: 4840.

¹²⁵³ Jones (1971: 53) gives a *terminus ante quem* of 107 for his death.

¹²⁵⁴ *ILS* 6105. Jones 1971: 52; Puech 1992: 4841.

¹²⁵⁵ *Syll.*³ 822. Jones 1971: 23, 52; Puech 1992: 4841; Stadter 2014b: 16.

¹²⁵⁶ Jones 1971: 52; Puech 1992: 4841. There is also evidence that he became consul in Britain: *CIL* 16.43 (Jones 1971: 53).

¹²⁵⁷ Arulenus Rusticus was also a friend of Thrasea Paetus, see page 396 note 1249. Avidius Quietus as a friend of Thrasea Paetus: Pliny *Ep.* 6.29, 9.13; Jones 1971: 52-3, Puech 1992: 4841.

¹²⁵⁸ Pliny *Ep.* 6.29.1.

¹²⁵⁹ Plutarch recounted an incident when Quietus was jokingly accused by Modestus of taking bribes in his province (*Quaest. conv.* 2.1 [632a]).

illustrate the political height of his friendships.¹²⁶⁰ Plutarch depicted his personal relationships and friendships as an exemplar of the kinds of men with whom one should foster friendships, that is, those who were morally upright, resistant to bribery, and friendly towards Greeks.

Plutarch outlived the Avidii brothers and was also acquainted with their sons. Avidius Quietus II (node number 139) followed in his father's footsteps and had a successful political career. Starting as consul suffect in 111 CE, Quietus II eventually became proconsul of Achaia in 125-126 CE.¹²⁶¹ His cousin, Avidius Nigrinus II (node number 137), also held important positions, including tribune of the plebs in 105 CE, suffect consul in 110 CE, legate of Achaia and Dacia, and was even considered as a successor to Hadrian before he was executed for plotting to assassinate the emperor,¹²⁶² an emperor whom Plutarch respected.¹²⁶³

Avidius Nigrinus II, however, is missing from Plutarch's works. This may be because Plutarch did not meet him in person. It would be hard to believe, however, that he did not have knowledge of him, considering that he knew his father, his uncle, and his cousin, as well as the likelihood that he would have heard of his treason. Further, it was highly unlikely that Plutarch, a priest of Apollo, would not have had contact with a man who impacted affairs in Delphi.¹²⁶⁴ It is possible, therefore, that Plutarch omitted Nigrinus II because of the plot to assassinate Hadrian. While it is true that

¹²⁶⁰ As noted by Jones 1971: 53.

¹²⁶¹ *PIR*² A 1409. Jones 1971: 53; Puech 1992: 4841.

¹²⁶² Jones 1971: 32-3, 53; Puech 1992: 4840-2. Tribune of the plebs: Pliny *Ep.* 5.13 and 20, 7.6. Legate of Achaia: *Syll.*³ 827, *FD* III 4³ 290-299. Legate in Dacia: *ILS* 2417. As a successor to Hadrian: *HA* Hadr. 7.1-3. Execution: Dio Cassius 69.2.5, *HA* Hadr. 7.1, 23.10. His potential, and likely, association with Nigrinus II also put him in close contact with Emperor Hadrian.

¹²⁶³ For more on Plutarch and Hadrian, see below, pages 425-7.

¹²⁶⁴ Jones 1971: 54; Puech 1992: 4842, looking at *FD* III 4, 290-299. Jones (1971: 32) explains that one of Nigrinus' responsibilities in Delphi is evident through inscriptions that show him as a mediator of disputes between Delphi and other poleis: *Syll.*³ 827 (Delphi), *SEG* 21: 498 (Athens).

Plutarch provided negative examples in his oeuvre, he did not do so with his contemporaries, especially his friends. His silence on Nigrinus, therefore, might have been a shrewd tactic on his part to mould his representation of his social connections by removing this rotten apple from his orchard of friendship: Plutarch's version of a *damnatio memoriae*.¹²⁶⁵

In general, however, we see more of Plutarch's social network than catch hints of men with whom he wanted to disassociate. This is fortunate for the modern reader because it allows us to also begin to trace the geographic extent of Plutarch's social network. Like Athens and Delphi, Rome provided a setting in which Plutarch could foster many friendships with men from all around the empire. For example, in Rome Plutarch met Menelaos (Μενέλαος; node number 78), a mathematician from Alexandria (*de facie* 17 [930a]), as well as Theon (Θέων; node number 79), an Egyptian with whom he became acquainted at the table of Mestrius Florus (*Quaest. conv.* 1.9 [626e-627f], 8.7-8 [727a-730f]). There is also mention of Nestor (Νέστωρ; node number 80), who came to Rome from Leptis Magna (*Quaest. conv.* 8.8 [730d]), all men from African provinces.

Like Demetrios of Tarsos and the evidence of the Greek language in Britain,¹²⁶⁶ Nestor is another example of the extent of the influence of Greek culture during Plutarch's lifetime. Nestor reported on a fishing ban in his native land in Leptis Magna that was related to the cult of Poseidon (*Quaest. conv.* 8.8 [730d]). Plutarch's insertion of this practice illustrates his need to record its 'otherness': a fascinating view of how a local culture could enter another area and be reinterpreted to become part of a different discourse. Plutarch noticed this religious dialectal practice as something different and thus interesting. Clearly, local narratives were also important to these men, who discussed how

¹²⁶⁵ This would therefore be an overt silence aimed at forgetting (see Chapter 1, pages 182-4 for more on silences).

¹²⁶⁶ See above, pages 389-391.

their native lands differed, showing that they were aware of the local environment, as well as the global one to which their local could be compared. We thus have another instance where the local is not only important for our understanding of the Roman Empire, but also for the inhabitants of these different narrative landscapes. Lastly, men like Meneloas, Theon, and Nestor provide examples of the distance individuals travelled to Rome. We still do not know why they came to Rome, but the evidence of their presence there allows us to evaluate the nature of the Roman Empire in the first and early second centuries CE.

Both the extent and the nature of the individuals active in Plutarch's social network suggests that elite Greek men had influence and relationships beyond their local communities. I argue that Plutarch's connections to influential members of the Roman elite as well as to others around the empire implies that we need to look at his world in a more nuanced way. Based only on the evidence we can gather from his work, Plutarch's social network was extensive. Soklaros' family in Thespiiai, Demetrios of Tarsos, Diogenianos of Pergamon, and others tell a story of families who held power and who moved beyond the structure of their poleis to form friendships that were more than local in nature. While they might not have had as much influence as those even a generation later, they nonetheless, based on Plutarch's social map, came together to exert influence beyond their hometowns. Plutarch, perhaps an exception (but maybe not), was clearly influencing men from around the Empire, and this influence only expands when we look at the next degree, those who were connected to Plutarch through another person.

5th degree

The relationship of individuals in the 5th and 6th degrees to Plutarch is largely speculative since these ties to him cannot be made with any assurance. The 5th degree, for instance, consists of people who were connected to Plutarch through another person, but whom Plutarch neglected to mention. Including these individuals in Plutarch's social network does not mean that he knew them personally, in fact, he might never have met some of them. However, when we consider that individuals in this degree frequented the same places as Plutarch, as well as their numerous mutual connections, it is not impossible that Plutarch encountered them, if only once. Yet, without evidence of their encounters, no precision can be drawn about their relationship with Plutarch and thus they are placed in the 5th degree of connection.

In many cases, the individuals in this degree are relatives of people whom Plutarch knows, or famous people, such as Latin authors or Roman emperors. The weight given to Rome in this section is largely the result of the more complete evidence that exists for that city compared to other places. Therefore, it is possible that this degree skews the data for Plutarch's social map through the creation of an emphasis on the city of Rome, since a third of the 73 individuals who comprise the 5th degree were based there. The fact that these connections were made through Roman elites is, of course, an important point to consider, since it reflects the attention that Plutarch paid in his writings to Rome and its people.¹²⁶⁷ Rome was also one of the main centres of Plutarch's life.¹²⁶⁸ Therefore, although the connections to the city of Rome found in this study are fuller than locations such as Thespiiai, this should not be a cause of great concern, but rather, should be understood

¹²⁶⁷ We have already seen how his concern for Rome and his Roman audience affected how he represented Chaironeia (see Chapter 1, esp. pages 186-190) and Boiotia (see e.g., Chapter 2, pages 284-300 for Boiotian war and Rome).

¹²⁶⁸ For more on Plutarch and Rome, see the Introduction, pages 11-2.

simply as a result of a more complete data set.¹²⁶⁹ Moreover, drawing out these connections to Rome brings us another step closer to understanding the breadth of Plutarch's influence in the upper echelons of the Roman world, thus aiding our endeavour to discover whether Plutarch was able to effectively climb the Roman social ladder.

Like the 4th degree of connection, only a small number of individuals will be discussed here, and the statistical analysis associated with this degree will be tackled in the following section. I have chosen to focus this section on Latin authors and Roman emperors.

Plutarch's silence on contemporary Latin authors, and their omission of him, is the object of much scholarly debate.¹²⁷⁰ As such, their mutual connections are briefly discussed below to discover whether we can elucidate a potential link between Plutarch and these men. The Roman emperors were also chosen as subjects in this section because of any implications of their relationship with Plutarch in terms of his influence on the Roman elite and his ability to gain favour for his local worlds.

It seems strange that Plutarch and his contemporary Latin authors were mutually silent when they had similar interests in writing, in philosophy, and in history. Even stranger is the fact that they had friends in common. In most cases, the contemporary Latin authors in this 5th degree of connection are only connected to Plutarch through Julius Secundus (node number 129),¹²⁷¹ an

¹²⁶⁹ We must, however, keep in mind that Plutarch had social connections in other places that cannot be fully traced because of the lack of evidence for these locations.

¹²⁷⁰ See, for example, Bowie 2014: 181, who remarks on the strangeness of this silence. For specific authors, see: Dessau 1911: 160 (on Martial); Russell 1973: 10 (on Pliny and Tacitus); Jones 1971: 23-4, 51, 61, 83 (on Pliny), 50 (on Aper, Curiatius Maternus, Quintillian, Saleius Bassus, Tacitus, and Vipstanus Messalla), 61-2 (on Tactius), and 50, 62 (on Suetonius); Puech 1992: 4832-3 (on Seneca the elder).

¹²⁷¹ This includes Aper, Curiatius Maternus, Quintillian, Saleius Bassus, and Vipstanus Messalla.

individual in the 4th degree of connection whom Plutarch met in Rome (*Otho* 9.3).¹²⁷² Since there is no evidence that their friendship is close, the ties that Plutarch had to these authors is tenuous at best. This might explain their mutual silence because they might not have come in contact at all.

However, there are other Latin authors to whom we can draw stronger connections. Tacitus, for example, is connected to Plutarch not only through Julius Secundus,¹²⁷³ but also through Minicius Fundanus,¹²⁷⁴ Rusticus,¹²⁷⁵ and Sosius Senecio.¹²⁷⁶ Plutarch's close relationship to Sosius Senecio, at least, suggests that it is possible that these men might have known of each other, even if they did not meet. This is likely also the case with Martial (node number 257), who is connected to Plutarch through Aufidius Modestus (node number 130) and Terentius Priscus (node number 154).¹²⁷⁷ I am therefore assuming that the more connections an individual had through one person to another is indicative of the likelihood that they would have met in person. Since, however, there is no way of knowing if they knew each other, or even knew *of* each other, this cannot be guaranteed. Nevertheless, if they had many connections, it would be hard to believe that they did not at least hear of the other person who was also making a strong impact in their mutual literary and social circles.

No one of the Latin authors contemporary to Plutarch had more connections to him than Pliny the Younger. Their mutual associations include the Avidii, Minicius Fundanus, Julius Secundus,

¹²⁷² For more on Julius Secundus, see Jones 1971: 15, 22, 33 n.37, 50-1.

¹²⁷³ Jones (1971: 50) reminds us that Tacitus was Secundus' disciple when he was young (citing Tacitus *Dial.* 2.1).

¹²⁷⁴ Jones 1971: 61; Pliny *Ep.* 4.15.

¹²⁷⁵ Puech 1992: 4855.

¹²⁷⁶ Jones 1971: 61.

¹²⁷⁷ Dessau (1911: 160) argues that the Terentius Priscus who was friends with Plutarch was the same man who was a friend of Martial, who dedicated his 10th book to Terentius Priscus, as well as many poems.

Rusticus, and Sosius Senecio.¹²⁷⁸ In fact, there is a chance that Pliny even met Plutarch's brother Timon, who went with Plutarch to Rome¹²⁷⁹ and who was also friends with the Avidii.¹²⁸⁰ There is even the possibility that Pliny, at the behest of Rusticus, defended Timon's wife in court.¹²⁸¹ Furthermore, Plutarch was familiar with Pliny the Elder's work.¹²⁸² The mutual connections, the location of Rome, and Plutarch's seeming use of his relative, Pliny the Elder's writing, all make it likely that Plutarch and Pliny at least knew of each other. The question remains, then, why did the one not mention the other?

There has been some speculation that Pliny's silence on Plutarch might have been because of his tendency to only mention learned Greeks from provinces wealthier than Achaia, of which Boiotia was a part.¹²⁸³ If this is the case, it is perhaps the first confirmed instance that we have where Plutarch's choice to remain in Chaironeia did hinder him in Roman society. While he was still able to maintain friendships with eminent Romans, claim elite Romans as guests in his home, and spend much time visiting the capital, it is possible that his location made him the object, not necessarily

¹²⁷⁸ Jones 1971: 23-4, 61.

¹²⁷⁹ As mentioned above, see pages 394-5 (Fundanus), 397 (Quietus).

¹²⁸⁰ *De frat. am.* 16 (487d-e).

¹²⁸¹ Jones (1971: 23-4) explains that, "(a)t some time about 93 the younger Pliny, acting on the request of the same Arulenus Rusticus, defended the wife of a certain Timon... It happens that Plutarch had a brother also called Timon, who like Plutarch had friends at Rome in the two brothers Avidius Nigrinus and Quietus. Plutarch himself was known to Arulenus Rusticus, and both Rusticus and Quietus had been followers of Thræsea Paetus. There is a remote chance, therefore, that Plutarch's relatives were brought for a hearing to Rome about the year 93." Cf. Pliny *Ep.* 6.29.1, 9.13.15, 9.13.17. If this is the case, Pliny would have had knowledge of Plutarch's family, perhaps intimate knowledge, through advocating for one of its members in a trial.

¹²⁸² As noticed by Jones (1971: 83), who comments that, "(w)hen his citations can be checked, they sometimes correspond so exactly with the original as to give a strong impression of first-hand knowledge." Jones lists (1971: 83 n17) the relevant chapters as follows: "e.g. *Caes.* 44.8 = *Caes. Bell.civ.* 3.92.4; *Aem.* 10.6-8 = *Cic. De div.* 1.103; *Cato mai.* 23.2-3 = Pliny, *NH* 29.14."

¹²⁸³ Provinces such as Syria (Jones 1971: 61). Gibson (2020: 195-6) agrees with this assessment. Cf. Calimberti Biffino 2007 for a summary of Pliny's views of Greek culture. This is not the case, however, with Pliny the Elder, who showed interest in the region of Boiotia: see, for example, Gratwick 1979. Note, however, Gibson's (2020: 196) comments that Pliny the Elder (compared to Pliny the Younger) was, "...more thoroughly ambivalent and even antagonistic towards Greeks, their philosophy, and particularly their doctors." Therefore, although Pliny the Elder provides us with some information on Boiotia, it is not necessarily from a positive point of view.

of scorn, but certainly of indifference by other learned men of the Empire. Unfortunately, without further evidence, this remains highly speculative. For example, it is possible that Plutarch's location had nothing to do with Pliny's silence, but that Pliny's ambivalence for the Chaironeian reflected a lack of shared interests.¹²⁸⁴ If so, it was Plutarch's vocation and not his location that affected his network in Rome. Without knowing more, however, we must move beyond Pliny's silence on Plutarch.

Considering the circumstances of their mutual acquaintances, it would not be surprising if Plutarch had met, for example, Pliny the Younger or Tacitus, but that he had no occasion to write about them. Some suggest that this may be because they did not like one another and thus rejected the presence of the other in their works.¹²⁸⁵ Or, perhaps we should see Plutarch's silence as being related to his purpose in writing. Since Plutarch's main goal was to provide *exempla* for his audience, not only in terms of moral behaviour but also in regard to what kinds of friendships one should foster, it is not difficult to understand why he did not write about his Latin contemporaries. Even if he knew them, or at least knew of them, they did not illustrate the importance of having a cooperative relationship with the highest echelons of Roman society, since they did not have any direct power over the Greek world and its inhabitants.¹²⁸⁶ Plutarch was not trying to show his reader how to connect to the philosophical world, but rather, how to connect with the highest political components of society, and how these connections and cooperation could lead to benefits

¹²⁸⁴ This speculative interpretation of Pliny's silence towards Plutarch is offered by Gibson (2020: 91), who argues that Pliny's silence was because he was interested in rhetoric and literature rather than philosophy.

¹²⁸⁵ There has been, for example, speculation that Tacitus' negative remarks in *Ann.* 2.88.3 might be in reference to Plutarch's *Lives* or his *Lives of the Caesars* (Jones 1971: 61 n82; Russell 1973: 10). If we also consider that Pliny seemed to ignore Greek elites from Achaia, it would not be impossible that Plutarch caught on to this attitude and that it created an air of tension between them. As always, however, without any evidence these sorts of ideas are relegated into the realm of speculation.

¹²⁸⁶ I say 'direct' because it is possible that they may have indirect influence through their friendships with men who do hold power, such as Tacitus' friendship with Rusticus or Sosius Senecio.

for elite Greeks and their poleis. Thus, other authors, philosophers, or historians might have been of interest to him in life but were inconsequential in his works. Whatever the reasons may be for not writing about one another, there remains a clear link between Plutarch and these Latin authors, although it is not one that is direct.

Besides Latin authors, Plutarch may also have been acquainted with Roman emperors. Unlike his contemporary authors, however, the emperors were a pervasive entity in Plutarch's world. This investigation, therefore, is not about whether Plutarch knew of them, but how close he came to meeting them, and the likelihood that they knew of him and his writings. To evaluate this, each of the seven emperors who ruled during Plutarch's lifetime and their mutual connections are examined chronologically. This provides the added benefit of exploring whether Plutarch increased his connections to the emperors, as he gradually established himself as a philosopher and advisor in the elite Roman world.

Unfortunately, the *Lives of the Caesars*, with the exception of *Galba* and *Otho*, are lost to us.¹²⁸⁷ As a result, most of Plutarch's sentiments on the emperors who were in charge of his world are also gone. Therefore, there is no agreement between scholars as to Plutarch's connection with the emperors.¹²⁸⁸ Nevertheless, we can still detect some of Plutarch's thought of these ruling men and what, if anything, he gained from them.

¹²⁸⁷ For a comprehensive examination on the possible themes of these lost *Lives*, as well as their composition and the sources Plutarch may have used, see Georgiadou 2014: 251-277 and de Blois 2014: 267-277.

¹²⁸⁸ Citations for scholarly views of Plutarch's relationship with the emperors are found in the relevant discussions of each emperor and are thus not repeated here.

The first emperor who ruled in Plutarch's lifetime was Nero (node number 246). It is possible that Plutarch, as a youth, saw or heard Nero speak when the emperor was visiting Greece in 66-68 CE, either when he was in Delphi (*De E delph.* 1 [385b]), or when Nero was speaking at the Isthmian Games, where he granted freedom to the Greeks (*Flam.* 12.13).¹²⁸⁹ Even if he did not see Nero on these occasions, his speech at the Isthmian Games, at least, had an impact on Plutarch,¹²⁹⁰ who became one of the first authors to rehabilitate Nero.¹²⁹¹

However, although Nero and his positive attention towards the Greeks made an impression on Plutarch, they do not seem to have any mutual connections, which is unsurprising given that Plutarch's father and grandfather do not appear to have had any link to Rome, and that Plutarch was still young and receiving his education when Nero visited (νέον ἑμαυτὸν ἔτι: *Prae. ger. reip.* 20 [816c-d]). He thus had not yet had the chance to build his Roman social network. Nevertheless, Nero's visit to Greece likely gave Plutarch and other elite Greeks the chance to meet, mingle, and

¹²⁸⁹ This is the opinion of Jones 1971: 17 and Stadter 2014b: 6. I agree with this assessment, since Delphi became an important world to Plutarch. While it is true that this event was before Plutarch was priest, it would still be surprising if he did not go to Delphi on the occasion of the emperor's visit, considering how close it was to Chaironeia. Stadter suggests (2014b: 7) that he may have also heard Nero speak in Corinth, based on *De E delph.* 1 (385b) and *Flam.* 12.13. For Nero's proclamation, see *IG* 7.2713. For more on Nero's visit to Greece and the contradictory accounts, see Stadter 2014a: 95-6.

¹²⁹⁰ Flacelière 1963: 38-9; Russell 1973: 2; Boulogne 1994: 37; Stadter 2014a: 137.

¹²⁹¹ Plutarch (*De sera* 22 [567f-568a]) painted the picture of Nero's soul in the underworld and said that he was transformed from a viper into something more peaceful because he restored freedom to Greece. Nero's character and policies were compared (in most cases, favourably) to those of Galba (*Galba* 8.8, 14.3-5, 15.2, 16.1,3, 18.3, 29.5) and Otho (*Otho* 18.3; *Galba* 19.4) as pointed out by Georgiadou (2014: 263). However, it must be noted, as she mentions (2014: 257, 259; cf. de Blois 2014: 268-275), that Plutarch seemed to be more interested in the soldiers than in the emperors in these two *Lives*. Therefore, although the overall impression that he left of these emperors was one that was unfavourable, his emphasis on the soldiers and their behaviour seems to be the main moral message in these *Lives*. This is perhaps unsurprising, seeing as these *Lives* are closer to what we would expect of a history than the *Parallel Lives*, which focused on moral education (de Blois 2014: 267). Further, as Stadter (2014a: 64) points out, Plutarch was aware of Nero's strengths and weaknesses, which he alluded to throughout his oeuvre. Stadter's list includes his strengths: his actions in Corinth and Delphi (*Flam.* 12.13, *De sera* 32 [567f], *De E delph.* 1 [385b]), as well as his respect for Thræsea Paetus, even though Nero did not like him (*Prae. ger. reip.* 14 [810a]); as well as his weaknesses: his extravagance (*De cohib. ira* 13 [461f]), flattery (*Quomodo adul.* 12 [56f], 19 [60e]), his freedmen (*prae. ger. reip.* 19 [815d], *Galba* 2, 8-9, 13-14), and his tyrannical behaviour (*Ant.* 87.9, *De frat. am.* 17 [488a]).

build relationships with some leading Romans. Plutarch may have even met Mestrius Florus on this occasion.¹²⁹²

The same situation may apply to the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, the three emperors before Vespasian who all took and lost the throne in the year of the four emperors: 69 CE. And yet, in the two surviving *Lives of the Caesars* (*Galba* and *Otho*), Plutarch seems more interested in the chaos caused by soldiers than in the emperors themselves.¹²⁹³ It suggests that Plutarch did not have a personal connection to Galba or Otho, since their characters do not come across clearly in their *Lives*, nor did Plutarch hint at any autopsy of these events or actions. Plutarch did, however, have mutual friends with Otho (node number 247), that is Mestrius Florus and Julius Secundus. Despite this, it is unlikely that Plutarch had a close relationship with these men at this point, and thus his familiarity with Otho was posthumous. Otho's successor Vitellius, who ruled for only 8 months in 69 CE, is yet another example of an emperor to whom Plutarch has no connection.

It is with the reign of Vespasian (node number 248) from 69-79 CE that we start to see some potential connections to Plutarch that may have been built while the emperor was still alive. It is generally agreed that Plutarch had an unfavourable opinion of Vespasian as a result of Vespasian's

¹²⁹² This is the opinion of Stadter (2014a: 194, 207), who credits Plutarch's association with Ammonios as allowing him to encounter these men, suggesting that he probably even met Vespasian on this occasion. Earlier, Stadter (2002c: 9) argues that Plutarch may have met Nero on his visit to Greece because, at the time, his teacher Ammonios was probably the Hoplite General (*strategos*) in Athens, a position that he held at least three times, although we do not know when he held it (*Quaest. conv.* 8.3 [720c], 9.1 [736d]). Note, however, that Stadter does not provide any evidence for this assumption. It is also important to note that the position of *strategos* in Athens at this time would have only been given to one man, thus making it an even more distinguished position (as suggested by Dillon [2002: 39 n.18]). This makes it likely that Ammonios would have entertained visiting Roman officials and also explains his presence at Nero's speeches in Greece. This also increases the likelihood that Ammonios was partially responsible for Plutarch's connections to the Roman world, perhaps being the catalyst that Plutarch needed to begin his social network.

¹²⁹³ Georgiadou 2014: 257, 259; de Blois 2014: 268-275. As Stadter (2002c: 9) points out, "Plutarch's expression, 'four emperors, one being brought on stage, while the other is shoved off' (*Galb.* 1.8), well conveys the sense of wonder and disgust at the year's parade of rulers."

expulsion of philosophers from Rome, and his removal of the liberty that Nero had granted to Greece.¹²⁹⁴ However, there is indication that Plutarch was enthusiastic at the beginning of Vespasian's reign that Vespasian would become the philosopher king that Plato (and Plutarch) hoped for;¹²⁹⁵ or, at the very least, that Vespasian would bring peace after the year of the four emperors.¹²⁹⁶ The likelihood that he began his composition of the *Lives of the Caesars* during this time is indicative of his hope and desire to gain the attention of the elite world of Rome, perhaps even the attention of the emperor himself, by writing about Roman history and the potential of the new regime.¹²⁹⁷

Plutarch's optimism at the beginning of Vespasian's reign may also explain why he began to travel to Rome at that time.¹²⁹⁸ For instance, Plutarch's anecdote of a dog that performed in the theatre for Vespasian may derive from Plutarch witnessing the event himself (*De soll. an.* 19 [973e-974a]).¹²⁹⁹ It is equally possible that it was during this time that he also made the acquaintance of

¹²⁹⁴ See, for example, Flacelière 1963: 41, or Jones 1971: 25, who collect the negative comments that Plutarch made about Vespasian and Domitian. Note, however, that Stadter (2002c: 9, 24 n.52) believes this assessment to be too harsh based on an instance where Plutarch characterizes Vespasian's reign as fortunate (*Pub.* 15.2), and on Plutarch's travels to Rome during Vespasian's reign to visit Mestrius Florus (*Otho* 14.2, 18.2; *Mar.* 2.1). I agree with Stadter that Vespasian was not characterized by Plutarch as being purely cruel and that we need to see a balance. I also find it unlikely that Plutarch would speak so bluntly of an emperor who ruled during his lifetime, as he generally shunned these sorts of contemporary criticisms (see page 415 for Plutarch's caution as being similar to his contemporaries).

¹²⁹⁵ Stadter 2014a: 65, pointing to the proem of *Galba* and the references to Plato's *Republic* therein, thus showing Plutarch's hope that Vespasian had potential to become a philosopher-king. Plato and the philosopher king: *Republic* 519c-521b.

¹²⁹⁶ Stadter (2014a: 65) argues that this can be intimated through the overall premise of the *Galba* and *Otho*, which pointed to new beginnings under Vespasian, especially *Otho* 15-17.

¹²⁹⁷ For the chronology of the *Lives of the Caesars*, I follow Stadter 2014a: 65-9, contra Jones 1971: 72-3 and Pelling 2010b: 415 (arguing for a composition date of Domitian's reign).

¹²⁹⁸ It would also suit his age since Plutarch would now be in his late 20s or early 30s and thus finished with his philosophical training in Athens and ready to embark on his career.

¹²⁹⁹ Both Ziegler (1951: 655) and Jones (1971: 21) believe that this is a possibility, though Jones does caution that there is no guarantee that Plutarch saw this and that he might just be second-hand reporting. The episode of the dog was also told by Suetonius *Vesp.* 19.1. For more on Plutarch's travels to Rome, see Jones 1971: 20-5, and the Introduction, pages 5-8, 11-2.

Avidius Nigrinus I and Avidius Quietus I,¹³⁰⁰ as well as Mestrius Florus,¹³⁰¹ and Julius Secundus.¹³⁰² This implies an active effort on Plutarch's part to build friendships with prominent Romans.¹³⁰³ We see here a clear link between Plutarch's travels to Rome and the growth of his social network. This seems obvious at first: he would not be able to have a large social network in Rome if he had not travelled there. However, it is the implications of these travels and of these friendships that become important.

Plutarch, although he did not mention it, was granted Roman citizenship during Vespasian's reign.¹³⁰⁴ This likely meant that Vespasian would have at least heard mention of Plutarch in order to grant this request. Plutarch's name, therefore, first passed into the emperor's presence when Plutarch was still young and beginning to build his Roman social network. In fact, Plutarch might have had the opportunity to meet Vespasian as part of a delegation to greet the emperor when he claimed the title of emperor of Alexandria (*Quaest. conv.* 5.5 [678c-d]).¹³⁰⁵ It is possible, however,

¹³⁰⁰ Both of whom were powerful Roman elites during the reign of Vespasian: see above, pages 394-5 for more on these men. Jones 1971: 52. Stadter (2014a: 68 n.61) agrees that Plutarch would have begun travelling to Rome in the 70s, under the reign of Vespasian, and uses Plutarch's visit to Bedriacum and to the tomb of Otho as evidence of this since, "(i)n another decade or two these monuments were much less relevant" (Stadter 2014a: 68 n.61).

¹³⁰¹ He was consul under Vespasian: Suetonius *Vesp.* 22.3. Cf. Ziegler 1951: 687; Jones 1971: 49. However, Stadter (2014a: 135) argues that Plutarch may have met Mestrius when Nero travelled Greece. Although we cannot be certain of the chronology of his meeting Mestrius Florus, in both scenarios there is a tie to Vespasian, making it likely that Plutarch would have met his acquaintance as well.

¹³⁰² Jones 1971: 50.

¹³⁰³ As noted by Stadter (2014a: 73), who emphasizes that this may have been encouraged during Nero's reign by Plutarch's teacher, Ammonios.

¹³⁰⁴ It has been suggested that Mestrius Florus may have gained Roman citizenship for Plutarch from Vespasian (Jones 1971: 22; *Syll.*³ 829A; *Syll.*³ 844A; *IG* IX 1 61). Afterall, Mestrius Florus was close to Vespasian: see, for example, the two of them joking around in Suetonius *Vesp.* 22. For Mestrius Florus' granting of Roman citizenship to Plutarch, see above, pages 377-8.

¹³⁰⁵ Stadter (2014a: 194; 2014b: 14) believes that this is a possibility. However, Plutarch was, as always, elusive about the purpose of his trip, so the identification of this as being part of an envoy to greet Vespasian is, once again, based on conjecture. Nevertheless, the timing of this, and Plutarch's growing influence suggest that it was possible. If we also consider his ambitious spirit for Delphi and his desire to educate those who have political power, the likelihood that Plutarch would have participated in such a delegation increases. And that delegation was successful, with Vespasian allowing Delphi to remain free and giving it back its lands (Stadter 2014a: 74). I also fully agree with Stadter (2014b: 14) that Vespasian's reign marked a turning point in Plutarch's social network, in that it is at this time that Plutarch fostered more Roman connections, such as Mestrius Florus, a man who was close to Vespasian.

that when Vespasian ousted the philosophers from Rome, Plutarch was personally affected. This once again brings about the possibility that Vespasian would have encountered Plutarch's name at least once. However, since Plutarch was not explicit about the circumstances, we cannot know for certain whether he was personally touched by these actions. Nevertheless, it seems likely that he did not receive anything except citizenship from this emperor.

Following Vespasian was Emperor Titus (node number 249), about whom Plutarch revealed little, following his general tendency not to discuss contemporary politics. Plutarch's silence on Titus has been interpreted to mean that he was favourable towards this emperor, since he did not criticize his actions, but reported on a prophesy that Titus would leave the throne as a 'good' man (ἐσθλός) (*De sera* 29 [566e]).¹³⁰⁶ Titus might also have been responsible for some construction projects in Delphi,¹³⁰⁷ as well as served as archon at Delphi in 79/80 CE, before he became emperor,¹³⁰⁸ thus showing patronage to one of Plutarch's local worlds. This would ingratiate Titus to Plutarch, who stressed the importance of *euergetism*, if for a noble cause (*Prae. ger. reip.* 30 [822a-c]).¹³⁰⁹ Thus, Plutarch likely viewed Titus in a favourable light.

¹³⁰⁶ Flacelière 1963: 42. Plutarch may also be speaking of Vespasian when he mentioned the 'good' leader (ἐσθλός) that had to step down because of an illness (*De sera* 29 [566e]; Stadter 2002c: 24 n.55). Plutarch, however, was aware that Vespasian had weaknesses (Stadter 2014b: 19), such as his temper: *Amat.* 25 (771c).

¹³⁰⁷ An inscription in Delphi (*SIG*³ 821, *ILS* 8905) gives credit for the temple repairs to Domitian, however, Stadter (2002c: 10; 2014a: 75) believes that the incentive would have come from Titus, since the repairs would have taken time.

¹³⁰⁸ *FD* III 4 = *SIG*³ 817. Stadter (2014a: 74) points out that it was extremely unlikely that Titus would have been able to visit Delphi because of the sudden death of his father and other disasters, such as the eruption of Vesuvius and a fire in Rome, which would have occupied his time.

¹³⁰⁹ See also, Roskam 2014: 518-9 for a list of euergetic acts in Plutarch.

We can also perhaps see an increase in Plutarch's direct connection to the emperors with Titus, since it is possible that Plutarch was partly responsible for Titus' archonship in Delphi.¹³¹⁰ This might have occurred while Plutarch was in Rome and travelled with Mestrius Florus to Bedriacum,¹³¹¹ or possibly when he witnessed the dog incident in the theatre under Vespasian. If so, we have a clear link between Plutarch's travels to Rome, his friendships there, and the emperor. It also demonstrates an ambition on Plutarch's part, since he might have selected Titus, the son of the emperor, to be archon, an honour that was rarely granted by a polis.¹³¹² Could this be evidence of Plutarch's renown? Possibly. But without further evidence, we must move on to the next emperor.

Domitian's (node number 250) reign was a difficult time for Plutarch and for philosophers more generally, as Domitian expelled them from Rome and Italy in 93 or 94 CE. This may explain why Plutarch likely did not make many trips to Rome during Domitian's time as emperor.¹³¹³ Plutarch would certainly have felt the tensions occasioned by this instability, by Domitian's behaviour towards philosophers, and in the execution of Rusticus (*De curios.* 15 [522e]). Therefore, even

¹³¹⁰ This is following Stadter (2002c: 10; 2014a: 81), who believes that Plutarch would have used his friendships and travels to Rome to earn favours for Delphi, including the archonship of Titus. It should be noted, however, that this is purely conjecture, as we have no evidence for this in our sources. If this was the case, however, we can speculate that anything he earned from the emperors (such as potential titles, see below, pages 424-5, 427) was part of a reciprocal exchange, one in which Plutarch probably did something for them as well.

¹³¹¹ Stadter (2014b: 14) suspects that this was the time that Plutarch really began to make his Roman connections.

¹³¹² Stadter 2014a: 74 n.25, 81.

¹³¹³ Flacelière 1963: 41; Stadter 2014a: 8; Stadter 2014b: 16. It must be noted, however, that this cannot be confirmed. The record is silent at this point on Plutarch's travels. Nevertheless, given that Domitian had expelled philosophers from Rome and Italy in 93 or 94 CE (Stadter 2014b: 16), as well as Plutarch's advancing age and responsibilities in Greece at this point (including serving as priest of Apollo, probably beginning in the 90s CE [Stadter 2014a: 209]), it is likely that Plutarch did not travel to Rome, or if he did, only briefly, for example, to speak on behalf of the Delphians to restore the temple of Apollo (Stadter 2014b: 16; *SIG*³ 821).

though Plutarch tended to shy away from contemporary political discussions, we find hints and criticisms of Domitian in his oeuvre.¹³¹⁴

Because of the dangerous climate that Domitian created for philosophers, it is likely that Plutarch's works were written after Domitian's death.¹³¹⁵ In fact, Plutarch probably refrained from most of his writing during this period, instead concentrating on his role as priest of Apollo at Delphi and his positions in his hometown of Chaironeia.¹³¹⁶ Perhaps, then, Plutarch's choice to remain in Chaironeia was partly the result of the fear Domitian's reign generated for intellectuals in the Empire. This may imply that Plutarch was not purely selfless in deciding to remain in Chaironeia (*Dem.* 2.2), but that he was influenced to do so by external pressures. For, if things were getting difficult in Rome, what better option was there for Plutarch than to continue with his duties in Delphi and Chaironeia? Doing so would allow him opportunities in these two spheres, while also providing a space from which he could wait and watch the activity in Rome without exposing himself to considerable danger.

Even if Plutarch was not being selfless and was avoiding the dangers of Rome, he still made the most of these circumstances by serving Delphi and his polis. Therefore, Plutarch once again used

¹³¹⁴ Jones 1971: 23, 25; Stadter 2014a: 253-6; Stadter 2014b: 19. E.g., Plutarch described the luxury of Domitian's new palace: *Publ.* 15.3-6; he commented on Domitian renaming a month of the calendar after himself which was subsequently dropped after his death: *Num.* 19.7; he alluded to Domitian's punishment of a Vestal Virgin as being too extreme: *Num.* 10.8-13 (cf. Pliny *Ep.* 4.11, Suet. *Com.* 8.4); his negative characteristics were also alluded to: *Num.* 19.7, 20.7; *Quaest. Rom.* 10 (276e), *Pub.* 15.3-6. It is possible, as Stadter conjectures (2014b: 19), that Plutarch was trying to do what he could to advise Domitian, even if Domitian was not receptive to his advice. This would be a bold thing to do, considering Domitian's actions towards philosophers, but would be in keeping with Plutarch's attempts to do the same with Trajan (see below, pages 415-425).

¹³¹⁵ Like the *Parallel Lives*, probably composed in Trajan's reign: Stadter 2014a: 178; Stadter 2014b: 19.

¹³¹⁶ For more on Plutarch and his role in Chaironeia, see Chapter 1, pages 139-156. For Plutarch and Delphi, see the Conclusion, page 490.

his own life as an *exemplum* for his reader of how to occupy oneself during difficult times.¹³¹⁷ His advice in the *Precepts of Statecraft* (*Prae. ger. reip.*) may thus be interpreted as encouragement for other elite Greeks affected by similar circumstances. For even though Plutarch and other philosophers might have been banned from Rome, they were not devoid of influence.

It is possible to guess at Plutarch's potential indirect influence by looking at his friendship with Senecio, who, though he was sympathetic to ousted philosophers like Plutarch, still prospered under Domitian.¹³¹⁸ Perhaps Senecio became a sort of interlocutor or mediator between Plutarch and Domitian. He might have even drawn Domitian's attention to Plutarch and Delphi. For Domitian did take an interest in Delphi: he refurbished the temple of Apollo (*SIG*³ 821) and ordered the Pythian Games in 91 CE to be held with the ancient rules (*SIG*³ 821B-E). He even flattered the Greeks by instituting new Capitoline games modeled on those held at Delphi (*Suet. Dom.* 4.4).¹³¹⁹ It is thus possible that Plutarch's friendship with Senecio, or even his own renown as a member of an embassy to Domitian,¹³²⁰ still garnered some rewards for Delphi, despite Plutarch's acquaintance with Rusticus and his philosophical pursuits. Therefore, even though the political circumstances of the time demanded distance from the emperor, Plutarch was still able to use his social network to yield benefits for his local sphere of Delphi.

¹³¹⁷ For more on his roles in Chaironeia and how he crafted himself as an *exemplum*, see Chapter 1, pages 139-156.

¹³¹⁸ Jones 1971: 55. Sosius was successful even though he was sympathetic to ousted philosophers (*Tac. Agr.* 42.5). Plutarch was also connected to Domitian through his association with Rusticus as well as Avidius Nigrinus I.

¹³¹⁹ For more on Domitian and Delphi, see Jones 1992; Stadter 2002c: 10, 24 n.57; Stadter 2014a: 75. Plutarch supported the traditional holding of the games: *Quaest. conv.* 5.2 (675b-c).

¹³²⁰ Stadter (2002c: 10; 2014b: 16) suggests that Plutarch may have been part of a delegation sent to Domitian on behalf of Delphi for the restoration of the temple. As always, Plutarch is frustratingly silent on his activities during this period, making his involvement uncertain. Nevertheless, Plutarch's interest in the shrine, combined with his friendship with Sosius Senecio do make this possible, although he was still not yet priest when Domitian began his patronage of Delphi. Can we guess that Plutarch's priesthood was partly a reward for his ability to gain support for Delphi from the Romans? Maybe, but, as always, we cannot know for sure.

Perhaps Plutarch's success at patronizing his local worlds through his social network was the reason he continued to remain in Greece even after Domitian's death. We do not hear much, if anything, about Domitian's successor, Nerva, in Plutarch's works, nor does he seem to have had any connection to him.¹³²¹ However, the accession of Trajan (node number 251) occasioned a noticeable change in Plutarch and his career.

It is likely under Trajan's rule from 98-117 CE that Plutarch composed the *Parallel Lives*.¹³²² Although it was written at the instigation of Senecio, to whom Plutarch dedicated this work, the mere fact that Plutarch was composing at all, especially on topics related to Roman history and politics, missing for Domitian's reign, might support the claim that writing philosophy under Domitian's rule would have been a dangerous pursuit, and that Plutarch was cognizant of this. It suggests that Plutarch may have believed that the new emperor would be, if not receptive, then at least accepting of this activity in a way that Domitian was not. Nevertheless, Plutarch remained prudently cautious, and kept to historical themes and men long dead, perhaps protecting himself from potential criticism and targeting.

Plutarch's caution is also similar to the stance taken by his contemporaries. Stadter explains that, "Trajan brought a new era of freedom, celebrated by Pliny and Tacitus. Yet even so they remained very aware of how and what they wrote."¹³²³ It seems, then, that Plutarch was reading and responding to the political climate much in the same way as his fellow Latin authors. This insight therefore implies that Plutarch was plugged into the broader social network of Rome.

¹³²¹ As noted by Stadter 2014b: 19.

¹³²² Composed over many years. See: Jones 1971: 62; Stadter 2002c: 1; Stadter 2014a: 121, 178-9; Stadter 2014b: 19.

¹³²³ Boulet (2014: 457) agrees that Trajan was tolerant but warns that he would not accept direct criticism. Cf. Stadter 2002c: 6, 8.

And yet, it is in the reign of Trajan that Plutarch did something that he had never done before: he wrote a series of anecdotes to the emperor himself, the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* (*Reg. et imp. apophth.*).¹³²⁴ While this was the only time that Plutarch addressed the emperor directly (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 1.1 [172b]), it is nevertheless remarkable that Plutarch tried to reach the emperor at all. First, it shows a level of ambition from Plutarch that we have not seen prior to Trajan's rule. Plutarch was reaching for the height of the empire in a desire to consult and direct the head of the operations. Clearly, Plutarch believed his advice to be valuable and saw potential in Trajan to become the philosopher king he so desired. This contests the idea that Plutarch was a humble man, content to live in Chaironeia and be uninvolved in global affairs. His assumption that Trajan would take interest in his work is indicative of his ambition,¹³²⁵ but it also shows a level of optimism for Roman emperors, and Trajan in particular, not previously seen in Plutarch's oeuvre.

¹³²⁴ Although the authorship of this piece has been disputed (see Flacelière 1976: 100-1; Jones 1971: 30-1; Barrow 1967: 48), because Plutarch had not done something like this before, M. Beck (2002: 163-174) defended the authenticity of this work based on its style, content, and lack of anachronistic or unusual statements (M. Beck 2002: 169). It is now accepted as being a part of Plutarch's corpus. Prior to M. Beck, however, there was still speculation that this might have been written by Plutarch. See, for example: Martin 1986: 67 (although he notes [77 n.82] that it may be spurious). For those who accept that this treatise was written by Plutarch for Trajan, see: Pelling 2002b: 65-90; Almagor 2011: 16 n.50; Larmour 2014: 408; Stadter 2014a: 41 n.79, 208; Stadter 2014b: 19; Jacobs 2017b: 26, 54, 58. Note also that the direct correspondence to Trajan should place him in the 4th degree. I have chosen, however, to place him in the 5th degree with the other emperors in order to create chronological and thematic cohesion. Further, by placing him in the 5th degree, I acknowledge the uncertainty of Plutarch and Trajan's connection. Nevertheless, as should be made clear in this section, I believe it likely that Plutarch and Trajan, even if they did not meet, knew each other through their mutual interests as well as connections. Note that parts of this discussion on the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* is included in an upcoming publication: Giroux forthcoming b.

¹³²⁵ Pliny (*Paneg.* 47.1-3) presented Trajan as being receptive to philosophers and eager to learn from them. Note Stadter (2002c: 8), who cautions that, "(i)t would be risky to take Pliny's statement as a profession of Trajan's profound interest in philosophical questions, but it is equally dangerous to ignore Pliny's enthusiasm and make of Trajan a simple military man." Thus, Pliny's appraisal of Trajan's acceptance of philosophers, the anecdote of Dio Chrysostom beside Trajan in his chariot (Philostratos *Vit. Soph.* 1.7.2), Trajan's repeal of their expulsion from Rome, his patronage of L. Licinus Sura (an orator) and of Sosius Senecio (Stadter 2002c: 8), and Plutarch's letter to Trajan, are all indicative of Trajan's interest in philosophical culture and show him as being more than a mere conquering commander of the Roman Empire.

The *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* is also emblematic of Plutarch's motivation for writing.¹³²⁶

The very unusual nature of this treatise, a letter, in Plutarch's corpus bears quoting the passage in full. Near the opening of the letter, Plutarch remarked that,

Lycurgus made sacrifices in Sparta very easily paid for so that the people might always be able to honour the gods readily and easily with what they had at hand. So then, with something such as this in mind, I give to you the simple gifts of friendship and the common first-fruits born of philosophy. At the same time, I beg that you accept favourably, with my good-will, the service of these records, if something happens to be useful in the comparison of the observation of the characters and the choices of those fit to command, which are reflected in their words more than their actions. And indeed, a work (of mine) contains the lives of very famous leaders, lawmakers, and rulers among the Romans and the Greeks, but, on the one hand, many of their actions have been mixed with chance, and, on the other hand, their judgements and proclamations, which come into being along with their deeds, experiences, and chance, plainly grant the opportunity to observe the mind (διάνοιαν)¹³²⁷ of each man, just like in mirrors. (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 1 [172c-d])

Plutarch repeats the image of using his works as a mirror,¹³²⁸ in a wish for Trajan to use this letter to reflect on his own actions and character in relation to strong leaders of the past. Plutarch therefore must have believed that Trajan would be receptive to this sort of advice. And even if Trajan did not have much time for reading, Plutarch was optimistic that his letter would be short and useful enough to warrant the leisure its reading required (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 1 [172e]).

Plutarch's approach to instruction, however, remained prudently cautious. For, in the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, we only find the words of men from the past, men divorced from the current administration. Similarly, as M. Beck points out, the first apophthegm likened Trajan to Artaxerxes and thus Plutarch to the simple, private farmer, a choice that distanced Plutarch from

¹³²⁶ As suggested by Stadter 2002c: 11.

¹³²⁷ For the translation of διάνοιαν as 'mind', I follow F.C. Babbitt 1961 (Loeb Classical Library, Plutarch's *Moralia*, volume 3)

¹³²⁸ See the proem of *Timoleon* and *Aemilius Paulus* 1 for another example of Plutarch using the idea of his writing (here, the *Lives*) as a mirror for his reader.

any complaint of political ambition.¹³²⁹ Therefore, both the choice of subject and Plutarch's seemingly tentative approach removed him from a potential accusation of judgement against the current regime. Nonetheless, the simple act of writing a treatise to advise the emperor was a bold one.

First, we should consider the contrast that Plutarch immediately established by using historical men as symbols: Artaxerxes as king, and the farmer as simple servant. By doing this, Plutarch played into the idea of hierarchies, in which he firmly cemented himself below the head of the empire.¹³³⁰ As such, Plutarch demonstrated the importance of considering the power structure and one's station when addressing men in power. Too much ambition could lead a person to upset the harmony of the state by overstepping or overreaching.¹³³¹ Thus, through his self-presentation of modesty and respect of the chain of command, Plutarch preached the importance of caution when dealing with men in power. To attempt to take another's role, would throw the balance into chaos and miss the aim of instruction.

¹³²⁹ M. Beck 2002: 165. He further explains (2002: 165) that, "(t)he version of this anecdote found in the *Life of Artaxerxes* (5.1) diverges from this version in an interesting way. In the *Life*, the man is characterized simply as a farmer (αὐτουργός) who is rewarded for his deed by Artaxerxes with a golden bowl and a thousand Darics. The addition in the letter, by contrast, of ἰδιώτης and the suppression there of any mention of a reward serves to strengthen the impression that the man acts not out of a sense of duty nor out of the expectation of rewards or honors. His προθυμία is untainted by ambition or envy."

¹³³⁰ This is reminiscent of David Apter's dichotomy of power and powerless in the theatre of politics. He explains (2006: 238) that, "(p)olitics as theatre, then, is about portrayals of power and powerlessness in which the respective roles of rulers and ruled are privileged theatrical roles by means of which symbols, ideas, and beliefs become personified..." In many ways, Plutarch and his interactions with the ruling class of Rome became a sort of politics as theatre, one in which Plutarch cautiously moved around the stage, testing the different players and observing the reaction of the audience.

¹³³¹ For more on Plutarch and his negative view of ambition, see: Duff 1999: 76, 89; Pelling 2002b: 219; Stadter 2014a: 169. Plutarch believed that political chaos derived from successful ambition and the envy it drummed up in others: *Cor.* 3.6; *Fab.* 23.4, 25.2; *Them.* 22. Cf. Wardman 1974: 49, 70.

Furthermore, the anecdote of Artaxerxes accepting water from a farmer builds a historical precedent in which the ruler graciously accepts a small gift from an unworthy subject. There are two lessons here: first, the lower-cast person, no matter how humble, should offer what they can to those in power and not expect anything in return. Again, Plutarch stressed the importance of remaining humble, having a generous spirit, and staying in one's place. The second lesson was aimed at the emperor himself. Artaxerxes happily took the offering, a suggestion by Plutarch that Trajan graciously accept his written words as a gift. As Artaxerxes nourished his body with the water of the farmer – the natural world he commanded and thus could give – so should Trajan nourish his mind with the words of Plutarch – the intellectual world that Plutarch commanded and thus had the power to give. That Plutarch showed no expectation of receiving anything in return emphasized the philosophical nature of the exchange.¹³³² The reader, therefore, learns that interactions with those in power was not only about deferring to the hierarchical structures to maintain harmony, but also about taking control of one's own resources (be they material or scholarly) to not only gain the attention of those in power, but also to enable them to become better.

Additionally, in the introduction of the letter, Plutarch compared himself to Lycurgus, implying that the benefits of his work for Trajan and for the Roman Empire in general, were like those Lycurgus brought to Sparta. These were not the words of a meek man. These were the ambitions of a man who trusted in his ability to teach, in his philosophical wisdom, and perhaps most

¹³³² Plutarch offered the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* as a token of friendship (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 1 [172c-d]). However, as Van der Stockt (2002: 115) points out, "...the ancients' notion of *friendship* different from ours. Whereas we tend to stress spontaneous emotion, mutual understanding and shared leisure, the ancients' ethic of friendship involved the exchange of services rendered (χάριν ἀποδοῦναι), and they bluntly proclaim the usefulness of friendship." Plutarch's use of the word friendship thus becomes more important here. However, without further evidence, it is impossible to say what Plutarch expected in return. Recognition of his philosophical prowess? An era dominated by a philosopher king? More influence in the Roman Empire? We simply cannot know.

importantly, in his recipient's willingness to read and learn. In this brief passage, therefore, we witness Plutarch's determination to realize Plato's desire for a philosopher-king.¹³³³

Lastly, in this preface, we find a statement by Plutarch in which he claimed that the words of great men were a better indicator of their minds than of their actions (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 1 [172d]). In this way, Plutarch implied that the *Sayings of the Kings and Commanders* offered not only the wisdom of the historical characters found within, but also his own. It was an act of social performance by Plutarch,¹³³⁴ one that raised his value to the authoritative figure through imparting the wisdom of others. Plutarch, as always, remained cautious and placed his moral beliefs in the mouths of historical figures.¹³³⁵ So, even though the characters in this treatise gave the advice, it was in fact Plutarch and his chosen heroes and their sayings who were setting the stage and directing the players.

Therefore, in his *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, Plutarch established himself as an *exemplum* of the proper way to interact with those in power. His display of timidity, humility, and deference to the hierarchy ensured his ability to wield influence and continue to advise. Plutarch did remind his reader, however, that his role was to guide not force. He neither demanded nor stepped out of his place in his desire to establish a philosopher king. In this way, Plutarch showed the audience that the decision to listen, act, and emulate were all in the hands of those in power.

¹³³³ For more on Plutarch and Plato's philosopher-king, see above, page 409.

¹³³⁴ For the performative nature of Plutarch's apothegms and their value and force, see Russo 1997: 57-8.

¹³³⁵ This is not to say that Plutarch made up the sayings, only that he was not a witness and thus is a secondary source for these words, one who had his own biases from his cultural and chronological milieu. Further, it was Plutarch who made the selection of sayings, shifting through and choosing men whom he believed were worthy examples and who would speak to Trajan, another act of manipulating history.

Perhaps Plutarch's boldness in going straight to the emperor was the result of the political climate of Trajan's reign, which supported intellectuals.¹³³⁶ Plutarch likely heard about the relatively intellectually free atmosphere through friends who were friends with Trajan. These included not only Senecio, but also C. Avidius Nigrinus II, Philopappos, Cornelius Pulcher (node number 166), and probably L. Herennius Saturninus (node number 155).¹³³⁷ It is with Senecio, however, that Plutarch most likely curried favour with Trajan.

Senecio helped Trajan assume power and served with him as a legionary commander in both Dacian wars, which earned him an appointment as consul ordinarius in both 99 CE and 107 CE, as well as a triumphal *ornamenta* and a public statue.¹³³⁸ Their mutual respect ensured that, "(i)t was impossible to be closer to the emperor than Senecio was during the first years of the second century."¹³³⁹ Plutarch, as we saw above, was also close to Senecio. Thus, it is almost impossible that Trajan did not know of Plutarch and that Plutarch did not know of Trajan's character. The connection between Plutarch and Trajan through a mutually strong connection in Senecio is therefore the closest we have seen in terms of Plutarch's potential association with an emperor. Only once before, with Mestrius Florus and his connections to Nero and Vespasian, did we have anything remotely similar. However, not even Mestrius Florus could claim the same level of intimacy as Senecio with Trajan. Thus, as Plutarch's career progressed and as he continued to

¹³³⁶ As Stadter (2014a: 7) suggests, "...Trajan's accession promised a new era of harmony between senate and monarch. Roman power was unassailable, but the nature of its leadership was unpredictable. For Plutarch, properly understanding what it meant to be a Greek in his own time required that he understand the Romans who had become so much a part of his world. This meant not only the proconsuls who governed his province of Achaia, but Trajan and the men close to him." Further, Stadter (2002c: 7) explains that the Roman aristocracy were trained from an early age in Greek literature, rhetoric, and philosophy, and therefore it is likely that Trajan would have been aware of the intellectual culture of his time.

¹³³⁷ Jones 1971: 55-6, 62-3; Stadter 2014a: 77-8; Stadter 2014b: 17.

¹³³⁸ Stadter 2014a: 9.

¹³³⁹ Stadter 2014a: 9.

foster friendships with powerful Romans, his network brought him successively closer to the emperor.

Therefore, Plutarch's aspirations to reach Trajan directly through the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* reflects his increased connections with Rome and those in power. That he wrote this treatise demonstrates an apparent presumption that he might have a chance to advise Trajan. Even if this treatise was never personally read by the emperor, the potential of this outcome as well as Plutarch's connections in the highest echelons of Rome, all made in the span of one generation, were indicative of Plutarch's success as a Greek intellectual. And while this does not mean that Plutarch himself had any direct power or control in Rome, it still suggests that he had some influence on those who did. This is clear in his dedications to Senecio, but it is also apparent in the composition of a treatise to Trajan directly. It is possible that Senecio suggested this, or at least told Plutarch that the emperor only had the time to read short anecdotes.¹³⁴⁰ However, Plutarch did not say so or even insinuate that Senecio was involved in his writing to the emperor. Therefore, even if this was a possibility, Plutarch preferred that his audience understand that he was the one writing to Trajan without any intermediary. Seemingly, Trajan had requested this information, or at least he was learned enough to want it, thus making him the closest Plutarch had come to his philosopher emperor receiving advice from a learned Greek.¹³⁴¹ Plutarch, then, exhibited for his Roman reader the importance of someone in power corresponding with and taking the advice of a philosopher. It showed his Greek audience that, with the proper connections and learning, it was

¹³⁴⁰ Stadter (2014a: 17) believes that Senecio may have related this information to Plutarch.

¹³⁴¹ Stadter (2014b: 20) suggests that, "...the emperor's preference for a few short anecdotes over his well-researched and insightful biographies might well have left Plutarch discouraged." (cf. Stadter 2014a: 41 n.79). There is no evidence of this, however, and thus all we are left with is how Plutarch wished to showcase his relationship with the emperor, that is, one of an intellectual advisor.

possible not only to maintain harmony between the Greek and Roman worlds, but also that remaining in a small polis did not hinder the potential growth and breadth of a Greek intellectual's reach. The *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* thus demonstrates a previously unseen level of ambition in Plutarch. It provides another *exemplum* of a good ruler, as well as the importance of a Greek intellectual advising those in power on how to rule effectively.

The benefits of receiving Plutarch's advice, however, were probably not one-sided, but Plutarch was again silent on any possible advantages that his link to the emperor might have brought him. For example, it is possible that Plutarch was a part of an embassy from Delphi to salute the new emperor, who then confirmed Delphi's freedom under Rome.¹³⁴² Trajan also sent C. Avidius Nigrinus II, the son of Plutarch's friend, Avidius Nigrinus,¹³⁴³ as an envoy to Delphi to settle a boundary dispute. It is highly unlikely that Plutarch would not have been involved in the ensuing debates, as Plutarch was active in Delphi during this time, together with his good friend Soklaros, and Plutarch was also a family friend of C. Avidius Nigrinus.¹³⁴⁴ It is thus probable that Plutarch helped to influence Nigrinus II in his decision to side with Delphi concerning the border dispute (*SIG*³ 827).

¹³⁴² Stadter (2002c: 12) assumes that Delphi sent an embassy because Trajan reaffirmed Delphi's autonomy (*FD* III 4; Cf. Stadter 2014a: 77). He does not suggest that Plutarch was a part of this embassy. However, based on Plutarch's partaking in other embassies, alongside his role in Delphi, it is altogether possible that he was a part of this one, or that he at least had a say in its mission. If not Plutarch, then his good friend T. Flavius Soklaros, would likely have had a say in this embassy, since it seems to be in this period, according to Stadter (2002c: 25 n.67) that he was most active in Delphi. Therefore, it looks as though Plutarch and his social network were highly influential in Delphi in this period, making it all the more likely that Plutarch would have been involved in some way with welcoming Trajan to the throne and influencing his perception of Delphi.

¹³⁴³ See above, pages 398-9 for more on Nigrinus II.

¹³⁴⁴ Stadter 2002c: 12; Cf. *SIG*³ 827; Plassart 1970 nos.290-9; Stadter 2014a: 77-8.

It is also possible that Plutarch received the *ornamenta consularia* from Trajan, a high honour occasionally granted to literary men,¹³⁴⁵ which gave Plutarch further privileges in Roman society.¹³⁴⁶ Whether this was at the instigation of Senecio, or was Trajan's own initiative, we cannot say, because we do not get any hint from Plutarch of the benefits that he received from either of these acquaintances. His silence is even more frustrating because Plutarch now had a direct link to the emperor through his letter indicating potential privileges not previously seen. And, as Stadter explains, "Trajan had reason to honor Plutarch, a steady voice of reason in the difficult effort of building a sense of mutual respect between emperor and subjects, princeps and senate, Greek philosophers and Roman rulers."¹³⁴⁷ But whether he decided to do so, we cannot know, because Plutarch does not tell us.

Plutarch's silence on the honours that he may have received from Trajan demonstrates his desire to use himself and his social network as *exempla* of the proper behaviour between Greeks and Romans, and thus for how the ruled and the ruler should act. By remaining silent on any benefits that he received from the emperor, Plutarch emphasized the philosophical nature of their exchange. This stressed different things to different readers. For his Roman audience, it highlighted the potential of a relationship with a Greek philosopher for learning and for attaining a moral life. For his Greek audience, it showed that it was possible to support one's polis and yet still advise those in power, thus maintaining harmony. Accordingly, both audiences had something to gain from this reciprocal association. Plutarch minimized the potential benefits and personal gain from those in

¹³⁴⁵ Jones (1971: 29) gives the examples of Quintilian, who earned it from Domitian and, later, Apsines of Gadara, who was awarded them from Maximinus. See Tacitus *Ann.* 13.10.1.

¹³⁴⁶ *Suda* A 4735 (Adler 1967-71). Note, however, that the *Suda*, a Byzantine lexicon, is looked at with suspicion, thus making it uncertain whether Plutarch received these honours: Jones 1971: 29-30, 46; Stadter 2014a: 42; Stadter 2014b: 20.

¹³⁴⁷ Stadter 2002c: 13. He also believes that Plutarch would have been pleased with Trajan, based on Trajan's benefactions for Delphi as well as for their mutual friends.

power in Rome, a clear indicator that the conduct of a proper Greek's life laid not through courting *ornamenta* or political clout, but rather, by advising those in power.

It is possible, however, that Plutarch's attempts to guide Trajan philosophically did not meet with the success that he was hoping for, since we do not find any other direct address to either Trajan or to his successor Hadrian (node number 252). It may be the result of Plutarch's advanced age when Hadrian took up the throne in 117 CE. Plutarch was likely in his 70s and only lived a few years into Hadrian's reign. Further, the possibility that Plutarch had a painful illness that eventually led to his death,¹³⁴⁸ might also have hampered his ability to communicate with and advise the next emperor. Whatever the reason, Hadrian was at least aware of Plutarch, as demonstrated not only by Plutarch's continued role as priest in Delphi, a site that Hadrian favoured,¹³⁴⁹ and where Plutarch erected a statue to him (*SIG*³ 829a),¹³⁵⁰ but also by Hadrian's presence in Athens, where he was archon a few years before becoming emperor.¹³⁵¹ Hadrian even travelled to Boiotia before his reign,¹³⁵² making it even more likely that Plutarch would have met the emperor in person before or after his accession to the throne, during his travels to Boiotia, Athens, or Delphi. Hadrian was

¹³⁴⁸ Jones 1971: 34, referencing Artemidorus 4.72.

¹³⁴⁹ *FD* III 4 98 = *Syll.*³ 830; *Syll.*³ 829 A-B, 835 A-B. Jones 1971: 34. Although, as Stadter (2014b: 21) points out, Hadrian patronized Athens more so than Delphi, but Delphi did receive some favours from him. Further, some scholars, like Bowie (1997: 1) believe that Plutarch was dead by the time that Hadrian made benefactions to the site.

¹³⁵⁰ This is Plutarch's last known action as *epimelete* of the Delphic Amphictuony (Stadter 2014b: 21). We are not aware of any other statue dedications made by Plutarch to an emperor. This may therefore speak of Plutarch's favourable opinion of Hadrian (Flacelière [1963: 44-5] believes that Plutarch liked Hadrian), his connection to him, or perhaps his attempt at giving something to Hadrian, like his gift of the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* (*Reg. et imp. apophth.*), which he dedicated to Trajan. This is notable in and of itself, however, since Plutarch was not attempting to advise Hadrian, but to please him in another way. Perhaps this was the joint decision of the Amphictyonic Council, making Plutarch's dedication of a statue less out of character since it was a collaborative action, but even so, it shows a change in Plutarch's approach to the emperors. Whether this was because of his old age, or a difference in opinion on Hadrian (likely one that was favourable), we cannot say, since Plutarch did not leave us any writing that suggests a connection to this emperor. It is possible, though purely conjectural, that Plutarch's erection of this statue, combined with his death, brought Hadrian's attention to Delphi, thus leading to his benefactions of this site, though, once again, we must be cautious of such a conclusion since we have no evidence to support this idea.

¹³⁵¹ *ILS* 308. Jones 1971: 33; Stadter 2014b: 27 n.34.

¹³⁵² Stadter 2014b: 27 n.34.

active in almost all of Plutarch's worlds, and even if we cannot place him in Chaironeia, we can at least claim Hadrian's presence in its regional network.

Plutarch and Hadrian's mutual acquaintance is supported not only through their geographic overlaps and interests, but also through their mutual social connections. Considering that Trajan was aware of Plutarch and probably received writing from him, it would be strange if his successor Hadrian did not also learn of Plutarch and his works. Furthermore, Plutarch knew Avidius Nigrinus II, who was also a friend of Hadrian and was even considered as his heir.¹³⁵³ We see again that Plutarch had close connection to the emperor through his social network. His connection with Hadrian was likely not as intimate as that of Senecio and Trajan since Plutarch did not seem to have as familiar a relationship with Nigrinus II as he did with Senecio. However, Plutarch had more links to Hadrian through friendships than he did to Trajan, including Nigrinus II, C. Minicius Fundanus,¹³⁵⁴ Aristotimos (Ἀριστότιμος; node number 72),¹³⁵⁵ Asklepiades (Ἀσκληπιάδης; node number 84),¹³⁵⁶ C. Julius Eurykles Herkulanos L. Vibullius Pius (Ἡρκουλανός; node number 169),¹³⁵⁷ Julia Balbilla (Ιουλία Βαλβίλλα; node number 232),¹³⁵⁸ Favorinus,¹³⁵⁹ and, probably Philopappos.¹³⁶⁰ The number of mutual friendships, together with their geographic overlaps, and

¹³⁵³ *HA* Had. 7.1. See Jones 1971: 54. As Jones (1971: 54) explains, when Hadrian did decide on an heir, it was Nigrinus' stepson, Ceionius Commodus, but when he died, he picked Antoninus Pius and ordered him to adopt Ceionius' son, Lucius Verus (*PIR*² C 605-606). It was thus Plutarch's connection to the Avidii that brought him close to the emperor.

¹³⁵⁴ He received a rescript from Hadrian on how to treat Christians (Jones 1971: 58, referencing Eusebius *Hist. Eccles.* 4.9).

¹³⁵⁵ *FD* III 4⁴ 300 and 310. "Tout ce que nous savons de son activité, en tout cas, concerne directement Hadrien" (Puech 1992: 4838).

¹³⁵⁶ *IvP* II 374 A (Puech 1992: 4840 n.26).

¹³⁵⁷ After his death, Hadrian gave Sparta the island of Cythera (Puech 1992: 4854-5). Cf. Jones 1970b: 103; Spawforth 1978: 260; Jacobs 2017b: 26.

¹³⁵⁸ Spawforth 1978: 252.

¹³⁵⁹ Philostr. *VS* 490. Jones 1971: 61, 116; Bowie in Mossman and Bowie 1997.

¹³⁶⁰ Philopappos' connections to Trajan (Jones 1971: 59 [*ILS* 845]; Puech 1992: 4872; Jacobs 2017b: 26) make it likely that Hadrian knew him before he became emperor. Puech (1992: 4873) suggests that Hadrian modelled his actions in Greece after those of Philopappos.

Hadrian's philhellenism thus make it very likely that they knew each other in some capacity. Furthermore, the increase in the number of social connections that Plutarch had with Hadrian demonstrates his rising ability to network socially, as it continued to grow in the number and eminence of his connections. This demonstrates that Plutarch was successful in his social networking to the point that he was able to reach each successive emperor with more and more ties. It also makes it more likely that Plutarch's influence in the Roman world may have been growing through these prominent Roman friendships and his writings.

Plutarch and Hadrian's overlapping worlds might help to support the possibility that Hadrian also gave honours to Plutarch. According to Syncellus, a Byzantine historian, Hadrian made Plutarch a procurator of Greece (659d).¹³⁶¹ Although the credibility of this appointment is not certain,¹³⁶² it still illustrates a tradition that grew surrounding Plutarch and the emperors, one in which Plutarch was respected and eminent enough to gain their attention and favour. This speaks to Plutarch's success, not only in building his reputation through his works, but also in providing an *exemplum* for his reader, since later authors believed that his life and his choices led to these honours.

Therefore, there does not seem to be any scholarly consensus as to Plutarch's acquaintance with the emperors who ruled in his lifetime, whether he was corresponding with them, or if they were even aware of his presence. However, given the close connection of Plutarch with Senecio, and other evidence such as Plutarch's friendships with those punished under Domitian, the dedication of the *Sayings and Commanders* to Trajan, the supposed *consular ornamenta* awarded to Plutarch

¹³⁶¹ Russell 1973: 16; Swain 1991: 318.

¹³⁶² See Jones (1971: 33-4) and Swain (1991: 318), who believe that this appointment is possible. Contra Jones and Swain, see Stadter (2014b: 20), who does not accept this as credible.

by Trajan,¹³⁶³ and Hadrian making Plutarch procurator of Greece,¹³⁶⁴ it seems clear that Plutarch's name would have at least passed through their ears by means of their mutual connections.

Furthermore, Plutarch's links to the emperors seem to have grown along with his social network, his age, and his career. While Plutarch's ability to gain reputé in the Roman world might have been hampered by political events, such as Domitian's banishment and punishment of philosophers, it appears that these were only minor hiccups in his career. The slow climb to influence at the top of the Roman social ladder not only demonstrates his eminence as a philosopher and the likelihood that he was becoming more famous with time, but also his successful social networking. And while we cannot prove with any certainty that he did become a sort of advisor to any emperor, his nephew Sextus became an advisor to Marcus Aurelius.¹³⁶⁵ Although Sextus' appointment occurred after Plutarch's death, it is reasonable to assume that this would not have been possible had Plutarch not been well positioned and connected.

The 5th degree of connection thus becomes an important degree, not only for its ability to showcase the potential of Plutarch's social network to reach both the contemporary Latin authors and the emperors, but also through its trickle-down effect on the following generation. It is Plutarch's silences on his connections and potential benefits from these important Romans, however, that brings us to our next and last category, that is, the 6th degree of connection, which proposes to build on Plutarch's network by attempting to find more connections to Plutarch that are likely but of which he was silent.

¹³⁶³ M. Beck 2002; Jones 1971: 29-31; Stadter 2002c: 11; Stadter 2014: 19-20; Zecchini 2002.

¹³⁶⁴ Jones 1971: 33; Swain 1991.

¹³⁶⁵ *HA* Verus 2.5. Jones 1971: 54.

6th Degree

I have reserved the final category for those whom we cannot directly place in contact with Plutarch but who were likely to have met him or known him personally. Unlike the 5th degree of connection, there are no personal ties for members of the 6th degree to Plutarch. Instead of a social connection, therefore, their link to Plutarch comes from their involvement in a location.

For example, we have elites who lived in Chaironeia at the same time as our Chaironeian author.¹³⁶⁶ Since it is generally assumed that the elites of small, Greek poleis were few, it is likely that Plutarch knew these individuals or at least their families. Nevertheless, there is no evidence, either in inscriptions or in his literary works, that these individuals met or came in contact with Plutarch. They are therefore placed in the 6th degree of connection as symbolic representatives of the likely extent of Plutarch's social network in his local world.

The same argument can be made for Plutarch's second local world of Delphi. Having served as priest of Apollo for more than twenty years,¹³⁶⁷ it is virtually impossible that Plutarch would not have been familiar with his colleagues in Delphi. Furthermore, this role might also have led to meeting some of the winners of the Pythian games during his lifetime. However, it should be noted that Plutarch's connections to these competitors cannot be as strong as people with whom he worked in Delphi, or with whom he lived closely in Chaironeia, since these were more likely one-time meetings. Nevertheless, they are included as examples of the number of people that Plutarch

¹³⁶⁶ See Chapter 1, pages 124-136 for more on the elite members of Chaironeia and their influence on the epigraphic landscape of this polis.

¹³⁶⁷ Lamberton 2001: 52-3.

might have encountered in his role as priest of Apollo in Delphi, as well as the potential of the geographic extent of these connections.

The number of Plutarch's acquaintances was probably more than just the people of Chaironeia and Delphi, consisting, for example, of Athenians and Romans whom he likely met during his time in both places. However, since there is such a high level of uncertainty concerning these contacts, I have reserved this category for people from his two local environments. Through epigraphic evidence, I have increased Plutarch's social network in these two locations by 172 possible connections, of which 91 are from Chaironeia. Since their ties to Plutarch cannot be firmly established, however, they are placed in the 6th category as 'uncertain connections'.

Although the likelihood that he knew some of these individuals, such as the family of Karopina of Chaironeia is high,¹³⁶⁸ the ambiguous nature of the 6th degree of connection means that discussing individuals and their link to Plutarch would be foolhardy, since we do not know if they even met. Therefore, only the general trends of the 6th degree of connection and how it changed Plutarch's social map are discussed in the following section.¹³⁶⁹

This does not mean that the 6th degree is unimportant for my study. Like the 5th degree, it is beneficial to include the 6th degree of connection in Plutarch's social map in that it allows for a representation of the possibility of the extent of an individual Greek elite's network of the first and

¹³⁶⁸ See Chapter 1, pages 125-7 for more on Karopina and her role in Chaironeia.

¹³⁶⁹ For more on the individuals in Chaironeia and their impact on the epigraphic landscape of the polis, see Chapter 1, pages 124-136.

early second centuries CE. As such, we gain an appreciation for the potential connections of an elite man from a small, Boiotian town under Roman rule.

In order to alleviate some of the problems associated with including these two degrees in the social network maps, charts, and numerical considerations below, the 5th and 6th degrees have sometimes been left out of the analysis. This allows for a comparison of the social network of the 1st through 4th degrees, that is, to the people we have evidence of Plutarch knowing, to another that considers the potential of his network, that is the 5th and 6th degrees.

Mapping Plutarch

I have chosen to represent Plutarch's socially connected world in three ways: a sociogram; tables and pie charts to draw out statistical data on Plutarch's network and the strength of his associations in certain locations; and lastly, traditional maps with markings of the origins of individuals to show the physical extent of this social network. These three methods provide different visual stimuli that build our understanding of his social network, as well as the trends within these connections.

Literature Review

Interest in the connectivity of the ancient world is growing. Some of this enthusiasm is the result of scholars who are concerned with testing the idea of network theory and network models in areas outside the ancient Mediterranean. For example, Monica Smith, through an analysis of the Inka, Mauryan, and Sassanian polities, argues that we are better able to understand the ancient world through network models than territorial ones.¹³⁷⁰ While Smith's study is not one of the ancient

¹³⁷⁰ Smith 2005.

Mediterranean world, her approach is one that can be applied to the Roman Empire and supports the idea that network models and analyses are important for our understanding of the past and how peoples were connected.

There are, however, numerous approaches to looking at how ancient worlds are connected. Unlike Smith, some scholars do use territorial models to understand connections in the ancient world. For instance, Claudia Glatz looks at the Hittite empire and its relationships in Late Bronze Age Anatolia and northern Syria and shows that if you superimpose geographic and chronological patterns of change, you can move away from the top-down, centered approach to empires.¹³⁷¹ Glatz therefore demonstrates the importance of network models (here models of the geographic changes of an empire), for interpreting the ancient world.¹³⁷²

Scholarship on connectivity in the Mediterranean world started to generate enthusiasm with Horden and Purcell's *A Corrupting Sea*.¹³⁷³ Scholars have subsequently begun exploring ideas of networks and network models, and how these might be used in relation to the ancient Mediterranean. However, their approaches and modelling choices are varied. For example, Shawn Graham and Scott Weingart created a network model of the ancient Roman world based on the find spot, fabric, and stamps of bricks. They thus demonstrate that, "(n)etworks are everywhere.

¹³⁷¹ Glatz 2009.

¹³⁷² My study, though focused on social network models rather than ones of geographic empirical reach, also aims to broaden our understanding of the ancient world by moving away from the top-down, centered approach to Rome and its empire. I was partially inspired by Taylor and Vlassopoulos' 2015 volume that looks at networks and communities to shed light on the non-elites and their connections in the ancient Greek world. Although, as mentioned above (see page 343), my investigation does not look at the lower classes because of a lack of evidence, the social connection models in Taylor and Vlassopoulos' volume functioned as a stimulus for my own choice to focus on Plutarch's social network as representative of the global sphere of his world.

¹³⁷³ For a discussion concerning scholarship of networks in the ancient world, see the Introduction, pages 16-9.

They can be discerned on a variety of bases, whether the relationships are similarity of artistic motif, geographical proximity, or indeed, social networks as recorded in epigraphic materials.”¹³⁷⁴

Another approach for understanding the interconnected nature of the ancient world moves away from trade and empirical geography, and instead focuses on peoples and migratory patterns. One in particular, that of Tracy Prowse, Henry Schwarcz, Peter Garnsey, Martin Knyf, Roberto Macchiarelli, and Luca Bondioli,¹³⁷⁵ inspired later studies. The team examined the $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{ap}}$ values of skeletal remains in Portus, a harbour of Rome, to understand migration patterns into Imperial Rome. They found not only that mortality rates were high, thus accounting for the need for high levels of migration into the area to replace the population, but also that children migrated.¹³⁷⁶ This gives us a better idea of the movement of peoples in the Roman Empire through a look at the age and sex of migrants to Rome.¹³⁷⁷

Most recently, studies of networks and network models are becoming popular for online ventures. This allows for a community of scholars to work together to gather data, thus advancing our understanding of the ancient world and its connections. Open resource sites such as Pelagios or

¹³⁷⁴ Graham and Weingart 2015: 249. Another scholar that looks at material culture and the exchange of ideas through networks is Boozer 2012. We also find inquiries into the relationship of the urban and the countryside. See, for example, Witcher (2017b), who investigates the connectivity of the countryside to understand the dialogue and agency of both the local and global that occurs in Roman rural areas.

¹³⁷⁵ Prowse, Schwarcz, Garnsey, Knyf, Macchiarelli, and Bondioli 2007.

¹³⁷⁶ Prowse, Schwarcz, Garnsey, Knyf, Macchiarelli, and Bondioli 2007: 518. This also inspired others, such as Killgrove and Montgomery (2016), who wanted to test the findings in another area of Rome. To do so, they used the remains of individuals from two cemeteries of Imperial Rome (Casal Bertone and Castellaccio Europarco) and conducted a strontium isotope analysis (105 individuals) and oxygen and carbon isotope analyses (55 individuals) on the remains, confirming the findings of Prowse et al.

¹³⁷⁷ In yet another study that also looks at people rather than geographic boundaries and material trade, Eshleman (2012) looks at the intellectual network of elites in the Roman Empire and how this affects ideas of identity and belonging.

Pleiades¹³⁷⁸ make information and data sets about the ancient world more accessible than ever before. Others, such as ORBIS,¹³⁷⁹ allow the user to explore the ancient Mediterranean world in c.200 CE, not only through its geographic confines, but also through time, seasonal variations, and associated expenses, allowing for a better understanding of the mechanisms and dynamics of the ancient Roman imperial network. Yet another approach is taken by *Topos Text*,¹³⁸⁰ which combines archaeological and textual sources to enable students and scholars to visualize materials from the Neolithic period to the 2nd century CE in a new way that helps bridge the gap between philology and archaeology. Lastly, *Connected Contests: Ancient Athletes Online* is another open-source site devoted to understanding ancient networks.¹³⁸¹ This site, by contrast, is not focused on text, but rather on creating a database of athletes, places, and festivals that can help scholars study the movement of athletes and their connections throughout the ancient Mediterranean world.

My mapping of Plutarch's network is partially inspired by Elton Barker, Stefan Bouzarovski, Christopher Pelling, and Leif Isaken's *HESTIA* project, which maps Herodotus' *History* in order to understand his concept of space, or, as the authors also refer to it, his 'mental map'.¹³⁸² To build this mental map, the authors use a variety of software tools, including Google Maps to discover

¹³⁷⁸ Pelagios: <https://pelagios.org/>; Pleiades: <https://pleiades.stoa.org/>. A site dedicated to survey information for Boiotia is also available through the Ancient Cities of Boiotia Project: <http://www.boeotiaproject.org/site/project-history/>.

¹³⁷⁹ Orbis: orbis.stanford.edu. Orbis has 632 sites and covers 10 million square kilometers, taking into account both maritime (28,272 kilometers) and land (84,631 kilometers) routes, with different modes of travel (cart, mule, foot, etc.). A case study using ORBIS was conducted by Scheidel 2014.

¹³⁸⁰ Topos Text: <https://topostext.org/>.

¹³⁸¹ Connected Contests: <http://www.connectedcontests.org/>. This site greatly aided my construction of the 6th degree of connection for Plutarch, as it made the competitors in Delphi from Plutarch's time easily accessible for study.

¹³⁸² Barker, Bouzarovski, Pelling, Isaken 2010; *HESTIA* 2014. The authors acknowledge the difficulties of such an endeavour, recalling, for example, the debate as to whether Herodotus was even trying to map a network culture (Barker, Bouzarovski, Pelling, Isaken 2010: 5). Nevertheless, they explain (2010: 5) that it is important to do so because it, "...refocus attention instead on the *topological* relationships between places – the links that depend on human agency and the associative clusters that certain places form over the course of the narrative." For another digital humanities endeavour in the ancient world, see Chapter 2, page 243.

how Herodotus represented geography. The searchable database and visual depiction of the data on a map enable the audience to see not only the geographic reach of the text, but also the emphases Herodotus placed on certain locations. Similarly, this section of my chapter also aims to understand space through a mental map of Plutarch's contemporary world as depicted in the *Moralia* and *Parallel Lives*. I have thus followed their lead in using Google Maps to visualize the extent of Plutarch's mental map and have also quantified Plutarch's mentions of these locations to better understand which places Plutarch emphasized.

It must be mentioned that one attempt has been made at creating a mental map for Plutarch's work. This was done by Scheid, who took Plutarch's *Roman Questions* (*Quaest. Rom.*) and built an itinerary of the text to argue that Plutarch was creating a literary map as a tour of the city of Rome.¹³⁸³ Scheid's visualization changed how we interpret the text with respect to why and how Plutarch wrote and approached the subject matter. My study, however, moves beyond the *Roman Questions* to cover Plutarch's extant corpus, while simultaneously including digital software not used by Scheid. By doing so, I am not creating an itinerary of a single text, but rather a mental map of the surviving writings to capture the larger picture of what Plutarch emphasized and why.

Mapping this kind of data has many advantages. First, it allows for a visual representation of the extent of Plutarch's network, which helps to place these people in a recognizable context.¹³⁸⁴ By doing so, it eases the exploration of and communication concerning his social network. It also enables us to talk about how Plutarch viewed himself and the individuals with whom he had relationships in terms of the wider world in which they lived. Visualizing where these men were

¹³⁸³ Scheid 2012a.

¹³⁸⁴ For the importance of mapping archaeological data, see Collar, Coward, Brughmans, and Mills 2015: 6, 14.

from, as per Plutarch's representation of them, as well as where they met, shows us how Plutarch experienced the world and how he wished it to be seen by his audience. In this way, mapping Plutarch's social connections as we find them in his works also builds our understanding of Plutarch beyond his home. For, as Puech states, "...l'étude des mentions des amis de Plutarque dans les autres textes littéraires et surtout dans les documents épigraphiques permet dans plusieurs cas de reconstituer la vie publique d'un individu, l'histoire d'une famille, là où le témoignage de l'écrivain s'en tenait parfois à un simple nom distraitement cité."¹³⁸⁵ By moving beyond a list, such as we find in Puech's work, and into a visual representation of this data, we can see this public life even more clearly.

A different kind of understanding emerges of the relationship between people and places. As Malkin stresses, "(t)he conventional claim that the subject of history is time, whereas that of geography is space, is now being seriously questioned."¹³⁸⁶ As such, mapping Plutarch's social network not only in terms of the connections between individuals, but also based on location emphasizes this idea of relationships.¹³⁸⁷ Further, it provides context for these relationships and for the social network more broadly. The dynamics of the network map thus allow us to see not

¹³⁸⁵ Puech 1992: 4831. Similarly, Ziegler (1951: 666) argues that by tracing Plutarch's connections through his work, "Man empfängt bei dieser Betrachtung ein so lebendiges und farbenreiches Bild des Lebens der geistig führenden Schichten der griechisch-römischen Gesellschaft um die Wende des 1. Nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts wie kaum aus einer andern Quelle und kaum für einen andern Abschnitt des klassischen Altertums."

¹³⁸⁶ Malkin 2011: 12.

¹³⁸⁷ The importance of network data to understanding relationships is emphasized by Collar, Coward, Brughmans, and Mills 2015: 4-6. They stress (2015: 6) that, "(t)he central potential of network science for archaeology is that it *places relationships at the heart of our analytical techniques*." See also, Smith 2005, who argues that we cannot simply look at the ancient world through maps, but that we should put aside territorial models in favour of those focused on networks. For, as Graham and Weingart (2015: 250) argue, "(n)etwork structure carries implication for the ability to act, and the ways individuals embedded in a network can leverage the information/material that flows through that network. Individuals and their positioning on the network matter." This, as Taylor and Vlassopoulos (2015: 11-2) contend, is important because it gives rise to the idea of human agency, especially in respect to economic dynamics (see also, Collar, Coward, Brughmans, and Mills [2015: 13], Gardner [2013: 18], and Hodos [2014: 243], who also stress the aspect of individual agency).

only human connections, but also connections to place, space, and material culture so that we can begin an analysis of how or why these relationships are important and what they can tell us about the world in which Plutarch lived.¹³⁸⁸ Thus, mapping Plutarch's world becomes not so much about its extent, although it does help us understand this as well, but rather, the focal point of the analysis turns to one concerning the relationships of these individuals to each other and to their world.

There is yet another benefit of mapping Plutarch's social network: understanding the Roman Empire more generally. By looking at the network of an elite from the Greek world, one who was from a very small polis, we gain a better understanding of the possibility of the movement of peoples, goods, and ideas. Observing this from the point of view of someone in Rome helps us to see the centrality of this particular location for a Roman, but taking this same approach to a small Boiotian town transforms our viewpoint and allows for a means of comparison. How did living in this small-town affect Plutarch and his access to intellectual stimuli? Did he have the opportunity for the same kind of network as one of his contemporaries in Athens or Rome? If not, did he create a network wherein he made it possible to remain in Chaironeia without it being a detriment to his career and intellectual goals? Plutarch allows for a unique opportunity to look at the Roman world from outside the hotspots of activity. He grants us an opportunity to see the development of a Greek intellectual's network over time, and the relationships that Greek and Roman men developed. In other words, by recreating Plutarch's social network and mental map,¹³⁸⁹ we

¹³⁸⁸ Malkin (2011: 31) argues that, "(t)he network dynamics, then, shapes the network." Collar, Coward, Brughmans, and Mills (2015: 6), Graham and Weingart (2015: 250), and Oyserman, Elmore, and Smith (2012: 94) agree. Similarly, see Hannerz in James and Szeman 2010: 64, for the idea of the world as a series of networks of social relationships with different flows and meanings between the nodes. See also Graham and Weingart (2015: 250) who point to the importance of the local and global interplay within these dynamics.

¹³⁸⁹ For more on the idea of a mental map and its implications for an audience in the Greek world and for Greek networks more generally, see H. Beck 2020: 36-7. For the mental map of a polis, see H. Beck 2020: 60, 72. The idea of cultural mapping is also discussed (H. Beck 2020: 78; Goldhill 2010). For an introduction to cognitive (mental) mapping and its role in spatial behaviour and orientation, see Kitchin 1994 (esp. pages 1-9).

decentralize our thinking and begin to interpret the Roman social network system in a different way.

Finally, mapping Plutarch's social network moves studies of Plutarch and prosopography away from something static to involve connectivity, flow, and flexibility.¹³⁹⁰ By looking at the relationships of Plutarch's social network in terms of individuals, place, and time, we can alter our understanding of the issues of identity in relation to Plutarch,¹³⁹¹ since we witness changes in his network and its dynamics. This then also allows us to bridge the gap between his public and private life. By investigating not only his local, regional, and global spheres, but also his network of peers, family, and friends, we move beyond a static view of Plutarch: Plutarch in Rome, Plutarch in Athens, Plutarch in Chaironeia, and so on. Instead, we start to see Plutarch and his life as shifting throughout time and geographical space. In other words, we witness dynamism. For this reason, I have also created maps and tables that represent the three major divisions of his life: his youth, his maturity, and his old age.

Constant change and fluctuation are also aspects of Chaironeia and its associations in the ancient world. Using network theory and visualizing these connections thus allows us to develop an analysis of local identity that leaves Chaironeia behind as a purely 'bounded entity',¹³⁹² and instead

¹³⁹⁰ Flexibility is stressed by, for example, Hodos 2014: 243, Malkin 2011: 38, Smith 2005: 844.

¹³⁹¹ As Eshleman (2012: 2) points out, "(t)hat identity is constituted through social interactions has been widely recognized, especially for the ancient world, where individuals were embedded in networks of family, class, city, ethnicity, patronage, and friendship." This is echoed by Taylor, in Taylor and Vlassopoulos (2015: 37), who contends that, "...by looking at how social networks affect what people were able to do or to be, we can see how different groups sought to negotiate their own status, how they were concerned about social recognition and how they formed communities of their own."

¹³⁹² Borrowed from Taylor and Vlassopoulos (2015: 5), who argue that a "...significant consequence of the traditional approach to Greek history is that conceptualizing the polis as a bounded entity leaves us without any conceptual framework for understanding the interaction between the polis and the wider world. If each polis was a bounded entity with its own economy, society, and culture, then the only way to interact is as billiard balls: an external push creates

incorporates concepts of network connections where Chaironeia becomes a player on the stage of the Roman world.¹³⁹³

The sociogram, charts, and maps presented below are not definitive. Beyond Plutarch's text, the 5th and 6th degrees only look at connections from his two local worlds of Chaironeia and Delphi. Further investigations should thus be made into other spheres where Plutarch was active, such as Athens and Rome. I hope that the following inquiries will provoke further examinations of Plutarch's social network and prompt more questions about its extent, the duration of individuals within, and subsections, such as intellectual networks, that also exist.

To begin the discussion, I first explain the sociogram and its importance for understanding Plutarch's social network. Next, I move into the statistical analysis of Plutarch's social network through tables. Finally, maps of these connections are presented to provide a visual depiction of the data on a geographic surface. Combined, these three presentations help reveal more about Plutarch and his connections.

Sociogram

In order to create a social network map (a sociogram) for Plutarch, I had to first build an adjacency matrix. Since the evidence for these connections presents only a partial or a skewed version, as

vibrations transmitted from one ball to the other. This creates another constructed polarity between internal and external: while the Greek world consisted of more than a thousand poleis, Greek historians are left without conceptual tools for studying the ways in which these hundreds of poleis were part of an interconnected system of interactions... nobody belongs to a single community and no single community incorporates all of the same people all of the time."

¹³⁹³ As Pitts and Versluys (2014: 7) suggest must be done within Roman archaeology and history. See also Hodos 2014: 243, 249.

discussed above,¹³⁹⁴ I opted to create a simple adjacency matrix using 0 to represent no connection between individuals and 1 to represent a relationship, whatever that relationship may be.

Some liberties were taken in the decision to connect certain individuals who are not linked in Plutarch's oeuvre. For example, people whom Plutarch identified as originating from the same polis are linked together, even if they were not presented together in his work. This was done under the assumption that the elites of each polis would, if they did not know each other directly, were at least familiar with each other's families. For Plutarch and his nuclear family,¹³⁹⁵ the same polis refers to Chaironeia. For Plutarch individually, however, this extends into his second local of Delphi. Those named by Plutarch without a place of origin are linked to others in the network via their connections to people in Plutarch's works.¹³⁹⁶

As close friends of Plutarch, individuals in the 3rd degree of connection are linked to the rest of his family members¹³⁹⁷ under the assumption that they would be aware, at the very least, of each other's respective families. Similarly, individuals Plutarch portrayed as being present in Chaironeia were also marked, when chronologically appropriate, as knowing his family,¹³⁹⁸ since it is likely that they would have met when Plutarch and his friends hosted them.

¹³⁹⁴ See pages 343-7 for the methodological challenges associated with building Plutarch's social network.

¹³⁹⁵ Note that this is his nuclear family with his wife Timoxena and not that of his father and mother, since there is no evidence that his father or grandfather were active in Delphi.

¹³⁹⁶ While these individuals may be located at a specific event in a specific place, this cannot be confused with a veritable place of origin. These individuals are thus marked as having an 'uncertain' location in the Appendices. See, for example, Praxiteles (node number 161), who is present in Corinth for a banquet, but whose origins are not made explicit.

¹³⁹⁷ This includes Plutarch's nuclear family with Timoxena, but also his brothers, father, and grandfather, when chronologically appropriate.

¹³⁹⁸ With the exception of his children who passed away at a young age (Timoxena and Chairon).

Individuals in the 5th degree of connection were given a value of 0 in association to Plutarch, since their connection to him was indirect. This allows the reader to see how many connections these individuals had to people in the 1st through 4th degrees of connection, and thus the likelihood of their having some kind of contact or familiarity with Plutarch.

Since connections of the 6th degree are uncertain, it is left out of the matrix.

Although the wet nurse for Plutarch's children likely encountered some Chaironeians as well as Plutarch's visitors, the only ties created to and from her are those of Plutarch's immediate family. This reflects her low status and the lack of information that we possess on her and others like her of the same social class.

Social Network Visualizer

I chose to create Plutarch's sociogram using a free software called the Social Network Visualizer (SocNetV).¹³⁹⁹ Being an open-source project, this software is built to be user friendly and flexible. It allows for multiple different kinds of social analyses and representations that are based on values given to the nodes (individuals in the network) and arcs (links between individuals). This further creates the opportunity to display Plutarch's social network in geographic clusters, where similarities and dissimilarities become more apparent through the connections and nodes that are found in each assemblage. Note, however, that the representation of the relationships between individuals in this social network map derive from their relationship with Plutarch and his presentation of them in his work and may not be the reality of their connections.

¹³⁹⁹ <https://socnetv.org/docs/index.html>.

To visualize the different degrees in Plutarch's social network and their relationship to Plutarch and each other in an obvious way, I chose to represent each of the degrees with the following node size, colour, and arc weight:

<u>Degree</u>	<u>Node Size</u>	<u>Colour</u>	<u>Arc Weight</u>
Plutarch	40	blue	N/A
First Degree	30	purple	10
Second Degree	20	green	8
Third Degree	20	red	8
Fourth Degree	15	yellow	6
Fifth Degree	10	blue	4
Roman emperors	10	orange	4
Latin Authors	10	black	4

Since the sociogram is meant to represent Plutarch's social network, the node size and colour were made to reflect each individual's assumed relationship with Plutarch. The closer the degree, the larger the node size. Colours were chosen arbitrarily for each degree and do not reflect any particular colour coding index.

Similarly, the social network map was designed based on the degrees of connection from Plutarch. Therefore, the number assigned to each individual on the map follows the order of individuals in the Degree of Connection Catalogue (see Appendix) and does not reflect any level of assumed intimacy with Plutarch. Plutarch is given the number 1. Individuals in the catalogue start from the number 2 and are numbered through the 6th degree of connection, even if the 6th degree of connection is not present in this sociogram. Numbering this last degree of connection allows for the possibility of expanding the sociogram into one that incorporates these individuals. The numbers are broken down as follows:

First Degree:	2 – 11
Second Degree:	12 – 20
Third Degree:	21 – 31
Fourth Degree:	32 – 190
Fifth Degree:	191 – 263
Sixth Degree:	264 – 435

Node size for the 2nd and 3rd degrees is the same because we cannot know with any certainty the closeness of these individuals to Plutarch. However, his family is weighted and sized larger because they were part of his nuclear, everyday experience. Similarly, the 4th and 5th degrees become increasingly smaller as they move further away from Plutarch. This is not meant to represent each individual's actual relationship to Plutarch, but rather their relationship as Plutarch's represented it in his work. It is assumed that this is not a reflection of reality, but rather what Plutarch wished to preserve for his reader as his reality.

This graphic representation using size and colour enables a quick visualization of the degree to which individuals are connected to Plutarch, as well as the number of individuals of the same degree found in each geographic cluster. However, even though this is based on Plutarch and the degrees of connection that he has to certain individuals, arc weights from node to node are used to represent the relationship (if any) between all members of Plutarch's social network map.¹⁴⁰⁰ Note that the emperors and Latin authors are weighted the same as the 5th degree, since they are also a part of that degree. The different colours for these two sections were chosen to represent these two groups more strikingly. The one exception to this rule is Trajan, for whom Plutarch likely wrote *The Sayings of Kings and Commanders (Reg. et imp. apophth.)*.¹⁴⁰¹ Trajan remains grouped with

¹⁴⁰⁰ For a discussion on the different terms relating to social networks, see Bandyopadhyay, Rao, and Sinha 2011: chapter 1 (see page 3 for an explanation of arc vs edge).

¹⁴⁰¹ See above, pages 415-425.

the emperors in the orange colour, but the size of his circle and his arc weight are equivalent to the 4th degree.

The arc weight given to each degree of connection decreases at a consistent weight in order to visually reflect the degree difference. The weight of the arc is reduced consistently by 2 points per degree to prevent a misrepresentation of the data through an assumption that certain degrees are lesser in importance to Plutarch than others. Although we cannot accurately gauge Plutarch's relationships with these individuals, it is nonetheless important to represent to which degree they belong. The arc weights must therefore necessarily decrease, but only at a consistent rate. The exception to this rule, however, is between the 2nd and 3rd degrees. These two degrees contain individuals who were close to Plutarch, but likely not as close as his nuclear family, who formed part of his everyday experience. Yet, it must be stressed again that we cannot say with any certainty whether this is true. However, since these individuals did not live in his household, their arcs are weighted 2 below those of Plutarch's family (an arc weight of 8, compared to the arc weight of the first degree, which is 10). The 2nd and 3rd degree have individuals who were both on intimate terms with Plutarch, and those who might not have been as close. Since it is not possible to exactly discern which individuals from each category are part of which group, the 2nd and 3rd degrees maintain the same arc weight of 8.

Arc weight, however, fluctuates between individuals in the social network map. Members of the 1st and 2nd degrees are assumed to know each other, but since their closeness cannot be established, the weight of their arcs is placed at 8 (presumed close because of family ties, but not as close as nuclear family). In the 3rd degree, some members, like Alexion (Ἀλεξίων; node number 20), are

given a stronger arc weight to certain individuals than the size 8 weight they have with Plutarch. In Alexion's case, because he was part of Timoxena's nuclear family, his arc to Timoxena's node is given a weight of 10 to reflect this connection. Other members of the 3rd degree are also connected to all members of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd degree, depending on their lifespan. Some, like T. Flavius Philinos, were present in Plutarch's youth, maturity, and old age. For individuals like Philinos, who was consistently represented as being a close tie, it is assumed that he would have knowledge of or a connection to all members of Plutarch's family. However, since we cannot establish how close people like Philinos were to Plutarch's family (nuclear and extended), the weight of the arcs of these sorts of connections is given a 4. This is the same weight as the 5th degree since they are connected to 1st and 2nd degree individuals through Plutarch. If the individual is not present throughout Plutarch's life, they are connected to individuals of the 1st and 2nd degree, only if they share a mutual time frame.

Geographic locations were also treated when considering whether to connect certain nodes and, if it was decided to connect them, how to weigh them. Let us use, for example, the connections of T. Flavius Philinos. As a close friend of Plutarch from Thespiai, it is likely that he was familiar with Plutarch's father-in-law, Alexion (of his family), who was also from the same polis. As such, an arc was created between these two nodes and given a weight of 4 to represent that they probably knew each other, although we cannot determine the exact degree of closeness their relationship represents.

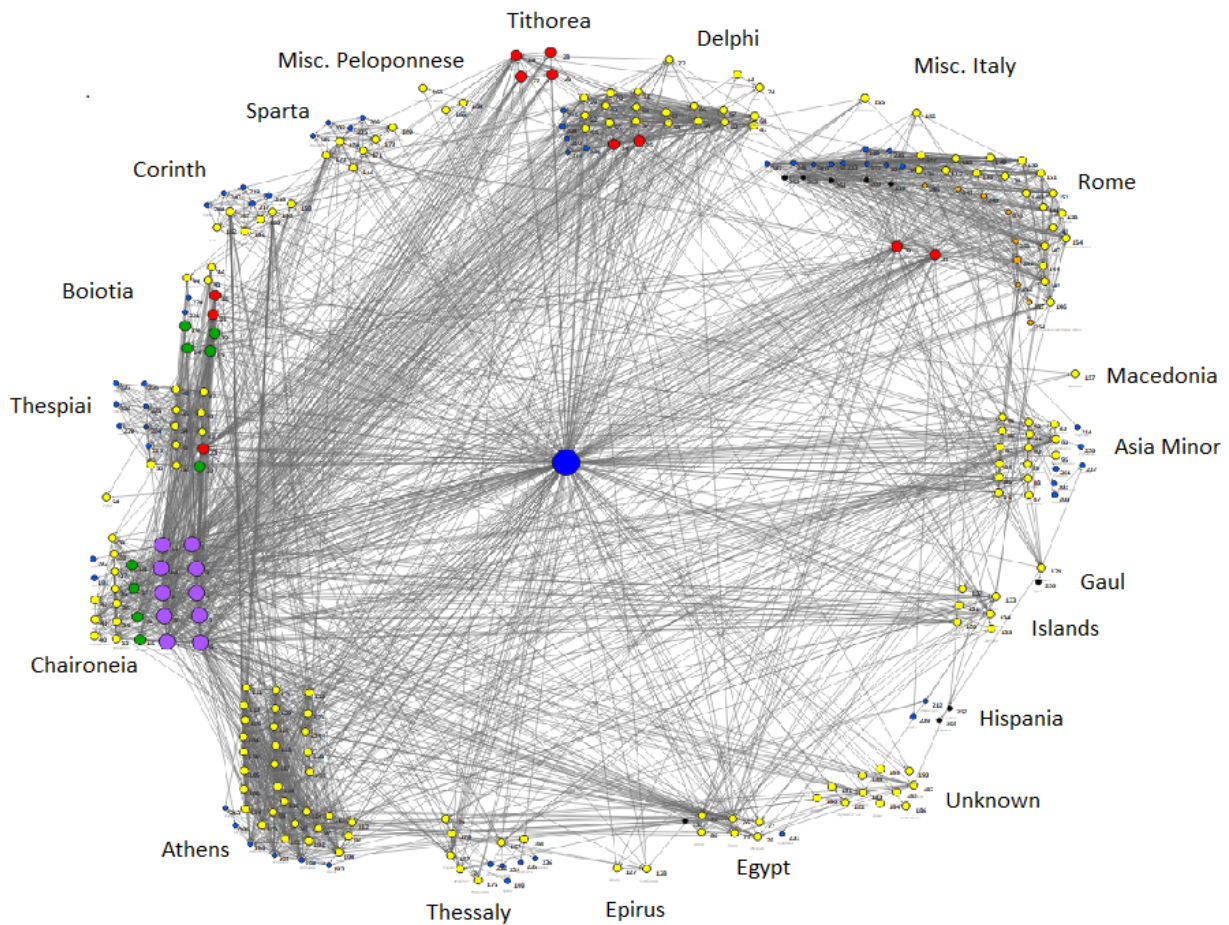
Results

Figure 3.3: A sociogram of Plutarch's network

The sociogram above provides a visual stimulus for understanding the complexity of the interconnected nature of Plutarch's world. When we consider both the margin of error for the connections made here, as well as our patchy knowledge concerning Plutarch's social network, this sociogram still manages to show clearly that Plutarch's social network was one that was highly connected. The 263 individuals present in this diagram create an incredible 4857 arcs from one

node to another.¹⁴⁰² This is an astonishing number of connections when we recognize our scarcity of data. More data would, of course, make this sociogram even more complex. Plutarch's world, therefore, was far from one focused only on the local. While it is true that Plutarch's social network has the strongest and largest data sets in his hometown of Chaironeia, the other locations shown above are far from insignificant. His links in Athens and Rome, for example, illustrate a social network beyond the local world, one engaged with the global reach of the Roman Empire. I therefore argue that we must see Plutarch's world as one that is nuanced, complex, and interconnected.

Furthermore, the sociogram also makes it possible to anticipate the strength of an individual's relationship to Plutarch. His family, being a part of his everyday lived experience, form the strongest connections to Plutarch. This is followed by his in-laws and then by his close friends, which is unsurprising, given the nature of these relationships. It is with members of the 5th degree of connection that the visual depiction becomes more telling. Take, for example, node 261, representing Maternus, who is connected to Plutarch through Julius Secundus:

¹⁴⁰² Note that this number may seem misleading, as it can be doubled for some node connections. For example, Plutarch knows his wife Timoxena, creating one arc between their two nodes. However, Timoxena also knows Plutarch, thus creating another link. So, for these two nodes, we have two arcs. Nevertheless, this is an important exercise because some individuals will know of one person who may not know of them. Let us consider Plutarch's daughter, Timoxena. Plutarch's friends, such as Soklaros, would know her, but she likely died too young to know of him, or to understand who he was and his connection to her father. Thus, a connection is made between Soklaros and Timoxena II, but not between Timoxena II and Soklaros.

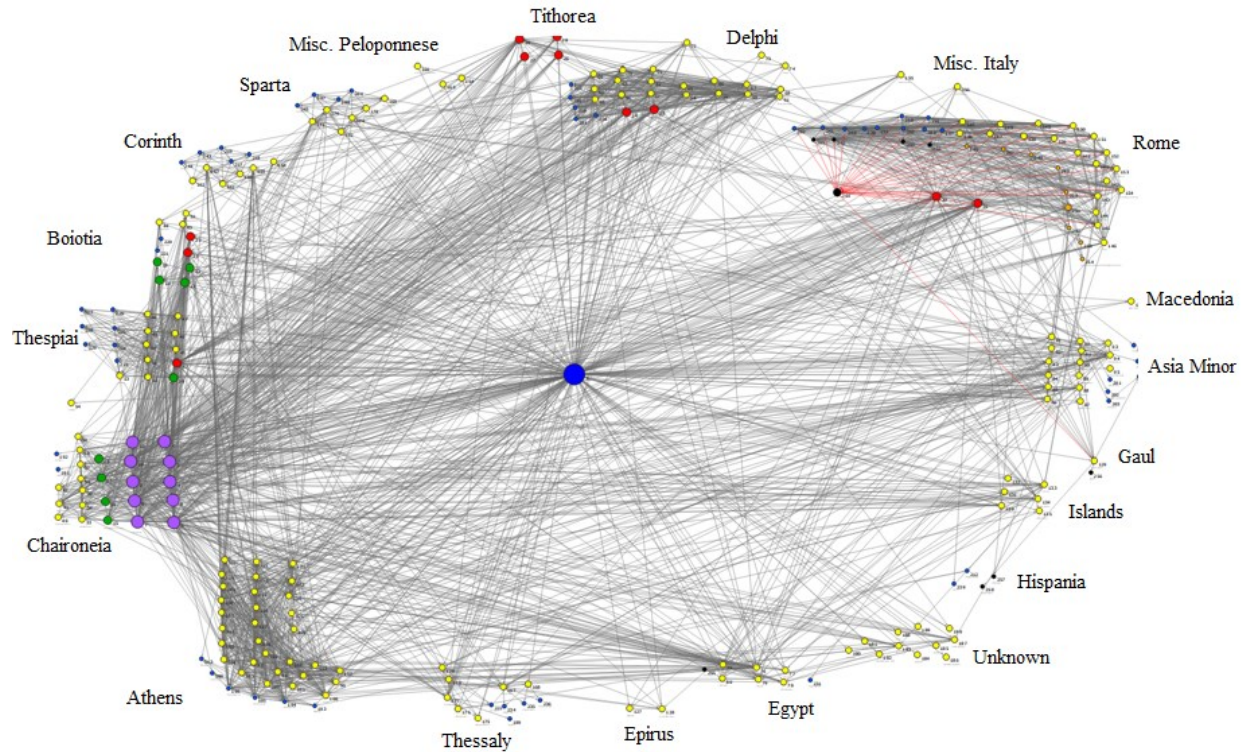


Figure 3.4: Maternus' connections highlighted in the sociogram of Plutarch's network

Note the red lines connecting Maternus to many individuals in Rome. While he might not have had a direct connection to Plutarch, hence his placement in the 5th degree of connection, his connection to others whom Plutarch knew makes the possibility of their acquaintance higher than, say, Pliny, who has about half the connections of Maternus to Plutarch. This does not, however, guarantee any sort of relationship between them, and there is always a possibility that Plutarch knew individuals of the 5th degree who had fewer connections and not those with whom he had the most connections. Nevertheless, the more mutual connections that exist between a member of the 5th degree and Plutarch should be studied intently as indicative of the possibility that they met or, at the very least, that they would have heard of each other.

To make analysis easier, I have also arranged individuals in the sociogram into their wider regions, or, in some cases, cities. Unsurprisingly, the locations with the most connections, and the ones with the strongest connections in terms of degrees, are those where Plutarch spent most of his time, that is, Chaironeia, Delphi, Athens, and Rome. His friendship with a prominent Thespian family, and the possibility that Timoxena, his wife, originated from Thespias, explains the large grouping we find under its heading.

There is only one location that comes as a bit of a surprise: Asia Minor. 21 individuals in Plutarch's social network originated here. This may speak to the possibility that Plutarch visited Asia Minor,¹⁴⁰³ or perhaps the ease with which elites could travel in the first and second centuries CE and meet other prominent men in the Roman Empire. Either way, this piece of information compels us to think about Asia Minor as highly connected to the rest of the Empire. The visual representation of Plutarch's social network into a sociogram therefore not only demonstrates how individuals from different areas of the Roman world all came together through their association with Plutarch, but also the strength with which they were associated with this Chaironeian elite.

Tables

In order to begin a statistical analysis of Plutarch's social network, and thus to understand the different layers of connections that lie within, I have arranged individuals into their respective regions of origin. This may be problematic, however, as it does not represent where Plutarch met these people, nor the potential that these individuals were based in another location, such as men who came to Athens to study. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the origins of these

¹⁴⁰³ See above, pages 387, 392.

individuals to evaluate the ability of the elite of the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries to travel and be connected. Accordingly, I chose to leave these individuals in their respective local worlds, represented in tables and pie charts below, with brief discussions on the possible significance of the data sets.

By Region for Degrees 1 through 4

Location/ Degree	1	2	3	4	TOTAL
Boiotia	10	9	3	23	45
Phokis			6	20	26
Africa				6	6
Asia Minor				15	15
Attica				31	31
Epirus				2	2
Gaul				1	1
Hispania					
Islands				6	6
Italy			2	21	23
Macedonia				1	1
Peloponnese				17	17
Thessaly				5	5
Unknown				11	11
TOTAL	10	9	11	159	189

Table 3.1: Numbers of individuals by region for degrees 1 through 4

<i>Order by Volume</i>	<i>First Degree</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>	<i>Fourth</i>
1. Boiotia (147)	Boiotia (10)	Boiotia (8)	Phokis (6)	Attica (31)
2. Phokis (69)			Boiotia (3)	Boiotia (23)
3. Italy (48)			Italy (2)	Italy (21)
4. Asia Minor (42)				Phokis (20)
5. Attica (40)				Pelopon. (17)
6. Peloponnese (31)				Asia Min. (15)
7. Islands (13)				Unknown (11)
8. Unknown (13)				Africa (6)
9. Africa (10)				Islands (6)
10. Thessaly (10)				Thessaly (5)
11. Epirus (4)				Epirus (2)
12. Hispania (4)				Gaul (1)
13. Gaul (2)				Maced. (1)
14. Macedonia (1)				

Table 3.2: An ordered list of the number of individuals per region for degrees 1 though 4

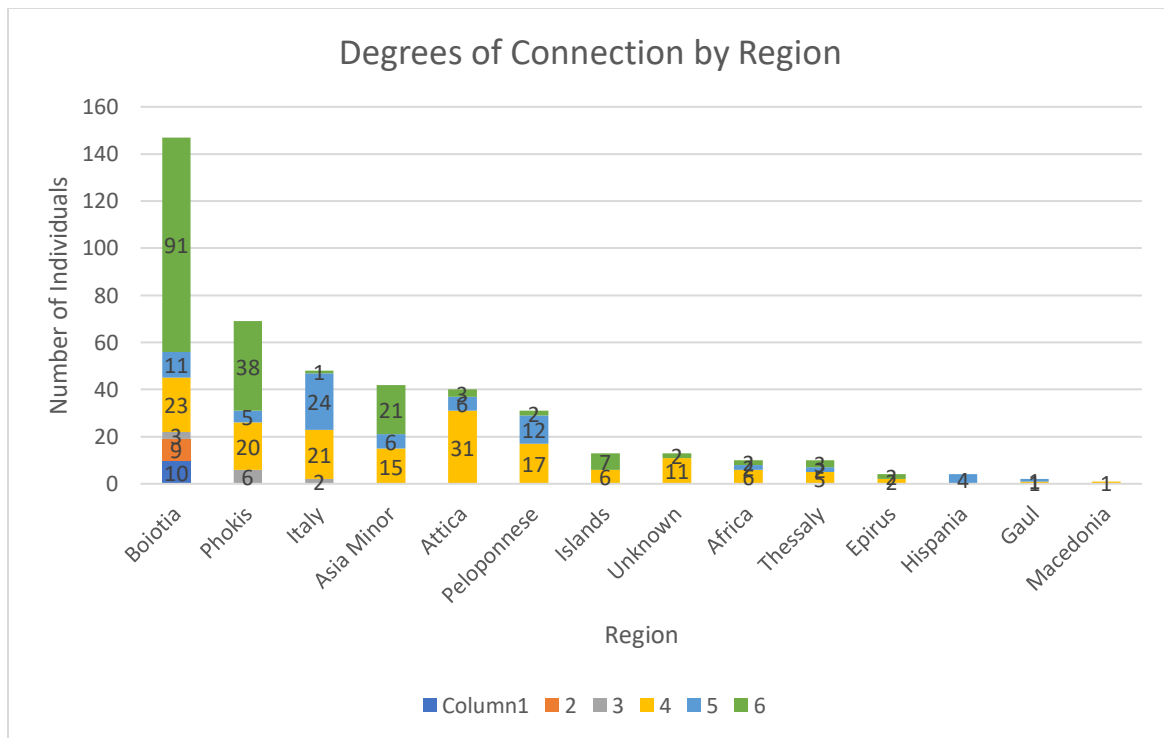


Figure 3.5: A chart of Plutarch's social network separated by region

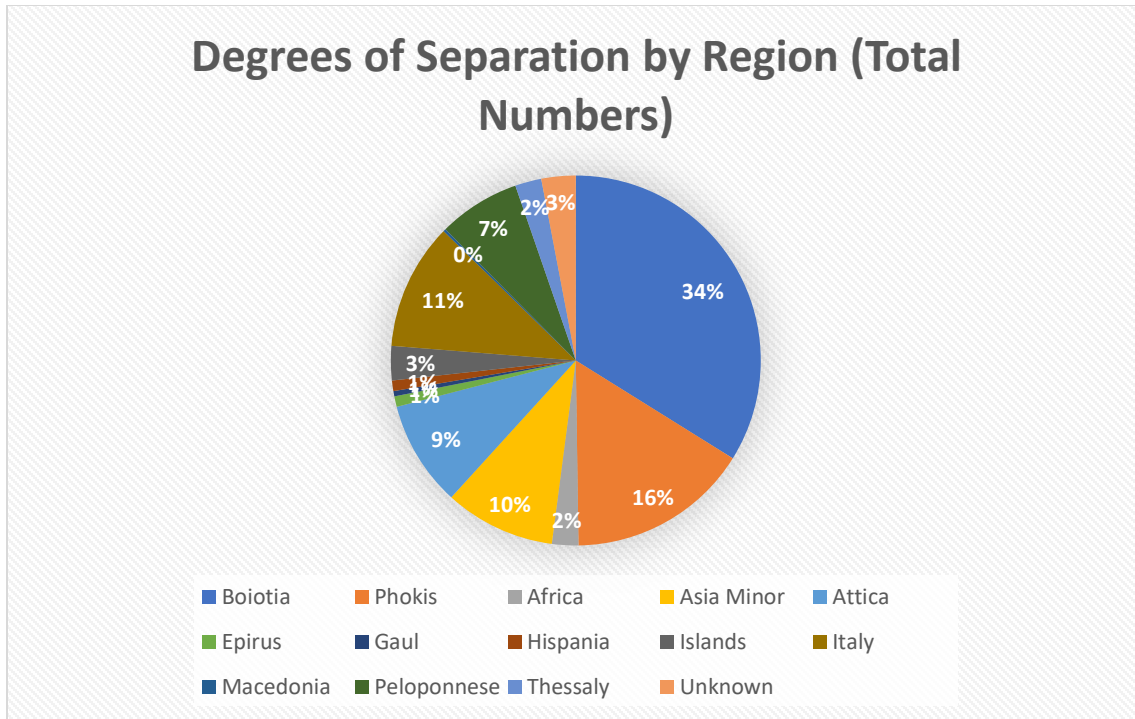


Figure 3.6: A pie chart of Plutarch's social network, separated by region

What we find in Plutarch's social network is not surprising. The 1st degree, consisting of his family, and the 2nd degree, his extended family and members of the household, all harken from Boiotia. In the 3rd degree, we see Plutarch's network expand outside of his regional sphere into Phokis, his other local world, as well as Italy. It is notable that we do not find any close ties, that is, members of the 3rd degree of connection, who come from Athens, where Plutarch studied and spent a fair amount of time. Attica does, however, appear as the location where most of the members of the 4th degree of connection originate, compensating for their absence in the 3rd degree of connection. After this, the number of people decreases at such a small rate from the places where Plutarch spent most of his time that the differences between the poleis may simply represent a margin of error in the data (seen in Figure 3.5 above). It is in this 4th degree, however, that we witness the emergence of the Peloponnese and Asia Minor, and thus the geographic expansion of Plutarch's

network. Therefore, the number of individual connections found in each location for Plutarch's social network reflects what we know of his life and where he spent his time.

Regional statistics for degrees 1 through 6

Location/ Degree	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
Boiotia	10	9	3	23	11	91	147
Phokis			6	20	5	38	69
Africa				6	2	2	10
Asia Minor				15	6	21	42
Attica				31	6	3	40
Epirus				2		2	4
Gaul				1	1		2
Hispania					4		4
Islands				6		7	13
Italy			2	21	24	1	48
Macedonia				1			1
Peloponnese				17	12	2	31
Thessaly				5	2	3	10
Unknown				11		2	13
TOTAL	10	9	11	159	73	172	434

Table 3.3: Number of individuals per region for degrees 1 through 6

Degrees 1 through 4

1. Boiotia (45)
2. Attica (31)
3. Phokis (26)
4. Italy (23)
5. Peloponnese (17)
6. Asia Minor (15)
7. Unknown (11)
8. Africa (6)
9. Islands (6)
10. Thessaly (5)
11. Epirus (2)
12. Gaul (1)
13. Macedonia (1)

Compared with 5 Degrees

- Boiotia (56)
Italy (47)
Attica (37)
Phokis (31)
Peloponnese (29)
Asia Minor (21)
Unknown (11)
Thessaly (7)
Africa (8)
Islands (6)
Hispania (4)
Epirus (2)
Gaul (2)
Macedonia (1)

Six Degrees

- Boiotia (147)
Phokis (69)
Italy (48)
Asia Minor (42)
Attica (40)
Peloponnese (31)
Islands (13)
Unknown (13)
Africa (10)
Thessaly (10)
Epirus (4)
Hispania (4)
Gaul (2)
Macedonia (1)

Table 3.4: An ordered list of the number of individuals per region for degrees 1 through 6

The second table presented here shows the change in geographic emphases when moving from degrees 1 through 4 into degrees 5 and 6. Locations are ordered using the number of individuals present in these places, found in brackets next to the region. The shifts in the position of the locations in these lists shows how the collected data may suffer from the bias of the accident of survival of our sources. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the top five locations are almost all the same, except for the 6th degree, which has Asia Minor occupying a place in the top five instead of the Peloponnese. As a result, although there may be too much emphasis on certain regions, these are not too distant from the same emphases that Plutarch puts on these places.

The 6th degree of connection is therefore almost a reflection of what we see for degrees 1 through 4. This is a result of the nature of the 6th degree, which mainly considers individuals of whom we are aware in Plutarch's two local worlds of Delphi and Chaironeia. Thus, it is possibly not a complete representation of Plutarch's social network so much as a likely depiction of the extent of this network and of the connections of Chaironeia and Delphi. Similarly, the artificial nature of the 5th degree of connection, as discussed above,¹⁴⁰⁴ highlights those in Rome, which explains how Italy becomes the second location with the most individuals. Therefore, even in the 5th and 6th degrees of connection, we still witness the prominent nature of Plutarch's local worlds.

Statistical Analysis of the Degrees of Connection for Boiotia

The polis of Chaironeia, as seen in the graph below, is unsurprisingly the location in Boiotia where the highest number of individuals are represented in Plutarch's work, as this was his hometown and likely where he spent most of his time.¹⁴⁰⁵ His connection to a prominent family in Thespiiai

¹⁴⁰⁴ See pages 401-2.

¹⁴⁰⁵ For Plutarch's presentation of Chaironeia and its role in his oeuvre, see Chapter 1, pages 138-190.

also explains why this polis comes second. What is curious, is that Plutarch did not discuss more individuals from his regional world. Thus, we see below that we only have one individual in each of the following Boiotian poleis: Koroneia, Orchomenos, Tanagra, Thebes, and Thisbe. This is remarkable, given Plutarch's family's connection to other Boiotian poleis,¹⁴⁰⁶ as well as his championing of Boiotia in his work.¹⁴⁰⁷ Surely Plutarch knew more Boiotians, both through his duties in his polis, and as a result of the nature of the connected Roman world. This would make it likely that other Boiotian elites would visit Delphi, or, perhaps, send their children to study under Plutarch, as Soklaros did with his son. The lack of Boiotian individuals included in Plutarch's work may perhaps be a reflection of his motivation in writing: why would he write about individuals in Boiotia, if his aim was to inform the leading members of the Roman elite, and, ultimately, to advise the emperor? As such, Plutarch's silence on other Boiotians whom he surely knew may be seen as further evidence of his ambition to reach the top as a philosopher. Representing his social network in Boiotia would not help this goal, and therefore these people are left out of his work in favour of incorporating the Roman elite.

¹⁴⁰⁶ For example, the priesthood of his brother Lamprias at the oracle of Trophonios in Lebadeia: *de def. or.* 38 (431c-d).

¹⁴⁰⁷ For example, in his *Malice Against Herodotus* (*De Herod. malig.*). For more on Plutarch and Boiotia, see Chapter 2 pages 272-331.

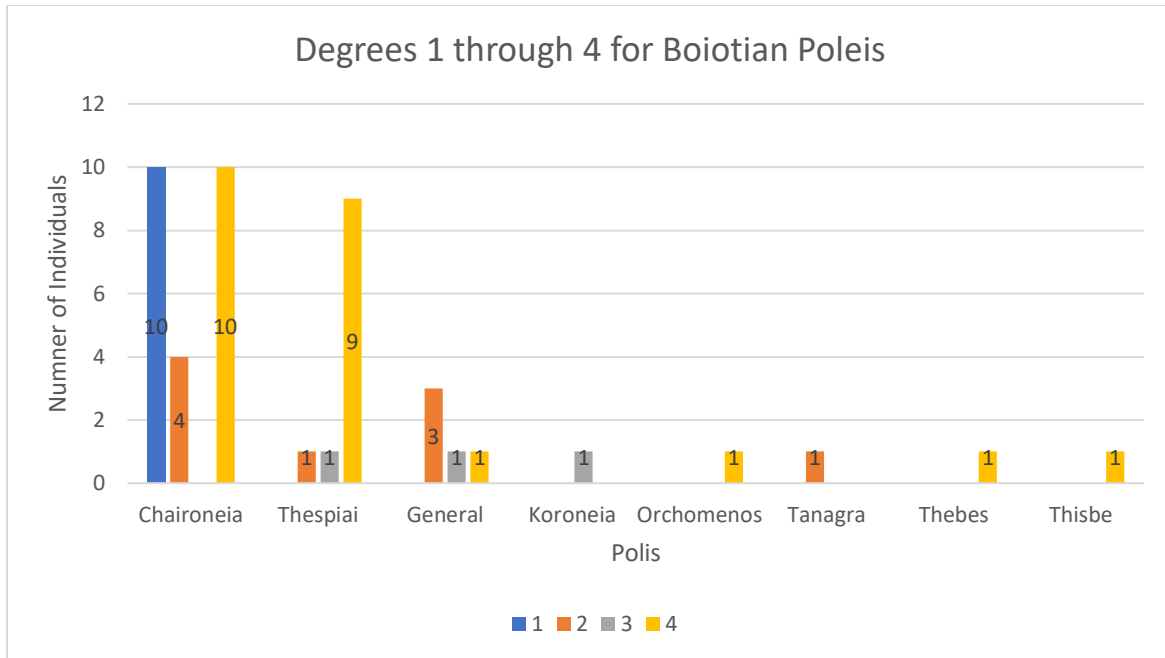


Figure 3.7: A chart of Plutarch's social network (degrees 1 through 4), separated by region

Statistical Analysis of Degrees of Connection for Phokis

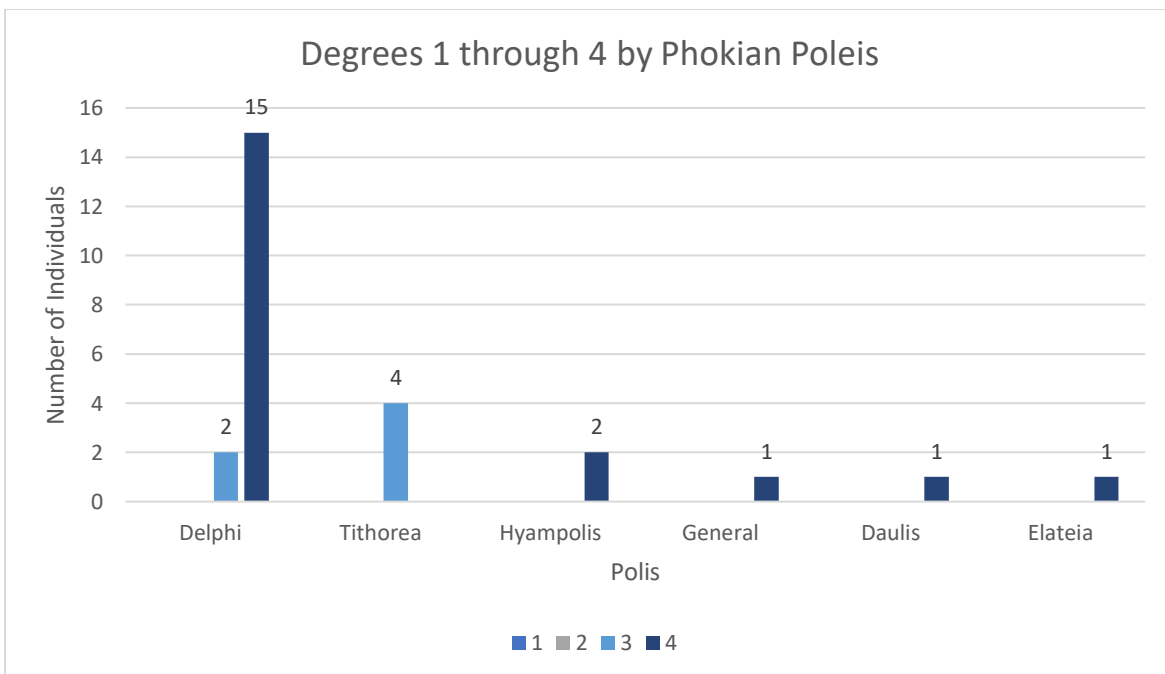


Figure 3.8: A chart of degrees 1 through 4 for the region of Phokis

Delphi is the champion of Phokis, which is unsurprising given that this is one of Plutarch's local worlds. Therefore, like Boiotia, we find a scattering of individuals mentioned throughout his oeuvre who come from Phokis. The importance of this region and its individuals to Plutarch is never explicitly mentioned in his works. However, given the pervasive nature of the micro-region of eastern Phokis and western Boiotia for Chaironeia,¹⁴⁰⁸ the fact that this region is second place to Boiotia for the number of individuals mentioned in Plutarch's writings is made clear. It seems, then, that this micro-region was not only important for the economic, religious, and historic developments of Plutarch's local world, but also had social implications for the author himself. This also speaks to the fluid nature of the regional boundaries in this border area, one where goods and ideas could be exchanged, thus encouraging the development of a social network between Phokian and Boiotian elites in this micro-region.

Given that this micro-region was such an important entity for Chaironeia, it is likely that Plutarch was silent on some of the people that he knew there. For example, Plutarch only mentioned one person from Daulis (Kleon [Κλέων; node number 56]) and one from Elateia (Aristotimos [Ἀριστότιμος; node number 72]). However, given the proximity of these two poleis to Chaironeia,¹⁴⁰⁹ it would not be unreasonable to assume that Plutarch had other acquaintances and connections in these local worlds. The reason for his silences on these connections is probably similar to why he did not mention more Boiotians: the individuals he chose to leave out did not fit his motivation in writing or aid his ability to reach the emperor. The ones that he did include, such

¹⁴⁰⁸ See Chapter 1, pages 48-55.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Daulis: approximately 12km to Chaironeia, according to Google Maps (<https://www.google.ca/maps>). Elateia: approximately 17km to Chaironeia, according to Google Maps (<https://www.google.ca/maps>). This makes both Daulis and Elateia closer to Chaironeia than either Thespiiai (41 km; see above, note 1147) or Tithorea (22-26 km; see above, note 1157) where Plutarch had strong connections.

as Soklaros, tended to have a connection to Rome and thus become *exempla* of the relationships one should foster.

Chronology

Plutarch's social network can also be divided chronologically. The divisions of Plutarch's life are roughly calculated as follows:

Youth: birth until 75 CE (0-30 years old)

Maturity: 75-100 CE (30-55 years old)

Old Age: 100 CE-death (55-75 years old)¹⁴¹⁰

It is nevertheless impossible to know when Plutarch met certain individuals, whether they were fictitious or real,¹⁴¹¹ or whether he maintained a relationship with them. For this reason, individuals are classified as being in certain stages of his life depending on what we know of them from Plutarch's representations or their epigraphic activities. Since the difficulties associated with this inquiry are numerous, as it is largely based on conjectural analysis, the chronology section is only briefly discussed. The breakdown of individuals for degrees 1 through 4 is as follows:

Youth Only	13
Youth and Maturity	22
Youth, Maturity, and Old Age	27
Maturity Only	17
Maturity and Old Age	106
Old Age Only	4
TOTAL	189

Table 3.5: Number of individuals by period of Plutarch's life

¹⁴¹⁰ For a full list of individuals and their placement in the chronology of Plutarch's life, see the Appendix item "Chronology Catalogue".

¹⁴¹¹ One example of a debate concerning whether an individual mentioned by Plutarch was real, concerns Theon. For more on this debate, see Puech 1992: 4886.

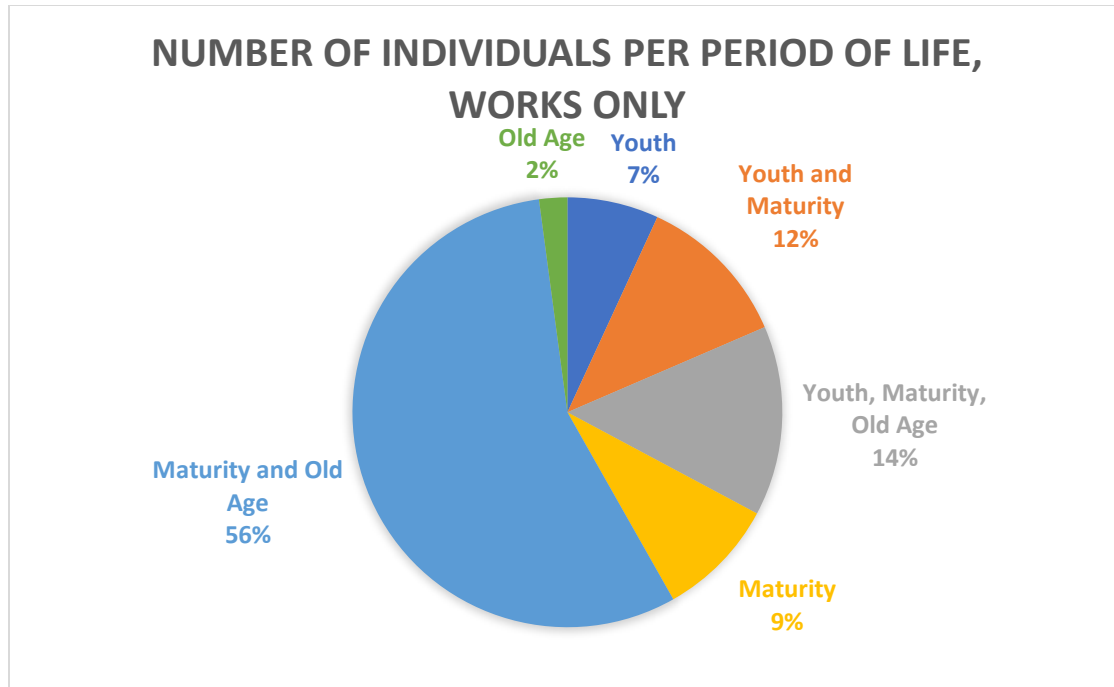


Figure 3.9: A pie chart of the individuals in Plutarch's life, divided per period of his life

The largest margin of error that we have for this investigation, is that Plutarch was writing about certain moments in his life, and therefore this data does not reflect the reality of Plutarch's social network and its fluctuations throughout his life. Despite this, it is important to consider this data and what it can tell us about what Plutarch wanted us to see. For example, as we witnessed with the emperors of Rome,¹⁴¹² the data shows that Plutarch's social network was growing as his career progressed. Therefore, the greatest number of individuals is found in his maturity and old age, constituting more than half of his social network. This may be the result of Plutarch's increasing fame, as it is likely that he was invited to speak more often, and thus met more people, the more famous he became.

¹⁴¹² See above, pages 406-428.

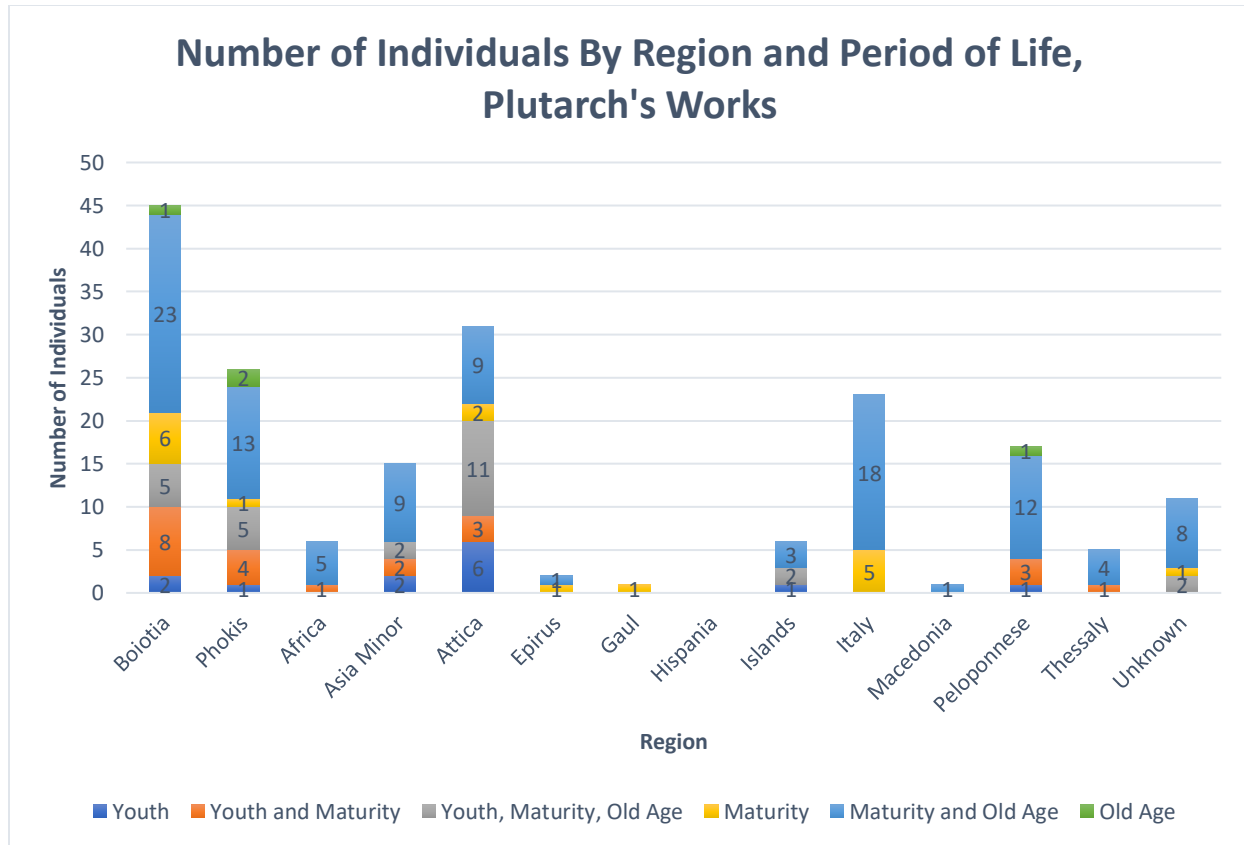


Figure 3.10: A chart of individuals by region and period of Plutarch's life

As we saw with the regional analysis above, the chronological analysis shows that the regions with the greatest number of individuals are those where Plutarch spent most of his time. Notice Italy where all the individuals come from his maturity or old age. This is likely a result of Plutarch's travels to Rome, after finishing his schooling.

Maps

In order to visualize the data further, I have created maps using Microsoft Excel to show the geographic distribution of Plutarch's network. Excel has the added benefit of being able to depict quantity on the maps using scale. By doing so, we can compare the extent of Plutarch's social network in the Roman Empire as well as the number of individuals in each location to gain a

clearer idea of the geographic extent of this network than found in the tables above. Lastly, I have included a map at the end with the four degrees of connection and where each met Plutarch to discover any similarities or differences from Malkin's network distribution maps for Greece and Rome, and their significance to the connections of an elite Greek from Boiotia in the first and early second centuries CE.

For the creation of maps, longitudes and latitudes obtained through Google Maps, were used as the main method of data input.¹⁴¹³ The locations of the ancient poleis were approximated through their modern settlements. For the ten individuals with an 'unknown' origin, no land location was chosen, instead they were placed arbitrarily in the Mediterranean Sea to represent the Mediterranean as a whole. The modern settlements, longitudes, and latitudes that were chosen are as follows:

Location	Modern Settlement	Latitude	Longitude
Boiotia	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chaironeia	Chaeronea	38.495067	22.845994
Koroneia	Coroneia	38.359143	22.959368
Orchomenos	Orchomenos	38.492003	22.979167
Tanagra	Tanagra	38.316667	23.533333
Thebes	Thiva	38.324834	23.319447
Thespiiai	Thespies	38.302655	23.150600
Thisbe	Thisve	38.255420	22.966652
Phokis	N/A	N/A	N/A
Amphissa	Amfissa	38.526405	22.379626
Daulis	Davleia	38.515744	22.730065
Delphi	Delphi	38.482614	22.500981
Elateia	Elateia	38.627035	22.761099
Hyampolis	Exarkhos	38.587841	22.942748
Tithorea	Tithorea	38.585070	22.665623
Africa	N/A	N/A	N/A
Carthage	Carthage	36.860890	10.328675

¹⁴¹³ <https://maps.google.ca>.

Egypt	Alexandria	31.208328	29.913163
Hippo Regius	Annaba	36.925865	7.755381
Leptis Magna	Khoms	32.653444	14.262917
Asia Minor	N/A	N/A	N/A
Adana	Adana	36.989364	35.331677
Antiochia	Antakya	36.210404	36.175653
Aphrodisias	Geyre	37.709244	28.726904
Attaleia	Antalya	36.887174	30.705670
Caria	Bodrum	37.038144	27.424138
Commagene	Samsat	37.577439	38.477423
Damascus	Damascus	33.509173	36.310291
Ephesos	Ephesus	37.948276	27.368200
Epiphania	Hama	35.139180	36.750985
Hierapolis	Pamukkale	37.926958	29.127396
Iasos	Güllük	37.234948	27.605876
Kaisareia Tralles	Aydin	37.837563	27.845563
Magnesia	Manisa	38.607241	27.422223
Myra	Demre	36.244317	29.986185
Pergamon	Bergama	39.132035	27.183443
Prusias on the Hypios	Konuralp	40.904079	31.153633
Prusa	Bursa	40.184333	29.059547
Sardis	Sart	38.488647	28.039981
Seleukeia Pieria	Çevlik	36.079863	35.975205
Smyrna	Izmir	38.414113	27.128438
Tarsos	Tarsus	36.917865	34.897549
Tralles-Seleukeia	Baghdad	33.314425	44.378057
Xanthos	Ksantos	36.356557	29.318311
Attica	N/A	N/A	N/A
Athens	Athens	37.972081	23.726512
Megara	Megara	37.996892	23.344034
Nikaia	Nikaia	37.970366	23.641316
Epirus	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nikopolis	Nicopolis	39.023438	20.737215
Gaul			
Burdigala	Bordeaux	44.835716	-0.575331
Hispania	N/A	N/A	N/A
Augusta Bilbilis	Calatayud	41.354171	-1.644897
Calagurris	Calahorra	42.301286	-1.956077
Gades	Cádiz	36.528783	-6.293731
Tarraco	Tarragona	41.114640	1.248278
Islands	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chios	Chios	38.367118	26.133956
Crete	Crete	35.338844	25.137134
Cyprus	Cyprus	34.936036	32.864257
Soloi (Cyprus)	Soli	35.140880	32.813259

Eretria (Euboea)	Eretria	38.397409	23.793454
Euboea	Eretria	38.397409	23.793454
Kos	Kos	36.889722	27.284817
Melos	Milos	36.737619	24.423633
Rhodes	Rhodes	36.439933	28.210785
Samos	Samos	37.754507	26.978751
Tenos	Tinos	37.540474	25.161966
Thasos	Thasos	40.696321	24.637212
Italy	N/A	N/A	N/A
Faventia	Faenza	44.289351	11.880743
Northern Italy	Como	45.812183	9.084592
Novum Comum	Como	45.812183	9.084592
Puteoli	Pozzuoli	40.844140	14.092414
Rome	Rome	41.892479	12.485236
Sardinia	Cagliari	39.221933	9.116589
Ticinum	Pavia	45.190463	9.158387
Macedonia	Vergina	40.487609	22.320153
Peloponnese	N/A	N/A	N/A
Aigion	Aigio	38.252766	22.087780
Corinth	Corinth	37.905782	22.878530
Elis	Olympia	37.643706	21.629483
Epidauros	Palaia Epidauros	37.637411	23.155194
Sikyon	Sicyon	37.982323	22.723872
Sparta	Sparti	37.082378	22.424384
Thessaly	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hypata	Ypati	38.871565	22.239192
Unknown	Mediterranean Sea	34.236316	17.699216

Table 3.6: Geographic coordinates and modern settlements of locations mentioned by Plutarch

Degrees 1 through 4



Figure 3.11: A map of the geographic distribution of degrees 1 through 4

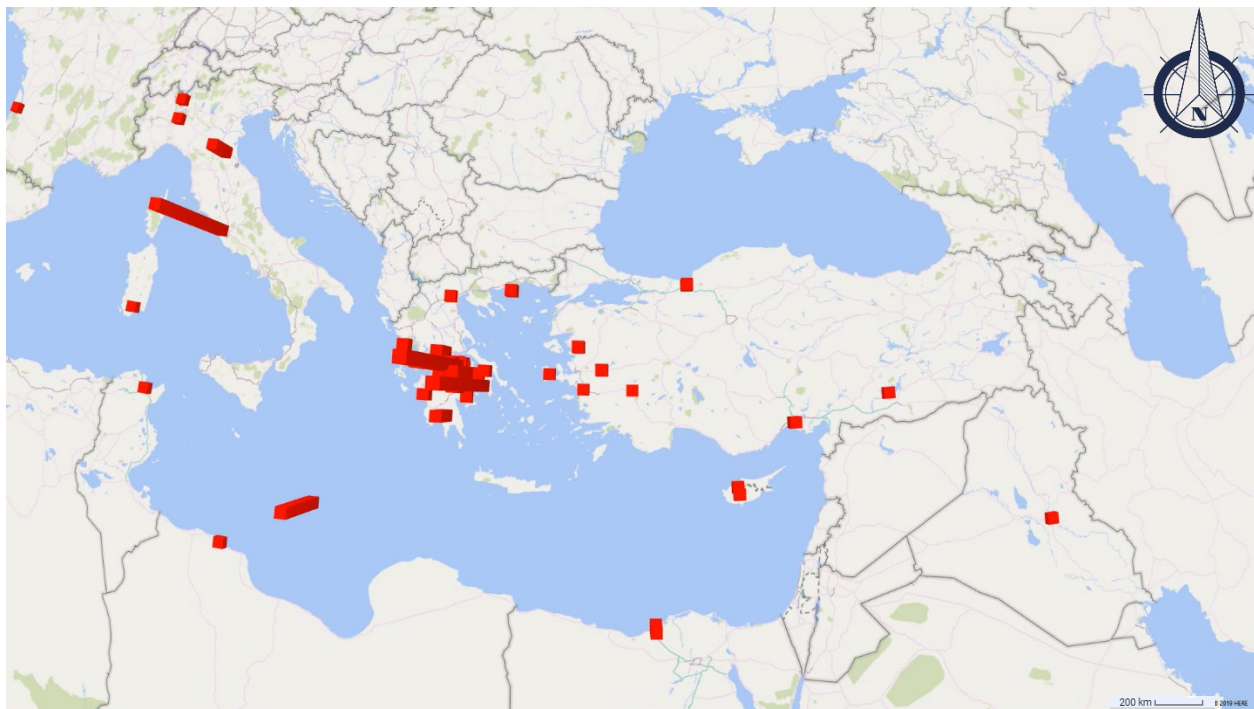


Figure 3.12: A map of the geographic distribution of degrees 1 through 4 with numerical data taken into consideration

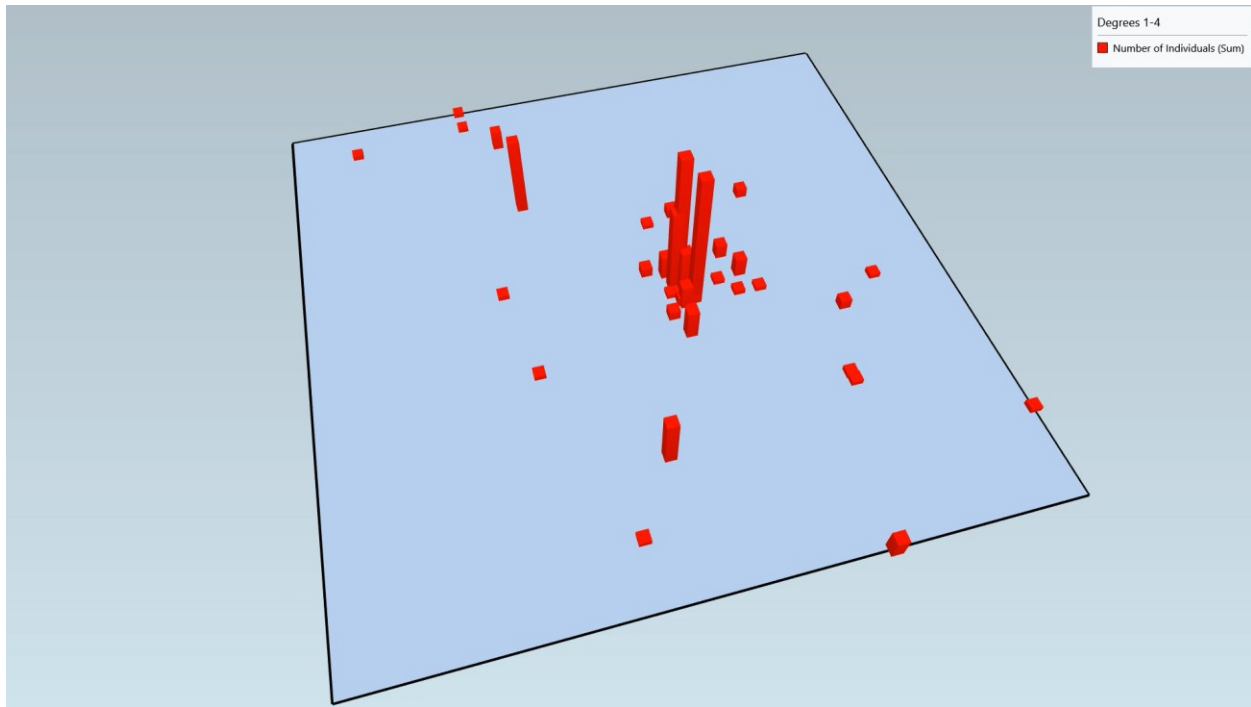


Figure 3.13: Degrees 1 through 4 dispersed to show clusters without a map

I chose to include a depiction of the distribution of Plutarch's network that includes numerical data but does not include a map (Figure 3.13) to show clusters of individuals without political and geographic boundaries. This representation therefore reflects the extent and places of emphasis in Plutarch's network without the biases of a traditional map. In this way, I hope that I have provided an alternative to the geographic depictions above and given priority to the network model rather than the political entities.¹⁴¹⁴

Plutarch's social network as he presented it in his work was concentrated in the areas where he spent most of his time. Therefore, we see large numbers of individuals in Athens, Delphi,

¹⁴¹⁴ For the importance of looking at the ancient world through networks rather than political boundaries, see Smith 2005. For more studies that display critical approaches to the ideas of space, regions, and mapping, see: Appadurai 2001; Rekacewicz 2001.

Chaironeia, and Rome, and find individual outliers throughout the world of the Roman Empire. In Figure 3.13, we can see clearly that Plutarch's social network is clustered together, reflecting the locations that he included most frequently in his writings, that is, Athens, Delphi, and Chaironeia. Rome is the only place with many people not part of the clustered group in the Greek world. This therefore represents the effort with which Plutarch was building his Roman social network, since Rome was further away from his everyday life, that is, outside of his local worlds. In other words, Plutarch had to make some effort to engage with the global world. His success in this engagement is evident in the number of individuals we see in Rome for degrees 1 through 4 (16 individuals), which almost equals that of Delphi (17 individuals), one of Plutarch's local worlds.

Degrees 1 through 6

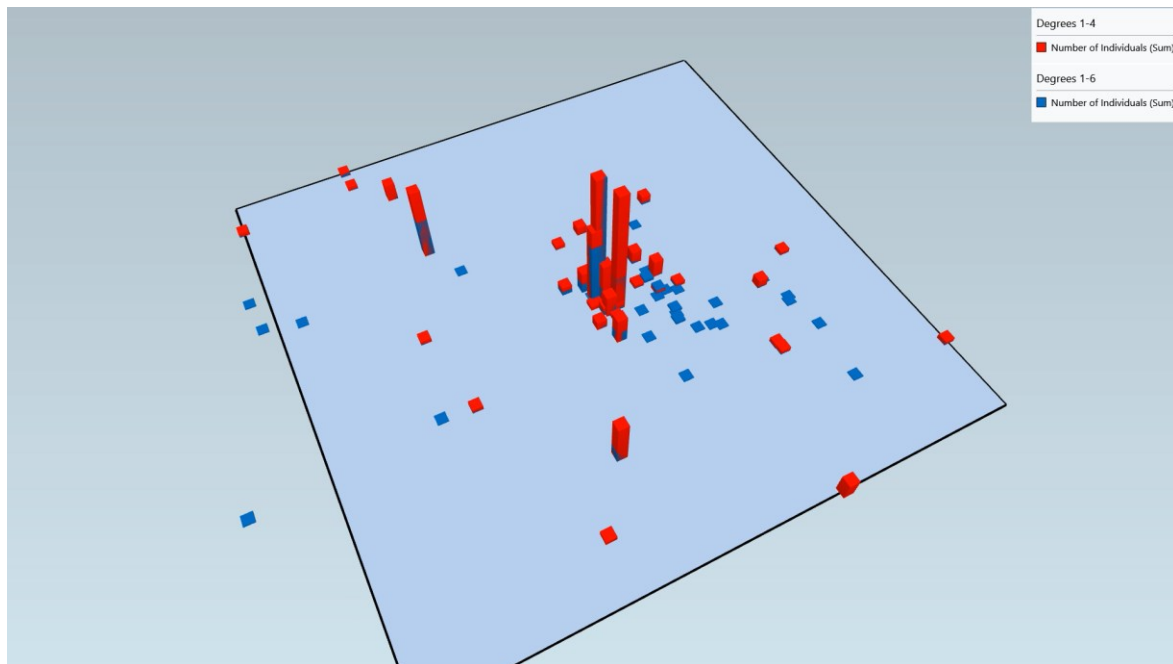


Figure 3.14: Degrees 1 through 6 dispersed to show clusters without a map

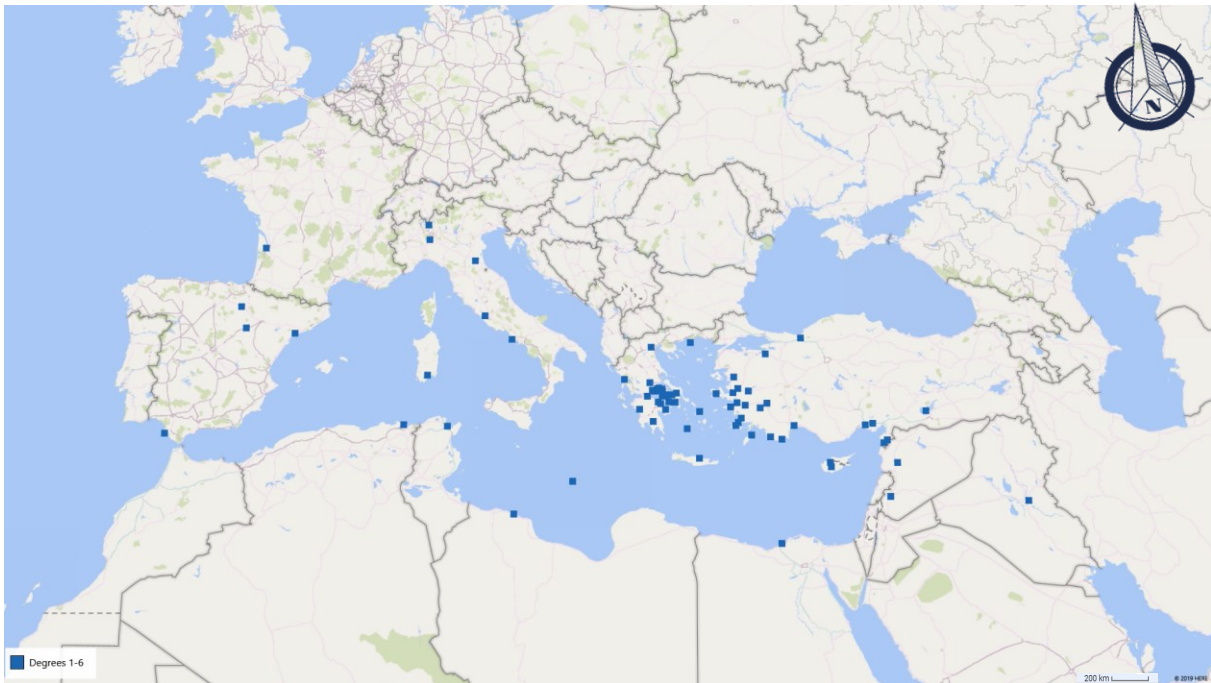


Figure 3.15: A map of the geographic distribution of degrees 1 through 6

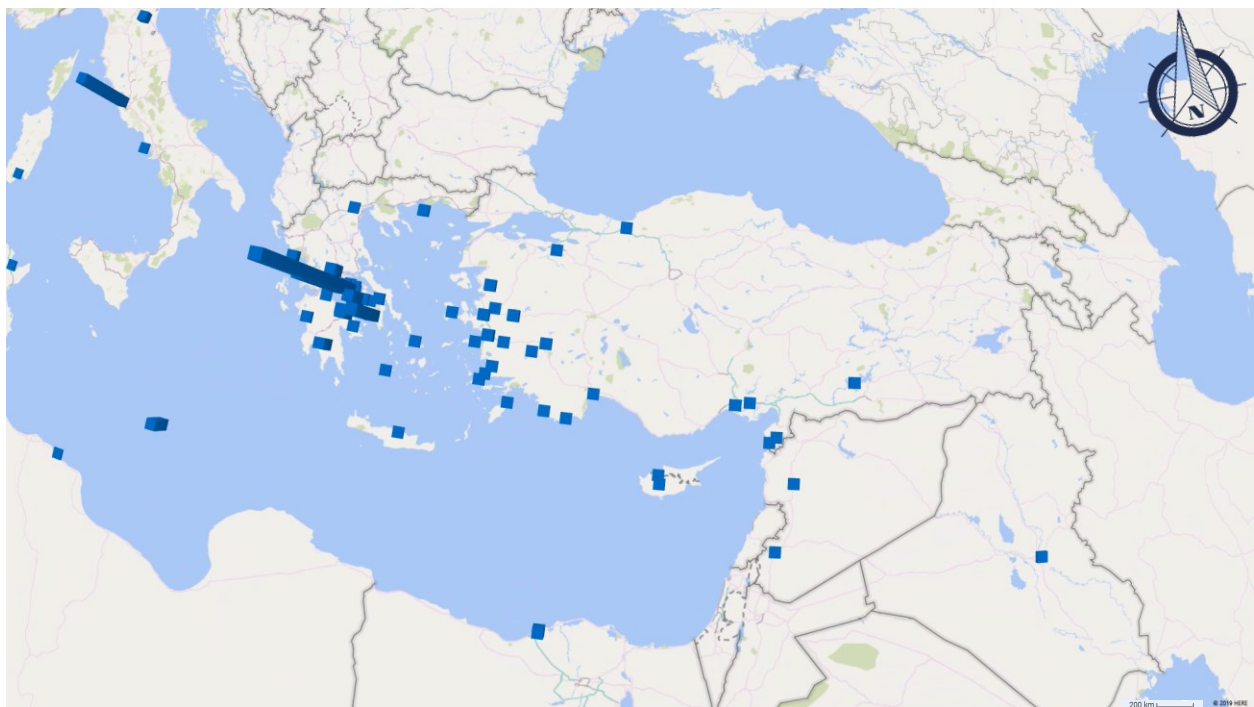


Figure 3.16: A map of the geographic distribution of degrees 1 through 6 with numerical data



Figure 3.17: A map of the geographic distribution of degrees 1 through 6 with numerical data continued

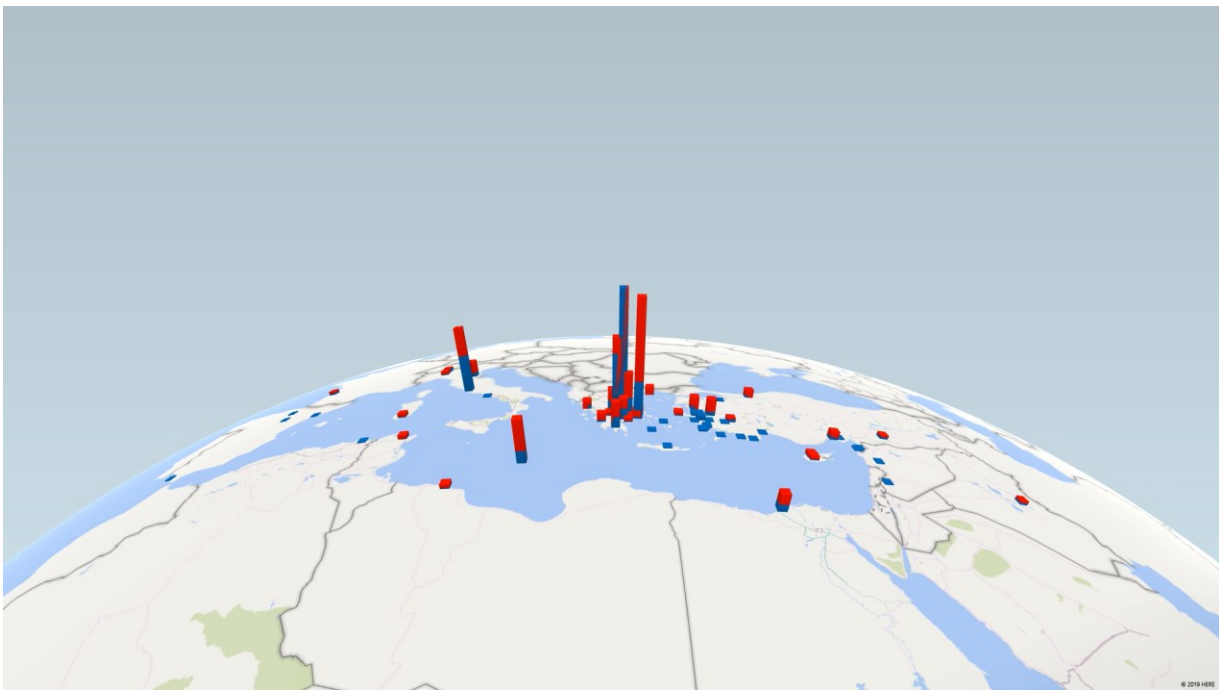


Figure 3.18: Sum of degrees 1 through 6.¹⁴¹⁵

¹⁴¹⁵ Degrees 1 through 4 are represented in red, whereas degrees 5 and 6 are in blue.

When looking at the sum of degrees 1 through 6, most of the individuals are still from Plutarch's local worlds as well as Italy. The only difference we encounter, are more outliers throughout the empire and a larger representation in Delphi (see Figure 3.16 above). This is mainly because of the competitors in Delphi, such as those present for the Pythian Games. I used the site *Connected Contests: Ancient Athletes Online* to discover individual winners of competitions in Delphi during Plutarch's lifetime to add to the 6th degree of Plutarch's social network map.¹⁴¹⁶ As a result, the number of individuals in Delphi increased in the representations of degrees 1 through 6 found in this section. This also moved Phokis from third place in degrees 1 through 4 for the number of individuals in Plutarch, up to second place when all degrees are included.¹⁴¹⁷ Otherwise, the data looks much the same as that of degrees 1 through 4.

Plutarch was a highly connected man, and it seems that his choice to remain in Chaironeia did not become a hindrance to building an extensive social network. This is not only because Plutarch was active in Delphi,¹⁴¹⁸ the site of patronage from Roman emperors and a gathering place for the Greco-Roman world, but also because he actively engaged with the Roman world in an effort to build influential friendships where he could advise but also receive benefits for Delphi.¹⁴¹⁹ Plutarch's success is evident in the number of people he included in his work and the height of Roman power that he managed to reach: the emperor. A generation before, his family appears to almost be sequestered in their local world, with only a few connections beyond Chaironeia to that of their regional environment of Boiotia. Plutarch opened the Empire to them.

¹⁴¹⁶ Connected Contests: <http://www.connectedcontests.org/>. See above, page 434.

¹⁴¹⁷ See Table 3.4 above for more the number of individuals in each region.

¹⁴¹⁸ As Stadter (2002c: 11) explains, "(h)is appointment as one of the two priests of Apollo at Delphi sometimes in the nineties no doubt was supported by his Roman friends, and gave him an ideal position from which to convey his values to the eminent of the empire."

¹⁴¹⁹ For more on the benefits he may have received for Delphi, see above, pages 414, 423.

Mare Nostrum: A Plutarchan Perspective

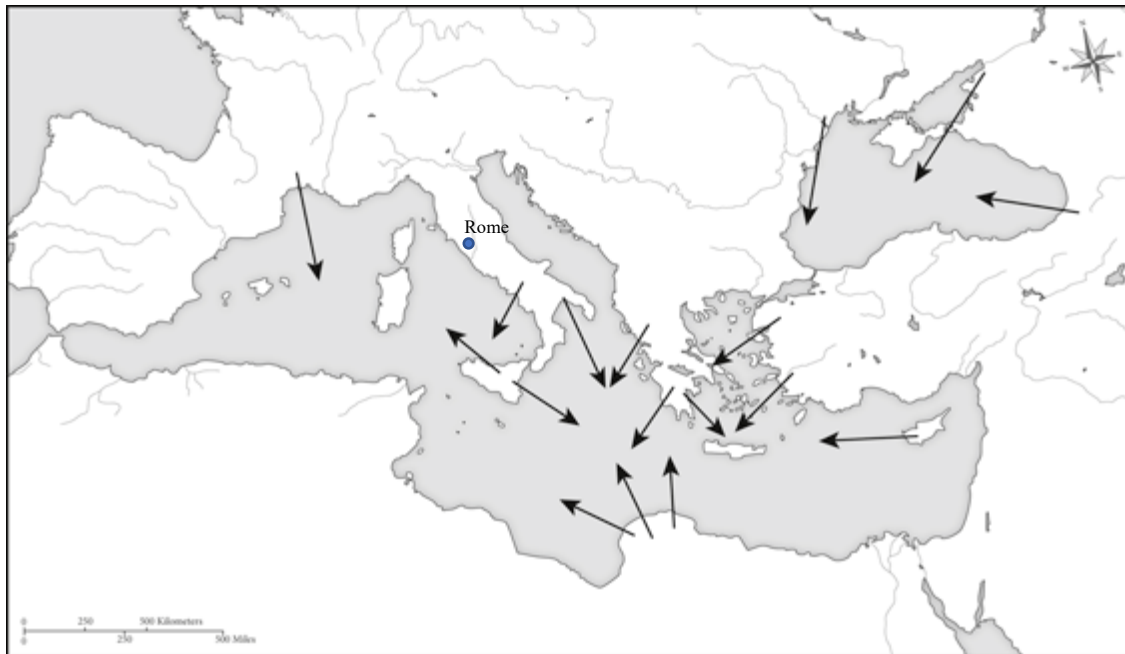


Figure 3.19: “‘Our Sea,’ a Greek perspective” (adapted from Malkin 2011: 6; copied with permission)



Figure 3.20: “‘Our Sea,’ a Roman perspective” (Malkin 2011: 7; copied with permission)

The two maps above represent two different perspectives of the world. The first is based on the perspective of the Greeks, whose history of navigation and colonization meant that they had a decentralized network. The second derives from the Roman mindset, which understood the world in terms of *mare nostrum*. These contrasting representations of the Greek and Roman views (found in Figures 3.19 and 3.20 respectively), are created by Malkin, who explains that the,

Greeks sometimes called the Mediterranean, together with the Black Sea, *hemetera thalassa* (“our sea”) but only in a metaphorical sense. The equivalent Latin term, *mare nostrum*, conveys a diametrically opposed image of the maritime circle: The Mediterranean supposedly “belongs” to Rome, the center and capital of an empire. Instead of Greeks looking “inside,” from their nodes on the shores toward the shared sea, the Romans observed it from the center (Rome) outward, toward the coasts. (Malkin 2011: 3-5)

Plutarch, a Greek under the Roman Empire, represents an engaging convergence of these two views. His social network, as we saw above, was in many ways decentralized when we consider its geographic extent, yet from a numerical point of view, it was centered on his local worlds of Delphi and Chaironeia. For this reason, I have created the map below, *Our Sea: A Plutarchan Perspective* to showcase Plutarch’s vision of his world.

To create this map, I used the Excel map of degrees 1 through 4 to confine it to Plutarch’s works and thus to how he represented his world. Figure 3.21 thus represents Plutarch’s ‘mental map’ of the world. When possible, I marked where he met individuals who were outliers on the map. The arrows therefore represent the location where these individuals appeared in Plutarch’s corpus, and not necessarily where they were stationed or where they met Plutarch.¹⁴²⁰ In some cases, Plutarch placed some individuals in more than one location. Since this is too difficult to depict on the map, I have chosen to have only one arrow for the outliers on the map, based on where they first appear

¹⁴²⁰ This does not mean that this is the extent of their travels, but, unfortunately, that type of investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis.

in his corpus.¹⁴²¹ Another word of caution is required here. This map is based on Plutarch's representation of these men and where they first appear in his writings. This may not reflect the reality of the circumstances, as it is possible that Plutarch met them elsewhere and that they are in his oeuvre in a certain location because of the relationship of that location to the discussion in question. Think, for example, of *The E at Delphi* (*De E delph.*). It is likely that the men in this dialogue (Ammonios, Eustrophos, Lamprias, Nikandros, and Theon) met Plutarch elsewhere and came together in Delphi to discuss a topic relevant to its local world. It is even possible that this discussion did not happen here, but that Plutarch depicted it thus because it suited the location. Since we do not know, we must be cautious when we investigate this material and keep in mind that this was Plutarch's representation of affairs and not necessarily a reflection of real circumstances.

However, by representing the locations of individuals in this way we have the added benefit of seeing how Plutarch understood the world around him through his placement of individuals in certain locations. The red arrows represent those Plutarch placed in Athens. The blue are individuals who were positioned in Rome. The one yellow arrow is Aepedsus on the island of Euboea. The black is reserved for those who were in Delphi. Finally, the green arrows are for those individuals whom Plutarch situated in Chaironeia.

¹⁴²¹ "First appear" refers to the location where Plutarch first placed them (based on the chronology of the treatises).



Figure 3.21: *Our Sea: A Plutarchan Perspective*

Based on Plutarch's representation of his social network in his corpus, his view of the world was one where the city of Rome and the region of Greece reigned supreme. For Plutarch, their strong pull as centres of philosophical discussion and learning attracted individuals from all over the known world.¹⁴²² We may even cautiously stipulate that Plutarch was a gravitational draw, as he represented men in his work who came to dine with him, invited him to dine with them, and sought his opinion on a range of topics. For Plutarch, it was not important to state *why* these men travelled

¹⁴²² See, for example, Chaïremonianos (Χαίρημονιανός; node number 95), who likely travelled from Tralles-Seleukeia to Chaironeia or Tithorea. Note that the location of the discussion in which he was present (*Quaest. conv.* 2.7 [641b-f]) did not specify a location. However, the setting of *Quaest. conv.* 2.6 (640b-641a) was Tithorea and that of *Quaest. conv.* 2.10 (642f-644d) was Chaironeia. It is therefore likely, though not certain, that he was present in one of these locations. Despite the difficulty in assigning him a location where Plutarch represented him, his presence in the ancient Greek world nevertheless provides an example of someone travelling long distances to converse with other learned men of the Roman Empire.

to the locations they did, but rather, to emphasize *how* they spent their time in these locations engaging in philosophical discourse. Their actions and Plutarch's participation in them thus become an *exemplum* of the appropriate way to spend one's leisure time and a reason for travel.

Plutarch's portrayal of the movement of elite men as a synchronised flow to meet in places that precipitated learned discussions is also a reflection of Plutarch's motivation for the way he represents his social network. Plutarch seemed to be aiming for two overarching goals for his own life and for his audience to understand. The first was to promote Greece and its independence from Rome, by pushing for harmony between them. He depicted individuals from as far away as Egypt and Asia Minor travelling to places like Chaironeia and Delphi, thus highlighting the importance of these places in his learned social network. As such, Plutarch demonstrates that it was not necessary to uproot one's life, even if one was an elite Greek, in order to engage with learned men throughout the empire. It is for this reason that I do not necessarily agree with Russell's assessment that Plutarch was not part of the Second Sophistic movement.¹⁴²³ Plutarch wanted his reader to know that he was engaged with the most illustrious men, both politically and philosophically, and he seems to have succeeded, even with those from Asia Minor. He did not discuss his potential time in Asia Minor because it was not relevant to his overall goal in writing. To include Asia Minor would have defeated his purpose of emphasizing the importance of staying in one's hometown. However, through his social network and his eagerness for philosophical debate, it is possible to see Plutarch's connection to this world and the feasibility that, if he was not actively engaged in it, he was at least aware of the intellectual climate of Pergamon.¹⁴²⁴ Therefore, I contend that it is

¹⁴²³ Russell 1973: 6-7.

¹⁴²⁴ We see this, for example, in Figure 3.21 above with the representation of Asklepiades of Pergamon (Ἀσκληπιάδης; node number 84). Note that we cannot say too much about this figure's link to Plutarch because the link derives from a lost treatise that Plutarch dedicated to him (*Consolation to Asklepiades*). Therefore, we cannot say

likely that Plutarch was, in some way, connected to the beginnings of the Second Sophistic, even if this connection is only through the 5th degree.¹⁴²⁵

Plutarch, however, was primarily concerned with promoting Chaironeia and Delphi. By thriving in his career through the construction of a web of friendships with elite Romans, Plutarch shows that remaining in Chaironeia was not a hindrance. These Romans brought benefits to his local world and to Greece more generally through their mutual respect, which resulted from Plutarch's maintenance of these friendships, thus creating harmony between the two peoples. Plutarch, however, was not interested in discussing his own achievements and therefore did not brag about the benefits these friendships brought to him, Chaironeia, or Delphi. However, through his composition of a treatise that discussed potential benefits (*Prae. ger. reip.*), he implied that he himself was aiming for these benefits and was succeeding. Nevertheless, despite this important goal for him, it was not the ultimate reason for building a social network in Rome. For he not only aimed for friendships with the elite of Rome, but he also ensured to foster relationships with those able to influence the highest levels of the Roman political world. He did so until he himself reached the emperor. Plutarch thus mirrored attempts to help realize Plato's dream of a philosopher king,¹⁴²⁶ and described how he achieved this success to become an *exemplum*.

with certainty that Asklepiades would have travelled to the Greek world. However, Plutarch obviously had some kind of connection to him, either from his own personal travels to Asia Minor, or from having met him elsewhere. This makes it likely that Plutarch was in some ways connected to the intellectual climate of Pergamon at this time through men like Asklepiades.

¹⁴²⁵ Individuals from Asia Minor who are in the 5th degree of connection include: Epictetos of Hierapolis (Ἐπίκτητος; node number 201), Dio of Prusa (Δίων Χρυσόστομος; node number 202); Polemo of Smyrna (Πολέμων; node number 203); Euphrates of Epiphania (Εὐφράτης; node number 214); and Niketes of Smyrna (Νικήτης; node number 237). The number of individuals here and their connections to Plutarch through another make it possible, if not probable, that at least one of their names would have come up in some of the learned discussions that Plutarch was having with their mutual connections. This is especially true as the discussions that Plutarch represented were philosophical in nature. It is therefore likely that Plutarch would have been made aware of the growing movement of the Second Sophistic. Without further evidence, however, this hypothesis remains speculative.

¹⁴²⁶ Plato *Republic* 519c-521. See above, page 409 for more on Plutarch's belief in Plato's philosopher-king. For Plutarch as a Platonic philosopher more generally, see the Introduction, page 10.

Finding a Place in the Empire

Plutarch's social network provides a unique opportunity to investigate the extent, both geographical and hierarchical, of an elite Greek male of the first and second centuries CE. At the beginning of this chapter, I sought to find out whether Plutarch was able to make the same social connections as those who were established in Athens, Rome, or other large centres, despite his choice to remain in rural Chaironeia. To investigate this, I first accumulated evidence of his social network from his corpus and from inscriptions and then divided individuals into degrees of connection. Through these divisions, we witnessed Plutarch's presentation of his immediate and extended family as relegated to its local and regional worlds. It was thus not until the author himself that a broader social network was attained, one that reached the heights of the Roman Empire.

And what I think is most remarkable, is that Plutarch seems to have succeeded.¹⁴²⁷ Before him, his father and his grandfather did not show any signs of connections beyond their small polis. In the span of a single generation, Plutarch, through his marriage to a woman from a prominent Thespian family, through his friendships, and through his work as a philosopher, represented himself as climbing the social ladder and building a network that extended into the highest echelons of Roman society. A feat enviable by anyone's standards. And even if we cannot directly connect him to the emperors, his nephew Sextos became an advisor to Marcus Aurelius. Plutarch was clearly talented

¹⁴²⁷ Note, however, Russell (1973: 7) who contends that, "...Plutarch was only on the fringe of the growing world of successful orators and sophists. As it is, it is difficult to get rid of the suspicion that he tried to break in and failed, and that his epideictic style was as uncongenial to contemporaries as it seems packed and overloaded to us." However, based on the circulation of papyri either in his lifetime or right afterwards, even in places he did not frequent (Oxyrhynchus and Antinoopolis: Schmidt 2013: 396), as well as his large social network that could not go any higher than the emperor with whom he seems to have been conversing, Russell is wrong. Perhaps we should not see Plutarch as a failure in terms of being an orator and a sophist because that was not what he was aiming to be. He was building a social network to influence a potential philosopher king and living a life that he believed would be exemplary to his reader. Clearly, as the papyri evidence shows, he succeeded in winning admiration and the intellectual influence he seemingly craved.

at weaving this network web and in building an alliance with Rome – one that benefitted both him and Chaironeia.

I also argued that Plutarch demonstrated his influence in the Roman power structure and set himself up as an *exemplum* through the relationships that he chose to represent to his audience. As explained by John Davies, “...no attempt to map human interactions in the same way can ignore our common experience that all human relationships are relationships of power and influence, whatever affective component there may also be.”¹⁴²⁸ Thus, while some of Plutarch’s relationships have different degrees of power,¹⁴²⁹ all of them represent power in one way or another. And while not necessarily political power (although one could argue that his influence on some Romans like Sosius Senecio is indicative of holding some political power), it is power of a different sort: power to influence, power to change minds, power to make men think.

We also saw that people travelled to him and that he likewise visited others. The Roman Empire, even for a Boiotian Greek, was clearly highly connected. Plutarch thus represented his own social network as a rich and expansive one that he was able to develop throughout his career while remaining and supporting his local world. Chaironeia, therefore, according to Plutarch’s works, was no hinderance either for his access to intellectual stimuli or for his ability to climb the social ladder of the Roman Empire. His choice to remain in his Boiotian town, alongside his advising of

¹⁴²⁸ Davies 2015: 251. Cf. Xenophontos (2016: 186) who explains that, “(p)ower in the Roman Empire was a state of mind, and in Plutarch’s symposium, ethical knowledge implies the sort of power that comes from influencing others.”

¹⁴²⁹ Take, for example, his relationship with Trajan who would hold all power over him, or his relationship with his wife where he represented himself as the head of the household and thus the one with power to guide and direct her behaviour (see Chapter 1, pages 146-152 for more on Plutarch and Timoxena).

those in political power, speaks to Plutarch's ambition not only as a philosopher but also his desire to craft himself as an *exemplum* for his reader.

Through the charts and maps of the accumulated data, the main foci of Plutarch's social network were revealed. Unsurprisingly, the centres of Plutarch's life – Chaironeia, Delphi, Athens, and Rome – are where Plutarch placed the most emphasis in his works and in his representation of his social network. Nevertheless, what was once an impression (that Plutarch focused on these places), is now verified by the data. By providing a case study of an elite Greek man and his ability to climb the Roman social ladder, I also contribute to the scholarship on network approaches. The data thus improves our understanding of elite Greeks in the Roman Empire by showing that it was possible, even for those in rural locations in the Greek world, to make an impact in Rome and that they could, if they were skilled, reach the ears of the emperor.

The findings from my social network map also provide a substantial increase to our knowledge of Plutarch's social connections. As I have shown, this network was more expansive and more complex than has been previously imagined. His network encompassed most of his known world, making it truly global in its scope. And although many of these individuals were concentrated in his local world, those who were beyond his polis were sometimes giants of the Roman world, such as Sosius Senecio. These men are important not only for the level of influence that Plutarch's friendship with them represents, but also because their mutual acquaintances demonstrate the likelihood that Plutarch was linked to the Roman emperors. The rising number of mutual contacts that occurred with each emperor also demonstrates the probability of the emperors' knowledge of the Greek author and thus of Plutarch's increasing influence in Rome as his career progressed. His

choice to remain in his local world, therefore, enabled him to have the leisure and safety required to climb the Roman social ladder as a provincial Greek elite. Thus, even though he remained in Chaironeia, Plutarch was a highly connected man. His world, as we have seen, was anything but small.

One of the reasons it is problematic to establish Plutarch's choice in how he presented his world and his approach to writing as strictly history, philosophy, or something else, is because of his frequent identity code-switching. Plutarch was all these things and yet only one of these things depending on his current associations and location. He was a priest in Delphi. He was an educator and family man in Chaironeia. He was an historian and a philosopher in Rome. Therefore, we cannot decide what exactly he or his writings were, because, like the man, even his writings experienced a sort of identity code-switching depending on the addressee: for Klea, he was a priest and educator; for Eurydike, he was a close family friend, her loving Chaironeian teacher; for Mestrius Florus, he was a friend, historian, and philosopher, ready to engage in debate and celebrate the birthday of Aristotle; for Trajan he was Plato, eager to advise and influence a potential philosopher king. His writings reflect his persona as he presented himself to these different individuals. Aspects of each of Plutarch's identities are present in all his writings, but, depending on the addressee and the location, one identity shines brightest. And yet, for the reader of his corpus he is all of these things, a multitalented elite from Chaironeia who managed to reach the highest echelons of the Roman Empire and build a social network map that was impressive in its numbers, influence, and geographic extent. And he did this in the span of one generation. Accordingly, his work mirrored his ambitions.

Plutarch also ensured that his reader used not only the men whom he portrayed in the *Parallel Lives* as models of virtue, but also himself and his friendships as worthy of imitation. He made sure that his audience knew that he remained in his small town of Chaironeia to support it (*Dem.* 2.2), but he was also active in priestly affairs in Delphi, while simultaneously engaging with the Roman elite. His own behaviour in the *Moralia* thus turned himself into the *exemplum* that he wished his reader to imitate. He supported his local world and did not seem to suffer for it, as Chaironeia became connected through its association with Plutarch and the social network that he built. His friendships with Greeks were with those interested in philosophy and who led upright lives. His Roman friends were likewise interested in philosophical discourse, but turned towards their advisor, Plutarch, for guidance to ensure that they were virtuous statesmen. Even the emperor was receptive to his wisdom, as the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* conveys.¹⁴³⁰ Plutarch thus showed his reader not only the virtues of men long gone, but also demonstrated how to live a good life and maintain a beneficial social network. That Plutarch had succeeded in influencing them through the example of his friendships, encouraged the elites of Rome to support Plutarch and Greeks like him, for the potential maintenance of harmony between the Greeks and Romans.

As Stadter argues, “(b)eneath Plutarch’s humane and tranquil persona there lies a fiercely ambitious spirit: ambitious, however, not for money or power, but for the philosophic life, to win it for himself and for others.”¹⁴³¹ And yet, through Plutarch’s social network and his work he did achieve a sort of power, one that brought benefits to his local world but also influenced the minds

¹⁴³⁰ Plutarch is not just advising the emperor, as Lieve van Hoof (2014: 141) explains, “Plutarch’s readers are often politically active: amongst the Greek and Roman dedicatees and addressees..., not a few were indeed politicians, sometimes on a local or provincial, sometimes on an Imperial level...Conversely, none of the men addressed in the practical ethics is characterized as a philosopher.” Cf. Stadter 1988: 293; Jacobs 2017b: 25-7.

¹⁴³¹ Stadter 2014a: 50.

and actions of the elite of Rome. Influence is power. Relationships are power. Plutarch was a master of both.

Conclusion: *Pen and Stone. Plutarch, Chaironeia, and the Roman Empire*

Wine, when mixed with conversation, gives a handle to friendship.
(Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 4.0 [660b])

Plutarch won many friendships. He did so through his travels, his writings, and the numerous dinner parties he depicted, and surely did not depict, in his works. Plutarch used his life in Chaironeia, Boiotia, and the connected Roman world as an *exemplum* for his reader. The mirrors he created in his oeuvre were therefore not only ones from the past, but also ones that reflected the benefits and advantages of his way of living and of his friendships.

The immediate ramifications of his networks and his efforts are seen after his death. In the epitaph erected for him (*Syll.*³ 843), his worlds converge: locally, the Chaironeians and Delphians helped to erect it; regionally, his friend Philinos dedicated the monument; and globally, it was set up in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi, where it was sure to be read by Greeks and Romans alike. Plutarch, therefore, despite remaining in his small town of Chaironeia, was a highly connected man in each sphere of his life. He chose to chase his ambitions, not through a political career in the Roman world, but rather, through philosophic advising. And he was successful.

Either during his life or immediately after his death, his works reached areas in the Roman Empire that he did not frequent.¹⁴³² Furthermore, his nephew Sextus became the advisor to emperor

¹⁴³² Schmidt 2013: 396.

Marcus Aurelius, thus living the role that Plutarch surely dreamed of.¹⁴³³ Both of these achievements speak to the fame that Plutarch managed to gain through his magisterial maneuvering of the Roman social ladder. He accomplished this through wine and conversation, and what is more, he did so from the comforts of his own local world.

Plutarch of Chaironeia. The two are almost synonymous and this was no accident on Plutarch's part. He remained there, 'lest it become even smaller' (*Dem.* 2.2). His home was Chaironeia and he was first and foremost Chaironeian. Nowhere did he mention his Roman citizenship because it was not at the forefront of his identity, his local was. Plutarch was a man simultaneously connected and attached to the continuity of place that Chaironeia represented for him, his father, his grandfather, and now his sons.

When I undertook this thesis, I wanted to discover what Plutarch said about his polis and the potential ramifications of his presentation. This could not be done without also looking at the regional and global arenas to provide context and comparison for his local world. The main question, of course, focused on how he presented his local, regional, and global spheres, and how his presentation affected his writings and the message he sent to his audience.

I applied the theories of H. Beck's localism in the ancient Greek world, with Malkin's connectivity, and Horden and Purcell's fluidity. I argued that both fixity and fluidity were possible, and that

¹⁴³³ See Chapter 3 page 428. For more on Plutarch descendants and their attachment to his name and his fame, see: Barrow 1967: 178 n.11; Jones 1971: 11-2; Russell 1973: 6. We cannot forget that Plutarch was influential in his own right. We see this through the dedicatees of his works, like Cornelius Pulcher, Menemachus of Sardis, or Sosius Senecio, and also through his actions as a mediator in Rome (*De frat. am.* 4 [479e]), lecturing in Rome (*De curios.* 15 [522d-e]), and his statement that people carry his works for reference (*De cap. ex inim. util.* 1 [86c-d]). This implies that he was influential, even if only with his friends. For more on Plutarch and his influence in Rome, see, for example, his relationship with Sosius Senecio in Chapter 3, on pages 381-4.

Chaironeia and Chaironeia's Plutarch would demonstrate this. Throughout my thesis, I showed not only that Chaironeia and Plutarch were highly connected, but also that Horden and Purcell's argument that there can be no fixity in the ancient world because of its connectivity, is too simplistic. Plutarch's world was a connected one, no doubt. But it was also focused on the inward, on the local. By looking at Chaironeia, we learned, for example, of its local knowledge cultures: the haunted bath house, local heroes who fought alongside Sulla, and ancient battles against Amazons. The archaeology of the polis also showed a strong link to the cult of memory surrounding the local battles and conflicts, particularly the 338 BCE battle against Philip of Macedon and the 86 BCE battle fought alongside Sulla. All demonstrate a continuity of place, with strong folk traditions permeating the minds and lives of the citizenry that surely would not have been lost on a visitor. The local world thus provided the inhabitants of Chaironeia, Plutarch included, with a sense of belonging through a history and collective memory that they projected to outsiders.

This is an important finding, as it affects how we approach and understand the ancient Mediterranean. By looking at Chaironeia through the lens of localism rather than simply constructing a local history, we uncovered the complex local discourses that were present in this place and that affected the everyday lives of the inhabitants, while also speaking to outsiders. Therefore, when we look at the notions of a global Roman world, or when we approach the intricacies of a small place, we must view them in tandem. The local and global cannot be separated, as they speak to each other and provide meaning and context through their dialogue.

Plutarch is one of the main couriers of the local-global message. Through his incidental remarks, Chaironeia becomes more than just the setting of Plutarch's everyday life, where he wrote and entertained. This thesis has shown that Plutarch was attempting to build a narrative packed with meaning for his local world, one that explicitly and implicitly revealed a message of continual loyalty to Rome. This, of course, corresponded with his ideal that harmony with the ruling power was essential, but it also reflected his personal interests to climb the Roman social ladder and to advise. If he was from a place that was always loyal to Rome, and he showed how he lived this ideal in his polis, he builds his credibility as an advisor to the Romans and as an *exemplum* for his reader.

Plutarch also provided another *exemplum*: Boiotia. For his regional world, Plutarch painted a picture to counter the Athenian slander of 'Boiotian swine'. He did so by constructing a Boiotia equal to the more recognized influential places of Greece, such as Athens and Sparta. At times, Plutarch even presented Boiotia as greater than Athens. He thus showed that Boiotia was worthy of consideration as an *exemplum*. For Boiotia displayed military prowess, self-control (a quality admired by his Roman reads), and, furthermore, through Herakles, Boiotia was the progenitor of such great cities as Sparta, Athens, and Rome.

Plutarch also took care not to over-emphasize Boiotia's military strength, for this would have played into the idea of stupidity that fell in line with the Athenian jibes. Instead, he spotlighted the rich culture of the Boiotians – their writers and philosophers, who were equal to those in other regions – as well as Boiotia's religious complexity. By doing so, Plutarch depicted Boiotia as one

that was worthy of consideration and not the backwater parochial nest of bumbling idiots that its competitors would have it be.

By portraying Boiotia as vibrant and worthy of consideration by Rome, and by showcasing Chaironeia's loyalty to Rome, Plutarch surrounded himself with an atmosphere that unveiled some of the reasons he chose to stay in Chaironeia: it was a worthy location; its people were worthy. But remaining in Chaironeia also provided an implicit message to his reader: Plutarch was from a vibrant region and from a small but *loyal* town. He is therefore worthy of consideration as a philosopher and advisor.

By bringing to light what Plutarch said about his local and regional worlds, I have filled a gap in the scholarship, by showing the importance of these two spheres to Plutarch's writing and to what he wished to impart to his reader. I have noticed a deliberate interweaving of local and regional worlds in the rich tapestry of the *Moralia* and the *Parallel Lives*. These mentions are more than just passing comments. His presentations are, to a degree, a reaction to his global, connected world. For the images Plutarch painted are ones that were relative to the Roman powers of his time. There is no indication in his works that he rejected Rome, nor even that his local and regional depictions were part of a counter-imperial discourse. In fact, while he showed how these two spheres were unique, he did so in a way that made them relatable to all his readers, Greeks and Romans alike, and crafted his narratives of these spaces as ones worthy of consideration as *exempla*. This is connected to the other argument I have made, namely, that Plutarch was ambitious in his desire to advise and that his choice to remain in Chaironeia neither hindered nor dimmed his aspirations.

Plutarch, rather than rejecting Rome and its power, was ambitious in his effort to form and solidify a link to this global network. This is most obvious in Plutarch's social web, which was highly connected to many different regions of the Roman Empire. Unsurprisingly, we mostly find links to places where he spent a lot of time: Chaironeia, Athens, and Rome. However, we also encounter a network in the East and in North Africa. Plutarch was a well-connected man who was plugged into the intellectual matrices of his day. Thus, we also witnessed the likelihood, through mutual connections, that Plutarch had some contact with the ruling powers of Rome and, probably, those Latin contemporary authors of whom Plutarch was silent and who were silent towards him. Plutarch's network thus not only allowed for the flow of information, but also for a gain in influence and popularity, sufficient to perhaps have even reached the ears of emperors Trajan and Hadrian. Plutarch used his life as a mirror for his reader – he made himself into an *exemplum*, one that showed his audience how to interact with and advise those in power. We must, therefore, consider his desire to be an *exemplum* when we approach his writings, as these ambitions surely affected what he said, how he said it, and whom he said it to.

For example, we witnessed how he used his own life, his marriage, his advice to others like Klea and Sosius Senecio, and his writing to emperor Trajan as a way of setting himself up as a mirror for his reader. While it has long been recognized that the heroes in his *Parallel Lives* were intended to be mirrors for reflection, no one has suggested that Plutarch was attempting to portray his own life as one. This speaks to his ambitions as a philosopher, supporting the idea that he wanted to be like Plato to Dionysius II. Thus, I build on Susan Jacob's idea that the *Lives* are pragmatic biographies for Plutarch's audience through the heroes presented therein, to argue that the snippets

of Plutarch's life found in both the *Parallel Lives* and the *Moralia* can also be used as a pragmatic mirror for his audience. Plutarch was ambitious and his self-portrait reflected this.

Plutarch's presentation of Chaironeia, Boiotia, and his global social network exhibited his ambitions as a philosopher. Therefore, his statement about living in Chaironeia, lest it become any smaller, may not have been the self-sacrifice he portrayed. Instead, it did not hinder him from climbing the social ladder of Rome. In fact, distance may have aided in this endeavour, as he likely avoided repercussions from Domitian's philosopher ban. His choice to remain in a small provincial town was prudent for the time and offered him the luxury to teach, learn, and write. When political circumstances allowed, he was able to network beyond his local and regional worlds, into those of Rome. His success cannot be denied, as his father and grandfather seem to have had no links to the Roman world. Yet Plutarch, in one generation, had reached the ears of the emperor.¹⁴³⁴ Could it be because of Plutarch that his nephew became an advisor to Marcus Aurelius? Probably.

Clearly, Plutarch's world was one that was highly connected, and connected not only for Greeks to Greeks, but also for Greeks to Romans. Perhaps we can see Plutarch's network as the reason for his interest in connecting Greeks and Romans, as he did in parallel in the *Parallel Lives*, but also as guests in the *Moralia*, equally well received, and globally connected. Katherine Clark has shown that the Roman Empire was a stimulus for the composition of universal histories, but that there are indicators that smaller scale writings honoured the local world in materials like inscriptions.¹⁴³⁵

Although Plutarch was not writing history as we would define it, and is thus outside Clark's study,

¹⁴³⁴ In his network connections and ties to the upper echelons of Roman power, Plutarch becomes an individual intellectual actor who engineers change for his family and his community, like Wendt's religious actors (2016: 223).

¹⁴³⁵ Clarke 2005: 112.

conceivably, the connected world of the Roman Empire may have been the impetus for his parallelism, not necessarily to present Greeks and Romans as equal,¹⁴³⁶ but to reflect the current state of affairs, with Greeks and Romans having both historical and contemporary commonalities. Yet he also presented them as being strikingly different in other contexts, reminding the reader of the hierarchies between them, and the disconnect that this can sometimes create.

But Plutarch's connections are not the only thing that concerns us in reconstructing the network of his small polis, and so, I have also considered the local Chaironeians that come to us through his works and through inscriptions that not only extend the network map of our polis, but also hint at the epigraphic habit of this local world. Plutarch and his contemporaries entertained a large network, one that allowed them not only freedom in Greece, but that also granted them, if not political or economic power, then at least privilege or influence, in the Roman world. They were intimately connected to each other and to some political power structures and thus moved beyond the boundaries of their poleis. Chaironeia was not isolated, nor was Plutarch. We must remember this when we approach his works and evaluate his position and ambitions in the Roman Empire.

There are many potentially promising avenues for future research that draw on the local, regional, and global worlds of Plutarch. First, more local investigations would enable us to understand the intricacies of the projection of identity in the ancient world, and how it changed through time and space. More archaeology would deepen our awareness of this complexity while simultaneously connecting these local spheres to regional politics, and to the Roman powers. I have laid out the forest and focused on the pines of Chaironeia. Now we need to discover the other trees.

¹⁴³⁶ E.g., Barrow 1967: 59; Duff 1999: 291; Stadter 2014a: 11.

Plutarch himself remains a strong case study for this sort of investigative work. For example, this thesis did not cover Plutarch's local world of Delphi.¹⁴³⁷ While there have been many studies concerned with his Delphic works,¹⁴³⁸ none of them approach this place with consideration of H. Beck's notions of localism. By exploring Plutarch's representation of his conduct in this space as well as the picture that he painted of this local world, we could gain a fuller appreciation of how Delphi affected his works and what explicit and implicit messages he might have been sending to his readers. This would also allow for an investigation of the notion of identity code-switching for Plutarch between his two local worlds that may reveal even more about our Chaironeian and his constructed narratives.

Finally, there is potential in conducting a project similar to HESTIA,¹⁴³⁹ where the authors have digitally mapped out the work of Herodotus. I have mapped out Plutarch's network connections in the same way but have not mapped his texts. Other trends may become evident through the numerical data collected, which may reveal emphases on certain places. This will help us better understand the spatial data in his works, which may offer clues on Plutarch's presentation of places and thus his conception of his global world.

¹⁴³⁷ Jones (1971: 4) names Chaironeia and Delphi as, "...the twin poles of Plutarch's adult life."

¹⁴³⁸ See, for example: Barrow 1967: 30-5 (the Pythian dialogues); Brenk 2017 (use of space and time in *On the Oracles of the Pythia*); Buckler 1992: 4809-4811 (largely silent); Georgiadou and Oikonomopoulou 2017: 1 (presents Delphi as a place of pilgrimage); Hirsch-Luipold 2014: 164-5 (Plutarch's emphasis on the oracle); Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont 2012: 25 (people mentioned by Plutarch are found in inscriptions in Delphi); Lamberton 2001: 155 (largely indirect information); Oikonomopoulou 2017 (space, rather than geography, is one of the main themes of exploration for Delphi in the *Greek Questions*); Pelling 2017 (*On the Oracles of the Pythia* as an example of a hodological account); Russell 1973: 12 (people come from all around the world to gather there); Stadter 2014b: 20. For Plutarch's position in Delphi, see: Casanova 2013: 151-4; Lamberton 2001: 52-3; Lucchesi 2017: 99; Stadter 2002c: 19; Stadter 2014a: 70-97; Stadter 2014b: 20-1. For Plutarch and the Roman emperors in Delphi, see: Swain 1991.

¹⁴³⁹ Barker, Bouzarovski, Pelling, and Isaken 2010.

From the outset, I promised one thing: that this would not be a local history. While there has been a focus on Plutarch's local world, it was not without the consideration of its regional and global counterparts, or the sophisticated matrices of exchange and connection that they represented. Thus, we have seen that a blend of fluidity and fixity was possible in an interconnected life with a continuity in place. The local world of Chaironeia, its Lion, and its people showed us the complexity of these notions and the promise of their inquiries.

In these pages, Plutarch's texts have provided a roadmap for our journey. We have been led from his estate in his small, Boiotian town, to its micro- and macro-regions, and finally, to the international reaches of his social network. Plutarch might have been planted in Chaironeia, but he, like his polis, was not immovable in the winds of time and change that the connected world blew throughout his life. He embraced these winds and turned them to his own advantage, to the advantage of his hometown, and to the advantage of his regional affiliation. And so, we have identified the soil of Chaironeia. We have witnessed it carried on the sandals of Plutarch's feet and disbursed throughout the empire. It was not only borne by the Chaironeian philosopher, but also by his visitors. The soil inevitably linked them to this small Boiotian town when they drank and conversed at Plutarch's table. May we continue to find their footprints.

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Appendices

Reference Guide to Plutarch's Works

Parallel Lives¹⁴⁴⁰

Greek Life	Abbreviation	Roman Life	Abbreviation	Loeb Volume	Chronology (Jones 1966)
Theseus	<i>Thes.</i>	Romulus	<i>Rom.</i>	1	96-120 CE
Lycurgus	<i>Lyc.</i>	Numa Pompilius	<i>Num.</i>	1	96-120 CE
Themistocles	<i>Them.</i>	Camillus	<i>Cam.</i>	2	96-120 CE
Solon	<i>Sol.</i>	Publicola	<i>Pub.</i>	1	96-120 CE
Pericles	<i>Per.</i>	Fabius Maximus	<i>Fab.</i>	3	96-120 CE
Alcibiades	<i>Alc.</i>	Coriolanus	<i>Cor.</i>	4	96-120 CE
Epaminondas	lost	Scipio Africanus Aemilianus	lost	N/A	96-120 CE
Phocion	<i>Phoc.</i>	Cato Minor	<i>Cat. Min.</i>	8	96-120 CE
Agis	<i>Ag.</i>	Tiberius Gracchus	<i>Ti. Gracch.</i>	10	96-120 CE
Cleomenes	<i>Cleom.</i>	Gaius Gracchus	<i>C. Gracch.</i>		96-120 CE
Timoleon	<i>Tim.</i>	Aemilius Paullus	<i>Aem.</i>	6	96-120 CE
Eumenes	<i>Eum.</i>	Sertorius	<i>Sert.</i>	8	96-120 CE
Aristides	<i>Arist.</i>	Cato Maior	<i>Cat. Mai.</i>	2	96-120 CE
Pelopidas	<i>Pel.</i>	Marcellus	<i>Marc.</i>	5	96-120 CE
Lysander	<i>Lys.</i>	Sulla	<i>Sull.</i>	4	96-120 CE
Pyrrhus	<i>Pyrrh.</i>	Marius	<i>Mar.</i>	9	96-120 CE
Philopoemen	<i>Phil.</i>	Titus Flamininus	<i>Flam.</i>	10	96-120 CE
Nicias	<i>Nic.</i>	Crassus	<i>Crass.</i>	3	96-120 CE
Cimon	<i>Cim.</i>	Lucullus	<i>Luc.</i>	2	96-120 CE
Dion	<i>Dion</i>	Brutus	<i>Brut.</i>	6	96-120 CE
Agesilaus	<i>Ages.</i>	Pompeius	<i>Pomp.</i>	5	96-120 CE
Alexander	<i>Alex.</i>	Julius Caesar	<i>Caes.</i>	7	96-120 CE
Demosthenes	<i>Dem.</i>	Cicero	<i>Cic.</i>	7	96-120 CE
Demetrius	<i>Demetr.</i>	Antonius	<i>Ant.</i>	9	96-120 CE

¹⁴⁴⁰ The tables in this appendix are a reference guide to the editions of Plutarch's works that were used for this thesis. When available, the abbreviation assigned to each work follows those set out by the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4th Edition (Hornblower and Spawforth [eds.] 2012), available online: <https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/abbreviation-list/#p>. When not available, the abbreviation is taken from the most commonly used abbreviation for that title in English scholarship. Note that the *Lives* of Aratus, Artaxerxes, Galba, and Otho, not a part of the *Parallel Lives* series, are found in Loeb volume 11 of Plutarch's *Lives*. Jones' 1966 chronology places the *Lives* of Galba and Otho to c.79-96 CE.

Moralia

English Title	Greek Title	Latin Title	Abbrev.	Stephanus Page	Loeb Volume and Pages	Chronology (Jones 1966)
On the Education of Children	Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς	De liberis educandis	<i>De lib. ed.</i>	1 A	Vol. 1, p.3-69	N/A
How a Young Man Should Study Poetry	Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν	Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat	<i>Quomodo adol.</i>	14 D	Vol. 1, p.72-197	After 80 CE
On Listening to Lectures	Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν	De recta ratione audiendi	<i>De rec. rat. aud.</i>	37 B	Vol. 1, p.201-259	N/A
How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend	Πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνοιε τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου	Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur	<i>Quomodo adul.</i>	48 E	Vol. 1, p.263-395	90-116 CE
How a Man may become Aware of his Progress in Virtue	Πῶς ἂν τις αἴσθοιτο ἑαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ	Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus	<i>Quomodo quis suos</i>	75 A	Vol. 1, p.399-457	Before 116 CE
How to Profit by one's Enemies	Πῶς ἂν τις ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ὠφελοῖτο	De capienda ex inimicis utilitate	<i>De cap. ex inim. util.</i>	86 B	Vol. 2, p.3-41	96-114 CE
On having many Friends	Περὶ πολυφιλίας	De amicorum multitudine	<i>De amic. mult.</i>	93 A	Vol. 2, p.45-69	N/A
Chance	Περὶ τύχης	De fortuna	<i>De fort.</i>	97 C	Vol. 2, p.73-89	N/A
Virtue and Vice	Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας	De virtute et vitio	<i>De virt. et vit.</i>	100 B	Vol. 2, p.93-101	N/A
A Letter of Condolence to Apollonius	Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον	Consolatio ad Apollonium	<i>Consol ad Ap.</i>	101 F	Vol. 2, p.105-211	N/A
Advice about Keeping Well	Ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα	De tuenda sanitate praecepta	<i>De tuenda san.</i>	122 B	Vol. 2, p.214-293	After 81 CE
Advice to Bride and Groom	Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα	Coniugalia praecepta	<i>Praec. conj.</i>	138 A	Vol. 2, p.297-343	90-100 CE
The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men	Ἑπτὰ σοφῶν συμπόσιον	Convivium septem sapientium	<i>Conv. sept. sap.</i>	146 B	Vol. 2, p.346-449	N/A
Superstition	Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας	De superstitione	<i>De superst.</i>	164 E	Vol. 2, p.452-495	N/A
Sayings of Kings and Commanders	Βασιλέων ἀποφθέγματα καὶ στρατηγῶν	Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata	<i>Reg. et imp. apophth.</i>	172 A	Vol. 3, p.3-237	N/A
Sayings of Spartans	Ἀποφθέγματα Λακωνικά	Apophthegmata Laconica	<i>Apophth. Lac.</i>	208 A	Vol. 3, p.240-421	N/A

The Ancient Customs of the Spartans	Τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιτηδεύματα	Instituta Laconica	<i>Inst. Lac.</i>	236 F	Vol. 3, p.425-449	N/A
Sayings of Spartan Women	Λακαινῶν ἀποφθέγματα	Lacaenarum apophthegmata	<i>Lac. apophth.</i>	240 C	Vol. 3, p.453-469	N/A
Bravery of Women	Γυναικῶν ἀρεταί	De mulierum virtutibus	<i>De mul. vir.</i>	242 E	Vol. 3, p.473-581	c.115 CE
Roman Questions	Αἴτια Ῥωμαϊκά	Quaestiones Romanae	<i>Quaest. Rom.</i>	263 D	Vol. 4, p.2-171	After 105 CE
Greek Questions	Αἴτια Ἑλληνικά	Quaestiones Graecae	<i>Quest. Graec.</i>	291 D	Vol. 4, p.174-249	N/A
Greek and Roman Parallel Stories	Συναγωγὴ ἱστοριῶν παραλλήλων Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῶν	Parallela Graeca et Romana	<i>Par. Graec. et Rom.</i>	305 A	Vol. 4, p.253-317	N/A
On the Fortune of the Romans	Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης	De fortuna Romanorum	<i>De fort. Rom.</i>	316 B	Vol. 4, p.320-377	N/A
On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander	Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἢ ἀρετῆς	De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute	<i>De Alex. fort.</i>	326 D	Vol. 4, p.380-487	N/A
Were the Athenians more famous in War or in Wisdom?	Πότερον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατὰ σοφίαν ἐνδοξότεροι	De gloria Atheniensium	<i>De gloria Athen.</i>	345 C	Vol. 4, p.490-527	N/A
Isis and Osiris	Περὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος	De Iside et Osiride	<i>De Is. et Os.</i>	351 C	Vol. 5, p.3-191	c.115 CE
The E at Delphi	Περὶ τοῦ εἶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς	De E apud Delphos	<i>De E delph.</i>	384 C	Vol. 5, p. 194-253	After 95 CE
Oracles at Delphi no longer given in Verse	Περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἔμμετρα νῦν τὴν Πυθίαν	De Pythiae oraculis	<i>De Pyth. or.</i>	394 D	Vol. 5, p.256-345	After 95 CE
The Obsolescence of Oracles	Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων χρηστηρίων	De defectu oraculorum	<i>De def. or.</i>	409 E	Vol. 5, p.348-501	N/A
Can Virtue be Taught?	Εἰ διδασκτὸν ἡ ἀρετὴ	An virtus doceri possit	<i>An. virt.</i>	439 A	Vol. 6, p. 2-13	N/A
On Moral Virtue	Περὶ ἠθικῆς ἀρετῆς	De virtute morali	<i>De virt. mor.</i>	440 D	Vol. 6, p.16-87	N/A
On the Control of Anger	Περὶ ἀοργησίας	De cohibenda ira	<i>De cohib. ira</i>	452 E	Vol. 6, p.90-159	92-100 CE
On Tranquility of Mind	Περὶ εὐθυμίας	De tranquillitate animi	<i>De tranq. an.</i>	464 E	Vol. 6, p.163-241	92-107 CE

On Brotherly Love	Περὶ φιλαδελφίας	De fraterno amore	<i>De frat. am.</i>	478 A	Vol. 6, p.245-325	68-107 CE
On Affection for Offspring	Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἔγγονα φιλοστοργίας	De amore prolis	<i>De amor. prol.</i>	493 A	Vol. 6, p.328-357	N/A
Whether Vice is sufficient to cause Unhappiness	Εἰ αὐτάρκης ἡ κακία πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν	An vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat	<i>An vit. ad infel. suff.</i>	498 A	Vol. 6, p.361-375	N/A
Whether Affections of the Soul are Worse than those of the Body	Περὶ τοῦ πότερον τὰ ψυχῆς ἢ τὰ σώματος πάθη χείρονα	Animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores	<i>Anime an corporis</i>	500 B	Vol. 6, p.378-381	N/A
On Talkativeness	Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας	De garrulitate	<i>De garr.</i>	502 B	Vol. 6, p.395-467	After 68 CE
On being a Busybody	Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης	De curiositate	<i>De curios.</i>	515 B	Vol. 6, p.471-517	After 96 CE
On Love of Wealth	Περὶ φιλοπλουτίας	De cupiditate divitiarum	<i>De cup.</i>	523 C	Vol. 7, p.2-39	N/A
On Compliancy	Περὶ δυσωπίας	De vitioso pudore	<i>De vit. pud.</i>	528 C	Vol. 7, p.42-89	N/A
On Envy and Hate	Περὶ φθόνου καὶ μίσους	De invidia et odio	<i>De invidia</i>	536 E	Vol. 7, p.92-107	N/A
On Praising Oneself Inoffensively	Περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἀνεπιφθόνως	De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando	<i>De se ipsum</i>	539 A	Vol. 7, p.110-167	After 100 CE
On the Delays of Divine Vengeance	Περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βραδέως τιμωρουμένων	De sera numinis vindicta	<i>De sera</i>	548 A	Vol. 7, p.170-299	81-107 CE
On Fate	Περὶ εἰμαρμένης	De fato	<i>De fato</i>	568 B	Vol. 7, p.303-359	N/A
On the Sign of Socrates	Περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου	De genio Socratis	<i>De gen.</i>	575 A	Vol. 7, p.362-509	N/A
On Exile	Περὶ φυγῆς	De exilio	<i>De exil.</i>	599 A	Vol. 7, p.513-571	After 96 CE
Consolation to his Wife	Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα	Consolatio ad uxorem	<i>Consol. ad uxor.</i>	608 A	Vol. 7, p.575-605	85-95 CE
Table Talk (1-6)	Συμποσιακά	Quaestionum convivalium libri vi	<i>Quaest. conv.</i>	612 C	Vol. 8, p.1-515	99-116 CE
Table Talk (7-9)	Συμποσιακά	Quaestionum convivalium libri iii	<i>Quaest. conv.</i>	697 C	Vol. 9, p.2-299	99-116 CE
Dialogue on Love	Ἔρωτικός	Amatorius	<i>Amat.</i>	748 E	Vol. 9, p.303-441	N/A
Love Stories	Ἑρωτικαὶ διηγήσεις	Amatoriae narrationes	<i>Am. narr.</i>	771 E	Vol. 10, p.3-23	After 96 CE

A Philosopher Ought to Converse Especially with Men in Power	Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι	Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum	<i>Max. cum princ.</i>	776 A	Vol. 10, p.27-47	N/A
To the Uneducated Ruler	Πρὸς ἡγεμόνα ἀπαιδευτον	Ad principem ineruditum	<i>Ad princ.</i>	779 C	Vol. 10, p.51-71	N/A
Whether an Old Man Should Engage in Public Affairs	Εἰ πρεσβυτέρω πολιτευτέον	An seni respublica gerenda sit	<i>An seni.</i>	783 A	Vol. 10, p.75-153	After 110 CE
Precepts of Statecraft	Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα	Praecepta gerendae reipublicae	<i>Prae. ger. reip.</i>	798 A	Vol. 10, p.156-299	96-114 CE
On Monarchy, Democracy and Oligarchy	Περὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας	De unius in republica dominatione, populari statu, et paucorum imperio	<i>De unius</i>	826 A	Vol. 10, p. 303-311	N/A
That we Ought not to Borrow	Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν δανείζεσθαι	De vitando aere alieno	<i>De vit. aere al.</i>	827 D	Vol. 10, p.315-339	N/A
Lives of the Ten Orators	Βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων	Vitae decem oratorum	<i>Vit. dec. or.</i>	832 B	Vol. 10, p.342-457	N/A
Comparison Between Aristophanes and Menander	Συγκρίσεως Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Μενάνδρου ἐπιτομή	Comparationis Aristophanis et Menandri compendium	<i>Comp. Ar. et Men.</i>	853 A	Vol. 10, p.461-473	N/A
On the Malice of Herodotus	Περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας	De Herodoti malignitate	<i>De Herod. malig.</i>	854 E	Vol. 11, p.2-129	N/A
On the Opinions of the Philosophers	Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων	De placitis philosophorum	<i>De plac. phil.</i>	874 D		N/A
Causes of Natural Phenomena	Αἷτια φυσικά	Quaestiones naturales	<i>Quaest. nat.</i>	911 C	Vol. 11, p.133-229	N/A
On the Face which Appears in the Orb of the Moon	Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφαινομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης	De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet	<i>De facie</i>	920 A	Vol. 12, p.2-223	N/A
On the Principle of Cold	Περὶ τοῦ πρώτως ψυχροῦ	De primo frigido	<i>De primo</i>	945 E	Vol. 12, p.227-285	After 107 CE
Whether Fire or Water is More Useful	Πότερον ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ χρησιμότερον	Aquane an ignis sit utilior	<i>Aquane etc.</i>	955 D	Vol. 12, p.287-307	N/A

Whether Land or Sea Animals are Cleverer	Πότερα τῶν ζῴων φρονιμώτερα τὰ χερσαία ἢ τὰ ἔνυδρα	De sollertia animalium	<i>De soll. an.</i>	959 A	Vol. 12, p.311-479	After 81 CE
Beasts are Rational	Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἄλογα λόγῳ χρῆσθαι	Bruta animalia ratione uti	<i>Gryllus</i>	985 D	Vol. 12, p.489-533	N/A
On the Eating of Flesh	Περὶ σαρκοφαγίας	De esu carniū orationes I II	<i>De esu carniū</i>	993 A	Vol. 12, p.537-579	N/A
Platonic Questions	Πλατωνικὰ ζητήματα	Quaestiones Platonicae	<i>Quaest. Plat.</i>	999 C	Vol. 13, p.2-129	N/A
On the Birth of the Spirit in Timaeus	Περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας	De animae procreatione in Timaeo	<i>De anim. procr.</i>	1012 A	Vol. 13, p.133-345	After 95 CE
Summary of the Birth of the Spirit	Ἐπιτομή τοῦ Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας	Compendium libri de animae procreatione in Timaeo	<i>Comp. libri</i>	1030 D	Vol. 13, p.348-365	N/A
On Stoic Self-Contradictions	Περὶ Στωϊκῶν ἐναντιωμάτων	De Stoicorum repugnantiiis	<i>De Stoic. repug.</i>	1033 A	Vol. 13, p.367-603	N/A
The Stoics Speak More Paradoxically than the Poets	Ὅτι παραδοξότερα οἱ Στωϊκοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν λέγουσιν	Compendium argumenti Stoicos absurdiora	<i>Comp. argumenti</i>	1057 C	Vol. 13, p.606-619	N/A
Against the Stoics, On Common Conceptions	Περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν πρὸς τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς	De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos	<i>Comm. not.</i>	1058 E	Vol. 13, p.622-873	N/A
That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible	Ὅτι οὐδὲ ἡδέως ζῆν ἔστιν κατ' Ἐπικούρου	Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum	<i>Non posse</i>	1086 C	Vol. 14, p.2-149	N/A
Reply to Colotes, in Defence of Other Philosophers	Πρὸς Κωλώτην	Adversus Colotem	<i>Adv. Col.</i>	1107 D	Vol. 14, p.153-315	After 97 CE
Is “live unknown” a Wise Precept?	Εἰ καλῶς εἴρηται τὸ λάθε βιώσας	De latenter vivendo	<i>De lat. viv.</i>	1128 A	Vol. 14, p.318-341	N/A
On Music (pseudo-Plutarch)	Περὶ μουσικῆς	De musica	<i>De mus.</i>	1131 A	Vol. 14, p.344-455	N/A

Places and Peoples in Plutarch

The following is a list of places in Boiotia, as well as Boiotian peoples mentioned by Plutarch. Each entry has the location in Plutarch's works where they can be found, as well as the context in which Plutarch speaks of the place or person. Places are organized alphabetically. People who are mentioned by Plutarch are also organized alphabetically, under their polis header, after thematic subjects. Mythological characters have been placed in the table under their respective communities. To distinguish them from historical figures, they are italicized.

Note that persons in Plutarch's social network are not found in this table. For more on these individuals and their mentions in Plutarch, see the "Name Catalogue" in the Appendix.

Also note that when a reference derives from a fragment of Plutarch, the origin of that fragment is given in a footnote. All of these references come from the Loeb Classical Library, Plutarch, *Moralia*: volume 15. 1969. F.H. Sandbach (trans.).

PLACE	CONTEXT	LOCATION IN PLUTARCH
BOIOTIA		
Trees	Elm	Fragments 64 ¹⁴⁴¹
Plains	Fertile	<i>Sulla</i> 15.2-3, 20.3-5
	Reeds for flutes	<i>Sulla</i> 20.3-5
	Good for cavalry	<i>Sulla</i> 15.2
	Assian plain	<i>Sulla</i> 17.3
Hills Mountains	Acontium	<i>Sulla</i> 17.3, 19.3
	Alopecus Orchalides	408a; <i>Lysander</i> 29.7
	Cithaeron	<i>Lysander</i> 28.1-2; Fragments 157 ¹⁴⁴²
	Delos	<i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-5
	Hedylum	<i>Sulla</i> 16.7, 17.3
	Helicon	398c, 706d, 774f-775a (spurious?) 749c, 1093f-1094a; <i>Agesilaus</i> 18.4; <i>Lysander</i> 29.6-7; Fragments 82 ¹⁴⁴³ , 84 ¹⁴⁴⁴
	Kithairon	576b-d, 628e-f; <i>Aristides</i> 11.7, 14.1; <i>Demosthenes</i> 23.3; <i>Lysander</i> 28.1-2 (warfare); <i>Aristides</i> 11.4 (cave of the Sphragitic

¹⁴⁴¹ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 427.

¹⁴⁴² From Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, 3, Prooem.

¹⁴⁴³ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 639-640.

¹⁴⁴⁴ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 651-662.

		Nymphs); Fragments 157 ¹⁴⁴⁵ (Hera concealed here by Zeus; Daidala)
	Petrachus	<i>Sulla</i> 17.6
	Phicium	987f-988a
	Ptoüm Ptoion	414a
	Thurium Orthopagus	<i>Sulla</i> 17.4, 17.6, 18.1, 19.5
Bodies of Water	Acidusa spring	301a-c
	Assus river	<i>Sulla</i> 16.7, 17.3
	Cephisus river	601d; <i>Sulla</i> 16.5-7, 17.3-4, 20.3-5
	Cissusa spring	772b (spurious?); <i>Lysander</i> 28.4-5
	Glaucia stream	301a-c
	Hismenus river	579f, 606f
	Hoplites river (Hoplaas Isomantus)	408a; <i>Lysander</i> 29.3-7
	Lake Kopaïs	990d-e; Fragments 157 ¹⁴⁴⁶
	Melas river	<i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-5; <i>Sulla</i> 20.3-5
	Molus river	<i>Sulla</i> 17.4, 19.5
	Palm spring	<i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-5
	Philarus river	<i>Lysander</i> 29.5
	Olive spring	<i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-5
	Scamander river (Inachus river)	301a-c
	Thermodon river	<i>Lucullus</i> 14.2
	Triton	Fragments 157
Music	Music is a fit endeavour	1030a; <i>Lycurgus</i> 21.3-4; Fragments 143 ¹⁴⁴⁷
	Boiotia produces reeds for the flute	<i>Sulla</i> 20.3-5
	Thebes is known for their musical ability	<i>Alcibiades</i> 2.4-6
	Pindar is moved by flutes	984b
	Composing Music	1132d (spurious?), 1133a (spurious?)
Love in Boiotia	Addicted to love	761d-e (spurious?)
Marriage	Can marry older women	754d-e (spurious?)
	Cannot marry your daughter	<i>Artaxerxes</i> 23.2-5
	Sacrifices to Eucleia	<i>Aristides</i> 20.6
	Sacrifices to the nymphs	772b (spurious?)
	Bridal bath	Fragments 157
	Veiling the bride	138d-e
	Burning the bridal carriage	271d

¹⁴⁴⁵ From Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, 3, Prooem.

¹⁴⁴⁶ From Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, 3, Prooem.

¹⁴⁴⁷ From Stobaeus 4.16.18.

	Nuptial cry	<i>Pompey</i> 4.2-5; <i>Romulus</i> 15.1-3
Funerals	Forbidden practices	<i>Solon</i> 21.4-5
Religious Life	Sibyl from Mount Helicon	398c
	Religious officials	<i>Agesilaus</i> 6.4-6
	Leukothea	228e, 267d-e
	Purification Rituals	277a-b, 280b-c, 290d
	Sacrifice to the 'Good genius'	655e
Festivals	Importation of festivals by Orpheus	Fragments 212 ¹⁴⁴⁸
	Agrionia	291a, 717a, 299e-300a
	Daedala	Fragments 157
	Eleutheria	<i>Aristides</i> 21.1-5
	Erotidia	748f
	Festival of Sorrow	378e
	Nyctelia	291a
	Pamboiotia	774f-775a (spurious?)
Oracles	Amphiarus	411d-412d; <i>Aristides</i> 19.1-3
	Apollo Ismenios	<i>Lysander</i> 29.6-7
	Ptoan (Ptoion) Apollo	411d-412d, 990d-e
	Sphragitic nymphs	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
	Teiresias	434b-434c
	Apollo Tegyraeus	411d-412d, 414a; <i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-5
	Trophonius	411d-412d, 590a-592e, 772a, 944d-e; <i>Aristides</i> 19.1-3; <i>Sulla</i> 16.4, 17.1-2
Luck	Lucky and unlucky days	<i>Camillus</i> 19.1-8
Language	The alphabet	738a-b, 738f
	Boiotian dialect	292d; Fragments 34 ¹⁴⁴⁹
	Boiotian sayings	703f
	Calendar months	<i>Aristides</i> 21.1-5 (Alalcomenius); <i>Pelopidas</i> 25.1, Fragments 71 ¹⁴⁵⁰ (Boukatios); 378e (Damatrios); Fragments 71 (Hermaios); <i>Camillus</i> 19.2 (Hippodromius); Fragments 71 (Lenaion); <i>Aristides</i> 19.7, <i>Camillus</i> 19.5 (Panemus); 655e (Prostaterios)
Insults against Boiotians	Boiotians as unintelligent / can't converse	575d-e, 995e-f; <i>Alcibiades</i> 2.4-5; <i>Phocion</i> 9.4

¹⁴⁴⁸ From Theodoretus, *Cur. Graec. Affect.* 1.468a.

¹⁴⁴⁹ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 220.

¹⁴⁵⁰ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 504; From Hesychius, s.v. *Ἀημαιών*.

	Boiotians as gluttonous	635a, 995e-f
	By Herodotus	Throughout <i>de Herodoti malignitate</i>
Politics	Deputies of the Boiotians	109a-b
	Boiotian magistrate	785c-d
	Boiotian archon	374b-c
	<i>Boiotarchs</i>	193e, 194a-c, 540d-e, 813d, 817e-f; <i>Aratus</i> 16.1; <i>Demosthenes</i> 18.2-4; <i>Pelopidas</i> 20.1-2, 24.1-4, 25.1
	Medizing	867c; <i>Aristides</i> 16.5-6, 18.4-6; <i>Themistocles</i> 7.1-2
Defensive	Many citadels	<i>Aratus</i> 50.5
At war	Boiotians are worthy warriors	761d-e; <i>Cimon</i> 1.1-2; <i>Pelopidas</i> 2.5; <i>Phocion</i> 9.4
	Dancing floor of war	193e, 715e; <i>Marcellus</i> 21.2
	Heracles at war	307c; <i>Theseus</i> 29.4-5
	Amazons	<i>Theseus</i> 27.6
	The Sacred War	249e
	The Persian War	350b, 414a, 803b, 814b-c, 861d-e, 864a, 864d-865f, 866d-867c, 868f, 871e, 872c-d, 872f, 873a, 873e-f, 1098a-b; <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> 25.1; <i>Agis</i> 3.3; <i>Aristides</i> 1.8, 5.7, 8.1, 11.1 13.1, 16.5, 17.1, 20.2-3; <i>Comp. Aristides-Marcus Cato</i> 2.1; <i>Themistocles</i> 9.3, 16.5, 20.3-4; <i>Titus Flamininus</i> 11.3-4
	The Peloponnesian War	185f-186a, 229c, 345c-d, 581d, 1117e; <i>Agesilaus</i> 8.3; <i>Alcibiades</i> 1.1, 14.4-5, 24.1, 31.4-6; <i>Comp. Pericles-Fabius Maximus</i> 3.2; <i>Lysander</i> 28.1-2, 29.1-3; <i>Nicias</i> 10.1-8, 21.5; <i>Pericles</i> 17.1-3, 18.1-3, 33.4
	The Corinthian War	212a; <i>Agesilaus</i> 17.1-2, 18.1-4
	The Boiotian War	192f, 211b, 575f-576a, 598e, 807f; <i>Agesilaus</i> 15.6, 19.1-3, 22.1-3, 24.1-6, 26.2-4, 27.3-4, 28.1-7, 29.1, 30.1, 31.1-3, 32.2-3, 32.8, 34.1-5, 35.1-2,

		40.2; <i>Cleomenes</i> 7.3, 26.3; <i>Comp. Agesilaus-Pompey</i> 1.4, 3.2, 3.5-6; <i>Comp. Lysander-Sulla</i> 4.2; <i>Lysander</i> 22.2, 27.1-4, 28.1-6, 29.1-3; <i>Pelopidas</i> 5.3, 6.1, 6.4, 14.1-3, 15.4, 16.1, 20.1-2, 25.5
	Leuctra	214c, 231f, 233c-d, 282e, 346c-e, 397e, 639f, 774b-d (spurious?); <i>Agesilaus</i> 15.3; <i>Agis</i> 21.2; <i>Artaxerxes</i> 22.2-4; <i>Comp. Agesilaus-Pompey</i> 2.1; <i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus</i> 1.3-4, 2.1-2; <i>Lycurgus</i> 28.5, 30.6; <i>Pelopidas</i> 13.3-4, 17.4-6, 30.2-5
	Mantineia	214c-d, 346c-f
	Against Athens	193d-f; <i>Pelopidas</i> 30.7; <i>Phocion</i> 15.1-2, 23.4, 24.2-3
	Alexander of Pherae	194d; <i>Pelopidas</i> 26.1-5
	Against Alexander	177f, 181a-b, 218e-f, 221a, 240a-b, 259c, 327c, 342d, 552f, 803d-e, 814a-b, 818f-819a, 837e, 838b, 840c, 845a, 845c, 845f, 847c; <i>Agesilaus</i> 15.3; <i>Alexander</i> 11.3-6, 13.1-3; <i>Aratus</i> 45.1; <i>Camillus</i> 19.5-7; <i>Demosthenes</i> 9.1-2, 17.4-5, 18.1-4, 20.1, 21.2, 23.1-3, 24.2; <i>Phocion</i> 16.6, 17.1-3, 26.3, 27.1
	Demetrius of Macedon	<i>Demetrius</i> 9.2, 23.1-2, 39.1-3, 40.1-4, 46.1
	Aratus	<i>Aratus</i> 16.1-5
	Against Philopoemen	<i>Philopoemen</i> 12.2-3
	Almost against Rome	<i>Titus Flamininus</i> 6.1-3
	Mithridatic War	318d; <i>Cimon</i> 1.1-2.3; <i>Comp. Lysander-Sulla</i> 5.1; <i>Gaius Marius</i> 41.1; <i>Lucullus</i> 3.5-6, 8.4, 11.4; <i>Sulla</i> 11.3-5, 16.8-19.6, 20.1-3, 21.4, 22.4, 23.1-2, 26.3-4, 34.2
	Antony	<i>Antony</i> 68.4-5
Families in Boiotia	Heracleidae	558a-b
	Lycormae	558a-b

	Satilai	558a-b
Aboecritus	<i>Boiotarch</i> , dies at Chaironeia	<i>Aratus</i> 16.1
Aristophanes	Referenced with Herodotus	864d
Brachyllas	Boiotian ally of Antigonos	<i>Titus Flamininus</i> 6.1
Neon	One of the architects of the alliance between Boiotia and Perseus	<i>Aemilius Paulus</i> 23.3
<i>Odysseus</i>	Born in Boiotia	301d
<i>Opheltas</i>	Enters Boiotia	<i>Cimon</i> 1.1
	His descendants	558a-b
Sparto	Boiotian general at Koroneia	<i>Agesilaus</i> 19.1-3
<i>The Sphinx</i>	On Mt. Phicium with her riddles	987f-988a
Akraephia		
Oracle	Oracle no longer functioning	411d-412d
Anthedon		
Agriculture	The wine of Anthedon	295e-f
At war	Destroyed by Sulla	<i>Sulla</i> 26.3-4
Anthes	Composer of hymns	1132a (spurious?)
Myrtis	Referenced alone	300d-301a
Antikyra		
At war	Antony vs Octavian	<i>Antony</i> 68.4-5
Ascra		
Topography Climate	Hills, weather	Fragment 82
Hesiod	General	<i>Lost Life</i>
	Contest with Homer, Hesiod wins tripod	154a-b; Fragment 84 ¹⁴⁵¹
	Hesiod's knowledge of medicine	157e-158b
	His death and burial	162d-f, 969e, 984d; Fragment 82
	Referenced alone, not named	63e, 76d, 85e, 505d, 527c, 618f
	Referenced with Menander, ¹⁴⁵² neither named	100e
	Referenced with an unknown poet, neither named	115a
	Referenced with Aeschylus, neither named	118c
	Referenced with Euripides, only Euripides named	548d
	Referenced with Homer, neither named	810e, 948e, 1088d
	Referenced with Plato, only Plato named	965e

¹⁴⁵¹ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 651-662.

¹⁴⁵² Note that when I say "with", I mean quoted separately, but close together in the discussion, so as to create a link between them.

	Referenced alone, named	9f, 23e-f, 77d, 92a, 352e, 374b-c, 413a, 416a, 416b, 417b, 431b, 431e, 433e, 491a-b, 530d, 657d, 678f, 692c, 701b, 701d, 703d, 707c, 730e-f, 738a-b, 736e, 737c, 738a, 743c, 744d, 746d, 747f, 753a, 781c, 948f, 964b, 1045a, 1047e; <i>Gaius Marius</i> 29.3; <i>Galba</i> 16.4; <i>Theseus</i> 20.2, <i>Solon</i> 2.3; Fragments 34 ¹⁴⁵³ , 82 ¹⁴⁵⁴ , 84 ¹⁴⁵⁵ , 157 ¹⁴⁵⁶ , 178 ¹⁴⁵⁷
	Referenced <i>through</i> Antimachus	275a
	Referenced with Aristophanes	517a
	Referenced with Demosthenes	99f
	Referenced with Epimenides, only Hesiod named	940c
	Referenced with Euripides	34b, 49f, 465d, 1040b-c
	Referenced with Hippocrates	127d
	Referenced with Homer	156e, 223a, 396c-f, 415a-b, 480e-f, 593d, 675a, 725d; <i>Comp. Aristides-Marcus Cato</i> 3.4; Fragments 79 ¹⁴⁵⁸
	Referenced with Pindar	415c-d, 473a, 562a, 955d-e
	Referenced with Plato	361b-c, 533f-554a, 593d
	Referenced with Aeschylus and Parmenides	756f
	Referenced with Alcaeus, Plato, and Solon	763e
	Referenced with Alcman, Archilochus, Homer, Peisander, Pindar, and Stesichorus	857e-f
	Referenced with Archilochus and Homer	169b
	Referenced with Archilochus and Pindar	<i>Numa</i> 4.6
	Referenced with Aristarchus, Aristyllus, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Pindar, Thales, and Timocharis	402f

¹⁴⁵³ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 220.

¹⁴⁵⁴ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 639-640.

¹⁴⁵⁵ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 651-662.

¹⁴⁵⁶ From Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, 3, Proem.

¹⁴⁵⁷ From Stobaeus 4.52.49.

¹⁴⁵⁸ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 580.

	Referenced with Aristotle, Euripides, and Pittheur	<i>Theseus</i> 3.2
	Referenced with Empedocles and Parmenides	926f-927a
	Referenced with Empedocles, Orpheus, Parmenides, Thales, and Xenophanes	402e-f
	Referenced with Euripides and Homer	24d-f, 28b, 526f-527a (E. not named), 533b (E. not named)
	Referenced with Euripides, Homer, and Sophocles	22f
	Referenced with Heracleitus and Orpheus	415f
	Referenced with Homer and Philemon	105d-e
	Referenced with Homer and Plato	36a, 415f
	Referenced with Homer and ‘the tragic poets’	<i>Theseus</i> 16.2-3
	Referenced with Lycurgus and Plato	Fragments 62 ¹⁴⁵⁹
Troilus	Killed alongside Hesiod	162d-f
Aulis		
Industry	Known for its pottery	828a
Sacrifices	Agesilaus	<i>Agesilaus</i> 6.4-6; <i>Lysander</i> 27.1
	Iphigenia	309b
Chaironeia		
Topography	Hills, rivers, sights	<i>Demosthenes</i> 19.1-3; <i>Sulla</i> 16.5-7, 17.1-7; <i>Theseus</i> 17.6
Industry	Food and agriculture	640b; 683b; 696e; 939c-d
	Horses	641f-642a
	Trees	640b; Fragment 64
Bath house	Where Damon is killed; walled up	<i>Cimon</i> 1.5-7
Market place	Statue of Lucullus	<i>Cimon</i> 2.1-3
Theatre	Plutarch’s sons stay late at the theatre	725f-726a
Amazons	Buried by the river Haemon	<i>Theseus</i> 17.6
Foundation of	Chaeron; Kadmus; Peripoltas	<i>Cimon</i> 1.1-2; <i>Sulla</i> 17.4-5
	Direction the city faces and why	515b-c
Religious Spaces	Heracleum	<i>Demosthenes</i> 19.1-2
	Temple of Apollo Thourios	<i>Sulla</i> 17.4-5
	Temple of Leukothea	267d-e
Religious Rites	The driving of bulimy	693e-f; 694a
	Heracles (sacrifices made before dinner)	696e

¹⁴⁵⁹ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 423.

	Leukothea	267d-e
	Pithoigia	Fragment 54
Battle Conflict	Site of battle or related to conflict (e.g. troops encamped, walking by, etc.)	177e-f, 218e-f, 240a-b, 259c-d, 327c, 715c, 803d-e, 837e, 838b, 840c, 845f, 848c, 849a; <i>Agesilaus</i> 17.2; <i>Alexander</i> 9.2; <i>Antony</i> 68.4-5; <i>Aratus</i> 16.1-5; <i>Camillus</i> 19.5; <i>Demosthenes</i> 14.2, 21.2, 21.3; <i>Lucullus</i> 3.6, 3.8, 11.3, 11.4; <i>Pelopidas</i> 28.5; <i>Phocion</i> 16.6; <i>Sulla</i> 11.3-4, 16.7-19.6, 22.4, 23.2
	Reminders of battle in the landscape	318d; <i>Alexander</i> 9.2; <i>Lysander</i> 29.1-3; <i>Sulla</i> 17.3, 19.5, 34.2
Foreign Guests	Plutarch's brother hosts locals and non-locals for dinner	615c-d
	Dinner in Plutarch's home for Diogenianus of Pergamum, also attended by Philip of Prusa	710b
	Sossius Senecio attends the dinner of Plutarch's son	666d
People of Chaironeia	Their character	<i>Cimon</i> 1.1-2
Anaxidamus and Homoloichus	Help Sulla	<i>Sulla</i> 17.6
Athenodoros and Xenon	Their estate	484a-b
Caphis	And Sulla	<i>Sulla</i> 15.3-4
Innkeeper 'Crow'	The oracle	412d
Damon	His story	<i>Cimon</i> 1.1-2.3
Timarchus of Chaironeia (fictional?)	Hears a story from him	589f
<i>Peripoltas</i>	Guides the Thessalian settlers to Chaironeia	<i>Cimon</i> 1.1
Plutarch	He decides to stay there	<i>Demosthenes</i> 2.1-3
	As eponymous archon	693e-f; 642f
Cynoscephalae		
Pindar	His birthplace	Fragments of the Lost Lives 9 ¹⁴⁶⁰
Delium		
At war	Battle mentioned	581d, 1117e; <i>Lysander</i> 29.6-7
Eleon		
Topography	Rivers nearby	301a-c

¹⁴⁶⁰ From Eustathius, *Prooemium Commentariorum Pindaricorum*, c.25.

<i>Scamander</i>	Ancient king	301a-c
Eleutherae		
Religion	Where Bacchus <i>Liber Pater</i> derives his name (?)	288f-289a
At war	Graves of those who fell before Thebes	<i>Theseus</i> 29.5
Galaxium		
Agriculture Religion	Copious amount of milk a result of the presence of a god	409b
Glisas		
Phocus	Born in Glisas	744e (spurious?)
Halae		
At war	Destroyed by Sulla	<i>Sulla</i> 26.3-4
Haliartus		
Agriculture Topography	Close to the spring Cissoessa	772b (spurious?)
	Close to the spring Cissusa	<i>Lysander</i> 28.4-5
	Cretan storax-shrub grows there	<i>Lysander</i> 28.4-5
	Hoplites river	<i>Lysander</i> 29.5
Religious Spaces	The tomb of Rhadamanthus (Alea)	<i>Lysander</i> 28.4-5
	The tomb of Alcmene	577e-578a; <i>Lysander</i> 28.4-5
At war	Site of / involved in conflict	408a; <i>Comp. Sulla-Lysander</i> 4.2; <i>Lysander</i> 29.1-7
Aristocleia	Woored by Callisthenes and Strato	771e-f
Callisthenes	Loved Aristocleia	771e (spurious?)
Neochorus	Carries a shield with a snake emblem	408a
Pheidolaus	Mentioned in passing	577d
Theophanes	Father of Aristocleia	771e (spurious?)
Harma		
General	Foundation	307a
Hippotae		
Topography	Location	774f-775a (spurious?)
Against Thebes	Refuse to deliver the slayers of Phocus	774f-775a (spurious?)
Hyria		
Topography	Close to Chaironeia	602d
Hysiae		
Religious Spaces	Shrine to the hero Androcrates	<i>Aristides</i> 11.7
	Temple to Eleusinian Demeter and Cora	<i>Aristides</i> 11.6
Koroneia		
Topography	Location	774f-775a (spurious?)
	Hoplites river	<i>Lysander</i> 29.5
Religious Spaces	Altar and temple of Athena Itonia	774f (spurious?); <i>Agesilaus</i> 19.1-3

At war	Site of / involved in conflict	212a; <i>Pericles</i> 18.3; <i>Alcibiades</i> 1.1; <i>Agesilaus</i> 13.1, 15.3, 18.1
Larymna		
At war	Destroyed by Sulla	<i>Sulla</i> 26.3-4
Lebadeia		
General	Location of a discussion	431c
	Heralds from here sent to Philip	849a
Places	Hercyne fountain	771f (spurious?)
Oracles	Cave of Trophonius	590a-592e, 772a, 944d-e; <i>Aristides</i> 19.1-3; <i>Sulla</i> 16.4, 17.1-2; Lost treatise (#181)
Relationship with Eleutherae	Send people to Eleutherae who involuntarily enter the sanctuary of Zeus	300b
At war	Site of / involved in conflict	<i>Lysander</i> 28.2; <i>Sulla</i> 16.4
Agamedes	Building of the temple of Apollo	109a-b; Fragment 133 ¹⁴⁶¹
Trophonius	Building of the temple of Apollo	109a-b; Fragment 133
Leuctra		
At war	Site of / involved in conflict	191c, 193a, 214b, 231f, 233c-d, 282e, 346c-f, 397e, 514c, 639f, 773b-774d (spurious?), 786d, 808b, 1098a-b, 1099e-f; <i>Agesilaus</i> 15.3, 28.5, 40.2; <i>Agis</i> 21.2; <i>Artaxerxes</i> 22.2-4; <i>Comp. Agesilaus-Pompey</i> 2.1, 3.3; <i>Comp. Agis-Cleomenes</i> 21.2; <i>Comp. Lysander-Sulla</i> 4.2-3; <i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus</i> 1.3-4, 2.1-2; <i>Cleomenes</i> 6.2; <i>Coriolanus</i> 4.3; <i>Lycurgus</i> 30.6; <i>Lysander</i> 18.1; <i>Pelopidas</i> 16.1, 17.4-6, 25.2, 25.5, 30.2
Scedasus	His daughters and his revenge	773b-774d (spurious?); <i>Pelopidas</i> 20.3-4
Oneophyta		
At war	Site of / involved in conflict	185f-186a, 345d
Onchestos		
<i>Habrote</i>	And her influence on Megara	295a-b
<i>Megareus</i>	Brother of Habrote	295a-b
<i>Onchestus</i>	Father of Habrote	295a-b
Orchomenos		

¹⁴⁶¹ From Stobaeus, 4.32.15.

Topography	Plain, rivers, flora	<i>Sulla</i> 20.3-5
	Melas river	<i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3; <i>Sulla</i> 20.3-5
Religious Spaces	Oracle of Teiresias	434c
And Hesiod	They want his body	162e-f; Fragments 82 ¹⁴⁶²
And Phocus	Refuse refuge to his killers	774f-775a (spurious?)
Festivals	Agrionia	299e-300a
At war	Site of / involved in conflict	<i>Agesilaus</i> 18.1-4; <i>Aratus</i> 38.1, 45.1; <i>Cimon</i> 2.1-3; <i>Cleomenes</i> 4.1-2, 7.3 23.1, 26.3; <i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus</i> 1.1; <i>Lucullus</i> 3.6, 11.3; <i>Lysander</i> 28.2; <i>Pelopidas</i> 16.1, 17.4-6; <i>Sulla</i> 20.3-5, 21.4, 26.3-4
Minyae	And Tralles	302b
<i>Alcathoe</i>	Proloeis and Oleiae families	299e-300a
<i>Arsinoe</i>	Proloeis and Oleiae families	299e-300a
<i>Athamas</i>	Used to measure time	162c
	Misfortune	167c-d
	In a play	556a
<i>Hippasus</i>	Proloeis and Oleiae families	299e-300a
Laomedon	A great long-distance runner	<i>Demosthenes</i> 6.2
<i>Leucippe</i>	Proloeis and Oleiae families	299e-300a
Lyciscus	Betrays the Orchomenians	548f-549a
<i>Minyas</i>	Proloeis and Oleiae families	299e-300a
Strato	Loved Aristocleia	771e-f (spurious?)
Zoilus	Priest of Dionysos in Plutarch's time	299e-300a
Oropus		
Religious Spaces	Oracle of Amphiaraus	411d-412d
At war	Site of / involved in conflict	581d; <i>Demosthenes</i> 5.1; <i>Marcus Cato</i> 22.1
Plataia		
Topography	Plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Religious Spaces	Sanctuary of Artemis Eucleia	<i>Aristides</i> 20.4-5
	Sanctuary of Athena	<i>Aristides</i> 20.2-3
	Graves of those who fell at Plataia	872f, 873a; <i>Aristides</i> 21.1-5
	Heraeum (Cithaeronian Hera)	872b-c; <i>Aristides</i> 11.3-8, 18.1
	Sanctuary of Pan	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
	Cave of the Sphragitic nymphs	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
	Sanctuary of Zeus	628e-f; <i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Festivals	Eleutheria	349f, 628e-f; <i>Aristides</i> 21.1-5
	Wooden Images	Lost treatise (#201); Fragments 157 ¹⁴⁶³

¹⁴⁶² From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 639-640.

¹⁴⁶³ From Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, 3, Prooem.

At war	Site of / involved in conflict	350b, 414a, 803b, 814b-c, 861d-e, 864a, 867b, 868f, 871e, 872f, 873e-f 1098a-b; <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> 25.1; <i>Agis</i> 3.3; <i>Aristides</i> 1.8, 5.7, 11.1, 13.1, 17.1, 20.2-3; <i>Camillus</i> 19.3; <i>Comp. Agis and Cleomenes</i> 3.3; <i>Comp. Aristides-Marcus Cato</i> 2.1, 5.1; <i>Comp. Lysander-Sulla</i> 4.2; <i>Lysander</i> 28.1-2, 29.1; <i>Pelopidas</i> 15.4, 25.5; <i>Themistocles</i> 16.5; <i>Titus Flamininus</i> 11.3-4
	Friends of Alexander	<i>Alexander</i> 11.5, 34.1-2; <i>Aristides</i> 11.9
Actaeon	Hero of Plataia	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Androcrates	Hero of Plataia	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Arimnestus	General of the Plataians	<i>Aristides</i> 11.5-8
Cleadas	Created the Aeginetan burial mound	873a
Daimachus	Referenced alone	<i>Comp. Solon-Publicola</i> 4.1
	Referenced with Anaxagoras	<i>Lysander</i> 12.4-5
Damocrates	Hero of Plataia	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Euchidas	Brought the sacred flame from Delphi to Plataia	<i>Aristides</i> 20.4-5
Hypsion	Hero of Plataia	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Leucon	Hero of Plataia	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Pisandrus	Hero of Plataia	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Polyidus	Hero of Plataia	<i>Aristides</i> 11.3-9
Solon	And Phocion	<i>Phocion</i> 33.3
Tanagra		
Religious Spaces	Achilleum	299c-e
	Grove of Eunostus	300d-301a
At War	Site of / involved in conflict	<i>Cimon</i> 17.3; <i>Pelopidas</i> 15.4; <i>Pericles</i> 10.1
<i>Acestor</i>	Son of Ephippus	299c-e
Aristodicus	Murders Ephialtes	<i>Pericles</i> 10.7
Corinna	With Pindar	347f-348a
	Referenced with Alcman	1136b (spurious)
Elieus	Father of Eunostus	300d-301a
<i>Ephippus</i>	Father of Acestor, son of Poemander	299c-e
Eunostus	His grove and his death	300d-301a
<i>Poemander</i>	Father of Ephippus	299c-e
<i>Stratonice</i>	Mother of Poemander	299c-e
Plutarch's niece	Lives in Tanagra	608b

Tegrya		
Topography	Mountains, rivers, and springs	<i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-4
Religious Spaces	Oracle and temple of Apollo Tegyraeus	411d-412d; <i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-4
	Ptoan Apollo	411d-412d; <i>Pelopidas</i> 16.4-5
At war	Site of / involved in conflict	<i>Agessilaus</i> 27.3-4; <i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus</i> 1.3-4; <i>Pelopidas</i> 16.1
Echecrates	Priest of Apollo Tegyraeus during the Persian Wars	<i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-4
Thebes		
General	In transit to Thebes	300b
	Archidamus should have gone there	575d
	Lysis lived there	583b
	In tragedy	1083f
Agriculture	Teeming with fruit	683e-f
	General climate and flora	939c-d
Places in Thebes	The walls	779a
	Porch of Many Columns	598a
	Fountain of Oedipus	<i>Sulla</i> 19.6
Love in Thebes	Presents from lover to beloved	761b
	Laius and love in Thebes	313d-e; <i>Pelopidas</i> 19.1-4
	Not to be emulated	11f-12a
The Kadmeia	Mentions	575f-576, 577a, 584a, 598e, 683e-f, 807f, 872a-b; <i>Agessilaus</i> 23.3, 24.4, 28.7; <i>Alexander</i> 11.5; <i>Pelopidas</i> 5.3, 13.1-2, 15.4, 18.1-5; <i>Phocion</i> 26.3; <i>Theseus</i> 29.4-5
Religious Spaces	‘filled with incense offerings’	<i>Antony</i> 24.3
	Temple of Aphrodite	290e-291a
	Temple of Athena	598c-d
	Dirce’s tomb	578a-c
	Ismenian Apollo	<i>Lysander</i> 29.6-7; <i>Solon</i> 4.1-3
	Temple of Heracles	865f
Festivals	Thesmophoria	<i>Pelopidas</i> 5.3
Politics	Telmarch	811a-c
At War	Site of / involved in conflict	181a-b, 189f, 192f, 193d-f, 194d, 211b, 212a, 213f, 214c-d, 217e, 221a, 227c-d, 233c-d, 249e, 259c, 282e, 327c, 342d, 346c-f, 454c, 488a, 542a-b, 552f, 575f-576a 598e, 774b-775a (spurious?), 807f, 814a-b, 845a, 845c, 847c 864b-

		865f, 866d-867c, 872a-d; <i>Agesilaus</i> 15.6, 19.1-3, 22.1-3, 23.3-4, 24.1-6, 26.2-4, 27.3-4, 28.1-7, 29.1, 30.1, 31.1-3, 32.2-3, 32.8, 34.1-5, 35.1-2, 40.2; <i>Alexander</i> 9.2, 11.3-6, 13.1-3; <i>Aristides</i> 16.5; <i>Camillus</i> 19.6-7 <i>Comp. Agesilaus-Pompey</i> 1.4, 3.2, 3.5-6; <i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus</i> 1.3-4; <i>Demetrius</i> 9.2, 39.1-3, 40.1-4, 46.1; <i>Demosthenes</i> 9.1-2, 17.4-5, 18.1-4, 20.1, 23.1-3; <i>Lycurgus</i> 13.5-6, 28.5, 30.6; <i>Lysander</i> 15.2-3, 27.1-4, 28.1-6, 29.1-7; <i>Pelopidas</i> 5.3, 6.1, 6.4, 13.3-4, 14.1, 15.1-4, 17.4-6, 18.1-5, 20.1-2, 23.4, 25.5, 26.1-5, 30.7; <i>Phocion</i> 17.1-3, 26.3, 27.1; <i>Sulla</i> 19.6; <i>Themistocles</i> 20.3-4; <i>Theseus</i> 29.4-5; <i>Titus Flamininus</i> 6.1-3
	Thebans kept under control and win glory because of Epaminondas and Pelopidas	<i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus</i> 1.1; <i>Demosthenes</i> 20.1
	Warlike Match for Sparta	189f, 213f, 217e, 227c-d, 454c; <i>Lycurgus</i> 13.5-6; <i>Pelopidas</i> 15.1-3
	The Sacred Band	<i>Alexander</i> 9.2; <i>Pelopidas</i> 15.1-3, 18.1-5, 20.1-2
The People	They would read captured mail	799e-f
	Believe that glory belongs to the city, not the individual	<i>Pelopidas</i> 26.7
	A learned people	<i>Demetrius</i> 45.3
<i>Agave</i>	Her misfortune and madness	167c-d, 501c
	In Euripides' <i>Bacchae</i>	<i>Crassus</i> 33.2-3
<i>Alcmene</i>	Her family	<i>Theseus</i> 7.1
	Her body after death and her tomb	577e-579a; <i>Lysander</i> 28.4-5; <i>Romulus</i> 28.6
<i>Amphion</i>	Builds the walls of Thebes	779a
	Invents music	1131f (spurious?)
Amphitheus	Mentioned	598a
Anaxander	Theban general at Thermopylae	867a
Androcleidas	Mentioned	586b
Antigeneidas	Theban athlete	1138a-b (spurious?)

Antigenides	Famous flute player	335a; <i>Demetrius</i> 1.6
Archias	Theban supporter of the Spartans	575f, 596c-f, 619d-e, 1099a-b; <i>Agesilaus</i> 24.1, 28.6-7; <i>Pelopidas</i> 9-10
Bacchylidas	Mentioned	582d
Cabirichus	Mentioned	597a (and following)
Caphisias	Brother of Epaminondas	576d-e
Caphisodorus	Lover of Epaminondas	761d-e (spurious?)
Cebes	Referenced with Aeschines, Plato, Socrates, and Xenophon	11e
Cephisodorus	Friend of Pelopidas, slain by Leontidas	585e, 596c-d; <i>Pelopidas</i> 11.5
Charillus	Theban flute player	580e
Charon	Conspired with Pelopidas to free Thebes	596c-d; Throughout <i>Pelopidas</i> , see, in particular: 7.2-3; 9; 11.1; 13.1-2; 25.3-7
Childon	Overseer of Melon's charioteers	587d; <i>Pelopidas</i> 8.4-5
Crates	General	Lost <i>Life</i> ; Fragments of the Lost Lives 10 ¹⁴⁶⁴
	'Condemnation for wrongdoing'	179a
	In Delphi	336c-d, 401a, 401d
	Named 'gate-crasher'	632e
	Living modestly	69c-d, 87a, 125f, 466e, 499c, 831f; <i>Demetrius</i> 46.2
	Referenced alone	125f, 141e
	Referenced with Phocion	546a
Creon	Tyrant of Thebes	509c-d
Damocleidas	Conspired with Pelopidas to free Thebes	594, 596c-d
Diogeiton	Conspired with Pelopidas to free Thebes	585e; <i>Pelopidas</i> 8.2, 11.1, 35.1
Dionysius	Musician	1142b (spurious?)
<i>Dirce</i>	Her tomb	578a-c
Epaminondas	His <i>Life</i>	Lost <i>Life</i> ; Fragments of the Lost Lives 1
	His family	579d, 585d; <i>Agesilaus</i> 19.6
	His trial	194a-c, 540d-e, 817e-f; <i>Pelopidas</i> 25
	His lovers Asopichus and Caphisodorus	761d-e
	Friendship with Pelopidas	93e, 194c-e; <i>Aristides</i> 1.4; <i>Pelopidas</i> 3.2, 4.2-3
	Detractors	805c, 1127a-b

¹⁴⁶⁴ From Julian, *Orat.* 7.

	Strengths	8a-b, 192d, 193b-c, 194a, 527b, 583f, 809a, <i>Aratus</i> 19.2, <i>Arisides</i> 1.4, <i>Comp. Aristides-Marcus Cato</i> 4.4-5, <i>Fabius Maximus</i> 27.2, <i>Pelopidas</i> 3.2-3, <i>Philopoemen</i> 3.1 (balance in lifestyle/frugal); 192d-e, 633e, 781c-d, 1099b-c, <i>Lycurgus</i> 13.3 (doesn't indulge/drink); 52f (proper character); 193a-b (modest); 192e-f, 579f, 585e-586a, 808e (noble and pious); 811a-c (improves positions); 472d, <i>Phocion</i> 3.4 (valorous and brave); 39b, 592f, 819c (wise but sparing with words); 85a-b, 136d, 192c, 192f-193a, 193c-f, 545a, 810f (famous rhetoric); 193a, 786d, 1098a-b, <i>Coriolanus</i> 4.3-4 (family values); <i>Comp. Alcibiades-Coriolanus</i> 4.5-6 (does not pander to the people)
	Good General	192c-d, 192f, 193b, 193e, 194a, 194c, 214c-d, 308d-e, 346c-f, 349c-d, 514c, 542b-c, 618c-d, 680b, 774b-c (spurious?), 788a, 797a-b, 1128f, 1129c; <i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcus</i> 1.1, 2.1-2; <i>Marcellus</i> 21.2; <i>Pelopidas</i> 20.1-2, 24.1-2, 26.1-5; <i>Philopoemen</i> 14.1-3
	Helps his countrymen	805f
	Patriotic and wants to avoid bloodshed	576d-e, 576f, 582d
	His death and burial	21f, 344b, 761d-e; <i>Comp. Lysander-Sulla</i> 4.2-3; <i>Fabius Maximus</i> 27.2
	Admired by the Romans	<i>Marcus Cato</i> 8.8
	To be admired and imitated	259c, 467e, 823d-e; <i>Aratus</i> 19.2; <i>Demosthenes</i> 20.1; <i>Pelopidas</i> 4.2-3; <i>Philopoemen</i> 3.1; <i>Timoleon</i> 36.1-2
Erianthes	Mentioned	586f

Erinanthus	Wanted Athens razed to the ground	<i>Lysander</i> 15.2-3
<i>Eteokles</i>	Mentioned	18e
	Referenced alone	125d
	In a play	481a
	Cadmean victory	10a
<i>Eucleia</i>	Daughter of Heracles and Myrto	<i>Aristides</i> 20.6
Eumolpidas	Violent nature	577a
Galaxidorus	Conspired with Pelopidas to free Thebes	577a-b
Gorgidas	Conspired with Pelopidas to free Thebes	575f-576, 598c-d; <i>Pelopidas</i> 12.1, 14.1
<i>Heracles</i>	General	Lost <i>Life</i>
	Used to measure time	1136a (spurious?)
	Music	1146a (spurious?)
	Learned the characters	579a
	In the writings of others	59c, 72c, 536b, 377b, 736f, 747f, 757d, 967c, 1048e-f, 1058c; <i>Cato the Younger</i> 52.4-5; <i>Cimon</i> 4.4; <i>Marcellus</i> 21.4-5; <i>Nicias</i> 1.3; <i>Pompey</i> 1.1; <i>Theseus</i> 28.1-2
	Eating habits	667f-668a
	Love life	751d, 761d-e
	Marriage	754d-e
	Family	492c-d, 607c; <i>Aristides</i> 20.6; <i>Pelopidas</i> 21.2; <i>Pompey</i> 1.1
	Virtues made him a demigod	361e; <i>Pelopidas</i> 16.3-5
	Strengths	56f, 470d-e (wrestling); 90d, <i>Marcellus</i> 21.4-5 (calm and restrained); <i>Cato the Younger</i> 52.4-5 (courageous); 776e (finding water); 1112e (strong); 192c, 217d (everything positive)
	Weaknesses	60c (favours to flatterers); 367c (destructive); 785e (luxury)
	Running track at Pisa	Fragments of the Lost Lives 7 ¹⁴⁶⁵
	Tripods	413a-b, 557c, 560d
	Deeds	Fragment 121 ¹⁴⁶⁶ ; <i>Cimon</i> 3.2 (general); 315b-c (Busiris); 315c (cattle of Geryon);

¹⁴⁶⁵ From Aulus Gellius 1.1.

¹⁴⁶⁶ From Stobaeus 4.12.14

		<i>Theseus</i> 6.3-5 (helping to rid the road of robbers); <i>Lucullus</i> 23.5-6 (Amazons); <i>Nicias</i> 24.2-25.1 (attacked first)
	Left behind by the Argonauts	819d
	At war/killing	301a-c, 301f-302a, 304c, 307c, 308f, 400e-f 417d-e, 990d-e, 1062a; <i>Sertorius</i> 1.2-3
	First to surrender corpses to the enemy	Fragments of the Lost Lives 6; <i>Theseus</i> 29.4-5
	Kills his family	167c-d
	Death	Fragments of the Lost Lives 8 ¹⁴⁶⁷
	Sacrifices to local religious rites	267e-f, 271b-c, 278f 285e-f, 304c, 403f-404a, 696e, 941b-c; <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> 17.6, 19.2-3; <i>Crassus</i> 2.2, 12.2; <i>Nicias</i> 24.4-25.1; <i>Pyrrhus</i> 22.5; <i>Sulla</i> 35.1
	Festivals	598e, 676e-f
	Greek	558b, 600f
	Boiotian	387d
	In Argos	340c, 863e-f
	In Athens	<i>Theseus</i> 6.6-7, 7.1-2, 8.1, 11.1-2, 25.4, 29.3 (<i>Theseus</i> imitates <i>Heracles</i>); <i>Theseus</i> 26.1, 30.4-5 (<i>Theseus</i> with <i>Heracles</i>); <i>Theseus</i> 35.1-2 (saves <i>Theseus</i> ' life); <i>Theseus</i> 22.5 (rites); <i>Themistocles</i> 1.2 (gymnasium of <i>Heracles</i>)
	In Sparta	190e, 192a, 225f-226b, 229f-230a, 535a-b, 1065c; <i>Agésilas</i> 3.5; <i>Agis</i> 11.2; <i>Alcibiades</i> 22.3, 22.6, 24.3-5; <i>Cleomenes</i> 13.1-2, 16.4, 31.2; <i>Comp. Agis-Cleomenes</i> 2.4; <i>Lycurgus</i> 1.3, 30.2, 36.1; <i>Lysander</i> 2.1-3, 7.4; <i>Solon</i> 16.1
	Connection to Alexander the Great	334d, <i>Alexander</i> 2.1 (descendant of <i>Heracles</i>); 332a-b, 326b, 826c-d (imitates); 181d, <i>Lysander</i>

¹⁴⁶⁷ From Arnobius, *Contra Gentes* 4, p.144.

		27.3 (herculean deeds); 341e-f (fortune); 343a-b (surpasses Heracles); <i>Alexander</i> 24.3-4 (Heracles supports Alexander); <i>Alexander</i> 75.3 (death and the 'bowl of Heracles')
	In Rome	320b (Romulus and Heracles); <i>Romulus</i> 2.1 (Roma and Heracles); <i>Romulus</i> 9.5-6 (foundation of Rome); 272b-c (civilizing); 286b (augury); 272f, 278d-e, 816c, <i>Titus Flamininus</i> 16.3-4 (spaces in Rome); 285e-f (sacrifices); 267e-f, 271b-c, 278f, <i>Crassus</i> 2.2, 12.2, <i>Sulla</i> 35.1 (rites to); <i>Antony</i> 4.1-2, 36.3-4, 60.3, <i>Comp. Demetrius-Antony</i> 3.3 (Antony); <i>Fabius Maximus</i> 1.1, 22.5-6 (Fabius)
	In Egypt	362b, 367e, 857a-f
	In Tingis	<i>Sertorius</i> 9.4-5
Hippoclus	Father of Pelopidas	<i>Pelopidas</i> 3.1
Hippostheneidas	Conspired with Pelopidas to free Thebes	586b-f; <i>Pelopidas</i> 8.3
Hismenias	Theban flute player	527b, 575f-576, 1095e-f
Hismenodorus	Mentioned	582d
Hypates	Theban tyrant	596c-d; <i>Pelopidas</i> 11.1
Hypatodorus	Mentioned	586f
Hyperbatas	Theban general	<i>Comp. Agis-Cleomenes</i> 14.1
<i>Ino</i>	Mentioned in passing	162c
	In a play	506c, 556a
	Relation to Leukothea and Matuta	<i>Camillus</i> 5.1-2
<i>Iolaüs</i>	Worshiped with Heracles	492c-d, 761d-e; <i>Camillus</i> 5.1-2
<i>Iphicles</i>	Mentioned in a quote of an unknown author	747f
	His death	285e-f, 492c-d; <i>Camillus</i> 5.1
Ismenias	Wealthy man of Thebes	472d
Ismenias	Accompanies Pelopidas on an embassy to the Persian king	<i>Artaxerxes</i> 22.2-4; <i>Pelopidas</i> 27.1, 27.5, 29.6
Ismenias	Theban flute player	174f, 334b, 632c-d; <i>Demetrius</i> 1.6; <i>Pericles</i> 1.5
<i>Jocasta</i> <i>Epicaste</i>	Odysseus asks about her death	516b
<i>Kadmus</i>	In a play of Euripides	837e

	The alphabet	738a-b, 738f
	Music	397b, 1030a-b
<i>Laius</i>	Mentioned in passing	750b
	His love for Chrysippus	313d-e; <i>Pelopidas</i> 19.1
	His death	522b-c
Leontiades	Theban ally of Sparta when they seized Thebes	575f-576, 596c-d, 1099e-f; <i>Agesilaus</i> 24.1, 28.6-7
Leontidas	Not the commander at Thermopylae	867a
<i>Leukothea</i>	Rites in Chaironeia	267d-e
	Rites in Thebes	228e
	Rites in Rome	492c-d; <i>Camillus</i> 5.1-2
Lysitheus	Mentioned	597b
<i>Macaria</i>	Sacrificed	<i>Pelopidas</i> 21.2
Malcitas	Leads the Thebans against Alexander of Pherae	<i>Pelopidas</i> 35.1
Melissus	Theban fluteplayer	582d
Melon	Conspired with Pelopidas to free Thebes	575f-576, 596c-d, 597a; <i>Agesilaus</i> 24.4
Menecleidas	Opposes Epaminondas and Pelopidas	542b-c, 805c; <i>Pelopidas</i> 25
Mnamias	Commands troops at Thermopylae	864e
<i>Oedipus</i>	Kills his father	522b-c
	Used as a reproach against Thebes	193c-d, 810f
	In a play	72c, 630e, 632d, 784a
	Fountain in Thebes	<i>Sulla</i> 19.6
<i>Niobe</i>	Mentioned in passing	116c, 170b-c
Pammenes	Aided in his career by Epaminondas	618c, 761b, 805e; <i>Pelopidas</i> 26.1-5
Pelopidas	His trial	194a-c, 540d-e, 817e-f; <i>Pelopidas</i> 25
	Requests to let a man out of prison	192e-f, 808e
	Friendship with Epaminondas	93e, 194c-e; <i>Aristides</i> 1.4; <i>Pelopidas</i> 3.2, 4.2-3
	Frees Thebes	596c-d, 995c-d; <i>Aratus</i> 16.3; <i>Pelopidas</i> 14.1
	Leuctra	774c-d (spurious?)
	Successful general	1098a-b; <i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus</i> 1.3-4, 2.1-2; <i>Pelopidas</i> 16.1, 20.1-2, 24.1-2, 30.7
	Solves international issues	<i>Pelopidas</i> 26.1-5
	His policies	<i>Pelopidas</i> 30.2-5
	Strengths	243b-c (virtuous); <i>Artaxerxes</i> 22.2-4 (does not beg); 194d, 259c, <i>Pelopidas</i> 20.1-2 (cares more for his fellow citizens)

		than himself); 194e (courageous); 577a, <i>Comp. Pelopidas-Marcellus</i> 1.1 (merciful)
	Weaknesses	819c
	Sayings	194d
	Death	344b, 458e; <i>Pelopidas</i> 2.5
	Should be imitated	<i>Timoleon</i> 36.1
<i>Pentheus</i>	In Euripides' <i>Bacchae</i>	<i>Crassus</i> 33.2-3
Pherenicus	Outlaw from Thebes	577a; <i>Pelopidas</i> 8.1
Phila	Theban girl kept by Hypereides	849d-e
Philippus	Ally of Archias	Throughout <i>de genio Socratis</i>
Philo	Referenced with many historians concerning the Amazons and Alexander	<i>Alexander</i> 46.1-2
Philon	Hosted Philip when he was in Thebes	178c
Phocus	From the <i>Love Stories</i>	775a (spurious?)
Phoedus	From the <i>Love Stories</i>	775a (spurious?)
Phoenix	Alexander demands his surrender	<i>Alexander</i> 11.4-5
Phyllidas	Secretary to Archias	Throughout <i>de genio Socratis</i>
Pindar	General	Lost <i>Life</i>
	Birth	717d
	The temple of Apollo	511a-b
	Death	109a-b
	His descendants	<i>Alexander</i> 11.6
	Referenced alone, not named	349c, 417c, 483d, 552b, 605a, 759c(?), 763c, 787b, 826b, 1130c
	Referenced with Homer, neither named	789e, 1130d
	Referenced with Phrynicus, neither named	762e
	Referenced with Xenophon, neither named	133c
	Referenced with an unknown author, neither named	1095e
	Referenced alone	68d, 109a-b, 167c, 167f, 322c, 350a, 365a-b, 348b, 397b, 406c, 413c, 451d, 457b, 477a-b, 536c, 557f-558a, 575d, 602f, 643d-e, 704f-705a, 706a, 717d, 744f, 757e-f, 776c, 777d, 780c, 783b, 804d, 807c, 867c, 949a, 975c, 984b, 1030a, 1057c-f, 1065e, 1134a,

		1134c-d, 1136c, 1140f; <i>Marcellus</i> 29.5; <i>Romulus</i> 28.6; <i>Themistocles</i> 8.1-2; Fragments of the Lost Lives 9 ¹⁴⁶⁸
	Referenced with Aeschylus	88b (Aeschylus not named), 923c
	Referenced with Alcman	318a, 1133a-b
	Referenced with Cicero	89f-91a ¹⁴⁶⁹
	Referenced with Corinna	347f-348a
	Referenced with Diphilus	<i>Nicias</i> 1.2
	Referenced with Diogenes	1102e
	Referenced with Empedocles	618b
	Referenced with Euripides	405f, 467d, 539c
	Referenced with Homer	405b, 472c, 511a-b, 617c, 1075a
	Referenced with Ion	116d
	Referenced with Metellus	<i>Gaius Marius</i> 29.3
	Referenced with Phrynicus	732e
	Referenced with Plato	120c-d, 550a, 706e
	Referenced with Polykrates ¹⁴⁷⁰	<i>Aratus</i> 1.2
	Referenced with Sappho	751d
	Referenced with Simonides	65b, 91e-f
	Referenced with Theocritus	919d
	Referenced with Theognis	916b-c, 978d-e
	Referenced with Theophrastus	623b
	Referenced with Xenophanes	746b
	Referenced with the unknown author of the <i>Insurrection of the Amazons</i> and the <i>Theseid</i>	<i>Theseus</i> 28.1-2
	Referenced with Alcman, Bacchylides, Plato, and Simonides	1136f
	Referenced with Archilochus, Cydias, Mimnermus, and Stesichorus	931e-f
	Referenced with Aristotle, Pythagoras, and Speusippus	1007b
	Referenced with Demetrius of Phalerum and Homer	104a-b
	Referenced with Dionysius of Thebes, Lamprus, and Pratinas	1142b
	Referenced with Epaminondas and Xenophon	<i>Marcellus</i> 21.2

¹⁴⁶⁸ From Eustathius, *Prooemium Commentariorum Pindaricorum*, c.25.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Something Cicero supposedly said to Caesar, no source is given.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Through Chryssipus then Dionysodorus of Troezen.

	Referenced with Epicurus, Lycurgus, and Socrates	1103a
	Referenced with Euripides and Homer	394b, 747d
	Referenced with Euripides, Homer, and Sophocles	21a
	Referenced with Euripides, Menander, and Plato	706d
	Referenced with Euripides, Simonides, and Sophocles	107b-c
	Referenced with Heraclitus, Menander, and the 'Athenians'	995e-f
	Referenced with Homer and Sophocles	17c
	Referenced with Homer and Timotheus	<i>Demetrius</i> 42.5
	Referenced with Pancrates and Simonides	1137f
	Referenced with Terpander and an unknown Spartan poet	<i>Lycurgus</i> 21.3-4
	Referenced with an unknown Spartan	232e
Polymnis	Father of Epaminondas	579d, 585d
	Proper Host	583b-c
<i>Polyneices</i>	In a play	599d-e, 605f-606a, 606d-e
Prothytes	Alexander demands his surrender	<i>Alexander</i> 11.4-5
Samidas	Violent nature	577a, 597e
Simmias	Follower of Socrates	Throughout <i>de genio Socratis</i>
<i>Teiresias</i>	Misfortune of being blind	167c-d
	His soul in Homer's <i>Odyssey</i>	740e
Telesias	Musician	1142b (spurious?)
<i>Teumesian fox</i>	Compared to the python in Delphi	987f-988a
Theagenes	Battle of Chaironeia	259c
Theocritus	Theban soothsayer	Throughout <i>de genio Socratis</i>
Theopompus	Conspired with Pelopidas to free Thebes	597b; <i>Pelopidas</i> 8.2
Timokleia	Alexander and his troops in Thebes	243b-c, 259c-260d, 1093c; <i>Alexander</i> 12.3
<i>Tlepolemus</i>	Helps the forgiveness of Polycrithus' murder of his son Leucippus	299c-e
Thespiiai		
Festivals	Erotidia	748f-749b
At war	Site of / involved in conflict	773b (spurious?), 864d-865f; <i>Lysander</i> 29.1-3; <i>Pelopidas</i> 14.2-3, 15.4; Fragments 82 ¹⁴⁷¹

¹⁴⁷¹ From Schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 639-640.

Anthemion	Mentioned	Throughout <i>Amatorius</i>
Archidamos	Father of Daphnaeus	749b
Baccho	Mentioned	Throughout <i>Amatorius</i>
Daphnaeus	Mentioned	Throughout <i>Amatorius</i>
Diogenes	Mentioned	771d
Euthynus	Warns Agesilaus that Epaminondas is marching of Sparta	<i>Agesilaus</i> 34.3
Ismenodora	Rich widow of Thespiiai	Throughout <i>Amatorius</i>
Phryne	Famous courtesan of Thespiiai	125a-b, 336c-d, 401a, 401d 759e, 849e, 1039a, 1060f
Pisias	Thespian lover of Baccho	Throughout <i>Amatorius</i>
Pisis	Leading man of Thespiiai	<i>Demetrius</i> 39.1-3
Sphodrias	Spartan harmost in Thespiiai	<i>Agesilaus</i> 24.3-6
Thisbe		
Topography	Location	774f-775a
Python	Akin to the Sown Men	563a-b

Name Catalogue

This catalogue contains an alphabetized list of the names mentioned throughout this thesis as individuals who are either connected to Plutarch himself, or to one of his local worlds of Chaironeia and Delphi. Beside the name of each individual is the bracketed Greek script of that name. Below each entry is a list containing the following information, in order to provide a quick index for referencing:

Location

Time Period

Degree of Connection

Node Number

Time of Plutarch's Life

Relations

Inscriptions

Plutarch

Secondary Scholarship

Note that the information provided in this catalogue is that found within my thesis and may not reflect exact circumstances. For example, the emperors listed here have relations of which we are aware, but if their connection to Plutarch is uncertain, the 'relations' field is then marked with N/A. Similarly, the 'secondary scholarship' field only contains references that were used in this thesis.

Note also that some individuals have more fields in their list, depending on their status. For example, Roman emperors have a "Reign" field that is not found in the field list of other individuals, whereas officials of Delphi have "Role in Delphi".

[unnamed]

([athlete])

- **Location:** N/A
- **Time Period:** 0-75 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 392
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IGR* IV 498
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Caldelli 1993: no.65; Strasser 2002: no.264

([athlete])

- **Location:** N/A
- **Time Period:** 0-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 393
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IvO* 230
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Moretti 1957: no.767, 768, 771, 776; Strasser 2002: no.14

[daughter-in-law]

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2 (married to Autoboulos)
- **Node Number:** 15
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Αὐτόβουλος (Autoboulos) [wife of]; Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [daughter-in-law of]; Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [daughter-in-law of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 4.3 (666d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

[kitharistes] (κιθαριστής)

- **Location:** Kos
- **Time Period:** 10-85 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 394
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *Iscr. Cos* EV 222
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** pleistonikes, periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.9; Strasser 2002: no.157

[niece]

- **Location:** Tanagra
- **Time Period:** 1st/2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2 (Plutarch's niece)
- **Node Number:** 19
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Consol. ad uxor.* 1 (608b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

[wet nurse]

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2
- **Node Number:** 16
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Consol. ad uxor.* 2 (608d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

A

Afrinus, M. Annii (Ἀφρηνός)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (he possibly gave Ammonius Roman citizenship)
- **Node Number:** 197
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1967: 209; Puech 1992: 4835

Agathon, Tiberius Julius (Ἀγάθων, Τιβ. Ἰούλιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** c.75-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 355
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4:115, *FD* III 4:34, *FD* III 4:35
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 91 (P8)

Agathopous (Ἀγαθόπους)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** Imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 264
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 2122
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Körte 1878: 375

Agemachos (Ἀγέμαχος)

- **Location:** Elis (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 164
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 4.2 (664b-d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4832; Ziegler 1951: 669

Agias (Ἀγίας, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Tithorea
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 26
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πολλιανός (Pollianos) [brother of]; Τ. Φλ. Σώκλαρος (Soklaros) [son of]; Σώκλαρος (Soklaros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1:188, 1:192, 1:200
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1981

Aiakidas (Αἰακίδας)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 57
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Διονύσιος (Dionysios of Delphi) [son of]; Ἀριστότιμος (Aristotimos) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 8 (965c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4832; Ziegler 1951: 666

Aimilianos [Aemilianus] (Αἰμιλιανός)

- **Location:** Nikaia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 125
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Ἐπιθέρης (Epitherses of Prusa) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De def. or.* 17 (419b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4832-4833

Akastos (Ἄκαστος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 265
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἐπίγονος (Epigonos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Alexander (Ἀλέξανδρος)

- **Location:** Phaleron (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 96
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Μάρων (Maron) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II²* 3793; *IG* 3819; *IG* 4262
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.2 (635e-636a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1972: 265-267; Pouilloux 1967: 379-384; Puech 4834-4835; Ziegler 1951: 695

Alexander (Ἀλέξανδρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 266
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Νίκων (Nikon) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG IX 1:61*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52, 54; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Alexander (Ἀλέξανδρος)

- **Location:** unknown (Hypata?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 176
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** ded. of *De Herod. malig.* 1 (854e) [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 2.3 (635e)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1972: 265; Pouilloux 1967; Puech 1992: 4833; Ziegler 669

Alexander, T. Flavius (Ἀλέξανδρος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Hypata
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 395
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Φοῖνιξ (T. Flavius Phoenix) [father of]; Φλάβιος Φύλαξ (Flavius Phylax) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD III 4: 474, IvO 464*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1972: 265-267; Pouilloux 1967; Puech 1992: 4834-4835

Alexikrates (Ἀλεξικράτης)

- **Location:** unknown (at a dinner party in Rome)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 141
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.8 (728d)[English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4835; Ziegler 1951: 669

Alexion (Ἀλεξίων)

- **Location:** of Thespiiai or Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2 (his father-in-law)
- **Node Number:** 20
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [father-in-law of]; Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.3 (701d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4835; Russell 1973: 5; Ziegler 1951: 647, 669

Ammonios (Ἀμμώνιος)

- **Location:** originally from Egypt, citizen of Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 76
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀμμώνιος (Ammonios) [father of]; Ἰάνν. Θράσυλλος (Thrasyllus) [father of]; Ἰάνν. Πυθόδωρος (Pythodoros) [father of]; Φλ. Λαοδάμεια (Flavia Laodameia) [husband of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II²* 3558; *I.Eleusis* 377; *SEG* 28: 164
- **Plutarch:** *Them.* 32.6; *Quomodo adul.* 70e; *Quaest. conv.* 3.1-2 (645d), 8.3 (720c), 9.1 (736d), 9.2 (737d), 9.5 (740a), 9.14 (743e), 9.15 (747b); *De E delph.*; *De def. or.* 4 (410f); 720d; 721d; 722b etc.
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Buckler 1992: 4816; Dillon 2002: 34; Jones 1967; Jones 1971: 16; Puech 1992: 4835-4836; Russell 1973: 5; Xenophontos 2016: 174; Ziegler 1951: 651-653

Ammonios (Ἀμμώνιος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (son of Plutarch's teacher)
- **Node Number:** 194
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀμμώνιος (Ammonios) and Φλ. Λαοδάμεια (Flavia Laodameia) [son of]; Ἰάνν. Θράσυλλος (Thrasyllus) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 28: 164
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4888; Ziegler 1951: 651-653

Anthemion (Ἀνθεμίων)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 45
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Βάκχων (Baccho) [relative of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2, 3, 6, 9, 11, 13, 17 (749c)[English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 232; Puech 1992: 4836; Ziegler 1951: 669

Antigenes (Ἀντιγένης)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.20-75 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 356
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀρχίας (Archias) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 28: 479; *SEG* 33: 430; *SEG* 34: 402-403; *FD* III 4: 498, *FD* III 6: 14; *FD* III 6: 18; *FD* III 6: 22; *FD* III 6: 34; *FD* III 6: 42; *FD* III 6: 126; *FD* III 6: 130
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 85 (026)

Antipatros (Ἀντίπατρος)

- **Location:** unknown (pupil)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 33
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.4 (677d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4836; Ziegler 1951: 669

Antipatros (Ἀντίπατρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 267
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ζώπυρος (Zopyros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52, 54; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Antoninus, Marcus Flavius (Ἀντωνῖνος)

- **Location:** Hierapolis (?)
- **Time Period:** c.90 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 396
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *AAT* 101 (1966/67) 308: 27
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** olympionikes; periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.23; Strasser 2002: no.268; Weir 2004: 127

Antyllos (Ἀντίλλος)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 180
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** lost treatise *De anima*
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4836; Ziegler 1951: 669

Aper, M. (Ἀπερ)

- **Location:** Gaul
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julius Secundus)
- **Node Number:** 256
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50

Apollodotos (Ἀπολλόδοτος, Π. Αἴλ.)

- **Location:** Corinth
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his wife, Sosipatra and his father in law Sospis)
- **Node Number:** 243
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ἀντ. Σωσιπάτρα (Antonia Sosipatra) [husband of]; Π. Αἴλ. Σῶσις (Sospis) [father of]; Μ. Ἀντ. Σῶσις (Sospis) [son-in-law of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Corinth* VIII 3: 170
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Apollonides (Ἀπολλωνίδης)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 97
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.4 (650f) [English]; *De facie* 3 (920f) and throughout
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4836; Ziegler 1951: 669-670

Apollonios (Ἀπολλώνιος)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 181
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *ded. Consol. ad Ap.* 1 (101f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4836; Ziegler 1951: 670

[Apollonios' son]

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 182
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Consol. ad Ap.* 1 (101f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Apollonios (Ἀπολλώνιος)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE (100-138 CE)
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 397
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG XIV 611*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: 2.27; Strasser 2002: no.269

Apollophanes (Ἀπολλοφάνης)

- **Location:** unknown (meets him in Rome)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 142
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.10 (684f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4836; Ziegler 1951: 670

Archela, Flavia (Ἀρχέλα, Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her son, Philinos)
- **Node Number:** 223
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Μόνδων (Mondo) [wife of]; Τ. Φλ. Φιλῖνος (Philinos) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 1867, *IG* VII 1830
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 233-234

Archibios, Titus Flavius (Ἀρχίβιος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Alexandria
- **Time Period:** c.90-110 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 398
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *I.Napoli* 51 = *IG* XIV 747
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** archiereus dia biou tou sympantos xystou; protos anthropon; paradoxonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.5.6; Moretti 1953: no.68; Moretti 1957: no.830, 832; Strasser 2002: no.177; Weir 2004: 127

Archidamos (Ἀρχίδαμος)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 46
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Δαφναῖος (Daphnaios) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2 (749b)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Areskoussa (Ἀρέσκουσα)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 268
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3450
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Ariamnes (Ἀριάμνης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 269
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Aristainetos (Ἀρισταίνετος)

- **Location:** Nikaia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 126
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.7 (656a)[English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4836

Aristio (Ἀριστίων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 270
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Σωσικράτης (Sosikrates) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II² 10497
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Aristio (Ἀριστίων)

- **Location:** Tithorea (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 27
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Σώκλαρος (T. Fl. Soklaros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.9, 6.7, 6.10 (657a) (692b) (696e) [English]; *Amat.* 2 (749b)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1981: 4836; Ziegler 1951: 670

Aristo (Ἀρίστων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia (or possibly Thespiai?)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2 (Plutarch's father's cousin)
- **Node Number:** 17
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Αὐτόβουλος (Autoboulos) [cousin of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.1 (612f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 232; Puech 1992: 4837; Ziegler 1951: 668

Aristodemos (Ἀριστόδημος)

- **Location:** Aigion
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 158
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Non posse* 2 (1086f) [English]; *Adv. Col.* 2 1107e [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4837; Ziegler 1951: 670-671

Aristodemos (Ἀριστόδημος)

- **Location:** Cyprus
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 131
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.3 (722e)[English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4837; Ziegler 1951: 670

Aristokleia (Ἀριστόκλεια, Ἄνν.)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her father Thrasyllus and her grandfather Ammonios)
- **Node Number:** 195
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀμμώνιος I (Ammonios I, Plutarch's teacher) [granddaughter of]; Φλ. Λαοδάμεια (Flavia Laodameia) [granddaughter of]; Thrasyllus (Θράσυλλος, Ἄνν.) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II² 3557*; = *I.Eleusis* 458, 3; *IG II² 3619* = *I.Eleusis* 464, 3; *IG II² 3633*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Aristomenos (Ἀριστομένης)

- **Location:** Samos
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 399
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 1: 360b
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002: no.255

Aristo (Ἀρίστων)

- **Location:** Kos
- **Time Period:** 55-120 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 400
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *Iscr. Cos* EV 234 = *IG XII 4*: 521
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.1.146; Strasser 2002: no.256

Aristonikos (Ἀριστόνικος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 271
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Καλόνη (Kalone) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *AD* 48
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Aristopeithes (Ἀριστοπείθης)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.67-75 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 357
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Εὐκλείδης (Eukleidas) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 6:135
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: O 45

Aristotimos (Ἀριστότιμος)

- **Location:** Elateia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 72
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Διονύσιος (Dionysios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 144; *Syll.*³ 835 B; *FD* III 4: 304, *FD* III 4⁴ 300 and 310
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 2 (960a, 965e, 985c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1972: 264; Puech 1992: 4837-4839; Ziegler 1951: 671

Aristotle (Ἀριστοτέλης)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 183
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De facie* 2, 16, 19 (920f, 928e, 929a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4837; Ziegler 1951: 671

Aristylla (Ἀρίστυλλα)

- **Location:** Chaironeia (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 34
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [friend or parent of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Praec. conj.* 48 (145a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4839; Ziegler 1951: 671

Artemidoros, Marcus Antoninus (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Μ. Ἀντωνίος)

- **Location:** Ephesos
- **Time Period:** c.75-124 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 401
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IEph* 276
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** pythionikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002: no.178; Weir 2004: 125

Artemidoros, Tiberius Claudius (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Tralles-Seleukia
- **Time Period:** c.65-98 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 402
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Τιβ. Κλ. Διογένης (T. Claudius Diogenes) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IEph* 1124
- **Other Primary Sources:** Paus. 6.14.2-3
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** archiereus xystou; paradoxonikes; periodonikes; xystarches dia biou
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.16; Moretti 1957: no.799; Strasser 2002: no.164; Weir 2004: 127

Artemidoros, Titus Flavius (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Adana
- **Time Period:** c.81-94 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 403
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀρτεμίδωρος (Artemidoros) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG XIV 746 = I.Napoli 50 = IAG 67*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Caldelli 1993: no.2; Farrington 2012: no.1.154; Moretti 1953: no.67; Moretti 1957: no.815, 820; Strasser 2002: no.169; Weir 2004: 127

Asiarches, Κλ. (Ἀσιάρχης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 272
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD III 1: 213*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Puech:** N/A
- **Ziegler:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bourguet 1929: 212

Asklepiades (Ἀσκληπιάδης)

- **Location:** Pergamon (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 84
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IvP II 374 A*
- **Plutarch:** lost treatise: *Consolation to Asklepiades*
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4839-4840; Ziegler 1951: 671

Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.1-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 358
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Διονύσιος (Dionysios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 503; *FD* III 6: 8; *FD* III 6: 30; *FD* III 6: 57; *FD* III 6: 123
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 85-86 (O 27)

Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.47-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 359
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Διονύσιος (Dionysios) [son of]; Σωπάτρα (Sopatra) [brother of]; Εὐαμερίς (Euameris) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.84-92 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 360
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Εὐκλείδης (Eukleidas) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 78
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Athenaios (Ἀθήναιος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** c.60-110 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 404
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀθήναιος II (Athenaios) [father of]; Ἐπαφρόδιτος (Epaphroditos) [father of]; Ἀθηνόφιλος (Athenophilos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II 2: 3577 = *I.Eleusis* 441
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.13; Moretti 1957: no.826; Strasser 2002: no.262

Athenais (Ἀθηναῖς)

- **Location:** Thebes
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her father, Pemptides)
- **Node Number:** 220
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Πεμπτίδης (Pemptides) and Πυθίς (Pythis) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 22: 415
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Athenodoros (Ἀθηνόδωρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE [?]
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (Plutarch cites his case)
- **Node Number:** 191
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ζένων (Xenon) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De frat. am.* 11 (484a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Athryitos (Ἀούϊτος | Ἀθρυίλατος)

- **Location:** Thasos
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 135
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.4 (651a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4842; Ziegler 1951: 671

Aufidius [Modestus] (Αὐφίδιος Μόδεστος)

- **Location:** Chios (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 130
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.2, 2.1 (618f) [English] (632a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 60; Puech 1992: 4840; Stadter 2014b: 16; Ziegler 1951: 691-692

Autoboulos (Αὐτόβουλος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's father)
- **Node Number:** 2
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Λαμπρίας (Lamprias) [son of]; Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [father of]; Τίμων (Timon) [father of]; Λαμπρίας (Lamprias) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 1 (959a); *Quaest. conv.* 1.2 (615e), 1.3, 2.8 (642a), 3.7 (655e), 3.8 (656c), 3.9 (657e)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 9; Russel 1973: 4; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1995 [1922-6]: 49; Ziegler 1951: 643

Autoboulos (Αὐτόβουλος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's son)
- **Node Number:** 3
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [son of]; Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 1 (748f); *De anim. procr.* 1 (1012a); *Quaest. conv.* 4.3 (666d), 8.2 (719c), 8.6 (725f), 8.10 (734c)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 230-232; Jones 1971: 11; Ziegler 1951: 649

Avidienus, Claudius (Αουιδιηνός, Κλαύδιος)

- **Location:** Nikopolis
- **Time Period:** 100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 405
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1: 542
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 173, B.5; Strasser 2002: no.173; Weir 2004: 127

Avidius Nigrinus I (Νιγρῖνος)

- **Location:** Faventia (Ager Gallicus, Northern Italy)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 136
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Νιγρῖνος II (C. Avidius Nigrinus) [father of]; Κύντος I (T. Avidius Quiétus) [brother of]; Κύντος II (T. Avidius Quiétus) [uncle of]
- **Inscriptions:** *PIR*² A 1407
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 32, 51; Puech 1992: 4840; Russell 1973: 9

Avidius Nigrinus II, C. (Νιγρῖνος)

- **Location:** Faventia (Ager Gallicus, Northern Italy)
- **Time Period:** 1st/2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 137
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Νιγρῖνος I (Avidius Nigrinus) [son of]; Κύντος I (T. Avidius Quiétus) [nephew of]; Κύντος II (T. Avidius Quiétus) [cousin of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4³: 290-299
- **Plutarch:** ded. *De frat. am.* 1 (478b) [Nigrinus and Quiétus]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 32-33, 53-54; Puech 1992: 4840-4842; Russell 1973: 9; Ziegler 1951: 691

Avidius Quietus I, T. (Κύντος)

- **Location:** Faventia (Ager Gallicus, Northern Italy)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 138
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Νιγρῖνος I (Avidius Nigrinus) [brother of]; Νιγρῖνος II (Avidius Nigrinus) [uncle of]; Κύντος II (T. Avidius Quiétus) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *PIR*² A 1410; *Syll.*³ 822; *ILS* 6105
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 51-53; Puech 1992: 4841; Russell 1973: 9

Avidius Quietus II (Κύντος)

- **Location:** Faventia (Ager Gallicus, Northern Italy)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 139
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Νιγρῖνος I (Avidius Nigrinus) [nephew of]; Νιγρῖνος II (Avidius Nigrinus) [cousin of]; Κύντος I (T. Avidius Quiétus) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *PIR*² A 1409
- **Plutarch:** ded. *De frat. am.* 1 (478b) [Nigrinus and Quiétus]; ded. *De sera* 1 (548a) [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 2.1 (632a)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 23-25, 53; Puech 1992: 4841-4842; Russell 1973: 9; Stadter 2014b: 16; Ziegler 1951: 691

B

Babbius Magnus (Βάββιος Μάγνος)

- **Location:** Corinth
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through M. Pacuvios Optatos)
- **Node Number:** 217
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πακούια (Pacuvia Fortunate) [wife of]; Βάββιος Μάξιμος (Babbius Maximus) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1 : 539; *Syll.*³ 825 D
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 92 (P15); Homolle 1896; Puech 1992: 4865; Spawforth 1996; Vatin 1970

Babbius Maximus (Βάββιος Μάξιμος)

- **Location:** Corinth (very active in Delphi)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through M. Pacuvios Optatos and L. Cassius Petraios of Hypata)
- **Node Number:** 218
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πακούια (Pacuvia Fortunate) [son of]; Βάββιος Μάγνος (Babbius Magnus) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1: 539; *FD* III 84; *Syll.*³ 825 C-D
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 93 (P20); Homolle 1896; Puech 1992: 4865; Spawforth 1996: 169; Vatin 1970

Baccho (Βάκχων)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 47
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2 (749e) [English], 7, 9, 10, 11, 13
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4842; Ziegler 1951: 671

Balbilla, Julia (Ιουλία Βαλβίλλα)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** c.72-130 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5
- **Node Number:** 232
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Γάιος Ιούλιος Αντίοχος Ἐπιφανής (Gaius Julius Archelaos Antiochos Epiphanes) and Κλαυδία Καπιτωλίνα (Claudia Capitolina) [daughter of]; Φιλόπαππος (Philopappos) [sister of]; Ηρκουλανός (Herkulanos) [cousin of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* V 1: 575
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4854; Spawforth 1978: 255-259

Basilokles (Βασιλοκλής)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 58
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De Pyth. or.* 1 (349d-395a)[English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4842; Ziegler 1951: 671

Bassus, Saleius (Βάσσοις)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julius Secundus)
- **Node Number:** 260
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50

Bestia (Βεστία)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 184
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** Lamprias Catalogue
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 692

Bithynos (Βιθυνός)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 185
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** Lamprias Catalogue
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 671

Boethos (Βόηθος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 98
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.1, 8.3 (673c) (720f) [English]; *De Pyth. or.* 6 (396d) [English], 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4842; Ziegler 1951: 669

C

Caesernius, Gaius (Γάϊος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 143
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Φλωρος (Mestrius Florus) [in-law of]
- **Inscriptions:** *PIR*² C 178
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.7 (682f) [English], 7.4 (702f)[English], 7.6 (707c)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 48 n.2, 123; Puech 1992: 4842; Ziegler 1951: 688

Capitolina, Claudia (Κλαυδία Καπιτωλίνα)

- **Location:** Alexandria
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5
- **Node Number:** 231
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής (Gaius Julius Archelaos Antiochos Epiphanes) [wife of]; Φιλόπαππος (Philopappos) [mother of]; Ἰουλία Βαλβίλλα (Julia Balbilla) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** inscriptions in Ephesos
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Chairemonianos (Χαίρημονιανός)

- **Location:** Tralles-Seleukeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 95
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.7 (641b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 40; Puech 1992: 4842; Ziegler 1951: 671

Chairon (Χαίρων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** c.75-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's son)
- **Node Number:** 4
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) and Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Consol. ad uxor.* 5 (609d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 648

Cheilon, Quintus Samiarius (Χείλων, [Κ.] Σαμιάριος)

- **Location:** Iasos
- **Time Period:** 100-200
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 406
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *Iasos* 247
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002: no.148; Weir 2004: 128

Cornelius Pulcher (Κορνήλιος)

- **Location:** Epidauros
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 166
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *CIG* 1186
- **Plutarch:** *ded. De cap. ex inim. util.* 1 (86b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowersock 1965: 270; Jacobs 2017b: 26; Jones 1971: 39 n2, 43, 45; Puech 1992: 4843; Ziegler 1951: 692

D

Damon (Δάμων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 273
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Κλέων (Kleon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Daphnaios (Δαφναῖος)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 48
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀρχίδαμος (Archidamos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2 (749b) [English], 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4844; Ziegler 1951: 671

Demetrios (Δημήτριος)

- **Location:** Tarsos
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 93
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* 14: 2548; *RIB* 662, 663
- **Plutarch:** *De def. or.* 2 (410a) [English], 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 18, 23, 26, 38, 41, 44, 45, 46
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dessau 1911; Puech 1992: 4844-4845; Russell 1973: 12; Ziegler 1951: 671-672

Demokrates (Δημοκράτης)

- **Location:** Magnesia on the Meander
- **Time Period:** 15-85 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 407
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Δημοκράτης (Demokrates) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Magnesia* 233 = *IAG* 62 = *SEG* 14: 736
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** pleistonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no. 1.139; Moretti 1953: no.62; Moretti 1957: no.753, 756, 769; Strasser 2002: no.154; Weir 2004: 127

Derkios (Δέρκιος)

- **Location:** Hypata
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his son, L. Cassius Petraios)
- **Node Number:** 222
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Δέρκιος (Derkios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll*³ 825 A, 5; *Syll*³ 825 B, 6
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Diadoumenos (Διαδουμένος)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 186
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Comm. not.* 1 (1058f) [English], 2, 3, 4, 17, 22, 26, 27, 28, 38
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4845; Ziegler 1951: 672

Didymos (Δίδυμος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 274
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Χαροπίνα (Karopina) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3430
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 638; Fossey 1973-4: 12; Fossey 1979: 581; Ma 1994: 62

Didymos (Δίδυμος)

- **Location:** Egypt (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 77
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *P.Ryl.* II 1915: 140-141
- **Plutarch:** *De def. or.* 7 (412f-413c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4845-4846; Ziegler 1951: 672

Dio Chrysostom [Dio of Prusa] (Δίων Χρυσόστομος)

- **Location:** Prusa
- **Time Period:** c.40-115 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Favorinus)
- **Node Number:** 202
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πασικράτης (Pasikrates) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 34-35; Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 673

Diodoros (Διόδωρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.47-75 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 361
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Φιλονίκος (Philonikos) [son of]; Διόδωρος (Diodoros) [grandson of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 34: 403, 1; *FD* III 6: 123; *FD* III 6: 134
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 87-88 (O 36); Vatin 1970: 691-692

Diogeneia, Tiberius Claudius (Διογένεια, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Sikyon and Delphi
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her husband)
- **Node Number:** 234
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Τιβ. Κλ. Πολυκράτεια Ναυσικάα (Polykrateia) [mother of]; Τιβ. Κλ. Πολυκράτης (Polykrates) [wife of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll.*³ 846
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Diogenes (Διογένης)

- **Location:** Ephesos
- **Time Period:** 58-85 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 408
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Διονύσιος (Dionysios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.1.147; Moretti 1957: no.800, 802, 804, 810, 816; Strasser 2002: no.152; Weir 2004: 127

Diogenes (Διογένης)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 49
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 26 (771d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4846; Ziegler 1951: 672

Diogenianos (Διογενιανός)

- **Location:** Pergamon
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 85
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Διογενιανός II (Diogenianos II) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.7-8 (710b) (711b) [English] 8.1-2, (717b) (718b) [English], 8.9 (731b); *De Pyth. or.* 1 (395a) [English], 3, 5, 7, 12, 14, 22
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4846; Ziegler 1951: 672-673

Diogenianos (Διογενιανός)

- **Location:** Pergamon
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 86
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Διογενιανός (Diogenios I) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De Pyth. or.* 1 (395a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4846; Ziegler 1951: 673

Dionysios (Διονύσιος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 99
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 9.14 (744f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4846

Dionysios (Διονύσιος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 275
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Κλεῖτος (Kleitōs) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Dionysios (Διονύσιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** c.47-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 362
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἀστοξένος (Astoxenos) [son of]; Ἀστόξενος (Astoxenos) [father of]; Εὐαμερίς (Euameris) [father of]; Σωπάτρα (Sopatra) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SGDI* 2185: 2; *SGDI* 2249: 16; *FD III* 1: 302; *FD III* 1: 311; *FD III* 2: 285; *FD III* 3: 258; *FD III* 3: 284; *FD III* 3: 301-303; *FD III* 3: 305; *FD III* 3: 307; *FD III* 3: 310-312; *FD III* 3: 324; *FD III* 3: 330; *FD III* 3: 333; *FD III* 4: 73; *FD III* 4: 502-504; *FD III* 6: 5-6; *FD III* 6: 8-9; *FD III* 6: 12-16; *FD III* 6: 18-19; *FD III* 6: 22-23; *FD III* 6: 25; *FD III* 6: 27; *FD III* 6: 29-31; *FD III* 6: 33-34; *FD III* 6: 36-39; *FD III* 6: 41-44; *FD III* 6: 52; *FD III* 6: 57; *FD III* 6: 116; *FD III* 6: 123; *FD III* 6: 126; *SEG* 12: 248; *SEG* 12: 251-253; *SEG* 27: 105 b (?); *SEG* 33: 430; *SEG* 34: 397; *SEG* 37: 409
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 84

Dionysios (Διονύσιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 59
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀριστότιμος (priest of Apollo T. Flavius Aristotimos) [father of]; Αἰακίδας (Aiakidas) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 8 (965c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4846; Ziegler 1951: 666

Domestikos, Marcus Ulpius (Δομεστικός, Μ. Οὔλπ.)

- **Location:** Ephesos
- **Time Period:** 110-130 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 409
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Μ. Οὔλπ. Φίρμος Δομεστικός II (Marcus Ulpius Phirmos Domestikos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IEph* 1089; *IEph* 1155; *IG* V 1: 669; *IG* XIV 1052 = *IGUR* 26; *IG* XIV 1109 = *IGUR* 237; *IG* XIV 1110 = *IGUR* 238
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** archiereus xystou; xystarches; periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.28; Moretti 1957: no.844; Strasser 2002: no.182

Domitian (Δομιτιανός; Titus Flavius Caesar Domitianus Augustus)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 24-96 CE
- **Reign:** 14 September 81 – 18 September 96
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Avidius Nigrinus I, Sosius Senecio, and Rusticus)
- **Node Number:** 250
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Num.* 19.4 [English]; *Quaest. Rom.* 50 (276e) [English]; *De curios.* 15 (522d); *Pub.* 15.3-6 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Flacelière 1963: 41; Jones 1971: 23, 25, 51, 55

Dorkylis, Flavia (Δορκυλῖς, Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her father, Philinos)
- **Node Number:** 224
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Φιλῖνος (Philinos) and Φλ. Ἀρχέλα [daughter of]; Τ. Φλ. Λύσανδρος (T. Flavius Lysandros) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 1871
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 234-235

Dorotheos (Δωρόθεος)

- **Location:** unknown (in Elis for a banquet)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 165
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** Quaest. conv. 4.2 (665a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4846; Ziegler 1951: 673

Drako (Δράκων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 276
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Σωσίβιος (Sosibios) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

E

Elpinos (Ἐλπίνος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 277
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ζωῖλος (Zoilos, local archon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Empedokles (Ἐμπεδοκλῆς)

- **Location:** unknown (guest of Sextus Sulla in Rome)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 144
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.8 (728d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4846; Ziegler 1951: 674

Erpandros (Ἐπάνδρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** c.75-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 363
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Σῖμος (Simon) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 2: 98; *FD* III 4: 114
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Erpaphroditos (Ἐπαφρόδιτος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 278
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Erpaphroditos (Ἐπαφρόδιτος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 279
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3439
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 639

Erastros (Ἐραστρός)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 280
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Τιμόκλεια (Timoklia) [?]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3448
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Epictetos (Ἐπίκτητος)

- **Location:** Hierapolis
- **Time Period:** c.55-135 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Favorinus)
- **Node Number:** 201
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 1997; Jones 1971: 35-36; Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 675

Epigonos (Ἐπίγονος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 281
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἀκάστος (Akastos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Epinikos (Ἐπίνικος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** c.85-90 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 364
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Εὐδωρος (Eudoros) [son of]; Νικόστρατος (Nikostratos) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 6: 137
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Epiphanes, Gaius Julius Archelaos Antiochos (Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής)

- **Location:** Commagene
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his son, Philopappos)
- **Node Number:** 230
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Κλαυδία Καπιτωλίνα (Claudia Capitolina) [husband of]; Ἰουλία Βαλβίλλα (Julia Balbilla) [father of]; Φιλόπαππος (Philopappos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Epitherses (Ἐπιθέρης)

- **Location:** Proucias on Hypios (establishes himself in Nikaia)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 87
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Αἰμιλιανός (Aimilianos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De def. or.* 17 (419b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4846-4847; Ziegler 1951: 682

Erponina (Ἐρπονίνα)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 145
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Julius Sabinus (Σαβῖνος) [wife of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 25 (770e-771c) [English = Empone in this translation]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 21-22

Erato (Ἐράτων)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 100
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.1-2 (645d) [English], 9.1 (736e), 9.14 (743c)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4847; Ziegler 1951: 666

Eros (Ἔρως)

- **Location:** uncertain (always mentioned with Minicius Fundanus)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 146
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De cohib. ira* 1 (453B) [English]; *De tranq. an.* 1 (464F) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4847; Ziegler 1951: 674

Euameris (Εὐαμερίς)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** N/A
- **Time Period:** c.47-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 365
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Διονύσιος (Dionysios) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 504; *SEG* 31: 532
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Eubiotos, T. Flavius (Εὐβίोटος, Τ. Φλάβιος)

- **Location:** Thessaly
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 177
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** family tree (Puech 4848); Κύλλος, Τ. Φλαοῦϊος (Kyllos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX (2) 44, 4; *FD* III (3) 6; *Syll*³ 822
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 8 (965c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1972: 264; Larsen 1953: 86-95; Puech 1983: 15-43; Puech 1992: 4847-4849; Pouilloux 1980: 291-292

Euboulos (Εὐβούλος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 282
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** –ης [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Euboulos, T. Flavius (Εὐβουλος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 283
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Eudaimon, Gaius Julius (Εὐδαίμων, Γάϊος Ἰούλιος)

- **Location:** Tarsos
- **Time Period:** 119 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 410
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 2: 250
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002: no.184; Weir 2004: 128

Eudoros (Εὐδωρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** c.47 -110 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 366
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Ἐπίνικος (Epinikos) [son of]; Ἐπίνικος (Epinikos) [father of]; Νικόστρατος (Nikostratos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 48; *FD* III 4: 444; *FD* III 6: 125-126; *FD* III 6: 129; *FD* III 6: 134; *FD* III 6: 137; *FD* III 6: 140; *SEG* 34: 403
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Euemeros (Εὐήμερος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 284
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Λυσίμαχος (Lysimachos, local arcon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3392
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 632

Eufandra (Εὐφάνδρα)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 285
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3459
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 641

Eukleidas (Εὐκλείδης)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** c.47-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 367
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀστοξένος (Astoxenos) [son of]; Ἀστοξένος (Astoxenos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 2: 65-66; *FD* III 4: 78; *FD* III 4: 104; *FD* III 6: 125-126; *FD* III 6: 137; *FD* III 6: 139; *SGDI* 2322; *SEG* 33: 436; *SEG* 34: 386
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 90 (P2)

Euphanes, Flavius (Εὐφάνης, Φλ.)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 101
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *ID* 2536; *IG* II² 2032; *IG* 2776
- **Plutarch:** *ded. An seni* 1 (783b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 28, 110; Puech 1992: 4849; Russell 1973: 9; Ziegler 1951: 674

Euphrates [the Stoic] (Εὐφράτης)

- **Location:** Epiphania
- **Time Period:** c.35-118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Mestrius Florus)
- **Node Number:** 214
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II² 3945
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 48 n.2

Eupraxis, Flavius (Εὐπραξίς, Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thespiei
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her father, Philinos)
- **Node Number:** 225
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Φιλῖνος (Philinos) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 2521
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Eurydike, Memmia (Εὐρυδίκη, Μემμία)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 24
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Κλέα (Klea) [daughter of]; Πολλιανός (Pollianos) [wife of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 1: 159
- **Plutarch:** *ded. Praec. conj.* 1, 48 (138a) (145e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1981: 189; Puech 1992: 4849; Ziegler 1951: 674

Eurykles, C. Julius (Εὐρυκλῆς, Ἰούλ.)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through C. Julius Eurykles Herkulanos)
- **Node Number:** 205
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ἡρκουλανός (Herkulanos) [related to]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* V 1: 287
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4852

Eustrophos (Εὐστροφος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 102
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De E delph.* 7-8, 15 (387e) [English], (391b); *Quaest. conv.* 7.4 (702d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4849; Ziegler 1951: 669

Euthydamilla, Memmia (Εὐθυδάμιλλα, Μεμμία)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Μέμμιος Εὐθύδαμος)
- **Node Number:** 200
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Μέμμιος Εὐθύδαμος (G. Memmius Euthydamos) [wife of; cousin of (?)]; Μέμμιος Νίκανδρος (Memmios Nikandros) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4849-4850

Euthydamos (Εὐθύδαμος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 60
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Νίκανδρος (Nikandros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 8 (965c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4896; Ziegler 1951: 674-675

Euthydamos, G. Memmios (Εὐθύδαμος, Γ. Μέμμιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon; priest
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 61
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Μεμμία Εὐθυδάμιλλα (Memmia Euthydamilla) [husband of; cousin of (?)]; Μέμμιος Νίκανδρος (Memmios Nikandros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1: 466; *FD* III 2: 65-66; *FD* III 4: 78; *FD* III 4: 100-101; *FD* III 4: 105; *FD* III 6: 133; *FD* III 6: 137; *FD* III 6: 139; *SEG* 23: 319; *SEG* 36: 518
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.2 (700e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 88, 90 (039, P2, P6); Flacelière 1949: 466; Puech 1992: 4849-4850; Ziegler 1951: 674

Euthydemos (Εὐθύδημος)

- **Location:** Athens (of the Sounion deme)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 103
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.10 (657f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 674-675

F

Falco, Q. Pompeius (Φάλκων)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** c.70-140 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Sosius Senecio)
- **Node Number:** 240
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πόλλα (Sosia Polla) [husband of]; Σόσιος Σενεκίων (Sosius Senecio) [son-in-law of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970b: 103; Jones 1971: 57; Puech 1992: 4854

Favorinus (Φαβωρίνος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 147
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.10 (734d) [English]; *De primo* 1 (945f), 12 (949f), 23 (955c) [English]; *Quaest. Rom.* 271c; Lamprias Catalogue number 132 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 1997: 1-16; Bowie 2002: 50-51; Duff 1999: 289; Jones 1971: 60-61, 116; Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 675

Firmos (Φίρμος)

- **Location:** unknown (Boiotia?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2
- **Node Number:** 12
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** in-law of Plutarch
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.3 (636a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 651, 675

Firmos, Tiberius Calavius (Φίρμος, Τιβ. Καλαούιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 368
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 111
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 92 (P14)

Flavianos (Φλαουιανος)

- **Location:** unknown (friend of his son, Autoboulos)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 35
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 1 (748e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 675-676

Frontinus, Sextus Julius (Φροντινος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Sosius Senecio)
- **Node Number:** 241
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Σόσιος Σενεκίων (Sosius Senecio) [father-in-law of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Fundanus, Minicius (Μινίκιος Φουνδάνος)

- **Location:** Ticinum (Northern Italy)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 156
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Μάρκελλα (Marcella) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *ILS* 1030
- **Plutarch:** *De cohib. ira* 1 (452f) [English], 2 (453c-d); *De tranq. an.* 1 (464f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1966: 61; Jones 1971: 57-58; Puech 1992: 4861; Ziegler 1951: 691

G

Gaios (Γάϊος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 286
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Σύμφωρος (Symphoros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Galen, Claudius (Γαληνός, Κλαύδιος)

- **Location:** Pergamon
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Διογενιανός II and Favorinus)
- **Node Number:** N/A
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** N/A
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Gallatis (Γάλλατις)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 287
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Πυθίων (Pythion) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3453
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Glaukias (Γλαυκίας)

- **Location:** Athens (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 104
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.10, 2.2, 7.9, 7.10, 9.12 (628e) (635a) (714a) (714d) (741c) (742d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 2002: 43; Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 668

Glaukos (Γλαῦκος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 105
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De tuenda san.* 1 (122b) [English], 5 (124d)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 676

H

Hadrian (Ἀδριανός; Publius Aelius Hadrianus Augustus)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 76-138 CE
- **Reign:** 10 August 117 – 10 July 138
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (though Nigrinus II; C. Minicius Fundanus; Aristotimos; Asclepiades; C. Julius Eurykles Herkulanos; Julia Balbilla; Favorinus; probably Philopappos)
- **Node Number:** 252
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 1997; Flacelière 1963: 44-45; Jones 1971: 33-34; Stadter 2014b: 21; Swain 1991

Hagias (Ἀγίας)

- **Location:** Chaironeia (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 36
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.10 (643a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4850

Hagias (Ἀγίας)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 37
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.7 (656a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4850

Heliodoros, Marcus Ulpius (Ἡλιόδωρος, Μ. Οὐλπ.)

- **Location:** Attaleia (?)
- **Time Period:** 90-117 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 411
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Διόδωρος (Diodoros) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IV 591
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: B.8; Farrington 2012: no.1.157; Strasser 2002: no.175; Weir 2004: 129

Herakleon (Ἡρακλέων)

- **Location:** Megara
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 124
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 8, 23 (965c, 975c) [English]; *De def. or.* 6-7 (418e), 16-17, 23 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4850; Ziegler 1951: 676

Herkulanos, C. Julius Eurykles (Ἡρκουλανός)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 169
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** family tree (Puech 4852); Γ. Ἰούλ. Λάκων (C. Julius Lako) [son of]; Γ. Ἰούλ. Λάκων [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *PIR*² I 302; *IG V* 1: 32; *IG V* 1: 34; *IG V* 1: 44; *IG V* 1: 380; *IG V* 1: 575; *IG V* 1: 971; *IG V* 1: 1172; *IG V* 2: 311; *SEG* 11: 680; *Corinth* VIII 3: 314; *Syll.*³ 841
- **Plutarch:** *De se ipsum* 1 (539b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jacobs 2017b: 26; Jones 1970b: 103; Jones 1971: 41, 43, 46; Puech 1992: 4850-4855; Russell 1973: 9; Spawforth 1978: 255-259; Spawforth 1980: 204; Spawforth 1996: 174; Ziegler 1951: 676

Hermaios (Ἑρμάϊος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 288
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ὀνησιφόρος (Onesiphoros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Hermaios (Ἑρμάϊος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 289
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** –μων [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Hermaios (Ἑρμάϊος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 290
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ἑρμάϊος II (Hermaios II) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1: 212
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bourguet 1929: 212

Hermaios (Ἑρμάϊος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 291
- **Relations:** Ἑρμάϊος I (Hermaios) [son of]
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1: 212
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bourguet 1929: 212

Hermas (Ἑρμᾶς)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Node Number:** 292
- **Relations:** Νικάνωρ (Nikanor) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3297
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613

Hermeias (Ἑρμείας)

- **Location:** uncertain
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 106
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 9.2-4 (737e) (738d) (739a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4855; Ziegler 1951: 666

Herodes (Ἡρώδης)

- **Location:** uncertain (guest of Sospis in Corinth)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 159
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.4 (723b) [English], 9.14 (743d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 2002: 42-43; Puech 1992: 4855; Ziegler 1951: 667

Hermogenes, Titus Flavius (Ἑρμογένης, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Xanthos
- **Time Period:** c.75-90 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 412
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀπολλώνιος (Apollonios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 34: 1314-1317
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** protos ap' aionos; paradoxonikes; aristos Hellenon; xystarches dia biou
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Caldelli 1993: no.3; Farrington 2012: no.1.152; Moretti 1957: no.805, 806, 807, 812, 813, 817, 818, 819; Moretti 1957: no.805-807; Strasser 2002: no.168

Hermonikes, Marcus Turranius (Ἑρμονικῆς)

- **Location:** Puteoli
- **Time Period:** c.79 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 413
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll.*³ 817
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002: no.167; Weir 2004: 129

Hipparchos (Ἱππάρχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 293
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3416
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 635

Homoloichos (Ὁμολώϊχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 294
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3452
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Homoloichos (Ὁμολώϊχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 295
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3295
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 612; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Homoloichos (Ὁμολώϊχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 296
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Νικάρχος (Nikarchos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 38: 380
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Knoepfler 1988: 263-294; 1992: 498; Papzarkadas 2014: 128, 130, 140

Homoloichos (Ὅμολῶϊχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 297
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII 3298*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Hylas (Ὕλας)

- **Location:** uncertain (met in Athens)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 107
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 9.5-6 (739e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4855; Ziegler 1951: 666

I

Ismenodora (Ἰσμενοδώρα)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 50
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2-3 (749d), 7, 9-11, 13, 26 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4855; Ziegler 1951: 676

J

Julianus (Ἰουλιανὸς)

- **Location:** Smyrna
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 414
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Νικίας (Nikias) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002: no.151; Weir 2004: 128

K

Kallikrates (Καλλικράτης)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 170
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Ἐπικράτης (Epikrates) [descendant of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Ages*. 35 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4842

Kallimorphos, Tiberius Claudius (Καλλίμορφος, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Aphrodisias
- **Time Period:** 105-140 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 415
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀγαθάγγελος (Tiberius Claudius Agathangelos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *CIG* 2810
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes protos kai monos ton ap' aionos; hierous dia biou Theas Nikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.5.7; Strasser 2002: no.180; Weir 2004: 127

Kallistratos (Καλλίστρατος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon; priest
- **Time Period:** c.1-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 369
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Καλλίστρατος (Kallistratos) and Στρατώ (Strato) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 504 C; *FD* III 6: 12; *FD* III 6: 14; *FD* III 6: 17-19; *FD* III 6: 29-30; *FD* III 6: 35; *FD* III 6: 41-42; *FD* III 6: 48; *FD* III 6: 52-53; *FD* III 6: 57; *FD* III 6: 121; *FD* III 6: 123; *FD* III 6: 126; *SEG* 1: 156; *SEG* 34: 402
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 86 (029, 30, 35)

Kallistratos (Καλλίστρατος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c. 47-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 370
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Νίκανδρος (Nikandros) [son of]; Νίκανδρος (Nikandros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 33: 432; *SEG* 33: 436; *SEG* 34: 396; *SEG* 34: 403; *FD* III 6: 124, 1; *FD* III 6: 126; *FD* III 6: 130; *FD* III 6: 132; *FD* III 6: 134
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 85 (023)

Kallistratos (Καλλίστρατος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 62
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Λέων (Leon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** possibly *FD* III 4, 111.
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 4.4-5, 7.5 (667d) (669e-f), (704c), (704e), (705b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 2002: 43; Pouilloux 1980: 287-288; Puech 1992: 4842; Ziegler 1951: 676-677

Kallon (Κάλλων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 298
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Φύλαξ (Phylax) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52, 54; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Kalone (Καλόνη)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 299
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ἀριστόνικος (Aistonikos) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *AD* 48
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** *ADelt* 1993: 180.

Kaphisias (Καφισίας)

- **Location:** Phokis
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 55
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Θέων (Theon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.4 (724d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4842; Ziegler 1951: 667

Kaphon (Κάφων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 300
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3295
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 612; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Karopina (Χαροπίνη)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 301
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Τιβ. Κλ. Δίδυμος (Didymos) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3430
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 638; Fossey 1973-4: 12; Fossey 1979: 581; Ma 1994: 62

Kephisodoros (Κηφισόδωρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 302
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Klea (Κλέα)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Node Number:** 25
- **Relations:** Μεμμία (Memmia Leontis) [daughter of]; Εὐρυδίκη (Memmia Eurydike) [mother of]; Πολλιανός (L. Falvius Pollianos Aristio) [mother-in-law of]
- **Inscriptions:** possibly *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** ded. *De mul. vir.* 1 (242e) [English]; ded. *De Is. et Os.* 1, 3, 11, 35 (351c) [English], (352c) [English], (355b), (364e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowersock 1965: 267-270; Kapetanopoulos 1966; Pouilloux 1980: 284 (for her father); Puech 1981: 190; Puech 1992: 4842-4843; Russell 1973: 6; Stadter 1999; Ziegler 1951: 677

Kleandros (Κλέανδρος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 148
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Σήδατος, Μάρκος (Marcus Sedatius) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quomodo adol.* 1 (15a-b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4843; Ziegler 1951: 694

Kleitros (Κλεῖτρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 303
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Διονύσιος (Dionysios) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Kleomachos, Tiberius Claudius (Κλεόμαχος, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Nikopolis
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 371
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll.*³ 813 B, 4 = *FD III* 3: 181
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Pouilloux 1980: 284-285, 298

Kleombrotos (Κλεόμβροτος)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 171
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De def. or.* 2-5, 9-12, 15-16, 19-22 (410a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 178-80; Puech 1992: 4843; Russell 1973: 12; Spawforth 1980: 203-4; Ziegler 1951: 677

Kleomenes (Κλεομένης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 38
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 6.8 (694f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4843; Ziegler 1951: 677

Kleomenes (Κλεομένης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 304
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Κλεομένης II (Kleomenes II) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG IX 1:* 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Kleomenes (Κλεομένης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 305
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Κλεομένης I (Kleomenes) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG IX 1:* 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Kleon (Κλέων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 306
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Δάμων (Damon) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII 3298*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Kleon (Κλέων)

- **Location:** Daulis
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 56
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De def. or.* 50 (437e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4843

Korinthos, Lucius Cornelius (Κόρινθος, Λ. Κορνήλιος)

- **Location:** Corinth
- **Time Period:** 50-120 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 416
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Λ. Κορνήλιος Σαβίνος (Lucius Cornelius Sabinos) [father of]; Λ. Κορνήλιος Κόρινθος II (Lucius Cornelius Corinthos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 29: 340
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.1.145; Strasser 2002: no.165; Weir 2004: 127

Kosmopolis (Κοσμόπολις)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 307
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3450
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Krato (Κράτων)

- **Location:** Boiotia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2
- **Node Number:** 13
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [in-law]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.1, 1.4, 2.6, 4.4 (613a) [English], (620a), (640c), (669c)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4843; Ziegler 1951: 651, 668-669

Kritolaos, P. Memmius (Κριτόλαος, Π. Μέμμιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** c.47-75
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Leontis and Klea)
- **Node Number:** 210
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Κριτόλαος (Kritolaos) [son of]; Λεοντίς (Leontis) [husband of]; Κλέα (Klea) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 104; *FD* III 4: 498 = *SEG* 34: 402; *SEG* 33: 436; *SEG* 34: 403; *FD* III 6: 109; *FD* III 6: 124; *FD* III 6: 130; *FD* III 6: 132; *FD* III 6: 134
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 86 (031, 32)

Kritolaos Theokles, Memmius (Μέμμιος Κριτόλαος Θεοκλῆς)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Leontis and Klea)
- **Node Number:** 211
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Κριτόλαος (Kritolaos) [son of]; Λεοντίς (Leontis) [son of]; Κλέα (Klea) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 104; *FD* III 4: 498 = *SEG* 34: 402; *FD* III 6: 109; *FD* III 6: 124; *FD* III 6: 130; *FD* III 6: 132; *FD* III 6: 134; *SEG* 33: 436; *SEG* 34: 403
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 86 (031, 32)

Kyllos, T. Flavius (Κύλλος, Τ. Φλαούιος)

- **Location:** Thessaly
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 178
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Εὐβίωτος (T. Flavius Eubiotos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll.*³ 822; *IG* IX 2: 44; *FD* III 1: 538
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Larsen 1953: 86-95; Puech 1983: 15-43; Puech 1992: 4847-4849; Pouilloux 1980: 291-292

Kyllos, T. Flavius (Κύλλος)

- **Location:** Thessaly
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his father and grandfather)
- **Node Number:** 199
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Εὐβίωτος (T. Flavius Eubiotos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1: 538
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4847-4849

L

Laiadas (Λαιάδας)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.20-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 372
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Μελισσίων (Melission) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 12: 255; *SEG* 33: 431; *SEG* 34: 399; *FD* III 6: 107
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 87 (033)

Laitos, Ofellius (Λαῖτος, Ὀφέλλιος)

- **Location:** Ephesos
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 82
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** part of the Ofellii family
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II² 3816; *SEG* 31: 168
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. nat.* 2, 6 (911f) (913e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4856

Lako, C. Julius (Λάκων, Γ. Ἰούλ.)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through C. Julius Eurykles Herkulanos)
- **Node Number:** 206
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ἡρκουλανός (Herkulanos) [father of];
Λάκων, Γ. Ἰούλ. (Lako) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* V 1: 280-281, *IG* V 1: 480
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4852

Lako, C. Julius (Λάκων, Γ. Ἰούλ.)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through C. Julius Eurykles Herkulanos)
- **Node Number:** 207
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Λάκων, Γ. Ἰούλ. (Lako) [son of]; Ηρκουλανός (Herkulanos) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* V 1: 280-281
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4852

Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 435
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 308
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 309
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Νίκων (Nikon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's grandfather)
- **Node Number:** 5
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Νικάρχος (Nikarkos) [son of]; Αὐτόβουλος (Autoboulus) [father of]
- **Plutarch:** *Ant.* 28 [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 1.5 (622e), 5.5 (678e), 5.6 (680b), 5.8 (684a), 5.9 (684d)
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Barrow 1967; Xenophontos 2016: 174; Ziegler 1951: 642

Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** c.50-125 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's brother)
- **Node Number:** 6
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Αὐτόβουλος (Autoboulus) [son of]; Τίμων (Timon) [father of]; Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** e.g. *Quaest. conv.* 1.2 (617e), 2.2 (635a), 2.10 (643e), 4.4 (669c), 4.5 (670e), 7.5 (704e), 7.10 (715b), 8.6 (726d), 9.5 (740a), 9.6 (741b), 9.14 (744c), 9.15 (747b); *De E Delph.* 3-4 (385d) [English]; *De def. or.* 8 (413d), *De facie* 1 (920b) and throughout, etc.
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1967: 205-206; Russell 1973: 4; Ziegler 1951: 645-646, 668

Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** c.118-120 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 373
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 109
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 93 (P17)

Lampris, Kaikilia (Λαμπρίς, Καικιλία)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 73 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 310
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3418
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 635-636; Fossey 1991: 107; Fossey 2014: 199; Karambinis 2018: 319; Knoepfler 1992: 497

Laodameia, Flavia (Λαοδάμεια, Φλ.)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Ammonius, Plutarch's teacher)
- **Node Number:** 196
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀνν. Θράσυλλος (Thrasyllus) [mother of]; Ἀμμώνιος (Ammonius) [wife of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II² 3546, 3559, 3560, 4753, 4754
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4887

Leon (Λέων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 311
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Θεόδοτος (Theodotos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52, 54; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Leon (Λέων)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 63
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Καλλίστρατος (Kallistratos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.5 (705b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4856

Leonides (Λεωνίδης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 312
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 38: 380
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Knoepfler *Comptes* 263-294; 1992: 498; Papzarkadas 2014: 128, 130, 140

Leontis, Memmia (Λεοντίς, Μεμμία)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 64
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** family tree (Puech 4857); Π. Μέμμιος Θεοκλῆς (Memmios Theokles) [daughter of]; Π. Μέμμιος Κριτόλαος Θεοκλῆς (Memios Kritolaos Theokles) [wife of]; Κλέα (Klea) [mother of]; Μέμμιος Κριτόλαος Θεοκλῆς [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 14: 424; *SEG* 42: 475
- **Plutarch:** *De mul. vir.* 1 (242f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Kapetanopoulos 1966; Puech 1992: 4857-4858; Ziegler 1951: 677

Lollian, Marcus Antonius (Λολλιανός, Μ. Ἀντ.)

- **Location:** Ephesos
- **Time Period:** c.95-250 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 417
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IEph* 1153
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.26; Strasser 2002: no.273

Lucius (Λεύκιος)

- **Location:** Eretria
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 133
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.4, 8.7-8 (702f) (727b) (728c) [English]; *De facie* 5 (921f) and throughout
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4858; Ziegler 1951: 692

Lucius (Λεύκιος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 149
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Φλῶρος (Mestrius Florus) [son of]; Φλῶρος (Mestrius Florus) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 688

Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus (Λεύκιος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 101-138 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (though Nigrinus II)
- **Node Number:** 254
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Νιγρῖνος II (Nigrinus) (step-father and father-in-law)
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 54

Lukanios (Λουκάνιος)

- **Location:** Corinth
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 160
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.3 (675e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 43; Puech 1992: 4858; Ziegler 1951: 667

Lysandra (Λυσάνδρα)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 51
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Σίμων (Simon of Thespiai) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2 (749b), 6 (752d), 18 (763a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4859; Ziegler 1951: 677

Lysandros, T. Flavius (Λύσανδρος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his grandfather, Philinos)
- **Node Number:** 226
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Φλ. Δορκυλῖς (Dorkylis) [son of]; Τ. Φλ. Φιλῖνος (Philinos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 1871
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 235

Lysias (Λυσίας)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** N/A
- **Node Number:** N/A
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** N/A
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De mus.* (thought to be pseudo-Plutarch)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 677-678

Lysimachos (Λυσίμαχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 313
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Εὐήμερος (Euemeros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3392
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 632

Lysimachos (Λυσίμαχος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 65
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.4-5 (638b) (639a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4859; Ziegler 1951: 678

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Marcella (Μάρκελλα)

- **Location:** Northern Italy
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (connected through Municius Fundanus)
- **Node Number:** 204
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Μινίκιος Φουνδάνος (Municius Fundanus) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *ILS* 1030
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4861

Markion (Μαρκίων)

- **Location:** unknown (in Hyampolis for a banquet)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 73
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 4.1 (661a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4859; Ziegler 1951: 678

Markos (Μάρκος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 108
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.10, 9.5 (628a) (740e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4859; Ziegler 1951: 667

Maron (Μάρων)

- **Location:** Phaleron (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Alexander of Phaleron)
- **Node Number:** 193
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀλέξανδρος (Alexander) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II² 3793*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Martial (Μαρτιάλης) [Marcus Valerius Martialis]

- **Location:** Augusta Bilbilis
- **Time Period:** c.38-102 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (connected through Aufidius Modestus and Terentius Priscus)
- **Node Number:** 257
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dessau 1911: 160

Maternus, Curiatius (Μάτερνος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julius Secundus)
- **Node Number:** 261
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50

Maximos (Μάξιμος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 109
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 9.4 (739b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 2002: 42; Puech 1992: 4859; Ziegler 1951: 666

Megalinos, T. Flavius (Μεγαλῖνος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st /2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 374
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 471; *Syll.*³ 821 D; *Syll.*³ 813
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Pouilloux 1980: 288-289

Melagkomas (Μελαγκόμας)

- **Location:** Caria
- **Time Period:** 71 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 418
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Μελαγκόμας (Melagkomas) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002: no. 166

Melission (Μελισσίων)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c. 53 BCE – 66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 375
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Διονυσίος (Dionysios) [son of]; Ἀτέλεια (Ateleia) [father of]; Λαϊάδας (Laiadas) [father of]; Σωστράτα (Sostrata) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SGDI* 2157; *SGDI* 2185; *SGDI* 2188; *FD* III 1: 302; *FD* III 3: 276; *FD* III 3: 301; *FD* III 3: 308; *FD* III 3: 310-312; *FD* III 3: 324; *FD* III 3: 330; *FD* III 3: 333; *FD* III 3: 386; *FD* III 3: 393-394; *FD* III 3: 397; *FD* III 3: 399; *FD* III 3: 403-404; *FD* III 3: 411; *FD* III 3: 418; *FD* III 3: 434; *FD* III 4: 249; *FD* III 4: 499; *FD* III 4: 504 A; *FD* III 6: 31; *SEG* 12: 251 = *SEG* 37: 408; *SEG* 12: 253; *SEG* 36: 513
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 85 (024)

Melission (Μελισσίων)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** c. 47-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 376
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Λαιάδας (Laiada) [son of]; Λαιάδας (Laiada) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 500 *FD* III 4: 503-504A and C; *FD* III 6: 6; *FD* III 6: 13-14; *FD* III 6: 17; *FD* III 6: 33-35; *FD* III 6: 38; *FD* III 6: 41; *FD* III 6: 43; *FD* III 6: 47-48; *FD* III 6: 53-54; *FD* III 6: 58; *FD* III 6: 62-63; *FD* III 6: 107; *FD* III 6: 116; *FD* III 6: 121; *FD* III 6: 123-124; *FD* III 6: 126-127; *FD* III 6: 129-130; *SEG* 12: 255; *SEG* 33: 431; *SEG* 34: 399; *SEG* 34: 401; *SEG* 34: 402
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 84

Menandros (Μένανδρος)

- **Location:** Myra
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 419
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Σεραπίων (Serapion) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1: 548
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** pythionikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Weir 2004: 128

Menekrates (Μενεκράτης)

- **Location:** Thessaly
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 175
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.5 (639b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4859; Ziegler 1951: 678

Menelaos (Μενέλαος)

- **Location:** Alexandria
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 78
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De facie* 17 (930a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4859; Ziegler 1951: 678

Menemachos (Μενέμαχος)

- **Location:** Sardis
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 89
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** ded *Prae. ger. reip.* 1 (798a) [English], maybe ded. Of *De exil* 1 (599a)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jacobs 2017b: 280; Jones 1971: 43, 110-111; Puech 1992: 4859; Xenophontos 2016: 128; Ziegler 1951: 678

Menephylos (Μενέφυλος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 110
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 9.6, 9.14 (741a) [English] (745c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4859; Ziegler 1951: 666

Meniskos (Μενίσκος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 111
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Φίλητος (Philetos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II²* 3112; maybe *IG II²* 2995
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 9.15 (747b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4859-4860; Ziegler 1951: 678

Menodoros (Μηνόδωρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.47-75 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 377
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Μηνόδωρος (Menodoros) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 33: 436, *SEG* 34: 386; *FD* III 6: 35; *FD* III 6: 132; *FD* III 6: 134
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 88-89 (041)

Messalla, Vipstanus (Μεσσαλλὰ)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** c.45-80 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julius Secundus)
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Node Number:** 262
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50

Mestrius Florus, L. (Φλωρός)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 30
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Λεύκιος (Lucius) [father of]; Φλωρός (Mestrius Florus) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *PIR*² M 531; BMC Ionia n:310; *AE* 1966: 426; *Syll.*³ 829A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.9 (626e), 3.3 (650a), 3.4 (651a), 3.5 (651f), 5.7 (680c), 5.10 (684e), 7.1 (698e), 7.2 (701a), 7.4 (702d), 7.6 (707c), 8.1 (717d), 8.2 (718f), 8.10 (734d) [English]; *Otho* 14.1 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Duff 1999: 1; Jones 1970b: 103; Jones 1971: 11, 22 32, 48-49, 63; Puech 1992: 4860; Stadter 2014a: 8, 34-36; Stadter 2014b: 17; Ziegler 1951: 650, 687-688

Mestrius Florus, L. (Φλωρος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 150
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Φλωρος (Mestrius Florus) [son of]; Λεύκιος (Lucius) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4861

Metrobios, Titus Flavius (Μητρόβιος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Iasos
- **Time Period:** c.75-90 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 420
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Δημήτριος (Demetrios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Iasos* 107; *Iasos* 108; *Iasos* 109 = *SEG* 48: 1333
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** protos anthropon; protos Iaseon
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Caldelli 1993: no.1; Farrington 2012: no.2.17; Moretti 1953: no.66; Moretti 1957: no.814; Strasser 2002: no.170

Milo (Μίλων)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 112
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.10 (628a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4861; Ziegler 1951: 668

Moderatos (Μοδεράτος)

- **Location:** Gades
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through a student of Moderatos, Lucius the Etrurian)
- **Node Number:** 212
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.7 (727b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4861; Ziegler 1951: 692

Moiragenes (Μοιραγένης)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 113
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II² 3112; IG II² 1759; IG II² 4486*
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 4.6 (671c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4861; Ziegler 1951: 678

Mondo, T. Flavius (Μόνδων, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his son, Philinos)
- **Node Number:** 227
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Φιλῖνος (Philinos) [son of]; Φλ. Ἀρχέλα (Archela) [husband of]; Τ. Φλ. Φιλῖνος (Philinos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII 1867, IG VII 2521, IG VII 1830*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 233-234

Mondo, T. Flavius (Μόνδων, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his father, Philinos)
- **Node Number:** 228
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Φιλῖνος (Philinos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 244

Mondo, T. Flavius (Μόνδων, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his grandfather, Philinos)
- **Node Number:** 229
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Φλ. Δορκυλῖς (Dorkylis) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII 2520*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 235

Moschios (Μοσχίων)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 114
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De tuenda san.* 1 (122b) [English] *Quaest. conv.* 3.10 (657f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4862; Ziegler 1951: 678-679

N

Naso (Νάσσων)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julius Secundus)
- **Node Number:** 238
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50-51

Nero (Νέρων; Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 15 December 37 – 9 June 68 CE
- **Reign:** 13 October 54 – 9 June 68
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (Delphi)
- **Node Number:** 246
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quomodo adul.* 12, 17 (56f), (60c) [English]; *De E delph.* 1 (385b); *de cohib. ira* 13 (461f) [English]; *de frat. am.* 17 (488a) [English]; *de garr.* 7 (505c) [English]; *de sera* 32 (567f) [English]; *prae. ger. reip.* 14, 19 (810a), (815d) [English]; *Galba* 1.3, 4.1 [English]; *Ant.* 87.4 [English]
- **Agonistic Titles:** olympionikes; pantonikes; periodonikes; pythionikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.1.149; Flacelière 1963: 38-39; Jones 1971: 16- Moretti 1957: no.790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795; Moretti 1957: no.738; Russell 1973: 2; Strasser 2002: no.163

Nestor (Νέστωρ)

- **Location:** Leptis Magna
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 80
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.1, 8.8 (630c) (639b) (730d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4862; Ziegler 1951: 679

Nigros | Niger (Νίγρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 39
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 6.7 (692b) [English]; *De tuenda san.* 16 (131a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 9; Puech 1992: 4863-4864; Renehan 2000; Russell 1973: 11-12; Ziegler 1951: 679

Nikandros (Νίκανδρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon; priest
- **Time Period:** c.1-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 378
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Καλλιστράτος (Kallistratos) [son of]; Καλλιστράτος (Kallistratos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 6: 12; *FD* III 6: 23; *FD* III 6: 30; *FD* III 6: 33-34; *FD* III 6: 42; *FD* III 6: 49-50; *FD* III 6: 52-54; *FD* III 6: 57; *FD* III 6: 107; *FD* III 6: 109; *FD* III 6: 121; *SEG* 33: 431, *SEG* 34: 397, *SEG* 34: 399, *SEG* 34: 401-402
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 84, 85, 88

Nikandros (Νίκανδρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 66
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De E delph.* 5-6, 16 (386c) (391d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1967: 205; Puech 1992: 4862; Ziegler 1951: 679

Nikandros (Νίκανδρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 67
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** a name given to many personalities in the *Moralia*, all in relation to Delphi
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4862; Ziegler 1951: 679

Nikandros (Νίκανδρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 68
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Εὐθύδαμος (Euthydamos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De def. or.* 51 (438b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4862; Ziegler 1951: 679

Nikandros, Memmios (Νίκανδρος, Μέμμιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 69
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Εὐθύδαμος (G. Memmius Euthydamos) and Μεμμία Εὐθυδάμιλλα (Memmia Euthydamilla) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 23: 319, 1; *FD* III 1: 466
- **Plutarch:** *ded. De rec. rat. aud.* 1 (37b) [English], *De soll. an.* 8 (965c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1972: 264; Puech 1992: 4863; Ziegler 1951: 679

Nikandros, Tiberius Claudius (Νίκανδρος, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon; priest
- **Time Period:** c.47-75 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 379
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Καλλιστράτος (Kallistratos) [son of]; Καλλιστράτος (Kallistratos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 34: 396, *SEG* 34: 403; *FD* III 1: 535; *FD* III 4: 505; *FD* III 6: 49; *FD* III 6: 126; *FD* III 6: 130; *FD* III 6: 132; *FD* III 6: 134
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 84 (Priest XXIX), 88 (O37, O40)

Nikanor (Νικάνωρ)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 314
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Νίκων (Nikon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Nikanor (Νικάνωρ)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 315
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἑρμᾶς (Hermas) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3297
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613

Nikanor, Tiberius Claudius (Νικάνωρ, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Seleukeia Pieria
- **Time Period:** c. 75-130 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 421
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IGLSyr* 3.2, 1186
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.19; Strasser 2002: no.158

Nikarchos (Νίκαρχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 316
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ὁμολώϊχος (Homoloichos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 38: 380
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Knoepfler 1988 263-294; 1992: 498; Papzarkadas 2014: 128, 130, 140

Nikeratos (Νικήρατος)

- **Location:** Macedonia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 157
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.4 (677c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4863; Ziegler 1951: 679

Niketes (Νικήτης)

- **Location:** Smyrna
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julius Secundus)
- **Node Number:** 237
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 15

Nikias (Νικήας)

- **Location:** Nikopolis
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 127
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.1 (698a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4863; Ziegler 1951: 679

Nikon (Νίκων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 317
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Νικάνωρ (Nikanor) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Nikon (Νίκων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 318
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3299
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613

Nikon (Νίκων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 319
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Λαμπρίας (Lamprias) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG IX* 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Nikon (Νίκων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 320
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Σύμφωρος (Symphoros) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG IX 1: 61*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Nikon (Νίκων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 321
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ἀλέξανδρος (Alexander) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG IX 1: 61*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Nikostratos (Νικόστρατος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 322
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Σύμφωρος (Symphoros) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII 3296*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Nikostratos (Νικόστρατος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 115
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.9-10 (714a) (714d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4863; Ziegler 1951: 668

Nikostratos (Νικόστρατος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** c. 85-110
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 380
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Εὐδωρος (Eudoros) [son of]; Ἐπίνικος (Epinikos) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 444; *FD* III 6: 125
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 92 (P12)

O

Olympichos (Ὀλύμπιχος)

- **Location:** Boiotia (or Phokis)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 32
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De sera* 13 (558a-b), 17 (560c); *Quaest. conv.* 3.6 (654b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4864; Ziegler 1951: 679-680

Olympichos (Ὀλύμπιχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 323
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** -νδρος [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3429
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 638; Fossey 1979: 581; Ma 1994: 62

Onesikrates (Ὀνησικράτης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 40
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.5 (678d) [English]; *De mus.* (thought to be pseudo-Plutarch)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4864; Ziegler 1951: 680

Onesiphoros (Ὀνησιφόρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 324
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἑρμαῖος (Hermaios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII 3296*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Onetor (Ὀνήτωρ)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 0-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 422
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II² 3158*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002: no.263

Optatos | Optatos, M. Pacuvios (Ὀπτᾶτος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 70
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Πακούϊα (Pacuvia Fortunata) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD III 4: 87/89; FD III 4: 326*
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 8 (965c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 93 (P19); Flacelière 1949: 467-8; Jones 1972: 263-265; Puech 1992: 4864-4865; Vatin 1970: 683-688; Ziegler 1951: 680

Otho (Ὦθων; Marcus Salvius Otho Caesar Augustus)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 32 – 69 CE
- **Reign:** 15 January – 16 April 69
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through L. Mestrius Florus and Julius Secundus)
- **Node Number:** 247
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 49

P

Paccius (Πάκκιος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 151
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** ded. *De tranq. an.* 1, 7 (464e) (468e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 59-60; Puech 1992: 4865; van Hoof 2014: 138; Ziegler 1951: 656, 692-693

Pacuvia Fortunata (Πακούϊα)

- **Location:** Corinth (very active in Delphi)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through M. Pacuvios Optatos)
- **Node Number:** 219
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Ὀπτᾶτος (Pacuvios Optatos) [daughter of]; Βάββιος Μάγνος (Babbius Magnus) [wife of]; Βάββιος Μάξιμος (Babbius Maximus) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 1: 539; *Syll.*³ 825D
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Homolle 1896; Puech 1992: 4865; Spawforth 1996: 169; Vatin 1970;

Pankles (Παγκλῆς)

- **Location:** Tenos (?)
- **Time Period:** c.75-250 CE (imperial in the LGPN)
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 423
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Παγκλῆς (Pankles) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* XII 5: 909
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** aktionikes; periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.20; Moretti 1957: no.823; Strasser 2002: no.150

Pantaleon (Πανταλέων)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 381
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πανταλέων (Pantaleon) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 80; *FD* III 6: 133
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Pantaleon (Πανταλέων)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 382
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πανταλέων (Pantaleon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 6: 133
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 92 (P11)

Paramonos (Παράμονος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 325
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Σῶσος (Sosos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3297
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613

Paramonos (Παράμονος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE (?)
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 326
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Σάτυρος (Satyros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3392
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 632

Pardalas, G. Julius (Παρδαλαῖς)

- **Location:** Sardis
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 90
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *Sardis* VII 1: 22, 91, 122, 127; *OGIS* 470; *ILS* 1988
- **Plutarch:** *Prae. ger. reip.* 17, 32 (813f) (825d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4865-4866

Patrobius, Tiberius Claudius (Πατρόβιος, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Antiochia
- **Time Period:** 43-60 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 424
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IGUR* 249 = *IAG* 65 = *SEG* 14: 613
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** xystarches
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.1.143; Moretti 1957: no.774, no.779, no.784; Moretti 1957: no.744; Strasser 2002: no. 162; Weir 2004: 127

Patrokleas (Πατροκλέας)

- **Location:** Boiotia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2
- **Node Number:** 14
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [in-law of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.9 (642c) [English], 5.7 (681d), 7.2 (700e); *De sera* 1-3 (548b), 7-8 (552e), 17 (560d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4866; Ziegler 1951: 651, 680

Peisias (Πεισίας)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 52
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2-3, 6-7, 9-12, 26 (749c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4866; Ziegler 1951: 680

Pemptides, T. Falvius (Πεμπτίδης, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thebes
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 44
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Φλ. Αθηναίς (Flavius Athenais) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 22: 414-415, 418; *IG* VII 2514
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 12-14, 16-17 (755e) (756a) (757c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 232; Jones 1971: 44; Puech 1992: 4866-4867; Ziegler 1951: 680

Petraios, L. Cassius (Πετραῖος, Λ. Κάσσιος)

- **Location:** Hypata
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 179
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Δέρκιος (Derkios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll*³ 825 A; *Syll*³ 825 B; *Syll*³ 825 C
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.2 (674f) [English]; *De Pyth. or.* 29 (409c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowersock 1965: 279-282; Jones 1971: 40, 43; Pouilloux 1980: 290-291; Puech 1992: 4867-4868; Spawforth 1996: 169; Ziegler 1951: 680

Phaidimos (Φαίδιμος)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 41
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 1-2, 8 (960b) (975c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4868; Ziegler 1951: 680

Pharnakes (Φαρνάκης)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 187
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De facie* 5-6, 21, 25 (921f) (933f) (940a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4868; Ziegler 1951: 681

Philetos (Φίλητος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his father)
- **Node Number:** 213
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Μενίσκος (Meniskos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II²* 3112
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Philinos | Philinos, T. Flavius (Φιλῖνος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 23
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Φλ. Ἀρχέλα (Archela) and Τ. Φλ. Μόνδων (Mondo) [son of]; Εὐπραξίς (Flavia Eupraxis) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3422 = *Syll³* 843; *PIR²* F 330; *IG VII* 1830; *IG VII* 1829; *IG VII* 2521
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.6 (623e), 2.4-5 (638d) (639a), 4.1 (660e), 5.10 (685d), 8.7 (727b) [English]; *De Pyth. or.* 1-2, 23 (394e) (405e) [English]; *De soll. an.* 23 (976b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 233-248; Jones 1971: 10, 44; Puech 1992: 4869; Russell 1973: 11; Ziegler 1951: 681-682

Philippos (Φίλιππος)

- **Location:** Prousius on Hypios
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 88
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.7-8 (710b) (711c) [English] *De def. or.* 15-17, 31, 46-47, 52 (418f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4869-4870; Ziegler 1951: 682

Philo (Φιλώ)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 327
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3445
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 639

Philo (Φίλων)

- **Location:** Hyampolis
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 74
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.6, 4.1, 6.2, 8.9 (640c) (660d) (687b) (731a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4870; Ziegler 1951: 682

Philopappos, C. Julius Antiochos Epiphanes (Φιλόπαππος, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής)

- **Location:** Commagene (established in Athens)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 81
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής (Gaius Julius Archelaos Antiochos Epiphanes) and Κλαυδία Καπιτωλίνα (Claudia Capitolina) [son of]; Ἡρκουλανός (Herkulanos) [cousin of]; Ἰουλία Βαλβίλλα (Julia Balbilla) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *PIR*² I 151; *IG* II² 3112, *IG* II² 1759; *IG* II², 4511
- **Plutarch:** ded. *Quomodo adul.* 1, 25 (48e) (66c) [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 1.10 (628a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jacobs 2017b: 26; Jones 1971: 32, 59; Puech 1992: 4870-4873; Spawforth 1978: 260; Stadter 2014a: 8; van Meirvenne in Stadter and van der Stockt 2002: 142; Ziegler 1951: 668

Philostratos (Φιλόστρατος)

- **Location:** Euboea
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 134
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De soll. an.* 8 (965c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4873

Philotas (Φιλώτας)

- **Location:** Amphissa
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his grandfather, Lamprias)
- **Node Number:** 208
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Νίκων (Nikon) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 58
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 10; Vatin 1970: 680-681; Ziegler 1951: 642

Philoxenos (Φιλόξενος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 328
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Ρόδων (Rodon) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Phoenix, Flavius (Φοῖνιξ, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Hypata
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 425
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ἀλέξανδρος (Alexander) [son of]; Φλάβιος Φύλαξ (Flavius Phylax) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 474
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1972: 265-267; Puech 1992: 4834-4835

Phyros (Φῦρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 329
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Σωτέας (Soteas) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3414
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 635; Fossey 1979: 581; Roesch 1989a: 628

Phylax (Φύλαξ)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 330
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Κάλλων (Kallon) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Phylax, Flavius (Φύλαξ, Φλάβιος)

- **Location:** Hypata
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 426
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ἀλέξανδρος (Alexander) [son of]; Τ. Φλ. Φοῖνιξ (T. Flavius Phoenix) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 474
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1972: 265-267; Puech 1992: 4834-4835

Piso (Πισώ)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 188
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De fato* 1 (568c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 693

Pliny (Πλίνιος; the Younger)

- **Location:** Novum Comum
- **Time Period:** c.61-113 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through the Avidii brothers, Minicius Fundanus, Julius Secundus, Ἰούνιος [Junius], and Sosius Senecio)
- **Node Number:** 259
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 23-24, 51, 61, 83; Russell 1973: 10

Plutarch (Πλούταρχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's son)
- **Node Number:** 7
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [son of]; Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De anim. procr.* 1 (1012a); *Quaest. conv.* 8.6 (725f)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 649

Polemo (Πολέμων)

- **Location:** Smyrna
- **Time Period:** c.90-144 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Favorinus)
- **Node Number:** 203
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 1997

Polla, Sosia (Πόλλα)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her father, Sosius Senecio)
- **Node Number:** 242
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Σόσιος Σενεκίων (Sosius Senecio) [daughter of]; Φάλκων (Pompeius Falco) [wife of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970b: 103; Jones 1971: 57

Pollianos Aristio, L. Falvius (Πολλιανός)

- **Location:** Tithorea
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 28
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Σώκλαρος (Soklaros) [son of]; Ἀγίας (Agias) [brother of]; Εὐρυδίκη (Eurydike) [husband of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG IX 1: 200*; *IG IX 1: 190*
- **Plutarch:** *ded. Praec. conj.* 1, 48 (138a) (145a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1981; Puech 1992: 4873; Ziegler 1951: 682-683

Pollianos, T. Flavius (Πωλλιανός, Τ. Φλάβιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** c.75-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 383
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD III 6: 137*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 90 (P4)

Pollis, Titus Flavius (Πολλίς, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Rhodes (?)
- **Time Period:** c.60-85 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 427
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀρίστων (Ariston) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *ASAA* 30-32 (1952-1954): 66, 66a; *ASAA* 33-34 (1955-1956): 1 = *IG* XII 1: 82
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** aessetos; protos panton; protos rhodion
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.1.148; Moretti 1957: no.835; Strasser 2002: no.171; Weir 2004: 127

Polos (Πῶλος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 331
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3449
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Polycharmos (Πολύχαρμος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 116
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 7.4 8.6 (702f) (726b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4873-4874

Polykleides (Πολυκλείδης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 332
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Polykrates | Polykrates, Tib. Claudius (Πολυκράτης, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Sikyon
- **Time Period:** 1st /2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 167
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πολυκράτης (Polykrates) [son of]; Πολυκράτης (Polykrates) [father of]; Πυθοκλῆς (Pythokles) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll.*³ 846; *PIR*² C 969
- **Plutarch:** *De Pyth. or.* 29 (409c) [English]; *ded. Arat.* 1.1 [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 4.4 (667e), 4.5 (670f)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jacobs 2017b: 26; Jones 1971: 40, 43; Puech 1992: 4874; Ziegler 1951: 683

Polykrates, Tiberius Claudius (Πολυκράτης, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Sikyon
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his father of the same name)
- **Node Number:** 235
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Τιβ. Κλ. Πολυκράτης (Polykrates) [son of]; Τιβ. Κλ. Πολυκράτεια Ναυσικάα (Polykrateia) [father of]; Τιβ. Κλ. Διογένεια [husband of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll*³ 846
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4874; Ziegler 1951: 683

Polykrateia Nausika, Tiberius Claudius (Πολυκράτεια Ναυσικάα, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Sikyon
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her parents, possibly)
- **Node Number:** 236
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Τιβ. Κλ. Πολυκράτης (Polykrates) and Τιβ. Κλ. Διογένεια (Diogeneia) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Syll.*³ 846
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4874, 4874 n.167

Praxiteles (Πραξιτέλης)

- **Location:** unknown (in Corinth for a banquet)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 161
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.3, 8.4 (675e) (723f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4874; Ziegler 1951: 667

Protopogenes (Πρωτογένης)

- **Location:** Tarsos
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 94
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2-6, 8-9, 11 (749c-750b) [English]; *De sera* 22 (563c) [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 7.1 (698e), 8.4 (723f), 9.2 (737e), 9.12-13 (741c) (741d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4874; Ziegler 1951: 666-667

Ptolemaios (Πτολεμαῖος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 333
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3450
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Pythis (Πυθίς)

- **Location:** Thebes
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through her father, Pemptides)
- **Node Number:** 221
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Τ. Φλ. Πεμπτίδης (Pemptides) [wife of]; Ἀθηναίς (Athenais) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 22: 413
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Pythion (Πυθίων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 334
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Γάλλατις (Gallatis) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3453
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Pytho (Πύθων)

- **Location:** Thisbe
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 54
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De sera* 21 (563a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4874

Pythodoros (Πυθόδωρος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 384
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ξεναγόρας (Xenagoras) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 89 (044), Vatin 1970: 687

Pythodoros (Πυθόδωρος, M. Ἄνν.)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 117
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀμμωνιος I (Ammonios) and Φλ. Λαοδάμεια (Flavia Laodameia) [son of]; M. Ἄνν. Θράσυλλος (Thrasyllus) and Ἄνν. Εὐφάμα (Euphama) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II² 1994; *IG* 2024; *ID* 2535; *ID* 2536; *ID* 2357; *SEG* 21: 764
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Pythodoros, P. Aelius (Πυθόδωρος, Π. Αἴλιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through M. Pacuvios Optatos)
- **Node Number:** 215
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 109
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux: 1943: 93 (P18); Vatin 1970: 684-688

Pythokles, Tib. Claudius (Πυθοκλῆς, Τιβ. Κλ.)

- **Location:** Sikyon
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 168
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πολυκράτης (Polykrates) [son of]; Πολυκράτης (Polykrates) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Arat.* 1.4 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4874

Q

Quintilian (Κοϊντιλιανός)

- **Location:** Calagurris
- **Time Period:** c.35-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julius Secundus)
- **Node Number:** 258
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50

R

Rhodon (Ρόδων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 335
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Φιλόξενο (Philoxenos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3298
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447

Rufus (Ροῦφος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 336
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** –κράτης [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Rufus (Ροῦφος)

- **Location:** Egypt
- **Time Period:** c.70-250 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 428
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *SB* I 5275
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** aeimnestos; pleistonikes; kapetolionikes; pythionikes; aleiptos; xystarches; paradoxos; olympionikes; isthmionikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.1.151; Moretti 1957: no.977; Strasser 2002: no.275

Rufus, Marcus Junius (Ροῦφος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5
- **Node Number:** 233
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Κλαυδία Καπιτωλίνα (Claudia Capitolina) [husband of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Rufus, Tiberius Julius (Ροῦφος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through M. Pacuvios Optatos)
- **Node Number:** 216
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 89
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Vatin 1970: 683-684

Rusticus, Junius Arulenus (Ρούστικος)

- **Location:** Northern Italy
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 140
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De curios.* 15 (522e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 23-24, 51; Puech 1992: 4855-4856; Stadter 2014a: 8; Ziegler 1951: 655-656, 689

S

Sabina, Vibia (Σαβῖνα; Roman Empress, married to Hadrian)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 83-136/7 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julia Balbilla)
- **Node Number:** 253
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀδριανός (Hadrian) [wife of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Sabinus, Julius (Σαβῖνος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 152
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Σαβῖνος (Julius Sabinus) and Ἐμπονα (Empona) [son of]; Ἐππονίνα (Epponina) [husband of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 25 (771c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4874

Sarapion (Σαραπίων)

- **Location:** Hierapolis of Syria (established in Athens)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 83
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** family tree of his descendants (Puech 4875)
- **Inscriptions:** *SEG* 28: 225
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.10 (628a) [English]; ded. *De E delph.* 1 (384d) [English]; *De Pyth. or.* 5-7 (396d), 9 (397b), 11-14 (400a), 17-18 (402e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Buckler 1993: 69; Jones 1967: 207; Puech 1992: 4874-4878; Russell 1973: 9; Ziegler 1951: 668, 683-684

Sarapion (Σαραπίων)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his father)
- **Node Number:** 209
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** family tree (Puech 4875); Σαραπίων (Sarapion) [son of above]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II² 2018
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4875

Saturninus, L. Herennius (Σατορνίνος)

- **Location:** Sardinia (?)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 155
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Possibly related to the Herennii of Sardinia
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4³: 287-288; *CIL* XVI 46; *PIR*² H 126
- **Plutarch:** ded. *Adv. Col.* 1 (1107e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 57; Puech 1992: 4855; Russell 1973: 9; Ziegler 1951: 693-694

Satyros (Σάτυρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 337
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Παράμονος (Paramonos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3392
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 632

Satyros (Σάτυρος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 118
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.10 (658a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4878

Secundus, Julius (Ιούλιος)

- **Location:** Burdigala (establishes in Rome)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 129
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Otho* 9.3 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 15, 22, 33, 50

Sedatius, Marcus (Σήδατος, Μάρκος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 153
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** he is probably from the family of M. Sedatius Severianus (*PIR* III 231) [Puech 4878]; Κλέανδρος (Kleandros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *ded. Quomodo adol.* 1 (14d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4878; Ziegler 1951: 667-668, 694

Seneca (Σενεκάς; the Elder)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st BCE – 1st CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (connected through the poet, Aimilianos)
- **Node Number:** N/A
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** N/A
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4832-4833

Senecio, Quintus Sosius (Σόσιος Σενεκίων)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 31
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Φροντινος (Sextus Julius Frontinus) [son-in-law of]; Πόλλα (Sosia Polla) [father of]; Φάλκων (Quintus Pompeius Falco) [father-in-law of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** ded. *Lives*, the *Quaest. conv.* 1.0-1 (612c), 1.5 (622c), 2.0-1 (629c) (629f), 2.3 (635e), 3.0 (644f), 4.0 (659e), 4.3 (666d), 5.0 (672d), 5.1 (673c), 6.0 (686a), 7.0 (697c), 8.0 (716d), 9.0 (736c), 9.15 (748d) [English]; ded. *Quomodo quis suos* 1 (75a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Duff 1999: 289; Jacobs 2017b: 26; Jones 1970b: 98-104; Jones 1971: 22, 25, 28-29, 32, 54-57; Pelling 2002b: 270; Puech 1992: 4883; Russell 1973: 10; Stadter 2002c: 5; Stadter 2014a: 36-40, 225; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1995 [1922-6]: 56-57; Wardman 1974: 39; Xenophontos 2016: 177; Ziegler 1951: 668, 688-689

Serapodoros (Σεραπόδωρος)

- **Location:** Melos
- **Time Period:** c.90 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 429
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* XII 3: 1117
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.24; Strasser 2002: no.293

Sextos (Σέξτος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 2 (Plutarch's nephew)
- **Node Number:** 18
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *PIR*² S 488
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 11, 54; Russell 1973: 6; Ziegler 1951: 650

Sextos (Σέξτος)

- **Location:** Damascus
- **Time Period:** 50-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 430
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** ---υατος [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 118
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Strasser 2002, no.161

Simmias (Σιμμίας)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 338
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3299
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613

Simon (Σῖμος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** c.75-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 385
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Ἐπάνδρος (Epandros) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 114
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 91 (P9)

Simon (Σίμων)

- **Location:** Thespiai
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 53
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Λυσάνδρα (Lysandra) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2 (749b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4879; Ziegler 1951: 684

Soklaros (Σώκλαρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's son)
- **Node Number:** 8
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) and Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** *Quomodo adol.* 15 (15a) [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 8.6 (725f)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4879-4883; Russell 1973: 11-12; Ziegler 1951: 648-649

Soklaros, L. Mestrius (Σώκλαρος, Λ. Μέστριος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 42
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Barrow 1967: 24; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4879; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129; Ziegler 1951: 684-685

Soklaros (Σώκλαρος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** Tithorea
- **Role in Delphi:** priest
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 29
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀριστίων (Aristion) [son of]; Τ. Φλ. Ἀγίας (Agias) [father of]; Λ. Φλ. Πωλλιανὸς Ἀριστίων (Pollianos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 3: 232; *FD* III 4: 47; *Syll.*³ 823; *IG* IX 1: 190, 192, 200
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 2 (749b), *De soll. an.* 1 (959c) and throughout; *Quaest. conv.* 2.6 (640b), 3.6 (654c), 5.7 (682a), 6.8 (694e), 8.6 (726b)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut; Daux 1943: 91 (P10); Jones 1971: 41-42; Jones 1972: 264; Pouilloux 1980: 289-290; Puech 1981; Puech 1992: 4879-4883; Ziegler 1951: 647, 684-685

Sokrates, Marcus Ulpius (Σωκράτης, Μ. Οὔλπ.)

- **Location:** Sparta (?)
- **Time Period:** c.80-138 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 431
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* V 1: 105
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.22

Sopatira (Σωπάτρα)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** N/A
- **Time Period:** c. 47-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 386
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Διονύσιος (Dionysios) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 504 A; *SEG* 31: 532
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Sosibios (Σωσίβιος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 339
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3297
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613

Sosibios (Σωσίβιος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 340
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Δράκων (Drako) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Sosikles (Σωσικλῆς)

- **Location:** Koroneia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 22
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.2, 2.4, 5.4 (618f) (638b) (677d) [English]; Lamprias Catalogue 57
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Pouilloux 1980: 298; Puech 1992: 4883; Strasser 2002: no.179; Ziegler 1951: 685

Sosikrates (Σωσικράτης)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 341
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀριστίων (Aristio) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II²* 10497
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Sosipatra, Antonia (Σωσιπάτρα, Ἀντ.)

- **Location:** Corinth
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Node Number:** 162
- **Relations:** Μ. Ἀντ. Σῶσπις (Sospis) [daughter of]; Π. Αἴλ. Σῶσπις (Sospis) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Corinth VIII* 3: 170; *Corinth VIII* 3: 226
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4883-4885

Sositeles (Σωσιτέλης)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st - 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 189
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *On the soul* 176
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 685

Sosos (Σῶσος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 342
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Παράμονος (Paramonos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII 3296*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Sospis, M. Antoninus (Σῶσπις, Μ. Ἀντ.)

- **Location:** Corinth
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 163
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἀντ. Σεδατα (Antonia Sedata) [son of]; Ἀντ. Σωσιπάτρα (Antonia Sosipatra) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Corinth VIII 3: 170; Corinth VIII 3: 226*
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.4, 9.5, 9.12, 9.13 (723a) (739e) (741c) (742b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Bowie 2002: 43; Jones 1971: 43; Kapetanopoulos 1969: 80-82; Puech 1992: 4883-4885; Ziegler 1951: 667

Sospis, P. A. (Π. Αἶλ. Σῶσπις)

- **Location:** Corinth
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his mother and grandfather)
- **Node Number:** 244
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Π. Αἶλ. Ἀπολλόδοτος (P. Ael. Apollodotos) and Ἀντ. Σωσιπάτρα (Antonia Sosipatra) [son of]; Μ. Ἀντ. Σῶσπις (M. Antoninus Sospis) [grandson of]
- **Inscriptions:** *Corinth VIII 3: 226*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Sotas (Σωτᾶς)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 343
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Σωτήριχος (Soterichos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3295
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 612; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Sotas (Σώτας)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c.47-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 387
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Εὐκλείδης (Eukleidas) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 6: 7; *FD* III 6: 15; *FD* III 6: 22; *FD* III 6: 30; *FD* III 6: 33; *FD* III 6: 48; *FD* III 6: 121; *SEG* 33: 430
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 85 ([022])

Soteas (Σωτέας)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 344
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Φῦρος (Phuros) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3414
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 635; Fossey 1979: 581; Roesch 1989a: 628

Soterichos (Σωτήριχος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 345
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Σωτῆρ (Sotas) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3295
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 612; Camp, Ierardi, McInerney, Morgan, and Umholtz 1992: 447; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Soterichos (Σωτήριχος)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st – 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** N/A
- **Node Number:** N/A
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** N/A
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De mus.* (thought to be pseudo-Plutarch)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 685

Strato (Στρατώ)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** N/A
- **Time Period:** c.20-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 388
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Καλλίστρατος (Kallistratos) [wife of]; Καλλίστρατος (Kallistratos) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 6: 17
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Strato (Στράτων)¹⁴⁷²

- **Location:** Orchomenos
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 43
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Am. narr.* 1 (771f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Strato, Q. Markios (Στράτων, Κύντος Μάρκιος)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 119
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG II²* 2153; *IG II²* 12664
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 5.1 (673c) [English]
- **Agonistic Titles:** periodonikes
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.14; Puech 1992: 4885; Strasser 2002: no.266

Suetonius (Σουητώνιος)

- **Location:** Hippo Regius (Numidia, Africa)
- **Time Period:** c.69-122 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (no clear connections)
- **Node Number:** 255
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50, 62

¹⁴⁷² Note that Strato may be fictitious and that the *Am. narr.* may not be of Plutarch's hand. For this reason, the others mentioned in the treatise (Aristokleia, Kallisthenes, and Theophanes) are not contained in this appendix. Strato was chosen as the representative since the narrative focuses on him and his actions.

Sulla, Sextius (Σύλλας)

- **Location:** Carthage
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 75
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Rom.* 15 [English]; *De cohib. ira* 1-2 (452f) [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 2.3 (636a), 3.3 (650a), 3.4 (650f), 8.7 (727b), 8.8 (728d) [English]; *De facie* 1 (920b)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 60; Puech 1992: 4878-4879; Ziegler 1951: 689-691

Sura, L. Licinus (Σουρά)

- **Location:** Tarraco
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5
- **Node Number:** 239
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970b

Symmachos (Σύμμαχος)

- **Location:** Nikopolis
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 128
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 4.4, 4.6 (667e) [English] , (671c)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4885; Ziegler 1951: 686

Symphoros (Σύμφορος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 346
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Γάϊος (Gaios) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG VII* 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Symphoros (Σύμφορος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 347
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Νικόστρατος (Nikostratos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Symphoros (Σύμφορος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 348
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Νίκων (Nikon) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

T

Tacitus (Τακίτης)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** c.56-120 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Ιούνιος [Junius], Julius Secundus, Minicius Fundanus, Sosius Senecio)
- **Node Number:** 263
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50, 61-62; Russell 1973: 10

Terentius Priscus (Τερτίσκος)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 154
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** ded. *De def. or.* 1 (409e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dessau 1911: 160, Jones 1971: 60; Puech 1992: 4885-4886; Russell 1973: 9; Ziegler 1951: 694-696

Themistocles (Θεμιστοκλῆς)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 120
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** descendant of Themistocles
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II² 3610; *SEG* 25: 213; *IEleusis* 622
- **Plutarch:** *Themistocles* 32.5 [English]; *Quaest. conv.* 1.9 (626e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 40; Puech 1992: 4886; Ziegler 1951: 686

Theodotos (Θεόδοτος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 349
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Λέων (Leon) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* IX 1: 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843

Theodotos, Titus Flavius (Θεόδοτος, Τ. Φλ.)

- **Location:** uncertain
- **Time Period:** c.75-96 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 432
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** (Noum[enios?]) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** Museum Delphi, inv. 2433 and 2967
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012: no.2.18; Moretti 1957: no.988; Strasser 2002: no.172; Weir 2004: 128

Theokles, P. Memmius (Θεοκλῆς, Π. Μέμμιος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon; priest
- **Time Period:** c. 20-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 389
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Θεοκλῆς (Theokles) [son of]; perhaps also the father of Λεοντίς (Leontis)?
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 503-504; *FD* III 6: 22, 15; *FD* III 6: 43; *FD* III 6: 108; *FD* III 6: 116; *FD* III 6: 127; *FD* III 6: 129
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 85 (018-19, 025); Kapetanopoulos 1966: 128; Pouilloux 1980: 284

Theon (Θέων)

- **Location:** Boiotia or Phokis
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 3
- **Node Number:** 21
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Καφισίας (Kaphisias) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De E delph.* 6 (386d); *De Pyth. or.* 2 (395c), *Non posse* 2 (1086e), *Quaest. conv.* 1.4 (620a), 4.3 (667a), 8.4 (724d), 8.6 (726a)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4886; Ziegler 1951: 686

Theon (Θέων)

- **Location:** Egypt (possibly established himself in Rome)
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 79
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 1.9 (627a), 8.7-8 (728f) [English]; *De facie* 7 (923f), 19-20 (931e), 24-25 (937d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4886

Theoxenos (Θεόξενος)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c. 47-66 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 390
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Θεόξενος (Theoxenos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 504 A; *FD* III 6: 116; *FD* III 6: 127
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 87 (034)

Thespesios (Θεσπέσιος)

- **Location:** Soloi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 132
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De sera* 22 (563b) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4886; Ziegler 1951: 686

Thraseda Paetus (Παῖτος)[Publius Clodius Thraseda Paetus]

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through T. Avidius Quiétus I [Pliny *Ep.* 6.29]; Ιούνιος [Junius]; Arulenus Rusticus)
- **Node Number:** 198
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Prae. ger. reip.* 14 (810a) [English]; *Cat. min.* 25, 37 [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 24, 51; Puech 1992: 4841

Thrasylllos, M. Anniius (Θράσυλλος, Ἄνν.)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 121
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity and old age
- **Relations:** family tree (Puech 4888); Ἀμμώνιος I (Ammonios I) [son of]; Φλ. Λαοδάμεια (Flavia Laodameia) [son of]; Ἄνν. Ἀριστόκλεια (Aristokleia) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* II² 3557; = *I.Eleusis* 458; *IG* II² 3558 = *I.Eleusis* 377; *IG* II² 3619; = *I.Eleusis* 464; *I.Eleusis* 445; *IG* II² 3546, 3559, 3560, 4753, 4754
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.3 (722d), 9.115 (747b) {here, Thrasybulos} [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1967: 206-208; Puech 1992: 4886-4889; Ziegler 1951: 666

Timoklia (Τιμόκλια)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 350
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3448
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Timon (Τίμων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's brother)
- **Node Number:** 9
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Αὐτόβουλος (Autoboulos) [son of]; Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De sera* 1 (548b); *Quaest. conv.* 1.2 (615c), 2.5 (639b)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 24, 27; Russell 1973: 4; Ziegler 1951: 645-646

Timoxena (Τιμοξένα)

- **Location:** Thespiai or Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's wife)
- **Node Number:** 10
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** Ἀλεξίων (Alexion) [daughter of]; Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [wife of]; Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [mother of]; Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) [mother of]; Χαίρων (Chairon) [mother of]; Σώκλαρος (Soklaros) [mother of]; Αὐτόβουλος (Autoboulos) [mother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Consol. ad uxor.* 1 (608b) [English] and throughout, *Praec. conj.* 48 (145a) [English], *Amat.* 2 (749b)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1970a: 232; Russell 1973: 5; Xenophontos 2016: 58-59; Ziegler 1951: 646-647

Timoxena (Τιμοξένα)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** c70-100 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 1 (Plutarch's daughter)
- **Node Number:** 11
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** Πλούταρχος (Plutarch) and Τιμοξένα (Timoxena) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Consol. ad uxor.* 1 (608b) [English], 8 (610e), 9 (611d)
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Ziegler 1951: 648

Titus (Τίτος; Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 39-81 CE
- **Reign:** 23 June 79 – 13 September 81
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through Julius Secundus)
- **Node Number:** 249
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 50; Flacelière 1963: 42

Trajan (Τραϊνός; Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Divi Nervae filius Augustus)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 53-117 CE
- **Reign:** 27 January 98 – 8 August 117
- **Degree of Connection:** 4 (through Sosius Senecio [close friend of Trajan's], C. Avidius Nigrinus II, Philopappos, Cornelius Pulcher, and probably L. Herennius Saturninus)
- **Node Number:** 251
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *ded. Reg. et imp. apophth.* 1 (172a) [English]; possible allusions: *De primo* 12 (949e) [English]; *Ad princ.* 1 (779d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 29-30, 55-56, 62; Stadter 2014b: 19

Trypho (Τρύφων)

- **Location:** uncertain (Athens?)
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 122
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 3.1-2, 5.8, 9.14 (646a) (683c) (744f) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4889; Ziegler 1951: 668

Tryphosa (Τρυφῶσα)

- **Location:** Kaisareia Tralleis
- **Time Period:** 30-60 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 433
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἑρμησιάνναξ (Hermesianax) [daughter of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD III 1:* 534 = *LAG 63*
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** prote parthenon
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Farrington 2012, no. 1.141; Moretti 1953, no. 63; Strasser 2002: no. 160; Weir 2004:129

Tyndares (Τυνδάρης)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 172
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Τυνδάρης (Tyndares) [son of]; Ζεύξιππος (Zeuxippos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* V 1: 60
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4892

Tyndares (Τυνδάρης)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 173
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** family tree (Puech 4892); Ζεύξιππος (Zeuxippos) [son of]; Ζεύξιππος (Zeuxippos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* V 1: 74; *IG* V 1: 87; *IG* V 1: 446; *SEG* 11: 585; *SEG* 30: 410
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 8.1-2 (717e) (718c) [English], 8.8 (728e) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 178-180; Puech 1992: 4889-4891; Ziegler 1951: 686

Tyrrhenos (Τυρρηνός)

- **Location:** Sardis
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 91
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Prae. ger. reip.* 32 (825d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4891

U

V

Vespasian (Βεσπασσιανός; Titus Flavius Vespasianus)

- **Location:** Rome
- **Time Period:** 9-79 CE
- **Reign:** 1 July 69 – 24 June 79
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through T. Avidius Quiétus I, L. Mestrius Florus, Julius Secundus, and [possibly] Πάκκιος [Paccios])
- **Node Number:** 248
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Amat.* 24-25 (771c) [English]; *Publ.* 15.2 [English]; *De soll. an.* 19 (974a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Jones 1971: 21, 25; Flacelière 1963: 41; Ziegler 1951: 655

W

X

Xenagoras (Ξεναγόρας)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Role in Delphi:** archon
- **Time Period:** c. 20-90 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 391
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth and maturity
- **Relations:** Ἀβρομάχος (Habromachos) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *FD* III 4: 503; *FD* III 6: 36-37; *FD* III 6: 44; *FD* III 6: 109; *FD* III 6: 116; *FD* III 6: 127; *FD* III 6: 129; *FD* III 6: 142
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Daux 1943: 89, 90 (042, 43; P3)

Xenokles (Ξενοκλῆς)

- **Location:** Delphi
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 71
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth, maturity, and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 2.2 (635a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4891; Ziegler 1951: 668

Xenon (Ξένων)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. CE (?)
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (Plutarch cites his case)
- **Node Number:** 192
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἀθηνόδωρος (Athenodorus) [brother of]
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *De frat. am.* 11 (484a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** N/A

Y

Z

Zeno (Ζήνων)

- **Location:** Sardis
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 92
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 4.4 (669c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4891; Ziegler 1951: 686

Zeuxippos (Ζεύξιππος)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 174
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** family tree (Puech 4892); Τυνδάρης (Tyndaris) [father of]; Τυνδάρης (Tyndaris) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG V* 1: 81
- **Plutarch:** *De tuenda san.* 1 (122b) [English] *Amat.* 2 (749c) [English] *Non posse* 2 (1086d) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Cartledge and Spawforth: 178-9; Puech 1992: 4891-4892; Ziegler 1951: 687

Zeuxippos (Ζεύξιππος)

- **Location:** Sparta
- **Time Period:** 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 5 (through his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather)
- **Node Number:** 245
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** family tree (Puech 4892); Τυνδάρης (Tyndaris) [son of]; Ζεύξιππος (Zeuxippos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* V 1: 74; *IG* V 1: 87; *IG* V 1: 446; *SEG* 11: 585; *SEG* 30: 410
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4892; Ziegler 1951: 687

Zoilos (Ζωΐλος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 351
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** Ἐλπίνος (Elpinos) [father of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3296
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 613; Papazarkadas 2014: 401

Zoilos (Ζωΐλος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 352
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3450
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Zoilos (Ζωΐλος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** imperial
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 353
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *IG* VII 3449
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Dittenberger 1892: 640

Zopyrion (Ζωπυρίων)

- **Location:** Athens
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 123
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his youth
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. conv.* 9.3-4 (738f) (739a) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4892; Ziegler 1951: 666

Zopyros (Ζώπυρος)

- **Location:** Chaironeia
- **Time Period:** 118 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 354
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his old age
- **Relations:** Ἀντίπατρος (Antipatros) [son of]
- **Inscriptions:** *IG IX 1:* 61
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Babut 1981: 52 n.26, 54 n.37; Dittenberger 1897: 15-17; Puech 1981: 186; Puech 1992: 4843; Kapetanopoulos 1966: 129

Zopyros (Ζώπυρος)

- **Location:** unknown
- **Time Period:** 1st / 2nd c. CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 4
- **Node Number:** 190
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** N/A
- **Plutarch:** *Quaest. Conv.* 3.6 (653c) [English]
- **Secondary Scholarship:** Puech 1992: 4892; Ziegler 1951: 687

Zosimos, Tiberius Scandilianus (Ζώσιμος, Τιβ. Σκανδιλιανός)

- **Location:** Gortyn
- **Time Period:** 85-120 CE
- **Degree of Connection:** 6
- **Node Number:** 434
- **Time of Plutarch's Life:** his maturity and old age
- **Relations:** N/A
- **Inscriptions:** *CIG 1719 = SEG 52:* 528
- **Plutarch:** N/A
- **Agonistic Titles:** protos ap' aionos tei autei pentaeteridi
- **Secondary Scholarship:** 2019 Connected Contests; Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: B.9; Farrington 2012: no.1.155; Strasser 2002: no.176; Weir 2004: 128

Degree of Connection Catalogue

The purpose of this catalogue is to provide a list, divided by degree, of individuals who are connected to Plutarch. The degree of connection is given in titles centered on the page. Each degree is subsequently broken down into geographic locations: the region, found in capital letters, followed by poleis, in italics. Within each polis individuals are listed alphabetically. Boiotia and Phokis are always the two first regions listed, as these form parts of Plutarch's local worlds. Following this, the regions are listed alphabetically. For a list of individuals broken down primarily by location and not by degree of separation, consult the Geographic Catalogue. A Chronology Catalogue is additionally provided as another means of comparison.

N.B. The fifth and sixth degrees are divided differently from the first through third degrees. Since the fifth degree is based on a connection to Plutarch through another individual, these individuals are listed under the person who connects them to Plutarch (in capital letters; called the Connector in the subtitle), followed by their poleis. The connectors are listed alphabetically, with the poleis division following the same rules as above. For convenience, the poleis are still grouped by region, with the region indicated in brackets next to the polis name. At the end of the fifth degree, the reader will find two subsections: one with Roman emperors and another with Latin authors. These have been grouped into their respective categories to enable the reader to quickly find these individuals.

The sixth degree, by contrast, is built upon a possible, or chance, meeting of Plutarch with certain individuals based on his local worlds of Chaironeia and Delphi. As such, the actors in this degree are placed under Chaironeia, Delphi (Officials), or Delphi (Competitors) in order to provide context for their possible connection to Plutarch. For a listing of these individuals based on their geographic origins, see the Geographic Catalogue.

On the right-hand side of the catalogue, you will find each individual's node number, which corresponds to their number in the social network map. Since the social network map was designed following the degrees of connection from Plutarch, the number assigned to each individual for the map follows the order of individuals in this list and does not reflect any level of assumed intimacy with Plutarch.

First Degree: Family

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Node #</u>
BOIOTIA <i>Chaironeia</i> <u>Autoboulos</u> (Αὐτόβουλος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	[2]
<u>Autoboulos</u> (Αὐτόβουλος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[3]
<u>Chairon</u> (Χαίρων) Time Period: c.75-100 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[4]
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	[5]
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας) Time Period: c.50-125 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	[6]
<u>Plutarch</u> (Πλούταρχος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[7]
<u>Soklaros</u> (Σώκλαρος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[8]
<u>Timon</u> (Τίμων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	[9]
<u>Timoxena</u> (Τιμοξένα) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	[10]
<u>Timoxena</u> (Τιμοξένα) Time Period: c70-100 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[11]

Second Degree: In-laws and Extended Family

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Node #</u>
BOIOTIA	
<i>General</i>	
<u>Firmos</u> (Φίρμος)	[12]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Krato</u> (Κράτων)	[13]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Patrokleas</u> (Πατροκλέας)	[14]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<i>Chaironeia</i>	
[daughter-in-law]	[15]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
[wet nurse]	[16]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	
<u>Aristo</u> (Ἀρίστων)	[17]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	
<u>Sextos</u> (Σέξτος)	[18]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<i>Tanagra</i>	
[niece]	[19]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<i>Thespiai</i>	
<u>Alexion</u> (Ἀλεξίων)	[20]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	

Third Degree: Close Ties

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Node #</u>
BOIOTIA	
<i>General</i>	
<u>Theon</u> (Θέων)	[21]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	
<i>Koroneia</i>	
<u>Sosikles</u> (Σωσικλῆς)	[22]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	
<i>Thespiai</i>	
<u>Philinos</u> <u>Philinos</u> , T. Flavius (Φιλῖνος, Τ. Φλ.)	[23]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	
PHOKIS	
<i>Delphi</i>	
<u>Eurydike</u> , Memmia (Εὐρυδίκη, Μεμμία)	[24]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Klea</u> (Κλέα)	[25]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	
<i>Tithorea</i>	
<u>Agias</u> (Ἀγίας, Τ. Φλ.)	[26]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Aristio</u> (Ἀριστίων)	[27]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	
<u>Pollianos</u> Aristio, L. Falvius (Πολλιανός)	[28]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	

Soklaros (Σώκλαρος, Τ. Φλ.) [29]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age

ITALY

Rome

Mestrius Florus, L. (Φλωρως) [30]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Senecio, Quintus Sossius (Σόσιος Σενεκίων) [31]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Fourth Degree: Acquaintances

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Node #</u>
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BOIOTIA

General

Olympichos (Όλύμπιχος) [32]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Chaironeia

Antipatros (Αντίπατρος) [33]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE
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Time Period: 1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE
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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Nikandros (Νίκανδρος) [66]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Nikandros (Νίκανδρος) [67]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age

Nikandros (Νίκανδρος) [68]

Time Period: 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Time Period: 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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[82]

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[83]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

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[84]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Diogenianos (Διογενιανός)

[85]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Diogenianos (Διογενιανός)

[86]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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[87]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Philippos (Φίλιππος)

[88]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Sardis

Menemachos (Μενέμαχος)

[89]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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[90]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

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[91]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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[92]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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[95]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

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[96]

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[97]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age

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[98]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

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[131]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age

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[132]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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[133]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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[134]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

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[137]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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[138]

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Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Elis

Agemachos (Ἀγέμαχος) [164]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Kallikrates (Καλλικράτης) [170]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Kleombrotos (Κλεόμβροτος) [171]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Tyndares (Τυνδάρης) [172]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Tyndares (Τυνδάρης) [173]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Zeuxippos (Ζεύξιππος) [174]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

THESSALY

General

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Mondo, T. Flavius (Μόνδων, Τ. Φλ.) [229]

Time Period: 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

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Time Period: c.72-130 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Sikyon (PELOPONNESE)

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Time Period: 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Niketes (Νικήτης) [237]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Rome (ITALY)

Naso (Νάσων) [238]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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<p><u>Otho</u> (Ὀθῶν; Marcus Salvius Otho Caesar Augustus) Time Period: 32 – 69 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth</p>	[247]

Vespasian (Βεσπασσιανός; Titus Flavius Vespasianus) [248]

Time Period: 9-79 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Titus (Τίτος; Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus) [249]

Time Period: 39-81 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

Domitian (Δομιτιανός; Titus Flavius Caesar Domitianus Augustus) [250]

Time Period: 24-96 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

Trajan (Τραϊνός; Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Divi Nervae filius Augustus) [251]¹⁴⁷³

Time Period: 53-117 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Hadrian (Ἀδριανός; Publius Aelius Hadrianus Augustus) [252]

Time Period: 76-138 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Time Period: 83-136/7 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus (Λεύκιος) [254]

Time Period: 101-138 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Hippo Regius (AFRICA)

Suetonius (Σουηττώνιος) [255]

Time Period: c.69-122 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

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Aper, M. (Ἄπερ) [256]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

¹⁴⁷³ Although Trajan is in the Fourth Degree, I have chosen, in this catalogue, to place him in the Fifth Degree with the other emperors. This allows for the emperors to remain together under one heading, thus making it easier to navigate not only this catalogue, but also the social network web. Keeping him next to the other emperors also accounts for the uncertainty of Plutarch and Trajan's connection. However, see Chapter 3, pages 412-422, for the arguments relating to the likelihood that Trajan and Plutarch knew each other, or at least of each other.

<i>Augusta Bilbilis (HISPANIA)</i> <u>Martial</u> (Μαρτιάλης; Marcus Valerius Martialis) Time Period: c.38-102 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[257]
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<i>Novum Comum (ITALY)</i> <u>Pliny</u> (Πλίνιος; the Younger) Time Period: c.61-113 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[259]
<i>Rome (ITALY)</i> <u>Bassus, Saleius</u> (Βάσσοις) Time Period: 1 st c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[260]
<u>Maternus, Curiatius</u> (Μάτερνος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[261]
<u>Messalla, Vipstanus</u> (Μεσσαλλα) Time Period: c.45-80 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[262]
<u>Tacitus</u> (Τακίτης) Time Period: c.56-120 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[263]

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Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	
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Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age

Hermaios (Ἑρμάϊος) [290]
Time Period: 2nd c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Hermaios (Ἑρμάϊος) [291]
Time Period: 2nd c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
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Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Homoloichos (Ὁμολώϊχος) [295]
Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Homoloichos (Ὁμολώϊχος) [296]
Time Period: 1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Homoloichos (Ὁμολώϊχος) [297]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE
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<u>Kleomenes</u> (Κλεομένης)	[305]
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Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

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Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Nikanor (Νικάνωρ) [314]

Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Nikanor (Νικάνωρ) [315]

Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Nikarchos (Νίκαρχος) [316]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Nikon (Νίκων) [317]

Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Nikon (Νίκων) [318]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age

Nikon (Νίκων) [319]

Time Period: 118 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Nikon (Νίκων) [320]

Time Period: 118 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Time Period: imperial
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

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Rufus (Ῥοῦφος) [336]
Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Satyros (Σάτυρος) [337]
Time Period: 1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Simmias (Σιμμίας) [338]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age

Sosibios (Σωσίβιος) [339]
Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Sosibios (Σωσίβιος) [340]
Time Period: 118 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Sosikrates (Σωσικράτης) [341]
Time Period: 1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Sosos (Σῶσος) [342]
Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Sotas (Σωτᾶς) [343]

Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Soteas (Σωτέας) [344]

Time Period: imperial

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Soterichos (Σωτήριχος) [345]

Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Symphoros (Σύμφορος) [346]

Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Symphoros (Σύμφορος) [347]

Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Symphoros (Σύμφορος) [348]

Time Period: 118 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Theodotos (Θεόδοτος) [349]

Time Period: 118 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Timoklia (Τιμόκλια) [350]

Time Period: imperial

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Zoilos (Ζωΐλος) [351]

Time Period: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Zoilos (Ζωΐλος) [352]

Time Period: imperial

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Zoilos (Ζωΐλος) [353]

Time Period: imperial

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Zopyros (Ζώπυρος) [354]
Time Period: 118 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

PHOKIS

Delphi (Officials)

Agathon, Tiberius Julius (Ἀγάθων, Τιβ. Ἰούλιος) [355]

Time Period: c.75-100 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Antigenes (Ἀντιγένης) [356]

Time Period: c.20-75 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Aristopeithes (Ἀριστοπεΐθης) [357]

Time Period: c.67-75 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος) [358]

Time Period: c.1-66 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος) [359]

Time Period: c.47-66 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος) [360]

Time Period: c.84-92 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

Diodoros (Διόδωρος) [361]

Time Period: c.47-75 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Dionysios (Διονύσιος) [362]

Time Period: c.47-66 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Epandros (Ἐπάνδρος) [363]

Time Period: c.75-100 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

Epinikos (Ἐπίνικος) [364]

Time Period: c.85-90 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

<u>Euameris</u> (Εὐαμερίς)	[365]
Time Period: c.47-66 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	
<u>Eudoros</u> (Εὐδωρος)	[366]
Time Period: c.47 -110 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	
<u>Eukleidas</u> (Εὐκλείδης)	[367]
Time Period: c.47-100 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	
Firmos, Tiberius Calavius (Φίρμος, Τιβ. Καλαούιος)	[368]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Kallistratos</u> (Καλλίστρατος)	[369]
Time Period: c.1-66 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	
<u>Kallistratos</u> (Καλλίστρατος)	[370]
Time Period: c. 47-66 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	
<u>Kleomachos</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Κλεόμαχος, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[371]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	
<u>Laiadas</u> (Λαιάδας)	[372]
Time Period: c.20-66 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας)	[373]
Time Period: c.118-120 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	
<u>Megalinos</u> , T. Flavius (Μεγαλῖνος, Τ. Φλ.)	[374]
Time Period: 1 st /2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Melission</u> (Μελισσίων)	[375]
Time Period: c. 53 BCE – 66 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	

<u>Melission</u> (Μελισσίων)	[376]
Time Period: c. 47-66 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	
<u>Menodoros</u> (Μηνόδωρος)	[377]
Time Period: c.47-75 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	
<u>Nikandros</u> (Νίκανδρος)	[378]
Time Period: c.1-66 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	
<u>Nikandros</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Νίκανδρος, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[379]
Time Period: c.47-75 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	
<u>Nikostratos</u> (Νικόστρατος)	[380]
Time Period: c. 85-110	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Pantaleon</u> (Πανταλέων)	[381]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Pantaleon</u> (Πανταλέων)	[382]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Pollianos</u> , T. Flavius (Πωλλιανός, Τ. Φλάβιος)	[383]
Time Period: c.75-100 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Pythodoros</u> (Πυθόδωρος)	[384]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	
<u>Simon</u> (Σίμος)	[385]
Time Period: c.75-100 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	
<u>Sopatra</u> (Σωπάτρα)	[386]
Time Period: c. 47-66 CE	
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	

Sotas (Σώτας) [387]

Time Period: c.47-66 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Strato (Στρατώ) [388]

Time Period: c.20-66 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Theokles, P. Memmius (Θεοκλῆς, Π. Μέμμιος) [389]

Time Period: c. 20-66 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Theoxenos (Θεόξενος) [390]

Time Period: c. 47-66 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Xenagoras (Ξεναγόρας) [391]

Time Period: c. 20-90 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Delphi (Competitors)

([athlete]) [392]

Location: unknown

Time Period: 0-75 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

([athlete]) [393]

Location: unknown

Time Period: 0-100 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

[kitharistes] (κιθαριστής) [394]

Location: Kos

Time Period: 10-85 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity

Alexander, T. Flavius (Ἀλέξανδρος, Τ. Φλ.) [395]

Location: Hypata

Time Period: 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Antoninus, Marcus Flavius (Ἀντωνῖνος) [396]

Location: Hierapolis (?)

Time Period: c.90 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity

- Apollonios (Ἀπολλώνιος) [397]
Location: unknown
Time Period: 2nd c. CE (100-138 CE)
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age
- Archibios, Titus Flavius (Ἀρχίβιος, Τ. Φλ.) [398]
Location: Alexandria
Time Period: c.90-110 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age
- Aristomenos (Ἀριστομένης) [399]
Location: Samos
Time Period: 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth
- Aristo (Ἀρίστων) [400]
Location: Kos
Time Period: 55-120 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age
- Artemidoros, Marcus Antoninus (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Μ. Ἀντώνιος) [401]
Location: Ephesos
Time Period: c.75-124 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age
- Artemidoros, Tiberius Claudius (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Τιβ. Κλ.) [402]
Location: Tralleis-Seleukia
Time Period: c.65-98 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity
- Artemidoros, Titus Flavius (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Τ. Φλ.) [403]
Location: Adana
Time Period: c.81-94 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity
- Athenaios (Ἀθήναιος) [404]
Location: Athens
Time Period: c.60-110 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity, and old age
- Avidienus, Claudius (Ἀουιδιηνὸς, Κλαύδιος) [405]
Location: Nikopolis
Time Period: 100 CE
Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

<u>Cheilon</u> , Quintus Samiarius (Χείλων, [Κ.] Σαμιάριος) Location: Iasos Time Period: 100-200 Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	[406]
<u>Demokrates</u> (Δημοκράτης) Location: Magnesia on the Meander Time Period: 15-85 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	[407]
<u>Diogenes</u> (Διογένης) Location: Ephesos Time Period: 58-85 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	[408]
<u>Domestikos</u> , Marcus Ulpius (Δομεστικός, Μ. Οὔλπ.) Location: Ephesos Time Period: 110-130 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	[409]
<u>Eudaimon</u> , Gaius Julius (Εὐδαίμων, Γάιος Ἰούλιος) Location: Tarsos-Antiocheia Time Period: 119 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	[410]
<u>Heliodoros</u> , Marcus Ulpius (Ἡλιόδωρος, Μ. Οὔλπ.) Location: Attaleia (?) Time Period: 90-117 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[411]
<u>Hermogenes</u> , Titus Flavius (Ἑρμογένης, Τ. Φλ.) Location: Xanthos Time Period: c.75-90 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[412]
<u>Hermonikes</u> , Marcus Turranius (Ἑρμονικῆς) Location: Puteoli Time Period: c.79 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[413]
<u>Julianus</u> (Ἰυλιανός) Location: Smyrna Time Period: 1 st c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	[414]

<u>Kallimorphos</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Καλλίμορφος, Τιβ.Κλ.) Location: Aphrodisias Time Period: 105-140 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	[415]
<u>Korinthos</u> , Lucius Cornelius (Κόρινθος, Λ. Κορνήλιος) Location: Corinth Time Period: 50-120 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth, maturity, and old age	[416]
<u>Lollianos</u> , Marcus Antonius (Λολλιανός, Μ. Αντ.) Location: Ephesos Time Period: c.95-250 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	[417]
<u>Melagkomas</u> (Μελαγκόμας) Location: Caria Time Period: 71 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[418]
<u>Menandros</u> (Μένανδρος) Location: Myra Time Period: 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	[419]
<u>Metrobios</u> , Titus Flavius (Μητροβίος, Τ. Φλ.) Location: Iasos Time Period: c.75-90 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[420]
<u>Nikanor</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Νικάνωρ, Τιβ. Κλ.) Location: Seleukeia Pieria Time Period: c. 75-130 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[421]
<u>Onetor</u> (Ὀνήτωρ) Location: Athens Time Period: 0-100 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	[422]
<u>Pankles</u> (Παγκλῆς) Location: Tenos (?) Time Period: c.75-250 CE (imperial in the LGPN) Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[423]

<u>Patrobius</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Πατρόβιος, Τιβ. Κλ.) Location: Antiochia (on the Orontes) Time Period: 43-60 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth	[424]
<u>Phoenix</u> , Flavius (Φοῖνιξ, Τ. Φλ.) Location: Hypata Time Period: 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	[425]
<u>Phylax</u> , Flavius (Φύλαξ, Φλάβιος) Location: Hypata Time Period: 2 nd c. CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age	[426]
<u>Pollis</u> , Titus Flavius (Πολλίς, Τ. Φλ.) Location: Rhodes (?) Time Period: c.60-85 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	[427]
<u>Rufus</u> (Ροῦφος) Location: Egypt Time Period: c.70-250 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[428]
<u>Serapodoros</u> (Σεραπόδωρος) Location: Melos Time Period: c.90 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[429]
<u>Sextos</u> (Σέξτος) Location: Damascus Time Period: 50-100 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth and maturity	[430]
<u>Sokrates</u> , Marcus Ulpius (Σωκράτης, Μ. Οὔλπ.) Location: Sparta (?) Time Period: c.80-138 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age	[431]
<u>Theodotos</u> , Titus Flavius (Θεόδοτος, Τ. Φλ.) Location: unknown Time Period: c.75-96 CE Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity	[432]

Tryphosa (Τρυφῶσα) [433]

Location: Kaisareia Tralleis

Time Period: 30-60 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his youth

Zosimos, Tiberius Scandilianus (Ζώσιμος, Τιβ. Σκανδιλιανός) [434]

Location: Gortyn (Crete)

Time Period: 85-120 CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his maturity and old age

ATTICA

Athens

Lamprias (Λαμπρίας) [435]

Time Period: 2nd c. CE

Time of Plutarch's Life: his old age

Geographic Catalogue

This catalogue is organized alphabetically by region (Africa, Asia Minor, Attica, Boiotia, Epirus, Gaul, Hispania, Islands, Italy, Macedonia, Peloponnese, Phokis, Thessaly, Unknown). Some regions are larger than others (Asia Minor versus Boiotia) and constitute a conglomeration of smaller regions. These are subdivided into smaller, more localized areas, to bring a higher level of specificity to the data. Areas that are part of modern Greece were not grouped together, because, in general, Plutarch is connected to many people in these places. This was also done for the ease of the reader, who can navigate this catalogue better with larger headings for these regions.

Individuals are found in their respective poleis, when known, otherwise they are placed in a region with the header 'general' at the beginning of that region's section. In order to illustrate the connectivity of the Roman world in the second century CE, the location field is defined by the origin of that individual, when known. This does not necessarily correspond to where Plutarch met them, as in most cases this would be impossible to identify. However, when the origin of an individual is not known, the location where Plutarch places them in his work (usually Athens or Rome) is indicated in this field.

For a listing of individuals based on their degree of connection from Plutarch, see the "Degree of Connection Catalogue". Similarly, see the "Chronology Catalogue" for this list of individuals divided into periods of Plutarch's life.

Africa

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
CARTHAGE <u>Sulla</u> , Sextius (Σύλλας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[75]
EGYPT <u>Ammonios</u> (Ἀμμώνιος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[76]
<u>Archibios</u> , Titus Flavius (Ἀρχίβιος, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: c.90-110 CE	[6]	[398]
<u>Capitolina</u> , Claudia (Κλαυδία Καπιτωλίνα) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[231]
<u>Didymos</u> (Δίδυμος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[77]
<u>Menelaos</u> (Μενέλαος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[78]
<u>Rufus</u> (Ροῦφος) Time Period: c.70-250 CE	[6]	[428]
<u>Theon</u> (Θέων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[79]
HIPPO REGIUS <u>Suetonius</u> (Σουητώνιος) Time Period: c.69-122 CE	[5]	[255]
LEPTIS MAGNA <u>Nestor</u> (Νέστωρ) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[80]

Asia Minor

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
ADANA <u>Artemidoros</u> , Titus Flavius (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: c.81-94 CE	[6]	[403]

ANTIOCHIA

Patrobios, Tiberius Claudius (Πατρόβιος, Τιβ. Κλ.) [6] [424]
Time Period: 43-60 CE

APHRODISIAS

Kallimorphos, Tiberius Claudius (Καλλίμορφος, Τιβ.Κλ.) [6] [415]
Time Period: 105-140 CE

ATTALEIA

Heliodoros, Marcus Ulpius (Ἡλιόδωρος, Μ. Οὔλπ.) [6] [411]
Time Period: 90-117 CE

CARIA

Melagkomas (Μελαγκόμας) [6] [418]
Time Period: 71 CE

COMMAGENE

Eiphanes, Gaius Julius Archelaos Antiochos (Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής) [5] [230]
Time Period: 1st c. CE

Philopappos, C. Julius Antiochos Eiphanes (Φιλόπαππος, Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής)
Time Period: 1st c. CE [4] [81]

DAMASCUS

Sextos (Σέξτος) [6] [430]
Time Period: 50-100 CE

EPHESOS

Artemidoros, Marcus Antoninus (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Μ. Ἀντώνιος) [6] [401]
Time Period: c.75-124 CE

Diogenes (Διογένης) [6] [408]
Time Period: 58-85 CE

Domestikos, Marcus Ulpius (Δομεστικός, Μ. Οὔλπ.) [6] [409]
Time Period: 110-130 CE

Laitos, Ofellius (Λαῖτος, Ὀφέλλιος) [4] [82]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Lollianios, Marcus Antonius (Λολλιανός, Μ. Ἀντ.) [6] [417]
Time Period: c.95-250 CE

EPIPHANIA

Euphrates [the Stoic] (Εὐφράτης) [5] [214]
Time Period: c.35-118 CE

HIERAPOLIS

Antoninus, Marcus Flavius (Ἀντωνῖνος) [6] [396]
Time Period: c.90 CE

Epictetos (Ἐπίκτητος) [5] [201]
Time Period: c.55-135 CE

Sarapion [Serapion] (Σαραπίων) [4] [83]
Time Period: 1st c. CE

IASOS

Cheilon, Quintus Samiarius (Χείλων, [Κ.] Σαμιάριος) [6] [406]
Time Period: 100-200

Metrobios, Titus Flavius (Μητρόβιος, Τ. Φλ.) [6] [420]
Time Period: c.75-90 CE

KAISAREIA TRALLES

Tryphosa (Τρυφῶσα) [6] [433]
Time Period: 30-60 CE

MAGNESIA

Demokrates (Δημοκράτης) [6] [407]
Time Period: 15-85 CE

MYRA

Menandros (Μένανδρος) [6] [419]
Time Period: 2nd c. CE

PERGAMON

Asklepiades (Ἀσκληπιάδης) [4] [84]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Diogenianos (Διογενιανός) [4] [85]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Diogenianos (Διογενιανός) [4] [86]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

PROUSIAS ON THE HYPIOS

Epitherses (Ἐπιθέρσης) [4] [87]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Philippos (Φίλιππος) [4] [88]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

PRUSA		
<u>Dio Chrysostom</u> [Dio of Prusa] (Δίων Χρυσόστομος) [5]		[202]
Time Period: c.40-115 CE		
SARDIS		
<u>Menemachos</u> (Μενέμαχος) [4]		[89]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Pardalas</u> , G. Julius (Παρδαλαῖς) [4]		[90]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Tyrrhenos</u> (Τυρρηνός) [4]		[91]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Zeno</u> (Ζήνων) [4]		[92]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
SELEUKEIA PIERIA		
<u>Nikanor</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Νικάνωρ, Τιβ. Κλ.) [6]		[421]
Time Period: c. 75-130 CE		
SMYRNA		
<u>Julianus</u> (Ιυλιανος) [6]		[414]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Niketes</u> (Νικήτης) [5]		[237]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Polemo</u> (Πολέμων) [5]		[203]
Time Period: c.90-144 CE		
TARSOS		
<u>Demetrios</u> (Δημήτριος) [4]		[93]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Eudaimon</u> , Gaius Julius (Εὐδαίμων, Γάϊος Ιούλιος) [6]		[410]
Time Period: 119 CE		
<u>Protopogenes</u> (Πρωτογένης) [4]		[94]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
TRALLES-SELEUKEIA		
<u>Artemidoros</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Τιβ. Κλ.) [6]		[402]
Time Period: c.65-98 CE		

Chairemonianos (Χαιρεμονιανός) [4] [95]
Time Period: 1st c. CE

XANTHOS
Hermogenes, Titus Flavius (Ἑρμογένης, Τ. Φλ.) [6] [412]
Time Period: c.75-90 CE

Attica		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
ATHENS		
<u>Alexander</u> (Ἀλέξανδρος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[96]
<u>Ammonios</u> (Ἀμμώνιος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[194]
<u>Apollonides</u> (Ἀπολλωνίδης) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[97]
<u>Aristokleia</u> (Ἀριστόκλεια, Ἀνν.) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[195]
<u>Athenaios</u> (Ἀθήναιος) Time Period: c.60-110 CE	[6]	[404]
<u>Boethos</u> (Βόηθος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[98]
<u>Dionysios</u> (Διονύσιος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[99]
<u>Erato</u> (Εράτων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[100]
<u>Euphanes</u> , Flavius (Εὐφάνης, [Τ.?] Φλ.) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[101]
<u>Eustrophos</u> (Εὐστροφος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[102]
<u>Euthydemos</u> (Εὐθύδημος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[103]

<u>Glaukias</u> (Γλαυκίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[104]
<u>Glaukos</u> (Γλαῦκος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[105]
<u>Hermeias</u> (Ἑρμείας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[106]
<u>Hylas</u> (Ύλας) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[107]
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[435]
<u>Laodameia, Flavia</u> (Λαοδάμεια, Φλ.) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[196]
<u>Markos</u> (Μάρκος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[108]
<u>Maron</u> (Μάρων) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[5]	[193]
<u>Maximos</u> (Μάξιμος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[109]
<u>Menephylos</u> (Μενέφυλος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[110]
<u>Meniskos</u> (Μενίσκος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[111]
<u>Milo</u> (Μίλων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[112]
<u>Moiragenes</u> (Μοιραγένης) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[113]
<u>Moschio</u> (Μοσχίων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[114]
<u>Nikostratos</u> (Νικόστρατος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[115]

<u>Onetor</u> (Ὀνήτωρ)	[6]	[422]
Time Period: 0-100 CE		
<u>Philetos</u> (Φίλητος)	[5]	[213]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Polycharmos</u> (Πολύχαρμος)	[4]	[116]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Pythodoros</u> (Πυθόδωρος, Μ. Ἄνν.)	[4]	[117]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Sarapion</u> [Serapion] (Σαραπίων)	[5]	[209]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Satyros</u> (Σάτυρος)	[4]	[118]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Strato</u> , Q. Markios (Στράτων, Κύντος Μάρκιος)	[4]	[119]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Themistocles</u> (Θεμιστοκλῆς)	[4]	[120]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Thrasylllos</u> , M. Annios (Θράσυλλος, Ἄνν.)	[4]	[121]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Trypho</u> (Τρύφων)	[4]	[122]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Zopyrion</u> (Ζωπυρίων)	[4]	[123]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
MEGARA		
<u>Herakleon</u> (Ἡρακλέων)	[4]	[124]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
NIKAIA		
<u>Aimilianos</u> [Aemilianus] (Αἰμιλιανός)	[4]	[125]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Aristainetos</u> (Ἀρισταίνετος)	[4]	[126]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		

Boiotia		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
GENERAL		
<u>Firmos</u> (Φίρμος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[2]	[12]
<u>Krato</u> (Κράτων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[2]	[13]
<u>Olympichos</u> (Ολύμπιχος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[32]
<u>Patrokleas</u> (Πατροκλέας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[2]	[14]
<u>Theon</u> (Θέων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[3]	[21]
CHAIRONEIA		
[daughter-in-law] Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[2]	[15]
[wet nurse] Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[2]	[16]
<u>Agathopous</u> (Ἀγαθόπους) Time Period: Imperial	[6]	[264]
<u>Akastos</u> (Ἄκαστος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[265]
<u>Alexander</u> (Ἀλέξανδρος) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[266]
<u>Antipatros</u> (Ἀντίπατρος) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[267]
<u>Antipatros</u> (Ἀντίπατρος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[33]
<u>Areskousa</u> (Ἀρέσκουσα) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[268]

<u>Ariamnes</u> (Ἀριάμνης) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[269]
<u>Aristio</u> (Ἀριστίων) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[270]
<u>Aristo</u> (Ἀρίστων) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[2]	[17]
<u>Aristonikos</u> (Ἀριστόνικος) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[271]
<u>Aristylla</u> (Ἀρίστυλλα) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[34]
<u>Asiarches</u> , Κλ. (Ἀσιάρχης) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[272]
<u>Athenodoros</u> (Ἀθηνόδωρος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE [?]	[5]	[191]
<u>Autoboulos</u> (Αὐτόβουλος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[1]	[2]
<u>Autoboulos</u> (Αὐτόβουλος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[1]	[3]
<u>Chairon</u> (Χαίρων) Time Period: c.75-100 CE	[1]	[4]
<u>Damon</u> (Δάμων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[273]
<u>Didymos</u> (Δίδυμος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[274]
<u>Dionysios</u> (Διονύσιος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[275]
<u>Drako</u> (Δράκων) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[276]
<u>Elpinos</u> (Ἐλπίνος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[277]

<u>Eraphroditos</u> (Ἐπαφρόδιτος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[278]
<u>Eraphroditos</u> (Ἐπαφρόδιτος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[279]
<u>Eraphroditos</u> (Ἐπαφρόδιτος) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[280]
<u>Epigonos</u> (Ἐπίγονος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[281]
<u>Euboulos</u> (Εὐβουλος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[282]
<u>Euboulos</u> , T. Flavius (Εὐβουλος, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[283]
<u>Euemerios</u> (Εὐήμερος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[284]
<u>Eufandra</u> (Εὐφάνδρα) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[285]
<u>Flavianos</u> (Φλαουιανος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[35]
<u>Gaios</u> (Γάϊος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[286]
<u>Gallatis</u> (Γάλλατις) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[287]
<u>Hagias</u> (Ἀγίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[36]
<u>Hagias</u> (Ἀγίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[37]
<u>Hermaios</u> (Ἑρμάϊος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[288]
<u>Hermaios</u> (Ἑρμάϊος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[289]

<u>Hermaios</u> (Ἑρμάϊος) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[290]
<u>Hermaios</u> (Ἑρμάϊος) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[291]
<u>Hermas</u> (Ἑρμᾶς) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[292]
<u>Hipparchos</u> (Ἱππάρχος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[293]
<u>Homoloichos</u> (Ὁμολώϊχος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[294]
<u>Homoloichos</u> (Ὁμολώϊχος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[295]
<u>Homoloichos</u> (Ὁμολώϊχος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[296]
<u>Homoloichos</u> (Ὁμολώϊχος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[297]
<u>Kallon</u> (Κάλλων) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[298]
<u>Kalone</u> (Καλόνη) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[299]
<u>Kaphon</u> (Κάφων) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[300]
<u>Karopina</u> (Χαροπίνα) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[301]
<u>Kephisodoros</u> (Κηφισόδωρος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[302]
<u>Kleitos</u> (Κλεῖτος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[303]
<u>Kleomenes</u> (Κλεομένης) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[304]

<u>Kleomenes</u> (Κλεομένης) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[305]
<u>Kleomenes</u> (Κλεομένης) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[38]
<u>Kleon</u> (Κλέων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[306]
<u>Kosmopolis</u> (Κοσμόπολις) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[307]
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[1]	[5]
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας) Time Period: c.50-125 CE	[1]	[6]
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[308]
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[309]
<u>Lampris</u> , Kaikilia (Λαμπρίς, Καικιλία) Time Period: 73 CE	[6]	[310]
<u>Leon</u> (Λέων) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[311]
<u>Leonides</u> (Λεωνίδης) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[312]
<u>Lysimachos</u> (Λυσίμαχος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[313]
<u>Nigros</u> Niger (Νίγρος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[39]
<u>Nikanor</u> (Νικάνωρ) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[314]
<u>Nikanor</u> (Νικάνωρ) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[315]

<u>Nikarchos</u> (Νίκαρχος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[316]
<u>Nikon</u> (Νίκων) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[317]
<u>Nikon</u> (Νίκων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[318]
<u>Nikon</u> (Νίκων) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[319]
<u>Nikon</u> (Νίκων) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[320]
<u>Nikon</u> (Νίκων) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[321]
<u>Nikostratos</u> (Νικόστρατος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[322]
<u>Olympichos</u> (Ὀλύμπιχος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[323]
<u>Onesikrates</u> (Ὀνησικράτης) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[40]
<u>Onesiphoros</u> (Ὀνησιφόρος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[324]
<u>Paramonos</u> (Παράμονος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[325]
<u>Paramonos</u> (Παράμονος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE (?)	[6]	[326]
<u>Phaidimos</u> (Φαίδιμος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[41]
<u>Philo</u> (Φιλώ) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[327]
<u>Philoxenos</u> (Φιλόξενος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[328]

<u>Phyros</u> (Φῦρος) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[329]
<u>Phylax</u> (Φύλαξ) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[330]
<u>Plutarch</u> (Πλούταρχος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[1]	[7]
<u>Polos</u> (Πῶλος) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[331]
<u>Polykleides</u> (Πολυκλείδης) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[332]
<u>Ptolemaios</u> (Πτολεμαῖος) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[333]
<u>Pythion</u> (Πυθίων) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[334]
<u>Rhodon</u> (Ῥόδων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[335]
<u>Rufus</u> (Ῥοῦφος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[336]
<u>Satyros</u> (Σάτυρος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[337]
<u>Sextos</u> (Σέξτος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[2]	[18]
<u>Simmias</u> (Σιμμίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[338]
<u>Soklaros</u> (Σώκλαρος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[1]	[8]
<u>Soklaros</u> , L. Mestrius (Σώκλαρος, Λ. Μέστριος) [4] Time Period: 118 CE		[42]
<u>Sosibios</u> (Σωσίβιος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[339]

<u>Sosibios</u> (Σωσίβιος) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[340]
<u>Sosikrates</u> (Σωσικράτης) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[6]	[341]
<u>Sosos</u> (Σῶσος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[342]
<u>Sotas</u> (Σωτᾶς) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[343]
<u>Soteas</u> (Σωτέας) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[344]
<u>Soterichos</u> (Σωτήριχος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[345]
<u>Symphoros</u> (Σύμφορος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[346]
<u>Symphoros</u> (Σύμφορος) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	[6]	[347]
<u>Symphoros</u> (Σύμφορος) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[348]
<u>Theodotos</u> (Θεόδοτος) Time Period: 118 CE	[6]	[349]
<u>Timoklia</u> (Τιμόκλια) Time Period: imperial	[6]	[350]
<u>Timon</u> (Τίμων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[1]	[9]
<u>Timoxena</u> (Τιμοξένα) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[1]	[10]
<u>Timoxena</u> (Τιμοξένα) Time Period: c70-100 CE	[1]	[11]
<u>Xenon</u> (Ξένων) Time Period: 1 st c. CE (?)	[5]	[192]

<u>Zoilos</u> (Ζωΐλος)	[6]	[351]
Time Period: 1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE		
<u>Zoilos</u> (Ζωΐλος)	[6]	[352]
Time Period: imperial		
<u>Zoilos</u> (Ζωΐλος)	[6]	[353]
Time Period: imperial		
<u>Zopyros</u> (Ζώπυρος)	[6]	[354]
Time Period: 118 CE		
KORONEIA		
<u>Sosikles</u> (Σωσικλῆς)	[3]	[22]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
ORCHOMENOS		
<u>Strato</u> (Στράτων)	[4]	[43]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
TANAGRA		
[niece]	[2]	[19]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
THEBES		
<u>Athenais</u> (Ἀθηναΐς)	[5]	[220]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Pemptides</u> , T. Falvius (Πεμπτίδης, Τ. Φλ.)	[4]	[44]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Pythis</u> (Πυθίς)	[5]	[221]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
THESPIAI		
<u>Alexion</u> (Ἀλεξίων)	[2]	[20]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Anthemion</u> (Ἀνθεμίων)	[4]	[45]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Archela</u> , Flavia (Ἀρχέλα, Φλ.)	[5]	[223]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Archidamos</u> (Ἀρχίδαμος)	[4]	[46]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		

<u>Baccho</u> (Βάκχων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[47]
<u>Daphnaios</u> (Δαφναῖος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[48]
<u>Diogenes</u> (Διογένης) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[49]
<u>Dorkylis, Flavia</u> (Δορκυλῖς, Φλ.) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[224]
<u>Eupraxis, Flavius</u> (Εὐπραξίς, Φλ.) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[225]
<u>Ismenodora</u> (Ἰσμηνοδώρα) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[50]
<u>Lysandra</u> (Λυσάνδρα) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[51]
<u>Lysandros, T. Flavius</u> (Λύσανδρος, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[226]
<u>Mondo, T. Flavius</u> (Μόνδων, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[5]	[227]
<u>Mondo, T. Flavius</u> (Μόνδων, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[228]
<u>Mondo, T. Flavius</u> (Μόνδων, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[229]
<u>Peisias</u> (Πεισίας) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[52]
<u>Philinos</u> Philinos, T. Flavius (Φιλῖνος, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[3]	[23]
<u>Simon</u> (Σίμων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[53]
THISBE <u>Pytho</u> (Πύθων) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[54]

Epirus		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
NIKOPOLIS <u>Avidienus</u> , Claudius (Ἀουιδιηνὸς, Κλαύδιος) [6] Time Period: 100 CE		[405]
<u>Kleomachos</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Κλεόμαχος, Τιβ. Κλ.) [6] Time Period: 1 st c. CE		[371]
<u>Nikias</u> (Νικίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[127]
<u>Symmachos</u> (Σύμμαχος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[128]
Gaul		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
GENERAL <u>Aper</u> , M. (Ἄπερ) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[256]
BURDIGALA <u>Secundus</u> , Julius (Ιούνιος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[129]
Hispania		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
AUGUSTA BILBILIS <u>Martial</u> (Μαρτιάλης; Marcus Valerius Martialis) [5] Time Period: c.38-102 CE		[257]
CALAGURRIS <u>Quintillian</u> (Κοϊντιλιανός) Time Period: c.35-100 CE	[5]	[258]
GADES <u>Moderatos</u> (Μοδεράτος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[5]	[212]

TARRACO		
<u>Sura</u> , L. Licinus (Σουρά)	[5]	[239]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Islands</u> <u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
CHIOS		
<u>Aufidius</u> [Modestus] (Αύφιδιος)	[4]	[130]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
CRETE		
<u>Zosimos</u> , Tiberius Scandilianus (Ζώσιμος, Τιβ. Σκανδιλιανός)	[6]	[434]
Time Period: 85-120 CE		
CYPRUS		
<u>Aristodemos</u> (Ἀριστόδημος)	[4]	[131]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<i>Soloi</i>		
<u>Thespesios</u> (Θεσπέσιος)	[4]	[132]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
EUBOEAE		
<i>General</i>		
<u>Philostratos</u> (Φιλόστρατος)	[4]	[134]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<i>Eretria</i>		
<u>Lucius</u> (Λεύκιος)	[4]	[133]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
KOS		
[kitharistes] (κιθαριστής)	[6]	[394]
Time Period: 10-85 CE		
<u>Aristo</u> (Ἀρίστων)	[6]	[400]
Time Period: 55-120 CE		
MELOS		
<u>Serapodoros</u> (Σεραπόδωρος)	[6]	[429]
Time Period: c.90 CE		

RHODES		
<u>Pollis</u> , Titus Flavius (Πολλίς, Τ. Φλ.)	[6]	[427]
Time Period: c.60-85 CE		
SAMOS		
<u>Aristomenos</u> (Ἀριστομενος)	[6]	[399]
Time Period: 1 st c. BCE-1 st c. CE		
TENOS		
<u>Pankles</u> (Παγκλῆς)	[6]	[423]
Time Period: c.75-250 CE		
THASOS		
<u>Athryitos</u> (Ἀούϊτος Ἀθρυίλατος)	[4]	[135]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		

Italy		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
FAVENTIA		
<u>Avidius Nigrinus I</u> (Νιγρῖνος)	[4]	[136]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Avidius Nigrinus II</u> , C. (Νιγρῖνος)	[4]	[137]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Avidius Quietus I</u> , T. (Κύντος)	[4]	[138]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd CE		
<u>Avidius Quietus II</u> (Κύντος)	[4]	[139]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
NORTHERN ITALY		
<u>Marcella</u> (Μάρκελλα)	[5]	[204]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Rusticus</u> , Junius Arulenus (Ρούστικος)	[4]	[140]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
NOVUM COMUM		
<u>Pliny</u> (Πλίνιος; the Younger)	[5]	[259]
Time Period: c.61-113 CE		

PUTEOLI

Hermonikes, Marcus Turranius (Έρμονικης) [6] [413]
Time Period: c.79 CE

ROME

Afrinus, M. Annius (Άφρηνός) [5] [197]
Time Period: 1st c. CE

Alexikrates (Άλεξικράτης) [4] [141]
Time Period: 1st c. CE

Apollophanes (Άπολλοφάνης) [4] [142]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Balbilla, Julia (Ιουλία Βαλβίλλα) [5] [232]
Time Period: c.72-130 CE

Bassus, Saleius (Βάσσος) [5] [260]
Time Period: 1st c. CE

Caesernius, Gaius (Γάϊος) [4] [143]
Time Period: 1st c. CE

Empedokles (Έμπεδοκλής) [4] [144]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Erponina (Έρπονινα) [4] [145]
Time Period: 1st c. CE

Eros (Έρως) [4] [146]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Falco, Q. Pompeius (Φάλκων) [5] [240]
Time Period: c.70-140 CE

Favorinus (Φαβωρίνος) [4] [147]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Frontinus, Sextus Julius (Φροντινός) [5] [241]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Kleandros (Κλέανδρος) [4] [148]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Lucius (Λεύκιος) [4] [149]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

<u>Maternus</u> , Curiatius (Μάτερνος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[5]	[261]
<u>Messalla</u> , Vipstanus (Μεσσαλλα) Time Period: c.45-80 CE	[5]	[262]
<u>Mestrius Florus</u> , L. (Φλωῶρος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[3]	[30]
<u>Mestrius Florus</u> , L. (Φλωῶρος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[150]
<u>Naso</u> (Νάσων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[238]
<u>Paccius</u> (Πάκκιος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[151]
<u>Polla</u> , Sosia (Πόλλα) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[242]
<u>Rufus</u> , Marcus Junius (Ροῦφος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[233]
<u>Rufus</u> , Tiberius Julius (Ροῦφος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[5]	[216]
<u>Sabinus</u> , Julius (Σαβῖνος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[152]
<u>Sedatius</u> , Marcus (Σήδατος, Μάρκος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[153]
<u>Senecio</u> , Quintus Sossius (Σόσιος Σενεκίων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[3]	[31]
<u>Tacitus</u> (Τακίτης) Time Period: c.56-120 CE	[5]	[263]
<u>Terentius Priscus</u> (Πρίσκος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[154]
<u>Thræsea Paetus</u> (Παῖτος) [Publius Clodius Thræsea Paetus] Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[5]	[198]

SARDINIA

Saturninus, L. Herennius (Σατορνῖνος) [4] [155]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

TICINUM

Fundanus, Minicius (Μινίκιος Φουνδάνος) [4] [156]
Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

EMPERORS

Nero (Νέρων; Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) [5] [246]
Time Period: 15 December 37 – 9 June 68 CE

Otho (Ὀθων; Marcus Salvius Otho Caesar Augustus) [5] [247]
Time Period: 32 – 69 CE

Vespasian (Βεσπασιανός; Titus Flavius Vespasianus) [5] [248]
Time Period: 9-79 CE

Titus (Τίτος; Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus) [5] [249]
Time Period: 39-81 CE

Domitian (Δομιτιανός; Titus Flavius Caesar Domitianus Augustus) [5] [250]
Time Period: 24-96 CE

Trajan (Τραϊνός; Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Divi Nervae filius Augustus) [4] [251]
Time Period: 53-117 CE

Hadrian (Αδριανός; Publius Aelius Hadrianus Augustus) [5] [252]
Time Period: 76-138 CE

Sabina, Vibia (Σαβίνα; Roman Empress, married to Hadrian) [5] [253]
Time Period: 83-136/7 CE

Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus (Λεύκιος) [5] [254]
Time Period: 101-138 CE

Macedonia

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
GENERAL		
<u>Nikeratos</u> (Νικήρατος)	[4]	[157]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		

Peloponnese		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
AIGION		
<u>Aristodemos</u> (Ἀριστόδημος)	[4]	[158]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
CORINTH		
<u>Apollodotos</u> (Ἀπολλόδοτος, Π. Αἴλ.)	[5]	[243]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Babbius Magnus</u> (Βάββιος Μάγνος)	[5]	[217]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Babbius Maximus</u> (Βάββιος Μάξιμος)	[5]	[218]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Herodes</u> (Ἡρώδης)	[4]	[159]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Korinthos</u> , Lucius Cornelius (Κόρινθος, Λ. Κορνήλιος) [6]		[416]
Time Period: 50-120 CE		
<u>Lukanios</u> (Λουκάνιος)	[4]	[160]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Pacuvia Fortunata</u> (Πακούια)	[5]	[219]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Praxiteles</u> (Πραξιτέλης)	[4]	[161]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Sosipatra</u> , Antonia (Σωσιπάτρα, Ἀντ.)	[4]	[162]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Sospis</u> , Antoninus (Σῶσπης, Ἀντ.)	[4]	[163]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Sospis</u> , P. A. (Π. Αἴλ. Σῶσπης)	[5]	[244]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
ELIS		
<u>Agemachos</u> (Ἀγέμαχος)	[4]	[164]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		

<u>Dorotheos</u> (Δωρόθεος)	[4]	[165]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
EPIDAUROS		
<u>Cornelius Pulcher</u> (Κορνήλιος)	[4]	[166]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
SIKYON		
<u>Diogeneia</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Διογένεια, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[5]	[234]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Polykrates</u> Polykrates, Tib. Claudius (Πολυκράτης, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[4]	[167]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Polykrates</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Πολυκράτης, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[5]	[235]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Polykrateia Nausika</u> , Tiberius Claudius (Πολυκράτεια Ναυσικάα, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[5]	[236]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Pythokles</u> , Tib. Claudius (Πυθοκλῆς, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[4]	[168]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
SPARTA		
<u>Eurykles</u> , C. Julius (Εὐρυκλῆς, Ἰούλ.)	[5]	[205]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Herkulanos</u> , C. Julius Eurykles (Ἡρκουλανός)	[4]	[169]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Kallikrates</u> (Καλλικράτης)	[4]	[170]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Kleombrotos</u> (Κλεόμβροτος)	[4]	[171]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Lako</u> , C. Julius (Λάκων, Γ. Ἰούλ.)	[5]	[206]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Lako</u> , C. Julius (Λάκων, Γ. Ἰούλ.)	[5]	[207]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Sokrates</u> , Marcus Ulpius (Σωκράτης, Μ. Οὐλπ.)	[6]	[431]
Time Period: c.80-138 CE		

<u>Tyndares</u> (Τυνδάρης) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[172]
<u>Tyndares</u> (Τυνδάρης) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[173]
<u>Zeuxippos</u> (Ζεύξιππος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[174]
<u>Zeuxippos</u> (Ζεύξιππος) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[245]

Phokis		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
GENERAL		
<u>Kaphisias</u> (Καφισίας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[55]
AMPHISSA		
<u>Philotas</u> (Φιλώτας) Time Period: 1 st c. BCE	[5]	[208]
DAULIS		
<u>Kleon</u> (Κλέων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[56]
DELPHI		
([athlete]) Time Period: 0-75 CE	[6]	[392]
([athlete]) Time Period: 0-100 CE	[6]	[393]
<u>Agathon</u> , Tiberius Julius (Ἀγάθων, Τιβ. Ἰούλιος) [6] Time Period: c.75-100 CE		[355]
<u>Aiakidas</u> (Αἰακίδας) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[57]
<u>Antigenes</u> (Ἀντιγένης) Time Period: c.20-75 CE	[6]	[356]
<u>Aristopeithes</u> (Ἀριστοπεΐθης) Time Period: c.67-75 CE	[6]	[357]

<u>Astoxenos</u> (Ἀστόξενος) Time Period: c.1-66 CE	[6]	[358]
<u>Astoxenos</u> (Ἀστόξενος) Time Period: c.47-66 CE	[6]	[359]
<u>Astoxenos</u> (Ἀστόξενος) Time Period: c.84-92 CE	[6]	[360]
<u>Basilokles</u> (Βασιλοκλῆς) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[58]
<u>Diodoros</u> (Διόδωρος) Time Period: c.47-75 CE	[6]	[361]
<u>Dionysios</u> (Διονύσιος) Time Period: c.47-66 CE	[6]	[362]
<u>Dionysios</u> (Διονύσιος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[59]
<u>Epandros</u> (Ἐπάνδρος) Time Period: c.75-100 CE	[6]	[363]
<u>Epinikos</u> (Ἐπίνικος) Time Period: c.85-90 CE	[6]	[364]
<u>Euameris</u> (Εὐαμερίς) Time Period: c.47-66 CE	[6]	[365]
<u>Eudoros</u> (Εὐδωρος) Time Period: c.47 -110 CE	[6]	[366]
<u>Eukleidas</u> (Εὐκλείδης) Time Period: c.47-100 CE	[6]	[367]
<u>Eurydike</u> , Memmia (Εὐρυδίκη, Μεμμία) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[3]	[24]
<u>Euthydamilla</u> , Memmia (Εὐθυδάμιλλα, Μεμμία) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[200]
<u>Euthydamos</u> (Εὐθύδαμος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[60]

<u>Euthydamos</u> , G. Memmios (Εὐθύδαμος, Γ. Μέμμιος) [4]	[61]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
<u>Firmos</u> , Tiberius Calavius (Φίρμος, Τιβ. Καλαούιος) [6]	[368]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
<u>Kallistratos</u> (Καλλίστρατος) [6]	[369]
Time Period: c.1-66 CE	
<u>Kallistratos</u> (Καλλίστρατος) [6]	[370]
Time Period: c. 47-66 CE	
<u>Kallistratos</u> (Καλλίστρατος) [4]	[62]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
<u>Klea</u> (Κλέα) [3]	[25]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
<u>Kritolaos</u> , P. Memmius (Κριτόλαος, Π. Μέμμιος) [5]	[210]
Time Period: c.47-75	
<u>Kritolaos</u> Theokles, Memmius (Μέμμιος Κριτόλαος Θεοκλής) [5]	[211]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
<u>Laiadas</u> (Λαιάδας) [6]	[372]
Time Period: c.20-66 CE	
<u>Lamprias</u> (Λαμπρίας) [6]	[373]
Time Period: c.118-120 CE	
<u>Leon</u> (Λέων) [4]	[63]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
<u>Leontis</u> , Memmia (Λεοντίς, Μεμμία) [4]	[64]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE	
<u>Lysimachos</u> (Λυσίμαχος) [4]	[65]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
<u>Megalinos</u> , T. Flavius (Μεγαλῖνος, Τ. Φλ.) [6]	[374]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	
<u>Melission</u> (Μελισσίων) [6]	[375]
Time Period: c. 53 BCE – 66 CE	

<u>Melission</u> (Μελισσίων)	[6]	[376]
Time Period: c. 47-66 CE		
<u>Menodoros</u> (Μηνόδωρος)	[6]	[377]
Time Period: c.47-75 CE		
<u>Nikandros</u> (Νίκανδρος)	[6]	[378]
Time Period: c.1-66 CE		
<u>Nikandros</u> (Νίκανδρος)	[4]	[66]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Nikandros</u> (Νίκανδρος)	[4]	[67]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Nikandros</u> (Νίκανδρος)	[4]	[68]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Nikandros, Memmios</u> (Νίκανδρος, Μέμμιος)	[4]	[69]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Nikandros, Tiberius Claudius</u> (Νίκανδρος, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[6]	[379]
Time Period: c.47-75 CE		
<u>Nikostratos</u> (Νικόστρατος)	[6]	[380]
Time Period: c. 85-110		
<u>Optatos</u> Optatos, M. Pacuvios (Όπτᾱτος)	[4]	[70]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Pantaleon</u> (Πανταλέων)	[6]	[381]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Pantaleon</u> (Πανταλέων)	[6]	[382]
Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		
<u>Pollianos, T. Flavius</u> (Πωλλιανός, Τ. Φλάβιος)	[6]	[383]
Time Period: c.75-100 CE		
<u>Pythodoros</u> (Πυθόδωρος)	[6]	[384]
Time Period: 1 st c. CE		
<u>Pythodoros, P. Aelius</u> (Πυθόδωρος, Π. Αἴλιος)	[5]	[215]
Time Period: 2 nd c. CE		

<u>Simon</u> (Σῖμος) Time Period: c.75-100 CE	[6]	[385]
<u>Sopatra</u> (Σωπάτρα) Time Period: c. 47-66 CE	[6]	[386]
<u>Sotas</u> (Σώτας) Time Period: c.47-66 CE	[6]	[387]
<u>Strato</u> (Στρατώ) Time Period: c.20-66 CE	[6]	[388]
<u>Theokles</u> , P. Memmius (Θεοκλῆς, Π. Μέμμιος) [6] Time Period: c. 20-66 CE		[389]
<u>Theoxenos</u> (Θεόξενος) Time Period: c. 47-66 CE	[6]	[390]
<u>Xenagoras</u> (Ξεναγόρας) Time Period: c. 20-90 CE	[6]	[391]
<u>Xenokles</u> (Ξενοκλῆς) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[71]
ELATEIA <u>Aristotimos</u> (Ἀριστότιμος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[72]
HYAMPOLIS <u>Markion</u> (Μαρκίων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[73]
<u>Philo</u> (Φίλων) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[74]
TITHOREA <u>Agias</u> (Ἀγίας, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[3]	[26]
<u>Aristio</u> (Ἀριστίων) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[3]	[27]
<u>Pollianos Aristio</u> , L. Falvius (Πολλιανός) [3] Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE		[28]

<u>Soklaros</u> (Σώκλαρος, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[3]	[29]
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Thessaly		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
GENERAL		
<u>Kyllos</u> , T. Flavius (Κύλλος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[5]	[199]
<u>Menekrates</u> (Μενεκράτης) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[175]
HYPATA		
<u>Alexander</u> (Αλέξανδρος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[176]
<u>Alexander</u> , T. Flavius (Αλέξανδρος, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[395]
<u>Derkios</u> (Δέρκιος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[5]	[222]
<u>Eubiotos</u> , T. Flavius (Εύβιοτος, Τ. Φλάβιος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[177]
<u>Kyllos</u> , T. Flavius (Κύλλος, Τ. Φλαούτιος) Time Period: 1 st c. CE	[4]	[178]
<u>Petraios</u> , L. Cassius (Πετραῖος, Λ. Κάσσιος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[179]
<u>Phoenix</u> , Flavius (Φοῖνιξ, Τ. Φλ.) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[425]
<u>Phylax</u> , Flavius (Φύλαξ, Φλάβιος) Time Period: 2 nd c. CE	[6]	[426]

Unknown		
<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
<u>Antyllos</u> (Ἀντιλλος) Time Period: 1 st / 2 nd c. CE	[4]	[180]
<u>Apollonios</u> (Ἀπολλώνιος)	[4]	[181]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

[Apollonios' son] [4] [182]

Time Period: 1st c. CE

Apollonios (Ἀπολλώνιος) [6] [397]

Time Period: 2nd c. CE (100-138 CE)

Aristotle (Ἀριστοτέλης) [4] [183]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Bestia (Βεστια) [4] [184]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Bithynos (Βιθυνός) [4] [185]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Diadoumenos (Διαδουμένος) [4] [186]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Pharnakes (Φαρνάκης) [4] [187]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Piso (Πισω) [4] [188]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Sositeles (Σωσιτέλης) [4] [189]

Time Period: 1st - 2nd c. CE

Theodotos, Titus Flavius (Θεόδοτος, Τ. Φλ.) [6] [432]

Time Period: c.75-96 CE

Zopyros (Ζώπυρος) [4] [190]

Time Period: 1st / 2nd c. CE

Chronology Catalogue

For the purpose of evaluating the changes and fluctuations of Plutarch's social network, individuals attached to Plutarch have been placed in three periods of his life. The divisions are roughly calculated as follows:

Youth: birth until 75 CE (0-30 years old)

Maturity: 75-100 CE (30-55 years old)

Old Age: 100-death (55-75 years old)

It is, nevertheless, impossible to know when Plutarch met these individuals, whether they are fictitious or real, and whether or not he maintained a relationship with them and for how long. For this reason, individuals are classified as being in certain stages of his life depending on what we know of them. When building this list, it was not only Plutarch's mentions of them, but also their own life span that was considered. For example, if they are marked in the LGPN as only being a part of the 1st century CE, they are not included in the final period of Plutarch's life, that of his old age. Similarly, if they are old when Plutarch mentions them during his time in Athens, for example, they are only listed as being from his youth. As a result, this catalogue is divided into the following categories:

Youth Only

Youth and Maturity

Youth, Maturity, and Old Age

Maturity Only

Maturity and Old Age

Old Age Only

Within each category, individuals are ordered by region in capital letters, followed by their polis in italics. Within each polis, individuals are alphabetized. Catalogues have been created based on both Degree of Separation and Geographic Locations to allow the reader a means of comparison and to make searching easier.

Youth Only

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
ASIA MINOR		
<i>Antiochia</i>		
Patrobius, Tiberius Claudius (Πατρόβιος, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[6]	[424]
<i>Kaisareia Tralleis</i>		
Tryphosa (Τρυφῶσα)	[6]	[433]
<i>Sardis</i>		
Pardalas, G. Julius (Παρδαλᾶς)	[4]	[90]
<i>Tralles-Seleukeia</i>		
Chairemonianos (Χαιρημονιανός)	[4]	[95]
ATTICA		
<i>Athens</i>		
Maximos (Μάξιμος)	[4]	[109]
Menephylos (Μενέφυλος)	[4]	[110]
Meniskos (Μενίσκος)	[4]	[111]
Zopyrion (Ζωπυρίων)	[4]	[123]
BOIOTIA		
<i>Chaironeia</i>		
Akastos (Ἄκαστος)	[6]	[265]
Ariamnes (Ἀριάμνης)	[6]	[269]
Athenodoros (Ἀθηνόδωρος)	[5]	[191]
Elpinos (Ἐλπίνος)	[6]	[277]
Epigonos (Ἐπίγονος)	[6]	[280]
Gaios (Γάϊος)	[6]	[286]
Hermaios (Ἑρμάϊος)	[6]	[288]
Hermas (Ἑρμᾶς)	[6]	[292]
Homoloichos (Ὅμολώϊχος)	[6]	[294]
Homoloichos (Ὅμολώϊχος)	[6]	[295]
Kaphon (Κάφων)	[6]	[300]
Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)	[1]	[5]
Nikanor (Νικάνωρ)	[6]	[314]
Nikanor (Νικάνωρ)	[6]	[315]
Nikon (Νίκων)	[6]	[317]
Nikostratos (Νικόστρατος)	[6]	[322]
Onesikrates (Ὀνησικράτης)	[4]	[40]
Onesiphoros (Ὀνησιφόρος)	[6]	[324]

Paramonos (Παράμονος)	[6]	[325]
Polykleides (Πολυκλείδης)	[6]	[332]
Rufus (Ρούφος)	[6]	[336]
Sosibios (Σωσίβιος)	[6]	[339]
Sosos (Σῶσος)	[6]	[342]
Sotas (Σωτᾶς)	[6]	[343]
Soterichos (Σωτήριχος)	[6]	[345]
Symphoros (Σύμφορος)	[6]	[346]
Symphoros (Σύμφορος)	[6]	[347]
Xenon (Ξένων)	[5]	[192]
Zoilos (Ζωΐλος)	[6]	[351]

ISLANDS

Euboea

Philostratos (Φιλόστρατος)	[4]	[134]
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Samos

Aristomenos (Ἀριστομενος)	[6]	[399]
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ITALY

Rome

Afrinus, M. Annius (Ἀφρηνός)	[5]	[197]
Nero (Νέρων)	[5]	[246]
Otho (Ὀθων)	[5]	[247]

PELOPONNESE

Corinth

Sospis, M. Antoninus (Σῶσπης, Μ. Ἀντ.)	[4]	[163]
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PHOKIS

Amphissa

Philotas (Φιλώτας)	[5]	[208]
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Delphi

([athlete])	[6]	[392]
Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος)	[6]	[358]
Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος)	[6]	[359]
Dionysios (Διονύσιος)	[6]	[362]
Euameris (Εὐαμερίς)	[6]	[365]
Kallistratos (Καλλίστρατος)	[6]	[369]
Kallistratos (Καλλίστρατος)	[6]	[370]
Laiadas (Λαιάδας)	[6]	[372]

Melission (Μελισσίων)	[6]	[375]
Melission (Μελισσίων)	[6]	[376]
Menodoros (Μηνόδωρος)	[6]	[377]
Nikandros (Νίκανδρος)	[6]	[378]
Nikandros (Νίκανδρος)	[4]	[66]
Sopatra (Σωπάτρα)	[6]	[386]
Sotas (Σώτας)	[6]	[387]
Strato (Στρατώ)	[6]	[388]
Theokles, P. Memmius (Θεοκλῆς, Π. Μέμμιος)	[6]	[389]
Theoxenos (Θεόξενος)	[6]	[390]

UNKNOWN

Hermeias (Ἑρμείας)	[4]	[106]
Hylas (Ἵλας)	[4]	[107]

Youth and Maturity

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
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AFRICA

Egypt

Ammonios (Ἀμμώνιος)	[4]	[76]
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ASIA MINOR

Commagene

Epiphanes, Gaius Julius Archelaos Antiochos (Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής) [5] [230]

Philopappos, C. Julius Antiochos Epiphanes (Φιλόπαππος, Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής)	[4]	[81]
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Damascus

Sextos (Σέξτος)	[6]	[430]
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Ephesos

Diogenes (Διογένης)	[6]	[408]
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Hierapolis

Sarapion (Σαραπίων)	[4]	[83]
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Magnesia

Demokrates (Δημοκράτης)	[6]	[407]
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Smyrna

Julianus (Ἰυλιανός)	[6]	[414]
Niketes (Νικήτης)	[5]	[237]

Tralles-Seleukia

Artemidoros, Tiberius Claudius (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[6]	[402]
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ATTICA*Athens*

Erato (Ἑράτων)	[4]	[100]
Laodameia, Flavia (Λαοδάμεια, Φλ.)	[5]	[196]
Nikostratos (Νικόστρατος)	[4]	[115]
Onetor (Ὀνήτωρ)	[6]	[422]
Philetos (Φίλητος)	[5]	[213]

BOIOTIA*Chaironeia*

Aristio (Ἀριστίων)	[6]	[270]
Aristo (Ἀρίστων)	[2]	[17]
Autoboulos (Αὐτόβουλος)	[1]	[2]
Eraphroditos (Ἑπαφρόδιτος)	[6]	[278]
Eraphroditos (Ἑπαφρόδιτος)	[6]	[279]
Euemeros (Εὐήμερος)	[6]	[284]
Homoloichos (Ὅμολώϊχος)	[6]	[296]
Lampris, Kaikilia (Λαμπρίς, Καικιλία)	[6]	[310]
Leonides (Λεωνίδης)	[6]	[312]
Lysimachos (Λυσίμαχος)	[6]	[313]
Nigros Niger (Νίγρος)	[4]	[39]
Nikarchos (Νίκαρχος)	[6]	[316]
Paramonos (Παράμονος)	[6]	[326]
Satyros (Σάτυρος)	[6]	[337]
Sosikrates (Σωσικράτης)	[6]	[341]

Koroneia

Sosikles (Σωσικλῆς)	[3]	[22]
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Orchomenos

Strato (Στράτων)	[4]	[43]
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Thebes

Pemptides, T. Falvius (Πεμπτίδης, Τ. Φλ.)	[4]	[44]
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Thespiai

Alexion (Ἀλεξίων)	[2]	[20]
Archela, Flavia (Ἀρχέλα, Φλ.)	[5]	[223]
Mondo, T. Flavius (Μόνδων, Τ. Φλ.)	[5]	[227]

<i>Thisbe</i>		
Pytho (Πύθων)	[4]	[54]
EPIRUS		
<i>Nikopolis</i>		
Kleomachos, Tiberius Claudius (Κλεόμαχος, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[6]	[371]
ISLANDS		
<i>Kos</i>		
[kitharistes] (κιθαριστής)	[6]	[394]
<i>Rhodes</i>		
Pollis, Titus Flavius (Πολλῖς, Τ. Φλ.)	[6]	[427]
ITALY		
<i>Rome</i>		
Rufus, Tiberius Julius (Ροῦφος)	[5]	[216]
Vespasian (Βεσπασιανός)	[5]	[248]
PELOPONNESE		
<i>Sparta</i>		
Kleombrotos (Κλεόμβροτος)	[4]	[171]
Lako, C. Julius (Λάκων, Γ. Ιούλ.)	[5]	[206]
Tyndares (Τυνδάρης)	[4]	[172]
PHOKIS		
<i>Delphi</i>		
([athlete])	[6]	[393]
Antigenes (Ἀντιγένης)	[6]	[356]
Aristopeithes (Ἀριστοπεΐθης)	[6]	[357]
Diodoros (Διόδωρος)	[6]	[361]
Eukleidas (Εὐκλείδης)	[6]	[367]
Euthydamos, G. Memmios (Εὐθύδαμος, Γ. Μέμμιος)	[4]	[61]
Kritolaos, P. Memmīus (Κριτόλαος, Π. Μέμμιος)	[5]	[210]
Leontis, Memmia (Λεοντίς, Μεμμία)	[4]	[64]
Nikandros, Tiberius Claudius (Νίκανδρος, Τιβ. Κλ.)	[6]	[379]
Optatos, M. Pacunios (Ὀπτᾶτος)	[4]	[70]
Pythodoros (Πυθόδωρος)	[6]	[384]
Xenagoras (Ξεναγόρας)	[6]	[391]

<i>Tithorea</i>		
Aristio (Ἀριστίων)	[3]	[27]

THESSALY

Kyllos, T. Flavius (Κύλλος, Τ. Φλαούτιος)	[4]	[178]
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UNKNOWN

Herodes (Ἡρώδη)	[4]	[159]
Trypho (Τρύφων)	[4]	[122]

Youth, Maturity, and Old Age

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
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ASIA MINOR

Ephesos

Laitos, Ofellius (Λαῖτος, Ὀφέλλιος)	[4]	[82]
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Tarsos

Protopogenes (Πρωτογένης)	[4]	[94]
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ATTICA

Athens

Ammonios (Ἀμμώνιος)	[5]	[194]
Apollonides (Ἀπολλωνίδης)	[4]	[97]
Boethos (Βόηθος)	[4]	[98]
Dionysios (Διονύσιος)	[4]	[99]
Eustrophos (Εὐστροφος)	[4]	[102]
Euthydemos (Εὐθύδημος)	[4]	[103]
Glaukias (Γλαυκίας)	[4]	[104]
Markos (Μᾶρκος)	[4]	[108]
Polycharmos (Πολύχαρμος)	[4]	[116]
Pythodoros (Πυθόδωρος, Μ. Ἄνν.)	[4]	[117]
Sarapion (Σαραπίων)	[5]	[209]
Themistocles (Θεμιστοκλῆς)	[4]	[120]
Thrasyllus, M. Annus (Θράσυλλος, Ἄνν.)	[4]	[121]

BOIOTIA

General

Theon (Θέων)	[3]	[21]
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Chaironeia

Damon (Δάμων)	[6]	[273]
Didymos (Δίδυμος)	[6]	[274]
Dionysios (Διονύσιος)	[6]	[275]
Euboulos (Εὐβουλος)	[6]	[282]
Hermaios (Ἑρμαῖος)	[6]	[289]
Hipparchos (Ἱππαρχος)	[6]	[293]
Homoloichos (Ὁμολώχης)	[6]	[297]
Karopina (Χαροπίνη)	[6]	[301]
Kephisodoros (Κηφισόδωρος)	[6]	[302]
Kleitos (Κλεῖτος)	[6]	[303]
Kleon (Κλέων)	[6]	[306]
Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)	[1]	[6]
Lamprias (Λαμπρίας)	[6]	[308]
Nikon (Νίκων)	[6]	[318]
Olympichos (Ὀλύμπιχος)	[6]	[323]
Philoxenos (Φιλόξενος)	[6]	[328]
Rhodon (Ῥόδων)	[6]	[335]
Simmias (Σιμμία)	[6]	[338]
Timon (Τίμων)	[1]	[9]
Timoxena (Τιμοξένα)	[1]	[10]

Thespiai

Philinos Philinos, T. Flavius (Φιλῖνος, Τ. Φλ.)	[3]	[23]
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ISLANDS

Cyprus

Aristodemos (Ἀριστόδημος)	[4]	[131]
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Thasos

Athryitos (Ἀούῖτος Ἀθρυίλατος)	[4]	[135]
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PELOPONNESE

Corinth

Korinthos, Lucius Cornelius (Κόρινθος, Λ. Κορνήλιος)	[6]	[416]
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PHOKIS

Delphi

Eudoros (Εὐδωρος)	[6]	[366]
Euthydammilla, Memmia (Εὐθυδάμιλλα, Μεμμία)	[5]	[200]
Euthydamos (Εὐθύδαμος)	[4]	[60]
Klea (Κλέα)	[3]	[25]
Nikandros (Νίκανδρος)	[4]	[67]

Xenokles (Ξενοκλῆς)	[4]	[71]
<i>Tithorea</i>		
Soklaros (Σώκλαρος, Τ. Φλ.)	[3]	[29]
UNKNOWN		
Antyllos (Ἀντιλλος)	[4]	[180]
Aristotle (Ἀριστοτέλης)	[4]	[183]

Maturity Only

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
ASIA MINOR		
<i>Adana</i>		
Artemidoros, Titus Flavius (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Τ. Φλ.)	[6]	[403]
<i>Caria</i>		
Melagkomas (Μελαγκόμας)	[6]	[418]
<i>Hierapolis</i>		
Antoninus, Marcus Flavius (Ἀντωνῖνος)	[6]	[396]
<i>Iasos</i>		
Metrobios, Titus Flavius (Μητρόβιος, Τ. Φλ.)	[6]	[420]
<i>Xanthos</i>		
Hermogenes, Titus Flavius (Ἑρμογένης, Τ. Φλ.)	[6]	[412]
ATTICA		
<i>Athens</i>		
Alexander (Ἀλέξανδρος)	[4]	[96]
Maron (Μάρων)	[5]	[193]
<i>Nikaia</i>		
Aimilianos [Aemilianus] (Αἰμιλιανός)	[4]	[125]
BOIOTIA		
<i>Chaironeia</i>		
[wet nurse]	[2]	[16]
Aristylla (Ἀρίστυλλα)	[4]	[34]
Chairon (Χαίρων)	[1]	[4]

Timoxena (Τιμοξένα)	[1]	[11]
<i>Thespiai</i>		
Diogenes (Διογένης)	[4]	[49]
Peisias (Πεισίας)	[4]	[52]
EPIRUS		
<i>Nikopolis</i>		
Symmachos (Σύμμαχος)	[4]	[128]
GAUL		
<i>Burdigala</i>		
Secundus, Julius (Ίούνιος)	[4]	[129]
HISPANIA		
<i>Calagurris</i>		
Quintillian (Κοϊντιλιανός)	[5]	[258]
<i>Gades</i>		
Moderatos (Μοδεράτος)	[5]	[212]
ISLANDS		
<i>Melos</i>		
Serapodoros (Σεραπόδωρος)	[6]	[429]
ITALY		
<i>Faventia</i>		
Avidius Nigrinus I (Νιγρῖνος)	[4]	[136]
Avidius Quietus I, T. (Κύντος)	[4]	[138]
<i>Puteoli</i>		
Hermonikes, Marcus Turranius (Έρμονικης)	[6]	[413]
<i>Rome</i>		
Bassus, Saleius (Βάσσος)	[5]	[260]
Caesernius, Gaius (Γάϊος)	[4]	[143]
Domitian (Δομιτιανός)	[5]	[250]
Erponina (Έππονινα)	[4]	[145]
Maternus, Curiatius (Μάτερνος)	[5]	[261]
Messalla, Vipstanus (Μεσσαλλα)	[5]	[262]
Thraseda Paetus (Παῖτος)	[5]	[198]

Titus (Τίτος)	[5]	[249]
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PHOKIS

Delphi

Astoxenos (Ἀστόξενος)	[6]	[360]
Basilokles (Βασιλοκλῆς)	[4]	[58]
Epinikos (Ἐπίνικος)	[6]	[364]

THESSALY

Hypata

Derkios (Δέρκιος)	[5]	[222]
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UNKNOWN

Alexikrates (Ἀλεξικράτης)	[4]	[141]
[Apollonios' son]	[4]	[182]
Theodotos, Titus Flavius (Θεόδοτος, Τ. Φλ.)	[6]	[432]

Maturity and Old Age

<u>Place and Individual</u>	<u>Degree of Separation</u>	<u>Node #</u>
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AFRICA

Carthage

Sulla, Sextius (Σύλλας)	[4]	[75]
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Egypt

Archibios, Titus Flavius (Ἀρχίβιος, Τ. Φλ.)	[6]	[398]
Capitolina, Claudia (Κλαυδία Καπιτωλίνα)	[5]	[231]
Didymos (Δίδυμος)	[4]	[77]
Menelaos (Μενέλαος)	[4]	[78]
Rufus (Ροῦφος)	[6]	[428]
Theon (Θέων)	[4]	[79]

Hippo Regius

Suetonius (Σουητώνιος)	[5]	[255]
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Leptis Magna

Nestor (Νέστωρ)	[4]	[80]
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ASIA MINOR

Attaleia

Heliodoros, Marcus Ulpius (Ἡλιόδωρος, Μ. Οὐλπ.) [6] [411]

Ephesos

Artemidoros, Marcus Antoninus (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Μ. Ἀντώνιος) [6] [401]

Epiphania

Euphrates [the Stoic] (Εὐφράτης) [5] [214]

Hierapolis

Epictetos (Ἐπίκτητος) [5] [201]

Pergamon

Asklepiades (Ἀσκληπιάδης) [4] [84]

Diogenianos (Διογενιανός) [4] [85]

Diogenianos (Διογενιανός) [4] [86]

Prusa

Dio Chrysostom [Dio of Prusa] (Δίων Χρυσόστομος) [5] [202]

Prusias

Epitherses (Ἐπιθέρης) [4] [87]

Philippos (Φίλιππος) [4] [88]

Sardis

Menemachos (Μενέμαχος) [4] [89]

Tyrrhenos (Τυρρηνός) [4] [91]

Zeno (Ζήνων) [4] [92]

Seleukeia Pieria

Nikanor, Tiberius Claudius (Νικάνωρ, Τιβ. Κλ.) [6] [421]

Tarsos

Demetrios (Δημήτριος) [4] [93]

ATTICA

Athens

Aristokleia (Ἀριστόκλεια, Ἀνν.) [5] [195]

Athenaios (Ἀθήναιος) [6] [404]

Euphanes, Flavius (Εὐφάνης, Φλ.) [4] [101]

Glaukos (Γλαῦκος) [4] [105]

Milo (Μίλων) [4] [112]

Moiragenes (Μοιραγένης) [4] [113]

Moschio (Μοσχίων) [4] [114]

Satyros (Σάτυρος)	[4]	[118]
Strato, Q. Markios (Στράτων, Κύιντος Μάρκιος)	[4]	[119]

Megara

Herakleon (Ἡρακλέων)	[4]	[124]
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Nikaia

Aristainetos (Ἀρισταίνετος)	[4]	[126]
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BOIOTIA

General

Krato (Κράτων)	[2]	[13]
Olympichos (Ὀλύμπιχος)	[4]	[32]
Patrokleas (Πατροκλέας)	[2]	[14]

Chaironeia

[daughter-in-law]	[2]	[15]
Autoboulos (Αὐτόβουλος)	[1]	[3]
Hagias (Ἀγίας)	[4]	[36]
Hagias (Ἀγίας)	[4]	[37]
Kleomenes (Κλεομένης)	[4]	[38]
Nikon (Νίκων)	[6]	[319]
Plutarch (Πλούταρχος)	[1]	[7]
Sextos (Σέξτος)	[2]	[18]
Soklaros (Σώκλαρος)	[1]	[8]

Tanagra

[niece]	[2]	[19]
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