Visualizing cityscapes of Classical antiquity : from early modern reconstruction drawings to digital 3D models

Piccoli, C.

4. The ancient town of Koroneia: Geographical context, historical background and synthesis of the preliminary results by the Boeotia survey

'Now Coroneia is situated on a height near Helicon. The Boeotians took possession of it on their return from the Thessalian Arne after the Trojan War, at which time they also occupied Orchomenus. And when they got the mastery of Coroneia, they built in the plain before the city the temple of the Itonian Athena, bearing the same name as the Thessalian temple; and they called the river which flowed past it Cuarius, giving it the same name as the Thessalian river. But Alcaeus calls it Coralius, when he says, 'Athena, warrior queen, who dost keep watch o'er the cornfields of Coroneia before thy temple on the banks of the Coralius River.' Here, too, the Pan-boeotian Festival used to be celebrated. And for some mystic reason, as they say, a statue of Hades was dedicated along with that of Athena'. (Strabo, 9.2)

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the currently available data on the multi-period urban site of Koroneia in Boeotia. First, I will present the geographical and historical background of the site, then all the previous research conducted on the hill and nearby related sites, and lastly an overview of the currently available survey data and of their interpretation. This chapter is closely linked with chapter 5, which discusses the development of Graeco-Roman towns from the Archaic period to Late Antiquity, providing thus the framework for the interpretation of the survey data from Koroneia. The data and interpretations suggested in this chapter will be used to create a 3D GIS of this site, which comprises both the visualization of the raw data and the reconstruction hypotheses as will be described in more detail in chapter 6. Chapter 4 and 5 contribute therefore to the creation of an intellectual transparent 3D visualization, by thoroughly discussing both the data and the comparative material that I used for the reconstruction of the urban layout.

4.2. Koroneia: Geographical context and historical background

Koroneia (Figure 4.1) lies on a hill (ca. 277 msl) on the spurs of Mount Helicon, which is surrounded by two streams, the Phalaros/Pontza river to the west and the Kyarios/Kakaris river to the east. In antiquity Koroneia overlooked former Lake Kopaïs, drained in the 19th century AD to make space for agricultural land (Figure 4.2). The hill on which the settlement was established is situated at a strategical location on the communication axis between northern and southern Greece, and controlled the road between eastern and western Boeotia. The territory of the *polis* extended to about 95 km^2,[435] and according to Ephorus comprised the valley of Hermaion, the fortress of Metachoion situated between Koroneia and Orchomenos and the sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[436] A survey of the findings in the territory around Koroneia, including a boundary inscription (AE1671) between Koroneia and Levadeia found at the north-east foot of the Granitsa/Laphystion, has established the possible extent of Koroneia's *chora* (see Figure 4.3).[437]

[435] Fossey 1988, 322.
[436] Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70, fr. 94a in Hansen 1996, 91. For a detailed contextualization of Koroneia in its territory, see Farinetti 2009, 67-88.
[437] Farinetti 2009.

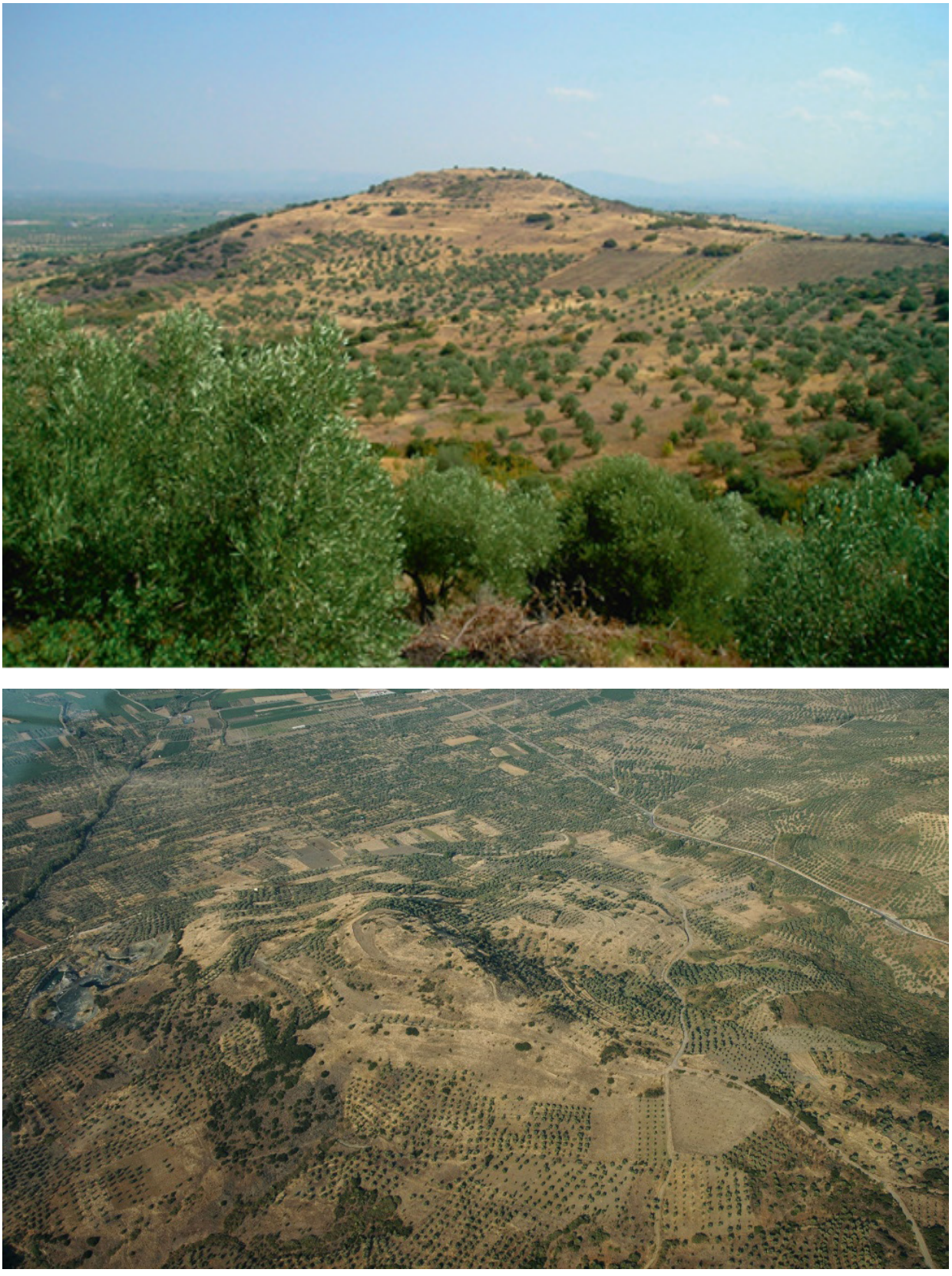

Figure 4.1 Koroneia's hill viewed from south-west (top: from Bintliff et al. *2009, 18; bottom: photo taken by D. Grosman during an exploratory flight in 2009).*

Figure 4.2 The large plain once occupied by Lake Copais, north of Koroneia's hill (picture taken by the author on Koroneia's acropolis).

The hill shows traces of occupation from Prehistory up to the 14th century AD when the site was abandoned and the nearby village of Agios Georgios was founded. There is no evidence to securely anchor Koroneia's foundation to a certain set of events, nor to identify the first settlers. Textual evidence provides us with some elements in which historical memory, legends and myths intertwine, as usual for foundation stories.[438] Strabo, while listing the names of the towns which are mentioned in Homer's Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.503), recounts the myth that the Boiotoi[439] took possession of Koroneia on their return from Arne, in Thessaly, after the Trojan War (Strabo 9.2.29). Several ancient sources agree that the Boiotoi resided in Thessaly, and especially in the land around Arne, before migrating to the area later called Boeotia.[440] Pausanias, with his usual attention for the mythical past of Greek towns, ascribed the foundation of Koroneia to Koronos, brother of Haliartos (Paus. 34.7-8). Interestingly, an inscription (IG VII 2873 = E.77.83), dated to the 1st century BC and found at the village of Solinari, bears a dedication by Heras Castricius, son or freedman of Aulus Castricius, of a temple and doors to one Koronios, who according to Frazer is indeed to be identified with the supposed founder of Koroneia.[441] If this is the case, this evidence would attest the presence of a monument dedicated to the *oikist* in the town.

[438] See the analysis of foundation stories by J. Hall (Hall 2008).

[439] Boiotoi is the tribal name of the Thessalian tribe that took later possession of Boeotia (see Buck 1979, 75).

[440] Buck 1979, 75.

[441] Frazer 1913, 173. This inscription is also a testimony of the presence of the Roman/Italian family of the Castricii, who are attested especially in the region of Thespiai; one Aulus Castricius Aulii filius is mentioned in one of the victors' lists at the Pan-Boeotian festival (*IG* 7.2871), he was a Roman/Italian resident of Boeotia and perhaps even of Koroneia (Schachter 1981, 126).

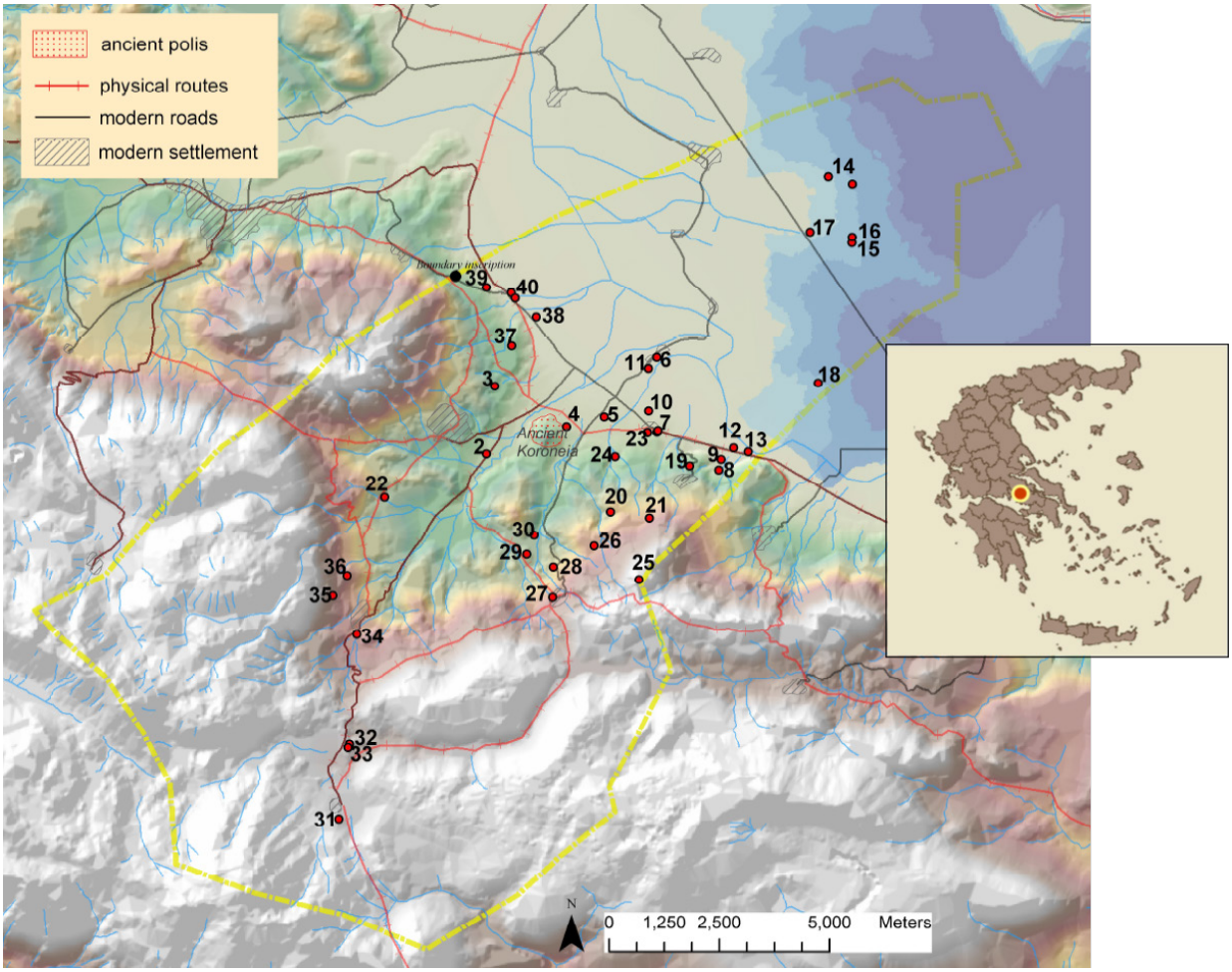

Figure 4.3 Topographical map showing the location of ancient Koroneia in respect to Greece, its territory (bordered by a yellow dashed line), and surrounding sites (modified after Farinetti 2009, Appendix I.1, 1). Sites mentioned in the text: 4) Palaia Koroneia North – Spyropoulos' excavations; 5) Thymari; 6) Mamoura/Alalkomenai; 7) Agoriani/Agia Paraskevi; 8) Alalkomenai; 21-22) Sanctuary of Herakles Charops; 22) Pontza – Agioi Taxiarchoi; 30) Butsurati.

Ancient sources mention Koroneia especially in relation to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia. In this place, the most important Pan-Boeotian festival was celebrated in honour of the goddess (Paus. 34.1) and the representatives of the Boeotian *koinon* (confederacy) met to decide on the League's affairs.[442] The importance of the cult of Athena for the Koroneians is evidenced also by the fact that the civic symbols of Koroneia, chosen to be struck on the reverse of the coins issued by the *polis*, were the bust of Athena with helmet and the apotropaic Gorgoneion that the goddess wore on her chiton. On the obverse, we find the typical eight-shaped Boeotian shield, a common mark of the *poleis* which were part of the Boeotian League.[443]

[442] Coins attest the existence of a cooperative coinage in the last quarter of the 6th century by three Boeotian poleis (Thebes, Tanagra, and Hyettos or possibly Haliartos), followed by another four (Akraiphia, Koroneia, Mykalessos, and Pharai) shortly after the first issues, and allow us to follow the evolution of the *koinon* from a power structure that operated mostly regionally during the 5th century (to sustain common expenses related to military operations, ships and temple building), to a cooperation that expanded to comprise a larger compass in the 4th century BC (including Thessaly, Elis, Khalkidiki and Arkadia). See Mackil and van Alfen 2006.

[443] The issuing of coins on the Aeginetan standard bearing these symbols was not continuous at Koroneia, but confined to the following periods: 500-480; during the years ca. 456-46; between the King's Peace in 387 (or earlier) and the Peace of Sparta in

The earliest source on the Itonion is the 7th century BC poet Alcaeus who mentions the location of Athena's temple and her altar 'by the banks of the river Korialios' (fr. 147), testifying to the existence of this cult already in the Archaic period. According to Strabo the sanctuary was built in the plain in front of the city shortly after the Boiotoi from Arne took possession of Koroneia. With the aim to recreate a familiar topography, the new settlers dedicated the temple to Athena Itonia, the goddess to which a sanctuary was dedicated at Arne, and gave the same name of the river in Thessaly to the river flowing alongside the temple (Strabo 9.2.29).[444] As will be discussed in more detail below in a dedicated section, several possible candidates have been suggested, but the location of this sanctuary has not been yet identified with certainty.

A further proof of the strategic importance of Koroneia is the fact that two battles of the Greek city-state wars were fought in the plain to the north of the *polis*, in 447 and in 394 BC, both bringing important consequences for the power balance in Greece. The first battle, fought between the Athenians led by the general Tolmides and the Boeotian forces during the First Peloponnesian War, concluded with the defeat of the Athenians, who left Boeotia and made peace to have their prisoners released (Thuc. 1.113.2-4; Diod. 12.6). The end of the Athenian control in Boeotia boosted Thebes' hegemonic control of the Boeotian *koinon*. The battle of 394 BC was fought during the Corinthian War and saw as main opponents the Thebans and their allies confronting and losing against the Spartans and their allies under King Agesilaus II. The battle was bloody, with many fallen on both sides, as the eye-witness Xenophon recounts (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.16-21), and a number of soldiers of the Theban forces sought refuge in the sanctuary of Athena, which was near the battlefield according to Xenophon (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.20).[445]

The fact that Koroneia was positioned near the route that connected southern and northern Greece made this site an appealing conquest for enemies, such as the Phokian general Onomarchos, who succeeded in taking control of Koroneia (together with Orchomenos and Chorsiai) during the Third Sacred War against Thebes (356-346 BC). Diodorus Siculus describes the three cities held by the Phokians as 'strongly fortified' at the moment of their conquest and as the starting point for their pillaging of the Boeotian territory (Diod. 16.58.1). The Phokian stronghold that was established on Koroneia's acropolis did not last long as Philip of Macedon reconquered the city and handed it over to Thebes in 346 BC. It is in relation to this episode that a destruction and subsequent rebuilding of some parts of the *polis* might have occurred. The Thebans in fact punished the town with an *andrapodismos* (Dem. 5.22; 6.13; 19.112, 325), a form of heavy punishment that entails the enslavement of the inhabitants and often the partial destruction of the urban centre.[446] The town, however, must have been resettled quite quickly since a Koroneian citizen is indicated as one of the Boeotian *tamiai* (treasurers) in Delphi in 337/6 (*CID* II 74.50).[447]

After this episode, we find Koroneia mentioned again in Roman sources as one of the Boeotian cities that strongly opposed the Romans. According to Livy, the murder of the anti-Roman Boeotian politician Brachyllas, committed in 196 BC by Zeuxippus and other supporters of the Roman party (with the likely involvement of the Roman commander Flamininus) had been the initial trigger for the tensions and retaliations between Romans and Boeotians (Livy 33.29.1). Livy refers to many murders of Roman soldiers perpetrated by the Boeotians in the Kopaic swamps and to other crimes that had been committed especially at Akraephia and Koroneia (Livy 33.29.6).

374 BC; after 338 BC when the battle of Chaeronea signed the defeat of Thebes and a consequent greater poleis autonomy; and in the early Hellenistic period when Demetrios Poliorketes was in control of Boeotia (Hansen 1996, 91; Lagos 2001, 5-6).

444 On Athena Itonia in Thessaly, see Graninger 2011, 43-86.

445 For an account of the battle and a discussion on its possible topographical location, see Buckler and Beck 2008, 59-70.

446 Hansen 2000, 150.

447 Hansen 1996, 91.

In a following episode, the situation was exacerbated in 191 BC when Livy recounts that Roman soldiers encountered a statue of King Antiochus erected in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia, which stirred the resentment of the soldiers who were then granted permission (however short-lasting) to plunder the land around the sanctuary (Livy 36.20.2-4). Some twenty years later, in 172/171 BC, the Koroneians were punished by the Romans who sacked their town, as they had sided with Perseus of Macedon against the Romans, together with Haliartos and Thisbe, during the Third Macedonian War (172-168 BC). Following the events of 172/1 BC, the Romans dismantled the Boeotian confederacy, which accordingly marked the disappearance of federal magistrates, such as the Boeotarchs, and of the federal assembly.[448] A fragment of a *Senatus Consultum* on Koroneia,[449] inscribed on a broken white marble stele and kept at the Thebes museum, resembles the surviving *Senatus Consultum Thisbaeum* dated to 170 BC, listing the decisions of the Roman senate regarding Thisbe and mentioning Koroneia as having been treated in a similar way.[450] At Thisbe, the decisions include that Thisbe's *chora*, which had become ager public after the city surrended, was to be returned to the *polis*; that exclusively the members of the pro-Roman party were granted the right to cover magistracies for the next ten years; that the pro-Roman party was given permission to refortify the acropolis and live there; that the decision whether the anti-Roman party had to be held in detention was left to the praetor Q. Maenius.[451] From the surviving remains of the inscription regarding Koroneia, Sherk deduces that the pro-Roman citizens had been forced to leave and all their properties had been confiscated while the city was held by the pro-Macedonian party. The exiled pro-Roman supporters must have sent an embassy to Rome after the Roman victory, thus obtaining this decree. The fragmentary remains bear the Senate's decisions that all of the possessions of the members of the pro-Roman party had to be returned to them and seem to establish the right of the pro-Roman supporters to fortify the acropolis and settle there.[452] From these documents, we can therefore suppose that at Koroneia, similarly to Thisbe, the Romans aimed to protect their supporters and leave the town in their control.

A glimpse of the cultural life of the town a couple of decades after the resettling is offered by a mid-2nd century BC *proxeny* decree in honour of the composer of tragedies and plays Zotion, son of Zotion of Ephesos, which attests two visits that this travelling artist paid to Koroneia.[453] The poet is said to have 'presented recitals of his poetical works, and in commemorating our *polis* and Athena who more than others has ruled the *polis* from its beginning, he has had popular success'.[454] For this reason, he was honoured with 70 drachmas in silver, the concession of the *proxenia* (a formal status of friendship between a non-citizen and the *polis*) to him and his descendants, and a crown of olive. The inscription concludes with the order to the *polemarchs* to inscribe the decree 'in the most prominent place' (*epiphanestatos topos*) of the town. As there is no provision to supply a new stele, but only to inscribe the content of the decree, an existing monument must have been used conforming to the standard procedure. However, since this text was the only one on the stone and the space below was not inscribed, Schachter and Slater suggest that a recently erected monument must have been chosen, perhaps related with the above mentioned fortifications that the Romans allowed on the acropolis in 170 BC.[455] It must be noted, however, that the formula '*epiphanestatos topos*' that is used in this decree and is common in honorific inscriptions, is problematic for the identification of the 'most visible place' in a town. It may indicate

[448] The Boeotian confederacy will be restored again under the Romans, but the exact date is still disputed. Recent reinterpretation of the available evidence situates the foundation of a new *koinon* towards the end of the 1st century BC, see Müller 2014.

[449] The transcription and comment can be found in Maier 1959, 130-1 and Sherk 1969, 32.

[450] I have cited these documents also in chapter 5, p. 219.

[451] See Sherk 1969, 30-1.

[452] Maier 1959, 128-9 and Sherk 1969, 32-3.

[453] Further reference to this phenomenon is given in chapter 5, p. 211.

[454] The inscription, found by Pappadakis at the monastery of Agioi Taxiarches (Pontza) and published by him in 1927, has been re-examined and discussed in Schachter and Slater 2007.

[455] Schachter and Slater 2007, 87.

in fact a variety of locations,[456] including a spot on the agora (as the grave of Dionysos of Miletus in the agora of Ephesos),[457] or within a sanctuary. Therefore, the building onto which this inscription was engraved could have been, for example, also a (newly erected) monument in the market place of Koroneia.

The relationship between Koroneia and the Romans improved during the Imperial period. A number of inscribed letters from the emperors to the city testifies in fact to their euergetism in financing the construction of an aqueduct under Hadrian and works to channel the rivers flowing into Lake Kopaïs that were flooding agricultural land, as well as intervening in a boundary dispute with neighbouring Thisbe and in a conflict with Orchomenos.[458] Transcripts of these letters were inscribed on the wall of some major buildings during the second half of the 2nd century AD, the *terminus post quem* being given by the latest inscription, dated to 161 AD.[459] The blocks with inscriptions were reused in modern times to construct the church of Agioi Taxiarkoi at Pontza, north of the modern village of Agios Georgios, where they were discovered in the late 1910s by Pappadakis, but published only in the early 1980s by Fossey.[460]

Among the literary sources that give us a glimpse of ancient Koroneia during the Roman period is the testimony of the Greek traveller Pausanias. Coming from Asia Minor, he recorded in his book *Periegesis Hellados* (Description of Greece) what he deemed 'most worth remembering' (Paus. 3.11.1) of the cities he visited during his journey through mainland Greece in the mid-2nd century AD. While this book has not received much attention in antiquity,[461] it has had a great influence in modern times. It has been in fact extensively used as a topographical account by antiquarian travellers, and it has continued to be used as a proxy to interpret archaeological remains, often guiding the selection of the archaeological remains to be uncovered and presented to the public.[462] Scholars' opinions about the reliability of Pausanias' observations vary, many having focussed more on his limitations than on his merits and questioning his criteria of selection of the elements he chose to write about. Recent studies, however, have analysed Pausanias' work as a description of a cultural (more than an actual) landscape, highlighting its value as a constructed vision mediated by the author.[463] In this view, Pausanias aimed to reconnect the currently Roman ruled Greece with its now perceived distant past, by choosing to remember those elements that were related with religious practises, especially those pre-dating the Roman present, and focusing on the moments in Greek history when the Greeks were united and fought for their freedom, thus emphasizing a sense of Greek identity.[464] As Stewart phrased it, Pausanias' work is therefore 'less a guidebook to Greece than it is a guidebook to Greekness'.[465]

In his description of Koroneia, not surprisingly, Pausanias focuses on religious monuments and rituals. He in fact describes 'two remarkable things' that he had seen in the agora: an altar dedicated to Hermes Epimelius (the keeper of flocks) and an altar of the Winds. The reason why Pausanias considered these two structures remarkable and worth mentioning is not explained. In line with Pausanias' aims that I briefly discussed above, one hypothesis could be that these elements were selected as their appearance made them stand out from other altars that he had previously seen or because they represented important

[456] See e.g. Ma 2013, esp. 68-9.
[457] This passage is mentioned in chapter 5, p. 179.
[458] Fossey, 1981-2; Fossey, 1979.
[459] Fossey 1981-2; Fossey 1990, 239-40.
[460] Fossey 1981-82.
[461] The earliest evidence that the book was read is in fact dated 350 years after Pausanias' death, when Stephanus of Byzantium used it to include the name of Greek cities and their ethnics for his geographical dictionary *Ethnika* (Habicht 1998, 1).
[462] Pretzler 2007, 139-40; for a critique on Pausanias' use, see Alcock 1995.
[463] Habicht 1998 (1985); Veyne 1988; Stewart 2013.
[464] Stewart 2013.
[465] Stewart 2013, 245.

elements for the life of the town. In this regard, it might be worth adding that while surveying the hill, we noticed the difference that a northern breeze made to the perceived temperature especially in the hot summer months. It is therefore possible that winds were particularly important for the wellbeing of the town population in antiquity to such an extent to justify the construction of an altar to propitiate them.

Besides the altars on the agora, Pausanias mentions also a sanctuary of Hera which he vaguely located 'a little lower down' (Paus. 9.34.3). It is not clear therefore whether he implied that the sanctuary was located on the lower terrace of the agora, or further downslope. The cult of Hera must long predate Pausanias' visit as he reports that within the sanctuary there was an ancient image, the work of Pythodorus of Thebes, in which the goddess carried Sirens in her hands. According to Pausanias this presence recalls the singing contest that Hera had initiated between the Sirens and the Muses. The association with sirens is related to the chthonic aspect of the cult of Hera, which could hint at a peripheral location of her sanctuary close to the boundary of the (Archaic) city. The archaeological investigations conducted so far have not yielded evidence pointing towards the secure identification of any of the monuments mentioned by Pausanias.

Historical sources do not give us much information about the city in Late Antiquity, but they record that a bishopric was established at Koroneia in the 5th century AD. The first attested bishop of Koroneia, Agathocles, is in fact listed as one of the participants in the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesos in 431,[466] while Aphobios of Koroneia was one of the signatories of the letter to Emperor Leo in 458, together with other bishops who participated in the Council of Corinth, and was also present at a bishops' council in Constantinople in 459.[467]

In the middle of the 6th century AD, the life of the city may have come to an abrupt end, as Procopius informs us that Koroneia and other cities were destroyed by a number of exceptionally strong earthquakes, which hit Greece in 551 AD.[468] While it is possible that a small community inhabited Koroneia in the Early Byzantine period, the next evidence of habitation on the hill is represented by a halo of Middle and Late Byzantine pottery finds below the remains of the Frankish tower located on a small eminence on its north-eastern side (Figure 4.4).[469] These findings identify the presence of a small village, with the tower aiming at controlling the resident peasants, similarly to the other Frankish towers in Central Greece.[470]

Koroneia is mentioned again as a bishopric in later sources, specifically in the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*, a series of documents shedding light on the Eastern Church's hierarchy. In the list contained in *Notitia* 3 (ca. 754 AD), Koroneia's bishopric appears at the 23rd place as subordinate to the metropolitan of Athens. *Notitiae* 7, 9, 10 and 13 also mentions a bishopric at Koroneia, which was under the jurisdiction of the Athenian metropolis.[471] Kountoura-Galaki, however, warns about the reliability of the list contained in the *Notitiae* 3. The bishoprics seem in fact too many – 39 in total under the metropolitan of

[466] Kardaras 2011.

[467] Kardaras 2011.

[468] 'It was at this time that extraordinary earthquakes occurred throughout Greece, both Boeotia and Achaea and the country on the Crisaean Gulf being badly shaken. And countless towns and eight cities were levelled to the ground, among which were Chaeronea and Coronea and Patrae and all of Naupactus, where there was also great loss of life' (Proc., *Bell. Goth.* VIII, 25.17, English translation by H.B. Dewing).

[469] Bintliff *et al.* 2013, 15. The tower is described in Lock 1986, 117.

[470] Lock argued in fact that the towers in Central Greece were located for one reason on the sites of prehistoric or classical settlements, i.e. for the convenience offered by the accessibility to water sources and building materials, and did not have a regional strategic purpose as they were not visually connected with each other, contrary to the Venetian towers on Euboea (see Lock 1986, 102-3).

[471] Kardaras 2011.

Figure 4.4 The Frankish tower on the small eminence north-east of Koroneia's hill (picture taken by the author from the lower northern slope of the hill looking south-east).

Athens, while other evidence suggests that under Michail Choniatis (1182-1204) the metropolis had 10 bishoprics, and the whole of Greece would have had about 25.[472] The numerous spelling mistakes that were made in writing down the name of the Greek bishoprics (e.g. Koroneia was written as 'Κοπονίας', clearly confusing the Greek 'ρ' (rho) for a Latin 'p') suggests that the copyist, who did not possess much knowledge of the region, possibly relied on some Latin catalogue listing the existing Greek cities with (badly translated) Latin names. Given the small community living on the hill, it seems very unlikely that a bishop resided on Koroneia's hill after the 6th century. The title of bishop of Koroneia was however maintained, but his residence was at Granitsa, on the mountain west of Koroneia, as we learn from the accounts of 17th and 18th century travellers.[473]

In modern times, agricultural and construction works have greatly modified the hill and disturbed the archaeological remains. Moreover, worked blocks lying on the hill have been in large parts removed and must have been re-used as readily available material in modern buildings in nearby villages. The ancient remains seen by 19th century antiquarians, such as William Gell and William Martin Leake, on Koroneia's hill were in fact much more abundant than what we have recorded during the several campaigns of the project, as we can gather from the accounts of their journeys. Coming from Kalamachi to the west, where near the mills he supposed to have recognised the stadium of the pan-Boeotian festival in a large hollow, Gell reports for example the existence of two towers, one to his right and one to his left when reaching Koroneia's hill. On the north-east of the hill and above the left tower, he observed the existence of a hollow, perhaps, he says, the site of the theatre.[474] This gives us the

[472] Kountoura-Galaki 1996, 35-73, esp. 66.
[473] Wheler and Spon 1689, 7; Leake 1835, 133.
[474] Gell 1819, 150.

indication that besides the Frankish tower, which is nowadays still standing as already mentioned, there was another standing tower on the western side of the hill. Moreover, Gell recounts that he saw 'many marbles and inscriptions' where the supposed theatre lies,[475] a further signal of the numerous archaeological traces that have been removed from the hill.

Also the existence of churches on the hill, now completely lost, is attested to both by Gell, who mentions one ruined chapel near a fountain on the north-east side of the hill where there were also sepulchral inscriptions,[476] and by Leake, who adds another two on the south-east of the hill to the one already mentioned by Gell.[477] According to Leake, these three ruined churches were constructed using ancient blocks. At this stage, there is no evidence to suggest a precise and secure location (but see below in the discussion of the survey results for some possible candidates), and a date for the construction of these churches. Available data from Boeotia and other regions of Greece show that churches were very sparse and erected in and around major centres during the Early Byzantine period, and only a few are attested for the early Middle Byzantine era, while during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries (the last marking the beginning of the Frankish occupation in Greece) a peak in church architecture is evidenced.[478] The three churches at Koroneia are therefore likely to have been erected during the late Middle Byzantine or Frankish period, and in fact, it is reasonable to conclude that the church that Leake said to have seen below the Frankish tower belonged to the above mentioned nearby Byzantine village. Besides offering further evidence for what was still standing at Koroneia, these accounts testify also to the large amount of architectural elements that have been removed from the hill and dispersed in nearby villages to be reused in other buildings or for the construction of infrastructures.

Nowadays, the name of Koroneia designates a village which is situated some kilometres south from the hill on the northern foot of Helikon mountain. Modern Koroneia was called Koutoumoulas before 1915 when its toponym was changed in the process of Hellenization started soon after the Greek independence. The original name recalls its origin as an Albanian-Arvanitic settlement established around 1400 AD, which had therefore no connection with ancient Koroneia; it is likely that the descendants of ancient Koroneia fled instead to the village of Agios Georgios, which indeed results as one of the few Greek villages in the first Ottoman tax register.[479] The hill where ancient Koroneia used to lie is known in the nearby villages by the name of *Pyrgos* (tower) or *Loutrò* (bath). While the former toponym is easily explained by the presence of the Frankish tower, the latter has been related with the belief of the inhabitants that the remains of the vaulted building on the acropolis belonged to a bathhouse.[480] The surveying of this structure by the Boeotia survey team has disproved the identification with a bathhouse, pointing instead towards an elite mansion (see below). The origin of this toponym might also keep the memory of the presence of water on the hill that was brought from the nearby Butsurati ridge by an aqueduct financed by the Emperor Hadrian (see below, pp. 99-101).

4.3 Previous research at Koroneia

The several inscriptions found around Koroneia soon caught the attention of scholars. In 1916 Nikolaos Pappadakis brought to public attention the numerous manumission decrees that attest to the cult of Herakles Charops at Koroneia and suggested a possible location for its sanctuary in the vicinity of

[475] Gell 1819, 150.
[476] Gell 1819, 151.
[477] Leake 1835, 134: 'There are several sources of water on the same side of the hill [i.e. south-east], many pieces of ancient squared stones in two ruined churches, and a third church, just below a ruined tower of lower Greek or Frank construction (...)'.
[478] Bintliff 2012, 391.
[479] Bintliff 2011.
[480] Bintliff 2011.

hot springs at Granitsa, north-west of Koroneia's hill.[481] The excavations carried out in the 1970s by Theodoros Spyropoulos at the supposed Itonion in the plain north of the hill were preceded by other small scale investigations that were made in several locations on the hill itself and on nearby sites in the late 1910s and early 1920s. These *sondages* aimed to investigate what kind of archaeological remains lay underneath the ground, targeting especially Classical and Roman traces and have been briefly or not published at all, thus leaving us with little documentation about what kind of artefacts have been brought to light, their exact findspot and what have been taken away from the hill. Certainly, a thorough investigation at the Thebes museum's and nearby local museums' storerooms will rediscover pieces coming from these excavations.[482]

In the late 1910s and early 1920s Pappadakis carried out some excavations on the acropolis and in nearby sites.[483] The earliest one was conducted in 1917-1919 at the ruins of the monastery of Taxiarchoi by one of the sources of the Pontsa/Phalaros river, where he found Byzantine sgraffito wares, Byzantine and Frankish coins, and *spolia* from the ancient town of Koroneia and its *necropoleis*.[484] The report notifies also the discovery of many inscriptions, mostly funerary, but also honorific (Pappadakis mentions in particular some dedicated to Tyche, Silla, Lollianus and Valerianus), among which was also the one recording the resolution in favour of the already mentioned 2nd century BC tragic writer from Ephesos. During these excavations, the five Imperial inscriptions that will be later published by Fossey under the name of Koroneia's city archive were also found. In his report, Pappadakis singled out the inscription on the hydraulic works that were undertaken in the Kopais' region under Hadrian.[485]

In the early 1920s Pappadakis started excavations on Koroneia's hill itself. According to the report in *BCH* 47, a structure was unearthed on the eastern slope, about two-third from the top, in a place where some columns emerged from the ground. Initially thought as being a temple, the construction was then identified as a Christian church made of reused material; Christian tombs were found in its proximity, to the south.[486] Nearby, on a higher spot that according to the report was frequently exploited by the inhabitants of Agios Georgios, Pappadakis claimed to have found the Roman agora: he could follow a 10 m long foundation, possibly a *stoa*, where he found several Roman architectural pieces and three honorific inscriptions, dedicated to Arcadius, Valentinianus (engraved on a reused inscription originally dedicated to Hadrian) and Carus respectively. In a structure identified as a possible cistern (its location is not given in the report, but the structure of the text leads us to suppose that it was possibly on or nearby the identified Roman agora), Pappadakis found moreover a larger than life marble statue missing the head, which for its characteristics and style was interpreted as being of Hadrian. Other finds listed by the report include a relief (of which the find spot is not specified) depicting on one side a person dressed in the *himation* and on the other side a horse, and some bases and funerary stones with engraved names of Koroneians that were found at Agios Athanasios, which were donated to the Museum of the Church of Agia Triada in the village of Agios Georgios. It is possible that the remains of some (late) Roman buildings on the southern-eastern edge of the acropolis that were built using *spolia* (dubbed the 'Scruffy houses' by the team for an easy identification) were uncovered during these campaigns, but one cannot exclude the possibility that they were part of more recent excavations. Unfortunately, I did not find any publication where they are mentioned.

[481] Pappadakis 1916, 256-60.

[482] A work of inventarization and publication of inscriptions at Boeotian museums has been initiated by the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Boeotia and the Greek Epigraphical Society, which has already brought to light much forgotten material, see e.g. Kalliontzis 2014.

[483] These excavations have been briefly published in Pappadakis 1919, 34, in a report in *BCH* 47 (1923), 521-2, and are mentioned also in Woodward 1924, 275.

[484] Pappadakis 1919, 34.

[485] Pappadakis 1919, 34.

[486] BCH 47 (1923), 521-2.

In Pappadakis' excavation reports no plans were published, which makes it difficult to locate precisely the remains he mentions and to relate his findings with subsequent investigations and with the Boeotia survey's data which will be discussed below. The earliest map of the hill and of the location of some structures can be found in Maier (see Figure 4.5).[487] Maier indicates A and B as stretches of a polygonal wall made of well adjoining local limestone blocks with rounded edges. As will be discussed below, both A and B have been recorded during the Boeotia survey as acropolis fortifications and are currently still *in situ*. In Maier's plan, C identifies another stretch of wall, this time made of limestone blocks barely worked, that Maier assigns to either the city wall circuit or a retaining wall and that he tentatively relates to a 'piece of town-wall' that was observed by the Scottish anthropologist James George Frazer;[488] there are a few lines of in situ blocks on the eastern side that can correspond to Maier's feature C and that have been recorded during the Boeotia survey (e.g. record 2010_7). Letter D is assigned to the Frankish tower, from which the inscription *IG* VII 2877 with a fragmentary dedication was found. On the plateau east of the acropolis, Maier observed a foundation (E), a column drum provided with well-made channelling and a smooth marble column, which he tentatively related with what the German philologist Ludwig Ross indicated as the possible ruins of a small Doric temple.[489] Structure E in Maier's plan could correspond to the above mentioned Christian church excavated by Pappadakis in the early 1920s.[490]

Moving to the acropolis, the central part was occupied, according to Maier's account, by two at his time already unrecognizable large structures (elements G and H in his map, Figure 4.5). G is briefly described as bearing traces of 'Gußwerk', which indicates a Roman construction technique that make use of concrete, while H is said to have been made of un-mortared limestone. Cultivated fields on the northern and western side of the acropolis have disturbed the archaeological remains, making it difficult to relate the structures observed by Maier and previous travellers with the Boeotia survey's findings. G is in fact nowadays lost, but from Fossey we can gather some further information about the appearance of the structure, which he described as a large square enclosure of which only the lines could be recognized, and having the same orientation as H.[491] The location of H seems to roughly correspond to the collapsed vaulted building that has been surveyed by the Boeotia team (see below), although it must be noted that the characteristics of the building technique do not match Maier's description. Fossey adds further elements that increase our knowledge of the nowadays heavily modified acropolis' appearance in ancient times. He reports in fact that during recent, unpublished excavations extensive remains of Roman buildings were found *in between* the two structures identified by Meier. These remains, of which nothing has survived, were in well-constructed, mortared work, included some reused column blocks and had at least one tessellated floor.[492]

Other sketches of Koroneia and surroundings were drawn by the German topographer Lauffer during his travels around the Kopaic basin which started in 1938 and were published at the end of the 1980s (see Figure 4.6).[493] Lauffer recognized several traces of a Roman aqueduct that reached the town from the south from the ridge of the Megalo and Mikro Butsurati, south of Koroneia's hill. The aqueduct was composed of a ca. 40 cm width channel surrounded on both sides by large stones, resulting in a 1-1.30 m width infrastructure, and exploited the steady gradient offered by the height difference between the top of the Megalo Butsurati (ca. 400 m) and Koroneia's hill (ca. 277 m).[494] The end point of the

[487] Maier 1959, 129.
[488] Frazer 1913, 170.
[489] Ross 1851, 32.
[490] This correspondence is made also by Fossey 1990, 238.
[491] Fossey 1990, 237.
[492] Fossey 1990, 237.
[493] Lauffer 1986, 76-82.
[494] Lauffer 1986, 79.

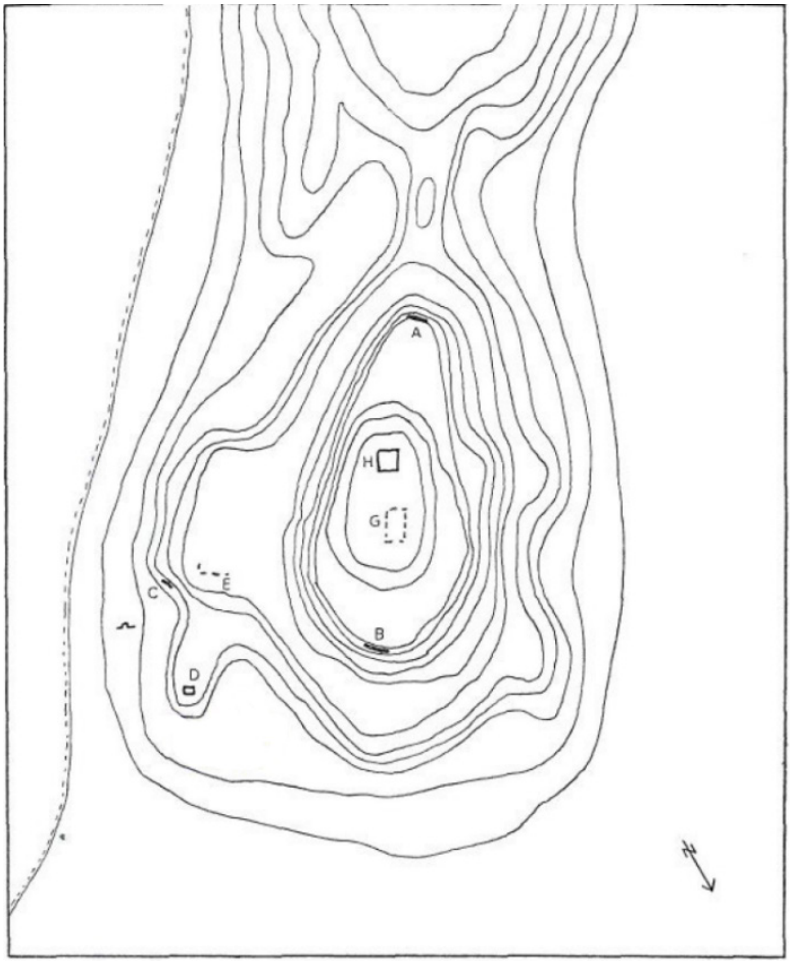

Figure 4.5 Map of Koroneia's hill as published in Maier 1959, 129.

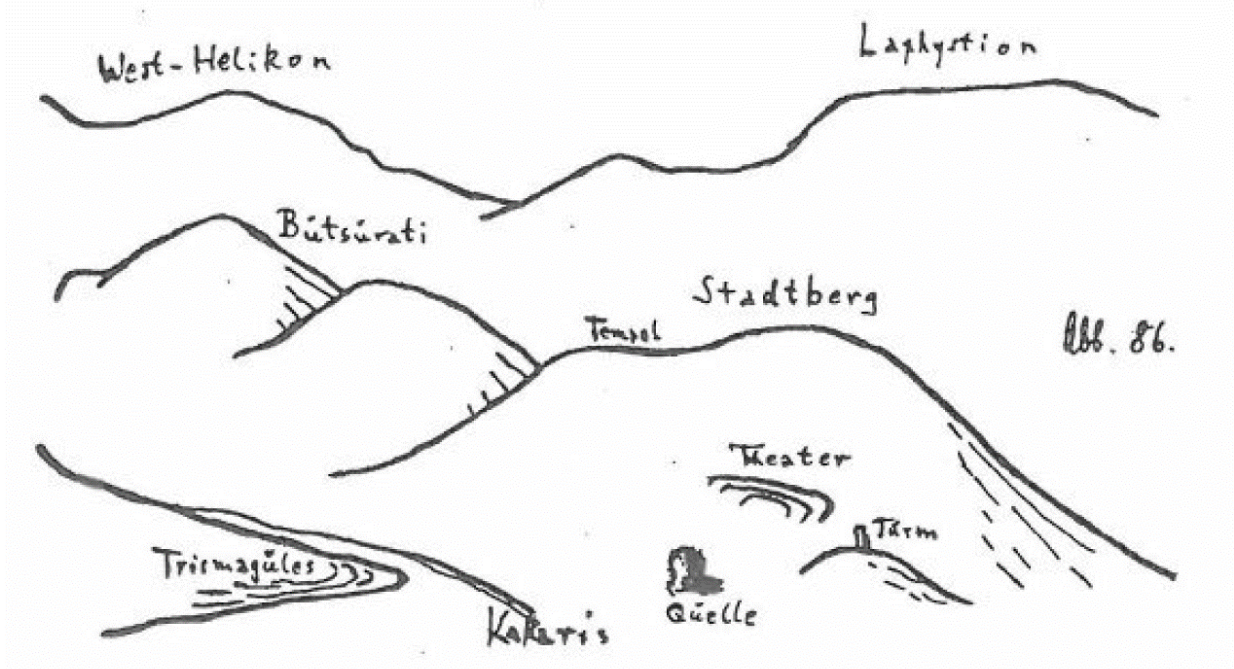

Figure 4.6 Sketch of Koroneia's hill and surrounding by Lauffer (1986, Figure 86, p. 77). Note the drawing of the theatre, the Frankish tower, a spring at the eastern foot of the hill and a temple on a lower terrace from the acropolis.

aqueduct was according to Lauffer the large cistern that Pappadakis discovered on the hill and that contained the larger than life marble statue of Hadrian. All these elements seem therefore to point to the identification of the structure with the aqueduct financed by Hadrian for the town. Furthermore, Lauffer spotted only one water source, a weak spring at the foot of the north-eastern slope, about 150 m south-east from the Frankish tower. Lauffer reported also that many illegal excavations took place on the eastern slope of the hill, resulting in many column pieces, capitals, bases and stelai being exposed and broken. The majority of the diggings, Lauffer recounts, were located between the theatre and the large temple, which he indicates on his sketch as being located on a lower terrace from the acropolis.[495] Unfortunately there is no further description of the temple in the text, which makes it difficult to shed light on Lauffer's identification and on its location, but it is possible that this supposed temple corresponds to Maier's foundation E.

4.3.1 Attested cults during the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times

As already mentioned, Pausanias records the presence of a sanctuary of Hera and of altars dedicated to Hermes Epimelios and the Winds, none of which have been identified by archaeological investigations. Inscriptions attest the presence of other female cults, such as Demeter Thesmophoros and Arthemis Orthosia during the (Late) Classical – Hellenistic period. Specifically, the inscription *IG* 7.2876 dated to the 4th or 3rd century BC informs us of the repair made by Athanodora, the former priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros, to a *prothyron* (an entrance vestibule) and of her dedication of an *amphithyron* (literally 'having doors on both sides'). Priests and priestesses often funded public buildings, especially in relation to the sanctuaries where they served, and wanted to be commemorated by dedicatory inscriptions remembering their works affixed on public buildings.[496] As Schachter already pointed out, this inscription hints at the existence of a temple dedicated to the goddess and of the celebration of the Thesmophoria at Koroneia.[497] Based on comparisons with other sites where Demeter's sanctuary has been excavated and given the ritual connected with the religious festival of the Thesmophoria, we can suggest a location which was distant and secluded from the town centre. At present, however, there is no archaeological evidence from Koroneia that can tie Demeter's temple to a specific location, and that can therefore justify any speculation.

To Arthemis Orthosia was dedicated a statue of the former priestess Periklia by her father, as inscribed in the inscription E.77.06, dated to the 3rd century BC. Studies on the location of priestly statues during the Hellenistic and Roman times show that generally statues of priestesses were set up within or close to sanctuaries (not inside the temple itself, but close to its entrance or to the entrance of the sanctuary) and not in *agorai*.[498] We can suppose that the statue of Periklia stood therefore in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Artemis, but similarly to Demeter's sanctuary, there is no evidence for the location of the cult of Artemis at Koroneia. As will be discussed in chapter 5, Artemis being the goddess of wilderness and protector of young girls, her sanctuaries were located on boundary zones, either on the border between different *chorai*, or at the edge of the city near the gates.[499] For the relation of female cults and rituals with water, as discussed in chapter 5, we could suggest a place near to a river, and removed from the town's centre.

Oriental cults are also attested at Koroneia, such as Egyptian gods and Sabazios. Egyptian gods were worshipped in the whole Boeotia region from the second half of the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD and were part of the official cults of the *poleis*. Despite the majority of the evidence

[495] Lauffer 1986, 82.
[496] Meier 2013.
[497] Schachter 1981, 155.
[498] Mylonopoulos 2013, 141-2.
[499] See chapter 5, p. 159.

Figure 4.7 Stele found at Koroneia depicting a ritual connected to the worship of Sabazios (Bonanno 2008).

being manumission decrees, these cults were popular among the Boeotian elites, especially during the Empire.[500] Koroneia has yielded so far two documents attesting the presence of Egyptian cults. A manumission decree dated to the 2nd century BC, which records the consecration by a man and a woman of a slave to Serapis, [Isis and Anubis] (*IG* VII 2872),[501] and an Imperial period inscription that was found by Pappadakis at the church of Taxiarchai at Pontza in the 1920s and recently re-discovered in Thebes' museum. The inscription was carved on a large block of grey limestone and seems to have been joined to another stone, thus giving the impression that it was originally used in a wall.[502] This inscription not only sheds light on the existence of the cult of the Egyptian gods at Koroneia in Roman times, but contains also important information about the topography and life of the town. The complete text is not given, but it is only summarized by the editors: it recorded the transaction of a large property and slaves (10 male slaves and 12 female slaves, whose names are recorded), numerous animals (including oxen, mules, mares, pigs, and sheep), a fully equipped house, and numerous house plots on the acropolis, and in other parts of the town.[503] The content of the inscription at the time of its original discovery was announced in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* as 'dealing with the sale of a large estate to a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods',[504] but the editors hint that there could be other possible scenarios.

The cult to Sabazios, originally a Thracian-Phrygian god of vegetation whose mystery rituals involved a snake, is attested by the dedication on a stele made of local stone by one Charmokratis. On the stele, a male figure was carved, dressed with the *chiton* and *himation* and bearing on his right hand a *phiale*, towards which a snake reaches out (Figure 4.7). This inscription is the only evidence of the cult of Sabazios in Boeotia, and the only representation in the whole Greece of the deity, of which only 5 documents have been found.[505]

Another god worshipped by the Koroneians was Heracles Charops, whose cult is mentioned in Pausanias (Paus. 9.34.5) and attested by numerous manumission decrees dated from the second half of the 3rd to the second quarter of 2nd century BC and found in Koroneia's territory. A number of these decrees were inscribed on two stone door posts, testifying to the presence of a building connected to the cult, possibly the temple of Heracles.[506] Two possible locations have been suggested for the sanctuary, which supposedly included a cave: one at the ruined monastery of Agioi Taxiarchoi and the other one near the hot springs at Granitsa, to the north-west of Koroneia's hill. According to Schachter, the second location seems more likely for its vicinity with Orchomenos that is connected with Herakles according

[500] For a discussion on the presence of Egyptian cults in Boeotia, see Schachter 2007; Bonanno 2008.
[501] Schachter 2007, 372. These finds from Koroneia are discussed also in Bömer 1960, 57-8; 65-7.
[502] Kalliontzis and Papazarkadas 2014, 551.
[503] Kalliontzis and Papazarkadas, 2014, 551.
[504] Wace 1921, 272.
[505] Bonanno 2008, 242-3.
[506] Schachter 1986, 7-8.

to the myth.[507] Another possible dedication to Herakles is attested by inscription *IG* VII 2874, found at the near village of Agios Georgios and undated, where one Melantichos is said to have dedicated a temple, a *stoa* and 'all the other things' to the *polis* and Herakles, to which 'Palaimon' is added, which can be interpreted either as an epithet of Herakles or as an independent name.[508] The location of the temple and the *stoa* is not known. Schachter suggests two possible locations, either the *stoa* that Pappadakis identified in what he interpreted as the Roman agora on the slope of Koroneia's hill, or at Pontza where the local *ephoreia* excavated a Roman *stoa*.[509]

The temple of Athena Itonia

Together with the two battles that were fought in its proximity, the sanctuary of Athena Itonia is one of the main reasons why Koroneia is mentioned in ancient sources.[510] From written texts and inscriptions we can gather the importance of this place in which the representatives of the Boeotian *poleis* met to decide on matters that were relevant for the League, where the federal decrees were exposed and where a festival in honour of Athena was celebrated. Evidence points to the existence of the cult since the 7th or 6th century BC. Depictions on 6th century BC vases (provided that the attribution to the cult at the Itonion is correct), and ancient texts (e.g. Pindar) testify in fact to the existence of sacrificial processions and agonistic performances connected to the cult at the Itonion.[511] In this period, however, there is no clear indication of a pan-Boeotian character yet, which seems to become instead more defined by the end of the 4th or early 3rd century. From Livy (36.20.2-4) we know that the territory around the sanctuary was pillaged in 191 BC by the Roman army led by the consul Acilius Glabrio, who interpreted as a sign of ingratitude towards the Romans the statue of the Roman enemy King Antiochus that had been erected by the Boeotians in the temple of Athena Itonia. Schachter suggested that the Pan-Boeotian festival was suspended after the dissolution of the Boeotian confederacy in 172 BC, which seems to be confirmed by the currently existing gap in the retrieved inscriptions between the second half of the 3rd and the 1st century BC.[512]

The attributes of Athena Itonia, 'Polemadoke' ('war-sustaining') as defined by Alcaeus, and her traditional depiction with helmet, shield and spear, point towards the character of the goddess at Koroneia as being the patroness of warriors. Not coincidentally, in fact, the festival included competitions aimed at showing military skills, such as the horse races that were held starting from a statue of Ares, the Greek god of War, as evidenced by the inscription *IG* 7.2871 dated to the 1st century BC.[513] Dedications of team competitions among military troops during the Hellenistic period have been interpreted as evidence that the agonistic performances were the occasion to test the military skills of the various contingents that were part of the federal army.[514]

In Roman times, the Itonion becomes again the seat of the resurrected Boeotian *koinon*.[515] An inscription dated to the 1st century AD (*IG* 7.2711) attests that the Pan-Boeotian festival was celebrated in that period and Pausanias informs us that in his times the federal assembly was held at the sanctuary and that rituals were performed by a priestess every day. In his *Periegesis*, Pausanias indeed describes in detail what he saw in the sanctuary, and some of the myths and cults connected with this place. Specifically, Pausanias tells that in the temple there were bronze statues of Athena and Zeus made

[507] Schachter 1986, 4.
[508] Schachter 1986, 9-10.
[509] Schachter 1986, 9-10.
[510] A list of ancient sources and literature on the sanctuary is discussed in Schachter 1981, 117-27.
[511] Schachter 1981, 122-3.
[512] Schachter 1981, 124.
[513] Schachter 1981, 91.
[514] Schachter 1981, 124.
[515] Müller 2014, 129.

by the late 5th century BC sculptor Agorakritos, a disciple of Phidias, and that statues of the Charites, patron deities of Orchomenos, were dedicated in his time (Paus. 34.1). These elements testify to the long lasting existence of this cult place. A myth that Pausanias records about the sanctuary informs us that the goddess was served by priestesses. Pausanias was told in fact about the priestess Iodama who was turned into stone at the sight of the Gorgoneion on Athena's *chiton*, when the goddess appeared to her one night within the sacred precinct. In remembrance of this episode, Pausanias continues, every day there is a woman (likely a priestess herself) who lights a fire on an altar dedicated to Iodama, repeating three times in the Boeotian dialect that Iodama is alive and lights the fire (Paus. 34.2). The fact that priestesses served Athena Itonia is confirmed by the inscription *IG* 7.3426 honouring the chief priestess Flavia Laneika with a statue erected by her son, and dated to ca. 200-250 AD.

The location of the sanctuary, as well as the place where the competitions were held, including the *stadion*, are still disputed. Descending from the village of Kranitza (mod. Palea Granitsa) to the mountain west of Koroneia, Sir William Gell believed to have recognised the *stadium* of the Pan-Boeotian festival in an artificial hollow near the (now in ruins) mills of Calamachi,[516] but this identification remains uncertain. Ancient sources give some hints about the setting (e.g. by the banks of the river Korialios, according to Alcaeus; before reaching Koroneia from Alalkomenai in Pausanias), which have been followed since the 19th century by scholars eager to discover the site of the sanctuary. Victors' lists at the Pan-Boeotian festival and other inscriptions containing references to Athena Itonia and the Boeotian *koinon* have been found in several places within Koroneia's *chora*, which tempted scholars to identify these locations as possible candidates for the Itonion. Specifically, Pritchett suggested the area around the village of Mamoura (modern Alalkomenai; n. 6 in Figure 4.3), in particular the chapel of Metamorphosis, on its north-east, where some inscriptions concerning federal decrees were found.[517] The remains in the modern village, according to Pritchett, could relate to the establishments that grew around this important sanctuary.[518] This identification has been supported also by other scholars such as Fossey and Buckler in his reconstruction of Koroneia's battle field.[519] Another location was advanced by Pappadakis and Lauffer who proposed Thymari (n. 5 in Figure 4.3), NW of the Prehistoric mound of Agoriani and NE of Koroneia's hill.[520]

The excavations by Th. Spyropoulos during the 1970s in the plain north-east of Koroneia (n. 4 in Figure 4.3) unearthed three buildings, orientated east-west, and added new elements to the debated identification. The construction of the largest of the buildings, measuring 20 x 10 meters, was dated to the mid-6th century BC, but repairs are attested during the 1st-2nd century AD and 4th-5th century AD. The discovery of finds dated from the archaic to the Imperial period testify to the long use of the site and include a female marble statue head dated to the 4th century BC, two herms bases dated to the Roman period, one of which is inscribed with a dedication to Nike, two tripod bases reused as threshold blocks (see Figure 4.8),[521] and several stamped tiles.[522] One of the inscribed tiles was dated to the Hellenistic period and with a yellowish-white paint on the exterior side bears the stamp [--ΘΑΝ--], which has been interpreted as [A]than[as iera], thus providing the evidence for Spyropoulos' identification of the site with the Itonion. Although this should not be excluded, other restorations are possible, as also at sanctuaries stamps could identify the tiles' maker and not necessarily the name of the deity.[523] Already

[516] Gell 1819, 149-50.
[517] Pritchett 1969, 86-7 and plates 57-64.
[518] Pritchett 1969, 87; among the establishements, there must have been for example a *xenon* (hostel) to house the partecipants, see chapter 5, pp. 162-4.
[519] Fossey 1988, 331-2; Buckler 2003, 91-2.
[520] Lauffer 1986, 91-7.
[521] Amandry 1978, 565-69. For a religious biography of tripods in ancient Boeotia see Papalexandrou 2008.
[522] Spyropoulos 1973, 385-92; Spyropoulos 1975, 392-414.
[523] Krentz 1989, 315.

Figure 4.8 Top left: Remains of one of the excavated building (A in Spyropoulos' report) as photographed by the author in August 2013. Note the visual connection with Koroneia's hill (the Frankish tower is visible in the background); Bottom left: The original position of the reused tripod bases blocks as recorded by P. Amandry (1978, Figure 2), viewed from west; Top right: View of building B (now covered by overgrown vegetation) from building A (Spyropoulos 1973, Figure 225, b).

Spyropoulos hinted at the possibility that this area lay within the ancient town's agora,[524] a hypothesis that other scholars too have later sustained.[525] In view of the current state of the survey data that will be discussed below, this hypothesis seems very unlikely. The identification of this complex with the Itonion is moreover problematic. Buckler argued against it in his reconstruction of the battlefield of Koroneia, as these buildings would lie too close to the town thus contradicting Xenophon's account and his personal topographical observations.[526] In any case, there is no doubt that these buildings belonged to a sanctuary that was in use from the Archaic to the Roman period and that occupied a large area, as testified to by a stele with inscribed HO[ROS], the formula to identify the boundary stone of a sacred space, which was found some 200 meters west of the buildings.

4.4. Preliminary results of the 'Ancient Cities of Boeotia' project

The survey of Koroneia is part of the 'Leiden Ancient Cities of Boeotia' fieldwork programme initiated by John Bintliff in 2000 at Leiden University. This project represents the fourth phase of the 'Boeotia survey project' which started in 1979 under the directorship of John Bintliff and Anthony Snodgrass. The overall aim of the Boeotia project is to reconstruct the population history, economy and socio-political development of the region by using non-destructive methods such as surface surveys and geophysical prospections.[527] Boeotia was identified as suitable for setting up an intensive regional survey as the

[524] Spyropoulos 1975, 396.
[525] E.g. Moggi and Osanna 2010, 408.
[526] Buckler 1996, 62.
[527] For a presentation of the aims of the Boeotia survey, see Bintliff 1985, 196.

rural character of the region had left large areas unbuilt and therefore accessible for survey. In its first phase (1979 – 1986), the survey focussed on the urban sites of Thespiai and Haliartos and investigated also their countryside, including the Valley of Muses and the small town of Askra. To test the results of this initial phase,[528] a second phase of the survey programme was initiated (1989 – 1992), which concentrated on the urban area and countryside of ancient Hyettos, situated in the northern part of the region. A third phase of the project aimed at recording and studying the medieval and post-medieval evidence of the region, which included the Frankish-Crusader towers, deserted medieval and post-medieval villages, and the domestic architecture that was quickly being demolished to make space for modern constructions. In the fourth phase of the project, the fieldwork included the ancient cities of Tanagra and Koroneia in the regional surveyed sample area.

The archaeological investigation by the Boeotia survey project at Koroneia commenced in 2006. In the framework of her MA thesis, Janneke van Zwienen created a DEM by manually recording points with a DGPS across the site over several survey seasons.[529] The DEM was meant to provide an accurate representation of the shape of the hill to be used for further analysis.[530] The hill has been heavily modified by ancient and more recent terraces, some of which have in the last few years been bulldozed to make space for olive trees. Through past and current maintenance and improvement of these terraces, the architectural elements that were still visible on the surface have been pushed towards the terraces' edges. The terraces have been subsequently investigated to establish whether they were part of the original morphology of the hill or the result of modern bulldozing and documented with a DGPS.[531] Pairing his survey with the information gathered from aerial photographs and geological maps, the team geomorphologist Keith Wilkinson has also mapped the geology of the hill, which appears as being divided across the western edge between a stable high-grade metamorphic mudstone to the east and an unstable low-grade metamorphic mudstone to the north-west.[532] This marked division has affected the morphology of the hill, which presents more sculpted slopes on the west (where two gullies caused by rainwater washing away the slopes are clearly visible), and more gentle slopes on the eastern side; the latter were preferred by the hill's settlers for their suitability for buildings and have returned the higher density of finds (see Figure 4.9 for a general overview of the distribution of finds).

Water supply must have been a concern for Koroneia's inhabitants, as fresh water was available only at the foot of the hill (the water sources are mapped in Figure 4.10). From an Imperial inscription found by Pappadakis at Pontza we know that Hadrian financed the construction of an aqueduct to provide the Koroneians with a more stable water supply.[533] As already mentioned, traces of the aqueduct have been surveyed by Lauffer, who identified it as a channel running from the ridge of the Megalo and Mikro Butsurati, and reaching Koroneia's hill from the south. Geophysical prospections have likely identified the aqueduct in a linear feature running along the street which approaches the hill from the south (Figure 4.10, nr. 7), but at present the endpoint of the aqueduct has not been established with certainty. According to Lauffer, the endpoint of the pipeline was the cistern excavated by Pappadakis where the headless statue of Hadrian was found, but its location is uncertain (perhaps it corresponds with the only excavated cistern found on the hill, nr. 6 in Figure 4.10). Until the construction of the aqueduct and to supply areas of the town far from it once it was constructed, rain water must have been harvested and stored in cisterns and *pithoi*, large jars commonly used for domestic storage and consumption.

[528] Published in Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985. The final publication of the Thespiai rural hinterland is Bintliff and Howard 2007; the final publication of the Thespiai city survey is Bintliff *et al.* 2017.
[529] Van Zwienen 2008.
[530] Van Zwienen and Noordervliet 2009.
[531] Wilkinson 2010.
[532] Wilkinson 2010, 50; Bintliff *et al.* 2013, 14.
[533] *BCH* 47 (1923), 522.

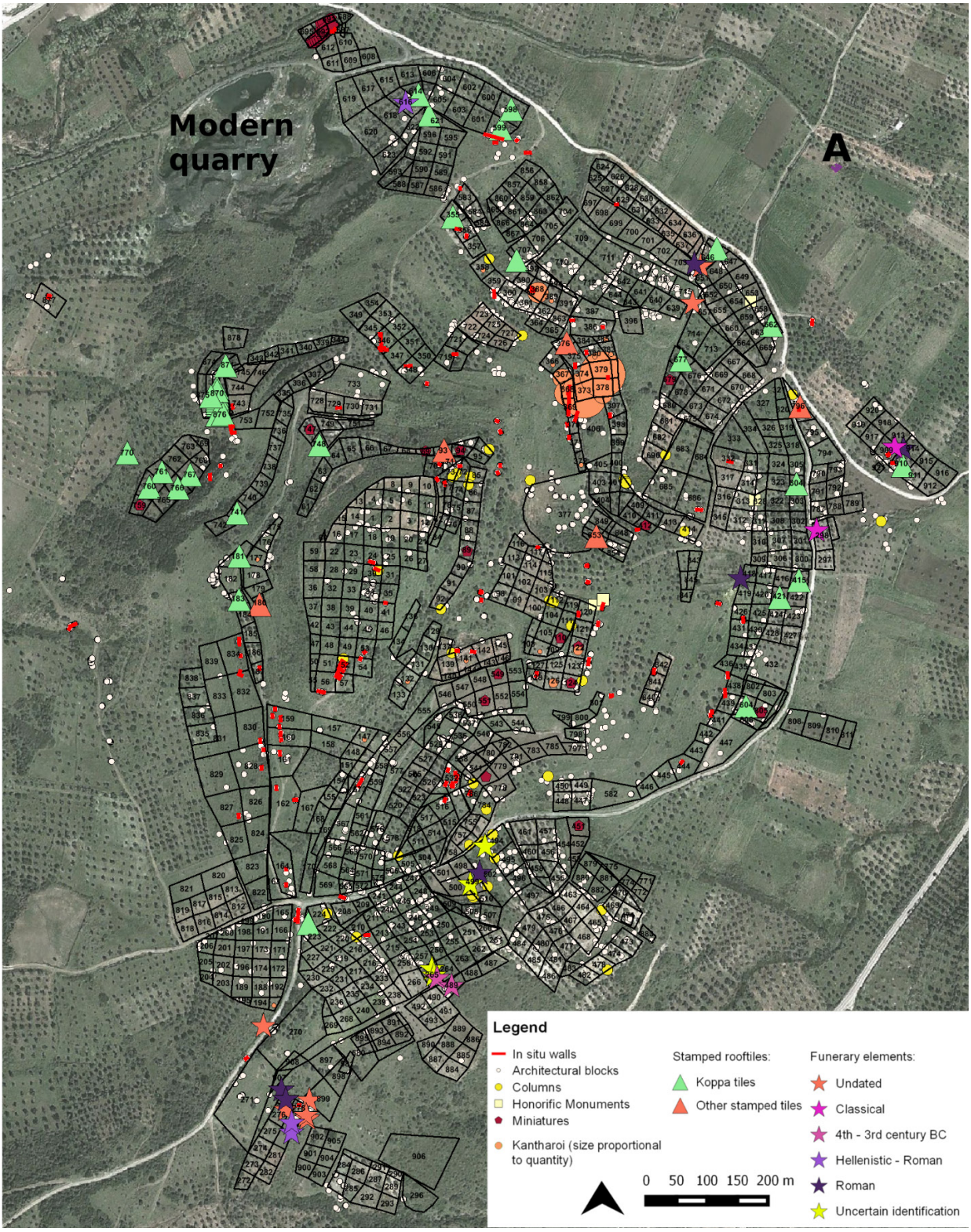

Figure 4.9 General overview of Koroneia's hill, showing the survey units and the location of some classes of finds that will be discussed in this section, such as architectural remains (both in situ and erratic), funerary and honorific elements, miniature vases, kantharoi and column drums. Pappadakis' excavations at the supposed Itonion are marked with A.

Figure 4.10 Overview of water infrastructures on the hill: 1) modern fountain constructed by reusing parapet blocks; 2) water channel built with the same technique as the Frankish tower situated in its proximity; 3) sewer with EW orientation (probably flanking a street); 4) underground spring covered by a large fig tree; 5) seasonal stream; 6) cistern (perhaps corresponding to the well excavated by Pappadakis in which the headless statue of Hadrian was found); 7) GPR results possibly indicating a stretch of the Hadrianic aqueduct.

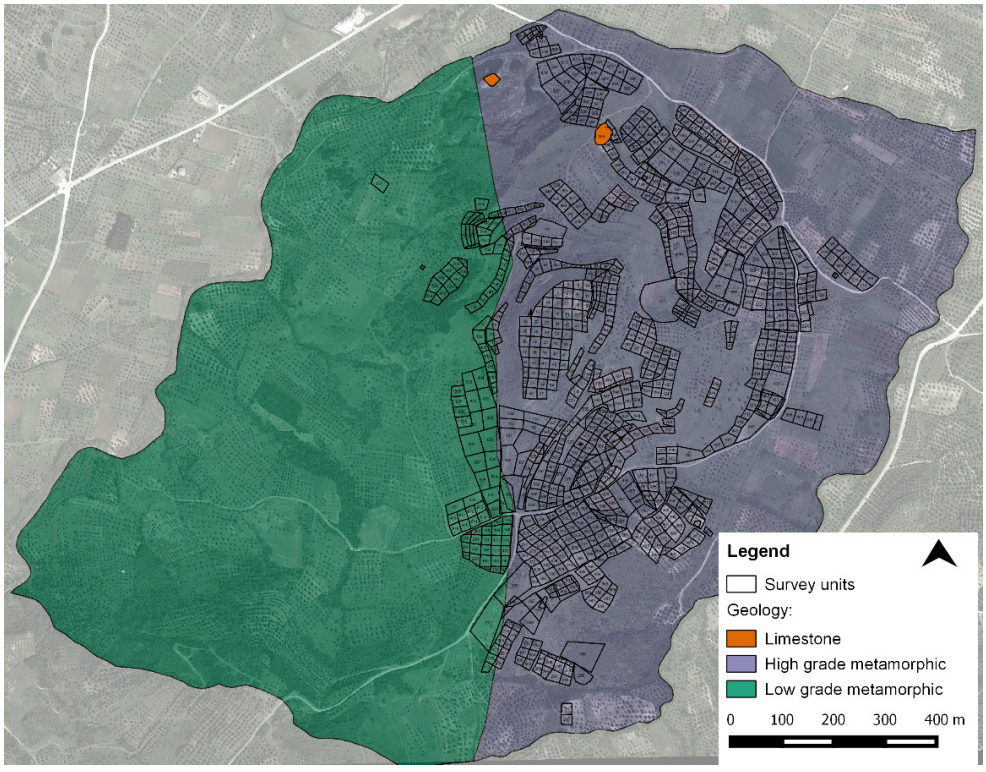

Figure 4.11 Geology of the hill (as mapped in the field by K. Wilkinson).

The hill was divided into grids of approximately 20x20 m (adapted to the terrain) that were recorded by a DGPS and mapped onto a GIS in order to be able to relate the surface finds to their location.[534] An architectural survey was undertaken that resulted in the recording of more than 2000 pieces, using a GPS for the loose blocks and a DGPS for the in situ walls.[535] The majority of the blocks are made of local grey and white-yellowish limestone, of which only rare exposures are visible in the northern slope (see Figure 4.11),[536] but there are also pieces in pink limestone, which is not locally available at Koroneia and therefore possibly hints at a specific purpose for its use.[537] The 145 recorded *in situ* walls show a roughly north-south and east-west orientation in the northern part of the town with a shift of about N25°E in the southern part (Figure 4.12). This arrangement has been confirmed by the ongoing geophysical survey, which has investigated so far some areas of the northern and south-eastern sections of the town, as well as disclosing traces of the lower wall circuit.[538] The pottery sherds that were collected in the field are currently being studied by a team of pottery specialists, yielding a database with an elaborate description of each entry. Within the framework of the European Commission FP7 funded project CEEDS, of which the author was appointed researcher between 2010 and 2014, a pilot project has been initiated in collaboration with the department of Computing at Goldsmiths, University of London and the Centre for Research and Technology (CERTH) in Thessaloniki for experimenting with automatic techniques of pottery classification based on visual feature extraction and profile matching using part of the Koroneia's database as a test case.[539]

The architectural and pottery surveys are completed, but the analysis of the materials and the geophysical investigations are still in progress. For this reason, the overview given below presents some preliminary results based on the materials that were available at the time in which this chapter was written.[540] The study of some of the finds has been assigned to BA and MA students, resulting in dissertations that are cited in the following sections. One outcome of an RMA thesis has been the preparation of an online map of Koroneia's architectural pieces, which can be operated as a WebGIS and fosters the accessibility of this dataset.[541] While all the recorded blocks and wall alignments have been taken into consideration in the dissertation by Boswinkel (2015), it must be stressed that for other find classes, the assemblage studied represents only a portion of the entire dataset, which, as already mentioned, is not entirely processed yet. For example, the 95 textile implements studied by Meens (2011) were found in the material processed by the team of pottery specialists in a three-week campaign in spring 2011. This partial availability of results can create bias in the finds' density; in fact, for example, a high density of loomweights was recorded in some grids west of the acropolis, but this could be related to a coincidental distribution of finds in the sample considered, instead of reflecting a particularly intense activity area. When the amount of finds should be taken as a provisional indication and not as representative of the complete dataset, this will be notified in the related section below.

Finally, it must be noted that, as usual in survey projects, the findspot of the large majority of the finds and architectural blocks that are discussed here does not correspond to their original location. Large architectural blocks are likely to have remained close to the place where they were originally used, but smaller blocks and finds can have been moved for longer distances, either being reused already in

[534] Bintliff *et al.* 2009, 19; Van Zwienen and Noordervliet 2010.

[535] Uytterhoeven 2014a and b. The architecture survey team was composed of Bart Noordervliet, Janneke van Zwienen, Yannick Boswinkel, Ipek Dagli and the author under the direction of Inge Uytterhoeven.

[536] Bintliff *et al.* 2013, 14.

[537] Uytterhoeven 2014b, 1.

[538] Verdonck 2013; Meyer and Pilz 2015; Meyer and Pilz 2016.

[539] The methodology and the preliminary results of this study are presented in Piccoli *et al.* 2015.

[540] This overview includes the survey results available by August 2015.

[541] The map was prepared by Y. Boswinkel as one of the results of his RMA thesis and the online publication was managed by B. Noordervliet. The map is currently accessible at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/gis/qgiswebclient.html?map=/home/boeotia/public-www/gis/projects/architecture/Koroneia_OnlineMap.qgs

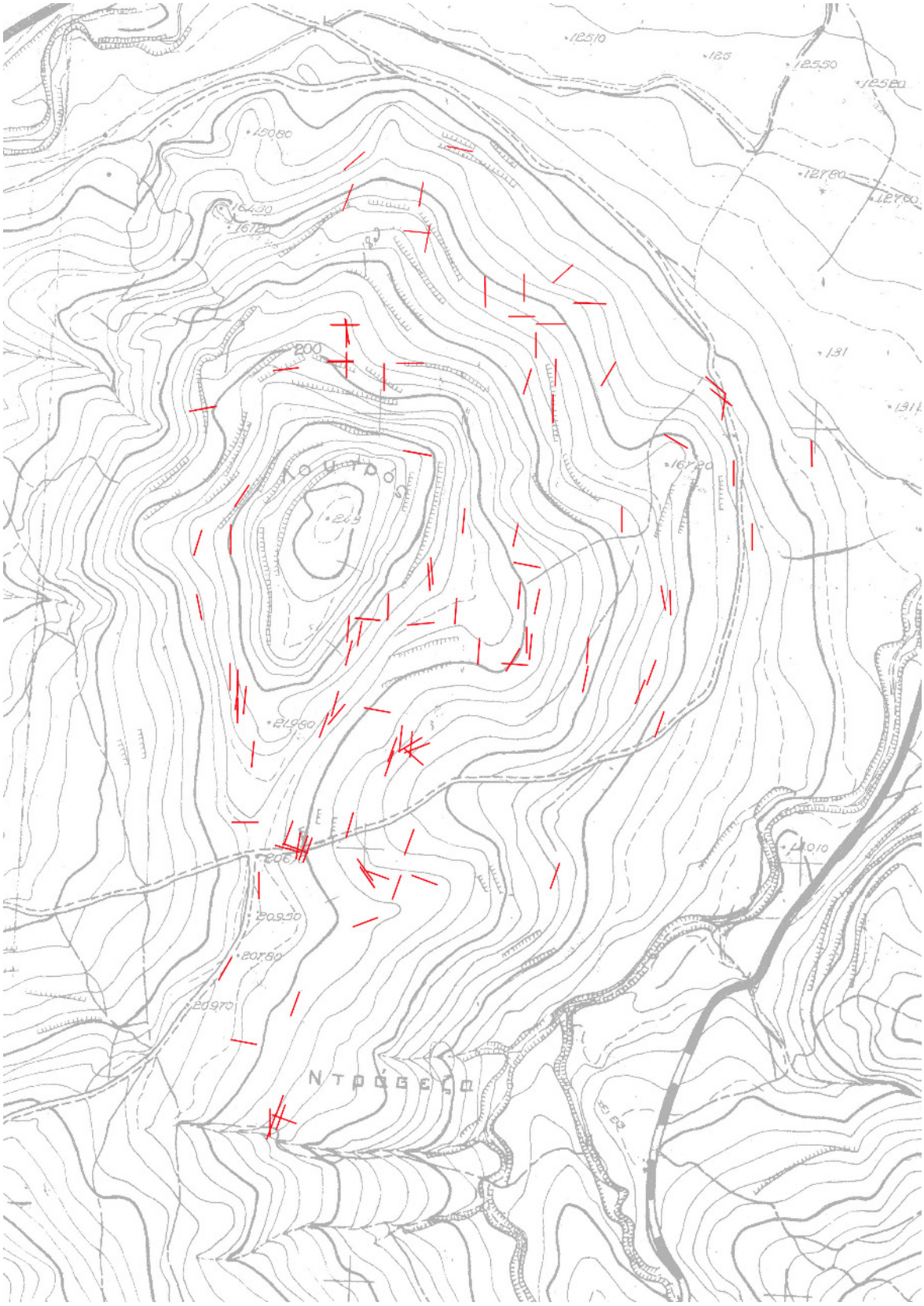

Figure 4.12 Overview of the in situ wall lines recorded during the survey and extended to better show their orientation (map made by B. Noordervliet).

antiquity, or as a result of agricultural work on the hill. In fact, by inspecting the distribution of such finds, one notes concentrations of architectural blocks on the terraces' edges as they have been pushed aside to allow cultivation. As far as ceramic finds, the topography of the hill and its numerous terraces argue for an original deposition not too far from the find grid-unit.

Pottery find classes are dated on a typological and fabric basis to distinguish local production and imported wares, using the published assemblages from excavated sites as comparison. Regarding the architectural pieces, although some of the recorded fragments were chronologically and functionally identified, the majority of them are roughly worked stone blocks, which therefore do not offer many elements for dating. Only when all the material will be processed and studied, will a more refined definition of functions and dates be possible. For the moment the discussion presented below offers some preliminary considerations that will have to be updated and revised under the light of the latest results. The methodology that is presented in chapter 6 was adopted precisely to be able to deal efficiently with further updating of the survey data.

For the above mentioned reasons, I chose to follow a spatial criterion instead of a chronological one in discussing the survey finds. In this way, undated finds are included in the discussion and the association of finds can be more easily retrieved. To this end, I divided Koroneia's hill into five areas (acropolis, northern, eastern, southern and western slope, see Figure 4.13), according to which the finds are analysed in the next sections. For each of these areas, the finds are subdivided into four categories, based on the main data sources that are currently available, namely architecture, pottery, stone finds and geophysics. Moreover, an additional entry on water infrastructures was added. Each area closes

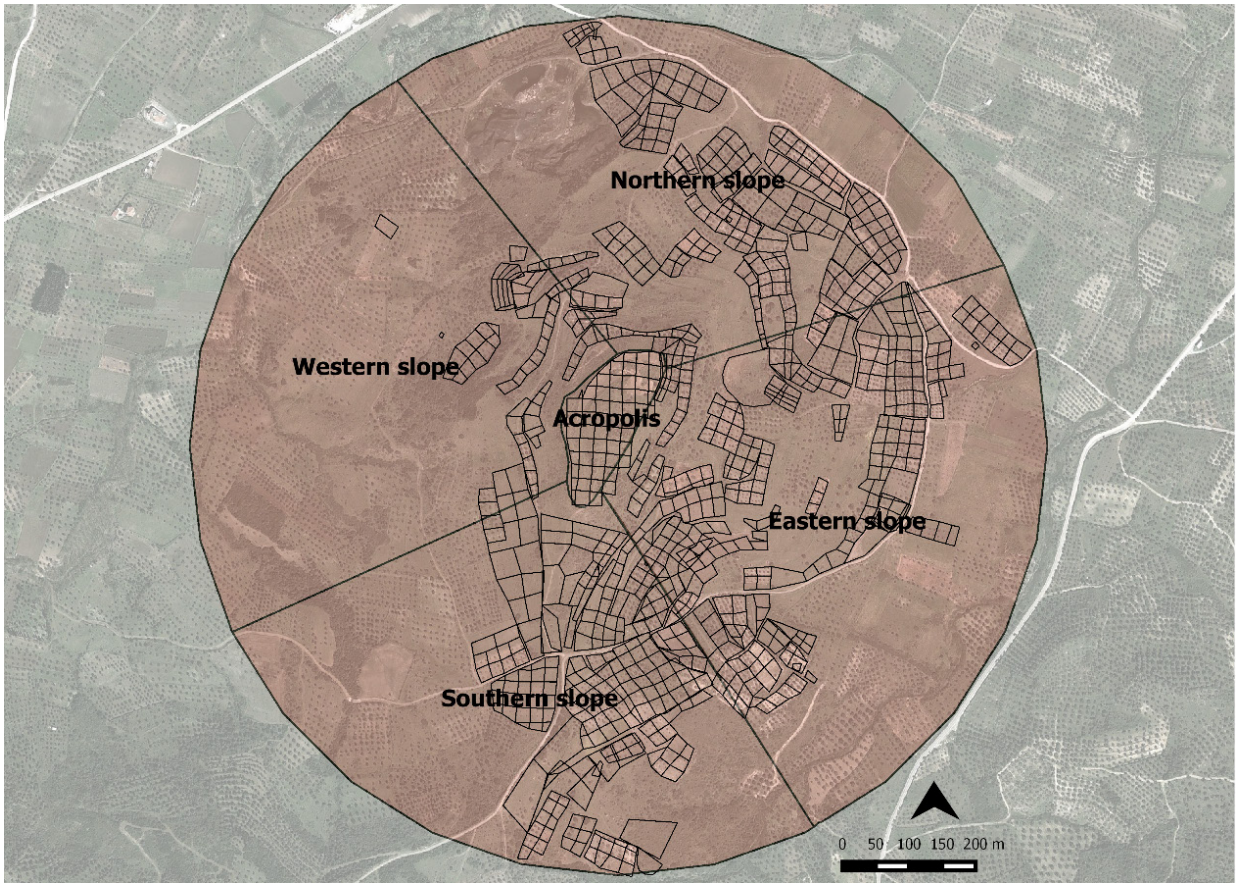

Figure 4.13 Location of the areas in which the hill has been divided for the discussion of survey finds.

with a discussion where the survey finds belonging to each category are summarized, thus providing some provisional considerations on the nature of the area and on possible future investigations.

4.4.1 Acropolis

In its current shape, the acropolis consists of two parts: a lower terrace to the south and a higher area to the north. The geomorphological analysis of the area by K. Wilkinson identified some ancient terraces on the acropolis, although some modifications have been caused by bulldozing works and cultivation. The recorded evidence, both architecture and pottery fragments, belongs for most part to the Late Roman period, thus attesting the occupation and (domestic) use of the acropolis up to the 6th (or even 7th) century AD, although the available data are not conclusive in establishing whether the occupation was continuous or interrupted at some point.

Architecture

The architectural survey has recorded some 70 pieces on the acropolis (see Figure 4.15 for an overview), the majority of which seems to belong to Late Antiquity or the Early Byzantine period and includes *spolia*. Three fragments of unfluted columns (in two cases with *entasis* visible) were recorded; one more than 2 meters long was documented in grid 52 and the other two, both about 1 meter long, were close to each other in grid 30.[542] It seems that in both cases the columns were re-used in walls. As far as fortification walls, stretches of a circuit that surrounded the acropolis are visible in several locations. On the southern and northern edge, the survey team recorded the two *in situ* stretches of large polygonal blocks that had been already identified by previous research on the site;[543] for their construction techniques these walls have been dated to the Classical period, although only a single row is visible while two rows would be expected.[544] On the eastern and western edges of the acropolis, stretches of a Late Antique fortification made of mortared rubble and brick have been also identified during the survey.[545]

The most conspicuous remains that are currently visible on the acropolis belong to a large (barrel?) vaulted structure made of brick and limestone rubble in mortar and are concentrated in grids 30 and 34 (see Figure 4.14). The remains were surveyed in 2009 and have been extensively documented by students in 2011, as part of a summer school organized within the ArcLand project under the supervision of H. Stöger and E. Dullart.[546] Several pieces of the collapsed vaulted ceiling lay on the ground, covering an area of approximately 8 by 10 meters, their thickness suggesting that the structure could support a height up to 5 or 6 meters.[547] A pit that was dug by robbers close to one of the pieces enabled the surveyors to notice that the structure continued underneath the collapsed fragments, the latter belonging indeed only to vaulting pieces.[548] This observation led Terpstra to suggest that the structure collapsed after being hit by an earthquake.[549] For its construction technique the structures has been tentatively dated to Late Antiquity (5th or 6th century AD) and interpreted as a possible elite mansion.[550]

---

[542] The pictures of the discussed finds are stored on a directory of the project's website, see http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2009_003-004.pdf and http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2009_003.pdf.
[543] Maier 1959.
[544] Uytterhoeven 2012, 16.
[545] Bintliff *et al.* 2009, 25.
[546] The analysis of the structure was the subject of D. Terpstra's BA thesis 'Koroneia's 'Bishop's Palace' Investigating Late Antique architectural remains on the acropolis of ancient Koroneia in Central Greece' (2012).
[547] Terpstra 2012, 37.
[548] Terpstra 2012, 38.
[549] Terpstra 2012, 39.
[550] Uytterhoeven 2012, 16; Terpstra 2012, 25-43.

Figure 4.14 Examples of some of the fragments of vaulted ceilings recorded on the acropolis (pictures by I. Uytterhoeven).

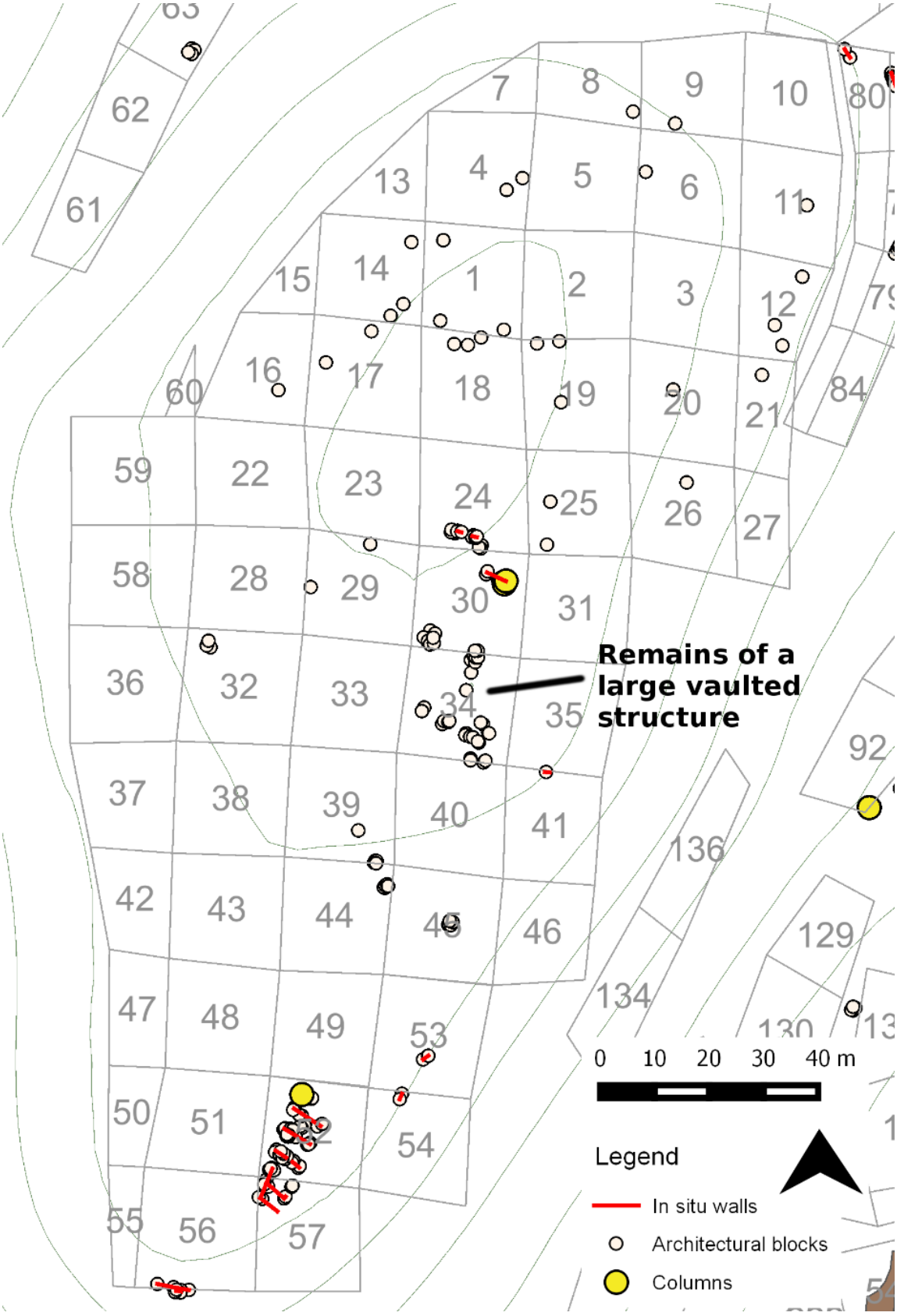

Figure 4.15 Overview of architectural finds on the acropolis.

Other remains that have been dated to the Late Roman period are some *in situ* walls that are located on the southern-east edge of the acropolis (in grids 52 and 57, see Figure 4.15 for location).[551] These wall alignments have been excavated at an unknown date and their discovery has remained unpublished (assuming that we are dealing with official excavations and not with robber trenches). It is not known therefore why this area was chosen for excavating and what kind of artefacts were associated to these walls. Their construction technique using *spolia*, mortared rubble and bricks points towards a Late Roman date and for the space arrangement have been interpreted as (a) domestic structure(s).[552]

Pottery

The acropolis is the only area of the ancient city for which the study of Hellenistic and Roman pottery has been completed.[553] For the Hellenistic period, pottery data show a wide range of domestic functions, with predominance of vessels for drinking and food consumption. Early Roman pottery is represented by 12 fragments of which eleven are for consumption and beverage and one amphora fragment is in local fabric; 7 fragments of Mid-Roman pottery relate to food consumption and 92 fragments of Late Roman pottery represent vessels for consumption/serving of food and beverages, cooking and transport/storage. According to Bes and van der Enden, a few fragments suggest an occupation of the acropolis into the second half of the 6th century AD (even into the 7th century AD). These preliminary results confirm therefore the domestic use of the acropolis for these periods, as we indeed would expect from the Roman documents discussed above.

As for textile implements on the acropolis, their provisional count in 2011 amounted to 3 loomweights and 1 spindle whorl.[554] Two loomweights were located in grid 55, specifically a pyramidal weight dated on a typological basis to the Hellenistic period and a seal stamp weight of uncertain date (possibly Classical-Hellenistic). A discoid weight dated to the Hellenistic period was found in grid 32, while the spindle whorl was collected from grid 1.

Stone finds

A number of stone finds have been recorded on the acropolis, which testify to the presence of food processing activities on the higher part of the hill. Grinding tools have been collected during the survey on the hill and have been studied in the course of a BA dissertation.[555] It must be noted that although the original use of these tools is indeed related with grain grinding, they could have been reused for other purposes when broken, such as building material in later periods, and indeed some of the fragments in the Koroneia's sample bear this kind of trace.[556] Their presence therefore should not be automatically related to grain grinding activities close to their finding spot. On the acropolis, a fragment of the *catillus* of a Hopper-Rubber Mill which belong to the Late Classical – Hellenistic period and two fragments, one of the *catillus* and the other part of the *meta*, of a Pompeian Donkey Mill dated to the Roman period have been collected (in grids 39, 20 and 27 respectively, see Figure 4.16 for the complete overview of millstone types on the hill).[557] While the Hopper-Rubber Mill was found in Olynthian houses,[558] the Pompeian Donkey Mill is usually associated with the production of bread on a commercial basis.[559]

[551] Pictures at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2009_004.pdf.
[552] The documentation and re-study of these remains was the subject of Y. Boswinkel's BA thesis (Boswinkel 2012).
[553] Bes and van der Enden 2012.
[554] Meens 2011 (catalogue nrs. 24, 64, 87 and 91).
[555] Brasser 2013.
[556] Brasser 2013, 42.
[557] Brasser 2013, catalogue, stones nrs. 25, 97 and 99.
[558] Robinson and Graham 1938, 208, in Brasser 2013, 30.
[559] Brasser 2013, 45.

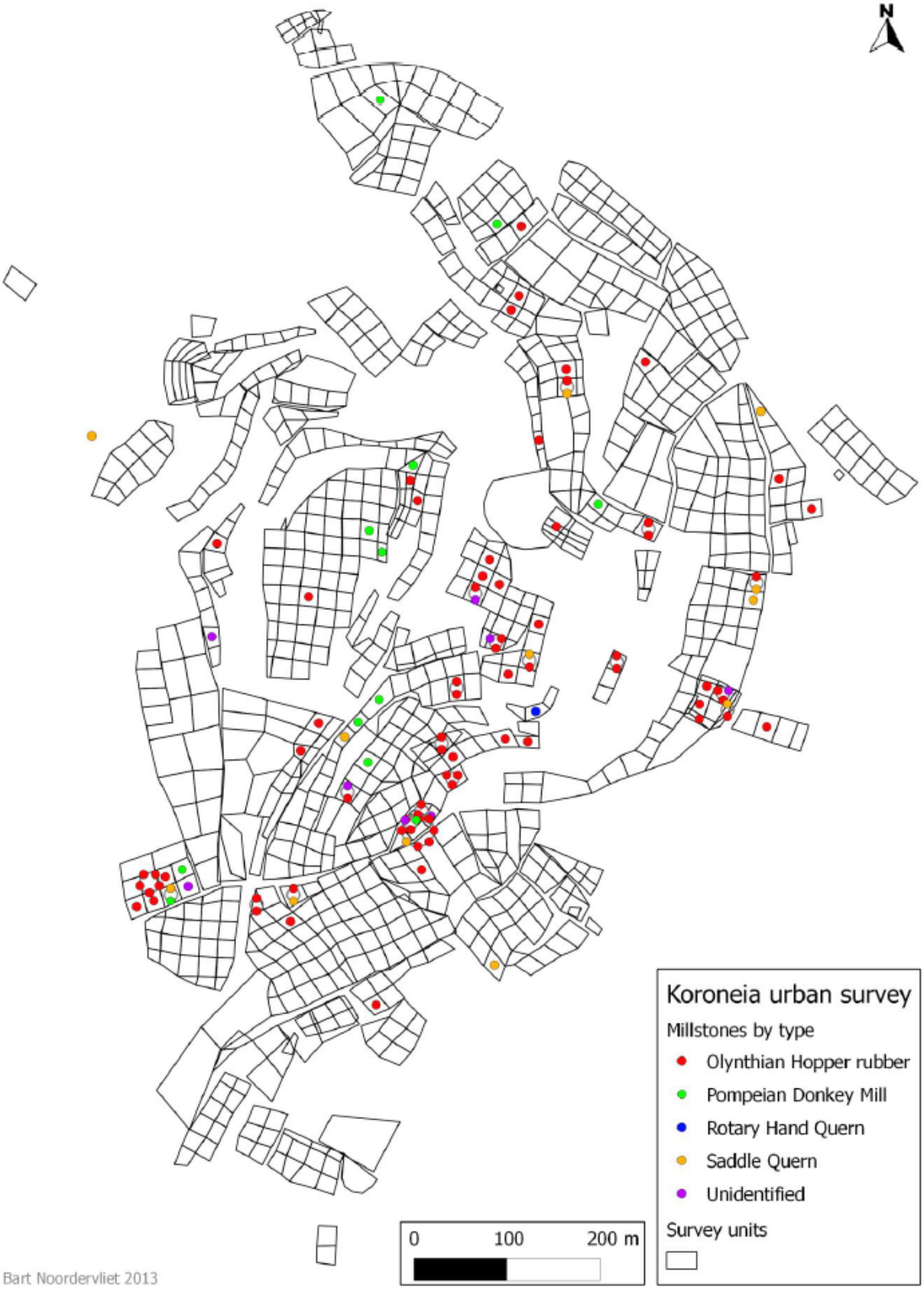

Figure 4.16 Map showing the location of millstone types (made by B. Noordervliet, in Brasser 2013, 46).

Finally, testifying to the industrial activities that took place on the acropolis in Late Antiquity was a large olive press base that was recorded on its western edge (grid 32).[560] This compares to what was observed elsewhere, such as at Thespiai and Tanagra, where industrial activities occupy spaces that were previously central areas of ancient cities.[561]

Discussion

The early stage of pottery study limits our current possibility to define specific functions on the acropolis over the centuries. Stretches of polygonal walls provide us the evidence that the acropolis was surrounded by a fortification wall in the Classical period. Although it is premature to draw conclusion before the complete dataset coming from the survey is processed, the preliminary results seem to point towards a domestic use of the acropolis at least since the Roman period (and perhaps even during the Hellenistic era). Drinking and food consumption are well represented in the pottery dataset and the types of grinding tools that have been found are related to food processing both on a domestic and commercial level. These data match the inscriptions previously discussed that attest indeed to the presence of houses on the acropolis in the Roman times. It is notable that so far no clear evidence of cult practises has emerged from the pottery and architecture dataset. While cultic activities are not necessarily associated with imposing architectural remains, dedicated types of pottery sherds are typical of cult practises,[562] and these seem so far to be missing from the Hellenistic and Roman dataset.

Regarding the (Roman) architectural features that have been observed in previous investigations on the hill, there is a conspicuous number of structures that were not retrieved during the survey. These are the feature marked G in Maier's map, which Fossey wonders if it could be interpreted as the Roman agora that Pappadakis claimed to have found in his excavations,[563] and the well-constructed Roman buildings which according to Fossey were excavated in recent years between Maier's structures G and H and never published.[564] A targeted survey on the acropolis and geophysical prospections could help in finding traces of these structures, if any are left after the perturbation of the geomorphology of the hilltop due to cultivation.

The evidence for the Late Roman period points towards the existence of a community that settled on and fortified the acropolis. The fragments of vaulted ceilings have been in fact interpreted as the remains of an elite mansion, and hypotheses have been suggested that this structure could have been the residence of the bishop or the governor of the Late Antique town.[565] The remains of the excavated walls on the southern part of the acropolis interpreted as houses of Late Roman date give further indication of the small settlement that occupied the acropolis during this period.

There is still an open question regarding the water provisions for the people residing on the acropolis, since so far no traces of water infrastructure have been found there. The water sources at the foot of the hill seem an unpractical solution as the path to reach the acropolis from the lower slopes is very step. Therefore, it is also possible that the collection of water was done using cisterns or *pithoi* (or that other water infrastructures existed that have not been found yet or have in the meantime disappeared), and that the location of the Hadrianic aqueduct facilitated water supply.

[560] Bintliff *et al.* 2009, 25. Pictures available at www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2009_005.pdf.
[561] Bintliff 2013a, 199.
[562] See as a comparison the traces of cultic activities that have been found on Plataiai's acropolis in the Archaic period (Konecny *et. al.* 2013, 288).
[563] Fossey 1990, 238.
[564] Fossey 1990, 237.
[565] Bintliff *et al.* 2013, 17.

4.4.2 Northern slope

On the northern slope, made of stable high grade metamorphic stone, numerous modern terraces were mapped in the geomorphological survey on the hill.[566] As will be discussed in more detail below, these modifications have affected the archaeological record. Moreover, a quarry which is now partly occupied by a water basin, was opened in modern times on the NW side of the hill, probably to provide fill material for dirt road construction and to be used to pave the villages nearby (Figure 4.17). To locate the survey finds discussed in this section, refer to Figure 4.18.

Architecture

In the northern sector of the site, the architectural survey has recorded two stretches of walls running in parallel, which were identified as a possible 3.60 meters wide gate in the city wall (on the southern edge of grid 599),[567] and several wall lines with roughly a NS and EW orientation. About 14 stretches of walls following this alignment were exposed by bulldozing activities in a field (left un-gridded during the survey) which is located between the row of grids 350-354 and that of 355-357. These walls seem

Figure 4.17 Modern quarry located on the north-western side of the hill (see Figure 4.9 for its position)

[566] Wilkinson 2010, 50-2.

[567] Uytterhoeven 2014a, 2. Pictures are available at www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2010_015.pdf; www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2012_036.pdf.

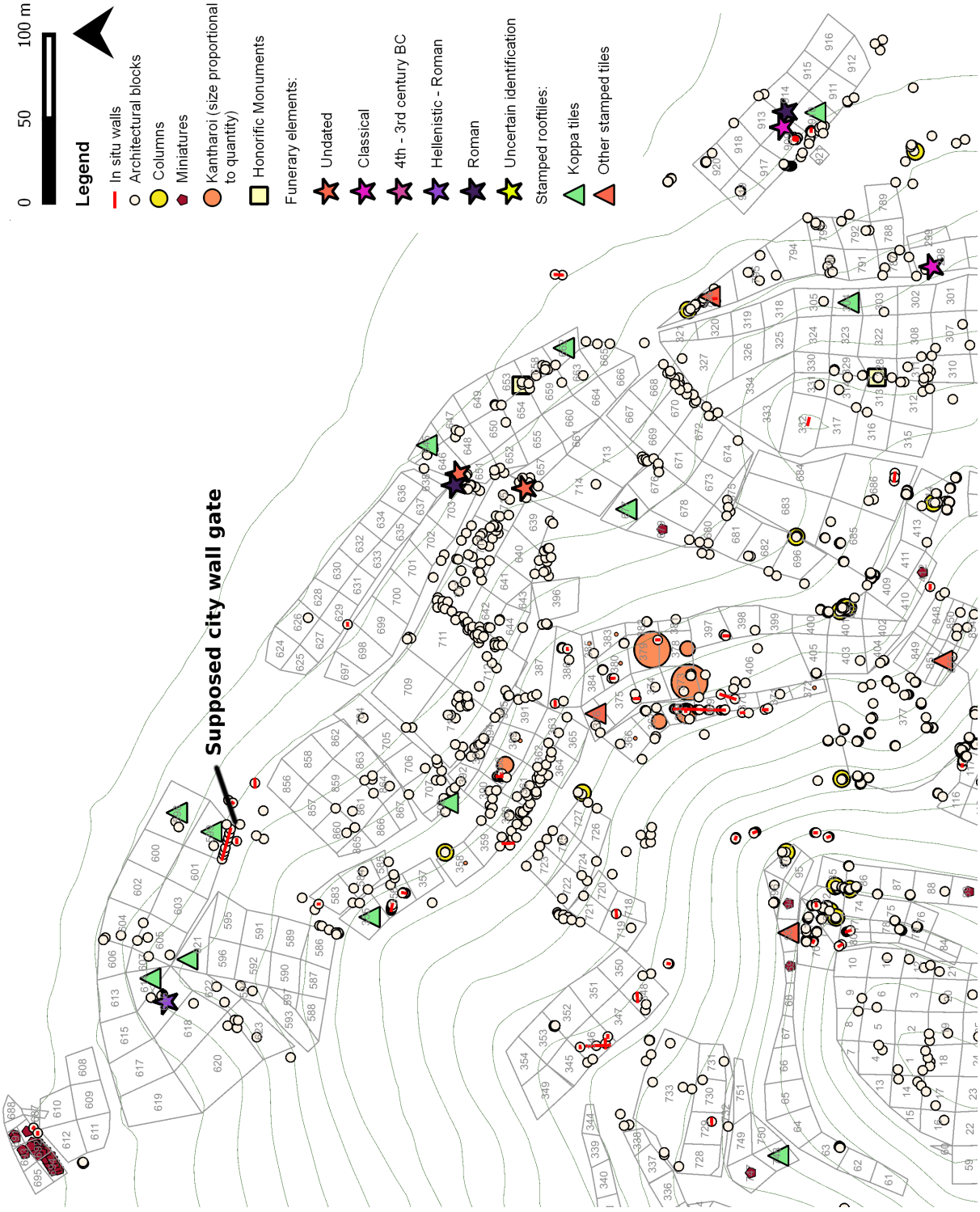

Figure 4.18 Overview of the finds on the northern slope

to be part of a regularly laid down domestic quarter.[568] In the same area, other stretches of *in situ* walls present the same NS-EW orientation, such as in grids 346 and 348, 356 and on the north-west edge of grid

[568] Uytterhoeven 2014a, 5.

583. The walls recorded in grid 346, some of which could be followed for more than 13 meters, allowed the identification of an *insula* measuring at least 15 x 15 m.[569]

Figure 4.19 Architectural survey at Koroneia: Inge Uytterhoeven recording some large blocks between grids 709-710 and 704-707 (photo: author).

In grids 360-4, 388-395 and on the border between grids 711-712 and 642, 644 and 717, a high number of large grey limestone building blocks have been recorded. The blocks have been clearly pushed towards the terraces' edges, and their disposition in grids 711 and 712 seems to indicate that they have fallen from above; it seems likely that they come from nearby, given their large dimensions. If we assume that larger blocks were used for more imposing architecture, this concentration could point to the presence of some large structure (see below for the geophysics' results in this area). Large blocks have been recorded also between grids 709-710 and 704-707 (Figure 4.19). Towards east, a large number of roughly cut and finished grey limestone blocks has been recorded west of grids 367 and 368 and an *in situ* wall was followed for about 28 meters across grids 368-369. Three fragments of funerary architecture were found on the lower northern slopes. Notable is a large fragment of a Roman sarcophagus lid with *acroteria* (database nr. 180) pushed towards the edge of grid 703,[570] which borders with the path between this grid and grid 651 where an undated funerary slab was recorded. Another funerary slab was found in grid 715.

Pottery

The pottery study is still in progress in this area, however among the available data some clusters stand out that are worth mentioning in this overview. A high number of (Classical) miniature vessels (27) have been collected in grids 690-694, which are located on the north-western edge of the surveyed area, outside the lower city wall circuit and close to a stream. Towards east, a concentration of *kantharoi* was found in the grids 366-385 (peaking in grids 373 and 379 with 11 fragments each) and 388-389.[571] This type of drinking cup was used in the context of (public) dining and is also found in graves. In this area the above mentioned large number of roughly cut and finished grey limestone blocks were also found. A grab sample taken by the author from grids 378-9 has shown the presence of fine pottery that ranged from the Archaic to the Roman period (V. Stissi, pers. comm.), a number of (oysters?) shells and a die of unidentified date.

[569] Uytterhoeven 2014a, 5.

[570] Recorded twice: nrs. 2011_180 and 2012_521: pictures available at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2011_180.pdf and http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2012_521.pdf.

[571] Specifically: 366 (1), 367 (4), 368 (6), 372 (1), 373 (11), 376 (2), 378 (4), 379 (11), 380 (1), 383 (1), 385 (1), 389 (1), see Mulder 2012, 38.

Regarding stamped tiles, a piece of a stamped rooftile, dated to the Roman - Late Roman period was found in grid 93, just below the acropolis, and some fragmentary stamps bearing the 'Koppa' mark which identify them as Classical-Hellenistic city stamps were collected on the lower slope.

Stone finds

A funerary inscription provisionally dated to the Hellenistic – Imperial period by F. Marchand was found in grid 616, which is in fact outside of the lower city wall circuit. In the same grid, a fragment of Pompeian Donkey Mill was found.[572] Another fragment of the same mill type was found in grid 864, while in the closeby grid 705, a fragment of the Olynthian Hopper Rubber was collected. This type of grinding tools dated to the (Late) Classical – Hellenistic period is frequently found on the northern slope, as additional pieces were found in the adjacent grids 362 and 389, in grids 378 and 379 and in the lower grid 677 (see Figure 4.16 for the overview of grinding tools studied so far). In 378, a fragment of saddle quern was also found. The saddle quern develops from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, the fragment found at Koroneia has been therefore dated to this broader time frame.[573]

Geophysics

Some areas of the northern slope were selected to conduct a magnetic survey (see Figure 4.20).[574] Specifically, the lower slope, where we had expected to find further traces of the path of the city wall circuit of which some stretches had been already found to the west, and the area where the cluster of *kantharoi* was found were investigated. The lower slope shows few (faint) traces of walls, ditches or backfills, but none of them is recognizable as belonging to any specific building. It is not clear yet whether this reflects the actual absence of buildings on this slope in antiquity, or if it is the result of bulldozing works which have profoundly modified the hill and the archaeological record. It is noteworthy, however, that a clear anomaly corresponding to a wall runs along grids 360-363 and 386.

In the area where the concentration of *kantharoi* was found, wall alignments following the usual roughly NS/EW orientation are clearly discernible, although highly perturbed. Longer stretches are recognisable running NS, with shorter EW partitions, but it is not possible to identify a specific building, nor distinguish between inside and outside areas. Moreover, the walls running EW seem to be artificially cut on their eastern side by modern terracing. It is therefore possible that they continued towards the east.

Water infrastructures

A modern fountain made of reused blocks is found at the north-eastern foot of the hill (Figure 4.10, nr. 1). This fountain follows the course of a nearby water channel (Figure 4.10, nr. 2), which is constructed with the same building techniques and materials as the Frankish tower and according to the architecture specialist Inge Uytterhoeven was presumably preceded by an ancient channel.[575]

Discussion

Given the NS/EW surviving *in situ* wall alignments and the results of the geophysical analysis, it seems that at least the upper northern slope of the hill was regularly laid down and was occupied by a domestic quarter. These walls share the same orientation as the stretches that were identified in the

[572] Brasser 2013, 46 and catalogue nr. 100.
[573] Brasser 2013, 46 and catalogue nr. 104.
[574] Meyer and Pilz 2016.
[575] I. Uytterhoven, database record WRS1.

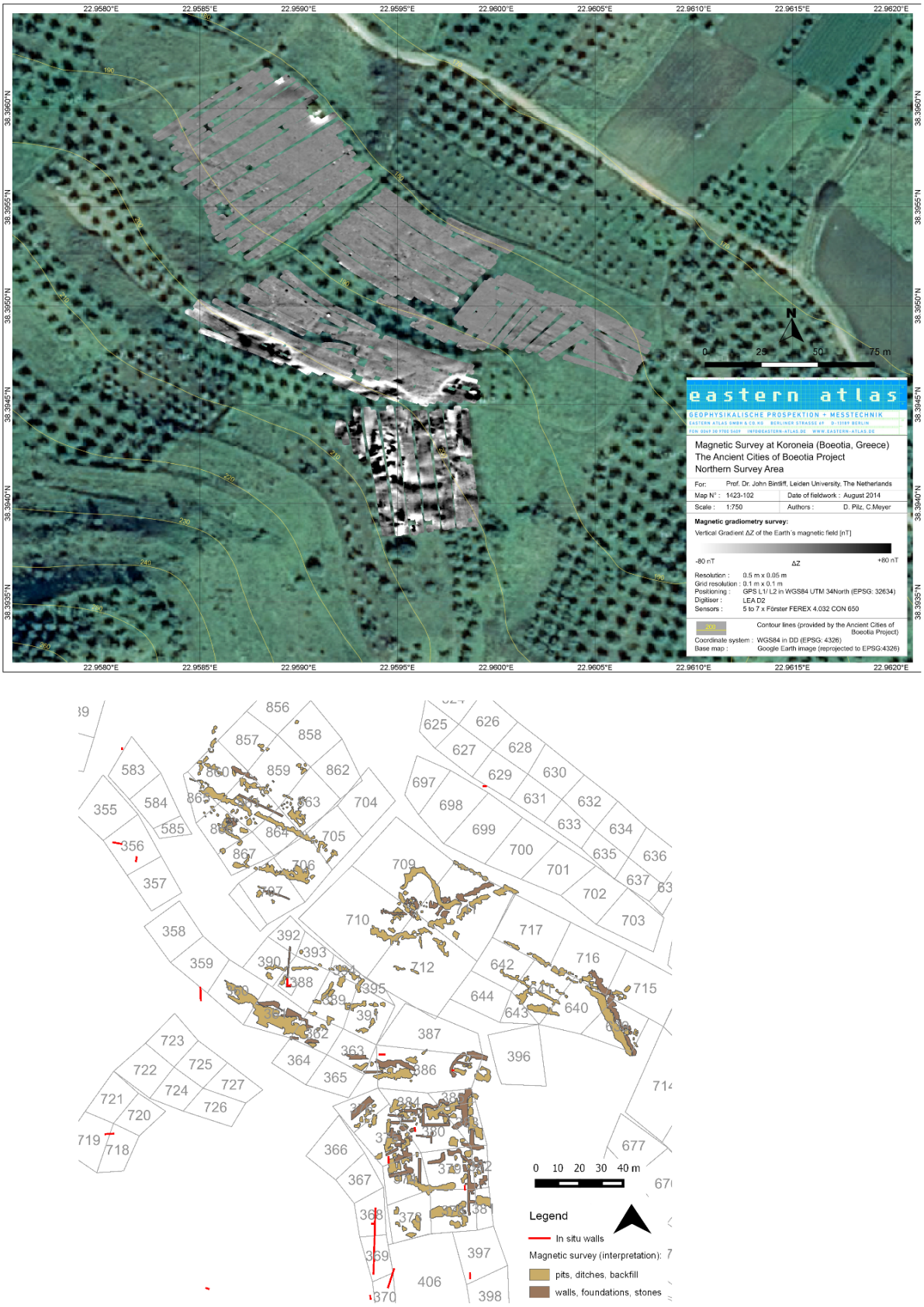

Figure 4.20 Results and interpretation of the magnetic survey conducted by Eastern Atlas on the lower northern slope.

magnetic survey on the plateau on the eastern slope and on part of the southern slope (see below), thus suggesting that they belong to the same chronological phase. For the lower part of the northern slope, the magnetic survey has shown only faint traces of walls up to grids 360-363 and 386, where a discernible feature, interpreted as a wall structure, could be followed along these grids almost without interruption. It is noteworthy that in these grids and in the area just below the architectural survey has recorded the presence of numerous large building blocks which could hint in fact at the existence of a large structure. It seems possible, therefore, that the anomalies can be identified as (one of) the lower city wall circuit which used to run on the northern slope, indeed along grids 360-363 and 386, and that would then run towards north to reconnect with the supposed city wall gate found in grid 599 (see Figures 4.18 and 4.32 for the projected path of the city wall). For certain, the location of the Hellenistic – Imperial inscribed funerary stele in grid 616 indicates that this area was outside the town extent during the corresponding time frame. Towards the north-east, the limits of Koroneia's urban area in Roman times are marked by the funerary architecture elements dated to the Roman period that were found in grid 703 and nearby. Also the cluster of miniatures found in grids 690-694 indicates an extra urban votive area, associated with a Classical extra urban sanctuary as well as a cemetery. The offering of miniature vessels and the proximity to running water fit a variety of female cults, which makes it possible that this location hosted in fact the sanctuary of Hera, Demetra or Artemis, cults attested at the town in the Classical period. Other possible shrines are located on the upper northern slope, near an area which is used as parking space and on the lower slope where fine pottery has been collected.[576]

As far as the location where the concentration of *kantharoi* was recorded, the wall alignments showed by the results of the magnetic survey cannot be clearly related to a specific building. Further investigation with another instrument (e.g. GPR) could shed light on the spatial arrangement and building structure of this area. Although the limited dataset does not allow more certain interpretations, the presence of grinding tools of large dimensions dated to the Late Classical – Hellenistic period in the same area can indicate that besides drinking, also the preparation of food was carried out in this establishment. A possibility to investigate further is the identification of this area with a sanctuary, which is hinted at also by the above mentioned presence of fine pottery dated from the Archaic to the Roman period and shells.

4.4.3 Eastern slope

The eastern slope is made of stable high grade metamorphic rock and has a plateau projecting towards east. 19th century travellers had already suggested that the core of the ancient town had to be located on the eastern and southern slopes where the majority of pottery and architecture were visible. As already observed, most of what used to lie on the surface was most likely already removed and the remains underneath have been heavily disturbed. Nevertheless, the survey has collected and recorded numerous finds that attest to the high building density of this area in antiquity.

Architecture

The depression on the eastern hill slope (corresponding to grid 377 in Figure 4.21) has been interpreted as the *koilon* of the theatre in the ancient city. Little has survived that can be securely related to it (Figure 4.22). An accurately worked stone piece, which was recorded in nearby grid 850, was initially tentatively identified as a component of the theatre seating system, but according to the theatre architecture expert Marco Germani this piece does not provide any element to reach a secure identification (Germani, pers. comm.).[577] Apart from this piece, numerous architectural blocks have been found in this area, together

[576] J. Bintliff, pers. comm.

[577] Pictures are available at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2013_138.pdf.

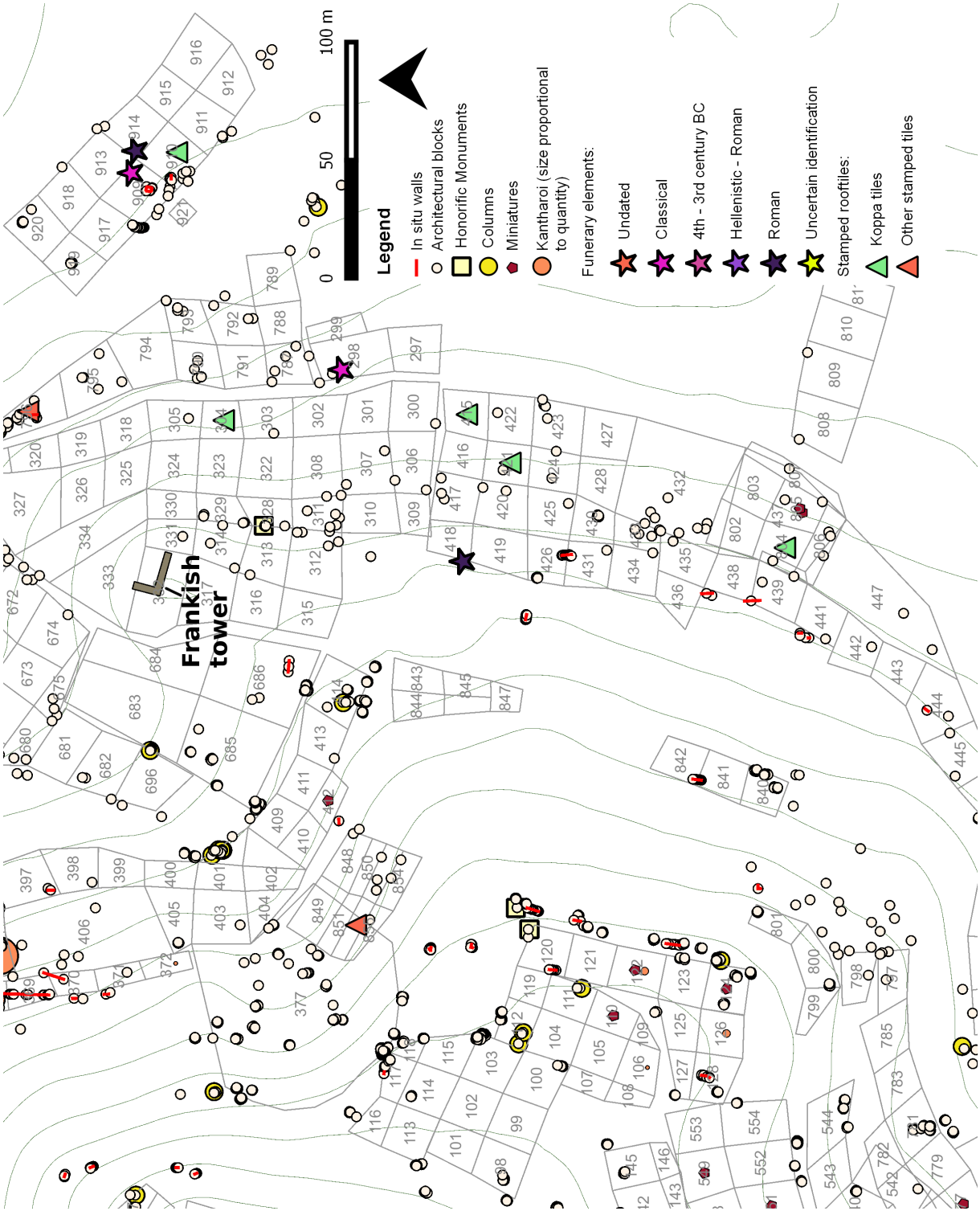

Figure 4.21 Overview of the finds on the eastern slope where the theatre (grid 377) and the agora (grids 98-128) were located.

with a fragment of statue base with a circular dowel hole on its top and mouldings on one face.[578] In grid 407, a little lower than 377, a column capital offers us a glimpse of Koroneia's various historical phases

[578] Pictures are available at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2010_102.pdf.

Figure 4.22 The depression on the slope of the hill once occupied by Koroneia's theatre (picture taken by the author inside the supposed cavea looking north-west).

Figure 4.23 The Hellenistic – Roman Ionic capital reused as a press weight probably in Late Antiquity (photos by I. Uytterhoeven).

and of the recycling of older architectural pieces for new usages: a Hellenistic – Roman Ionic capital (perhaps dated to the 3rd BC, L. Gentili, pers. comm.) was in fact recut and reused as a press weight, probably in Late Antiquity (Figure 4.23).

On the plateau lying just south of the theatre, numerous architectural blocks have been recorded and an illegal dig found during the survey season in May 2015 at its northern side (grid 117) brought to light a brick and mortar wall segment. On the plateau and on its lower terrace (grids 120-124), numerous honorific and architectural elements of a public character have been recorded. Specifically, a pediment block of a freestanding honorific monument (Roman period?) with mouldings,[579] and a fragment of moulded architrave were found north east of grid 120;[580] a not *in situ* large limestone threshold (2.34

[579] Pictures are available at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2011_027.pdf.
[580] Pictures are available at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2011_028.pdf.

m long) lying upside down was recorded in grid 123, which presumably belonged to a large building;[581] *in situ* walls made of limestone and rubble were recorded following the sloping ground east of grids 120-123;[582] column fragments, some of considerable diameter, were also found in the area: in grid 111 (d=0.63m), 112 (d=0.30m), to the south of grid 124 (d=0.67m); at the north edge of grid 139 (d=0.56m).

The sloping ground east of the plateau is occupied for the large part by dense bushes and has been left to a great extent uncovered by the survey. South of grid 801, however, two lines of *in situ* walls were recorded, meeting at a right angle and made of soft yellowish limestone, which is a similar stone to what was used for some of the recorded city walls' stretches. Another stretch of soft yellowish limestone was found south of grid 840. Lower down towards east, in grids 433-435, several large blocks of light grey and pink limestone have been recorded, which could hint at the presence of a large (public) structure.[583]

Moving towards south, in grid 532, a series of very large collapsed wall fragments of limestone rubble and bricks (for convenience of quick identification dubbed the 'Big Thing' by the survey team), tentatively identified as the foundation or the first floor (this latter hypothesis has been advanced by L. Gentili, pers. comm.) of a large structure was found (see Figure 4.24 for its location). The construction technique is ascribed either to *opus incertum* or *opus vittatum* and the structure can possibly be dated to the late Republic/early Empire.[584] The reasons why these pieces have survived up to today, contrary to other large buildings that we would expect in a Graeco-Roman town, are to be ascribed to the fact that this area was fairly recently bulldozed and that the material that it was made of could not be reused. The function of the building and its context still remain unclear, but its prominent position, central to the extent of the Roman town, leads us to suppose that it was either a public or an elite private building. It must be noted, incidentally, that an *iconostasis* is located just below the lower collapsed stretch, and testifies to worship by nearby villagers. Whether the choice of this location to install an *iconostasis* has or not some relation with this ancient building, marking in the former case a long tradition of cult activities, is impossible to say. One theory is that this structure might have become a church in Late Antiquity – perhaps one of the churches seen by Leake. This would make the hypothesis of it being a temple in the Roman period, perhaps located on the aqueduct route, more likely. In any case, that the area around this structure was not a normal housing quarter seems to be confirmed by the presence of several column fragments, some of which are of considerable diameter, on the grids below and east: in grid 786 (⌀ = 0.3m), 784 (visible ⌀ = 0.42m, but must have been much larger), 756 (⌀ = 0.42m), 494 (preserved ⌀ = 0.56), north-west of grid 450 (⌀ = 0.42m).

Beyond the modern street towards the south, in grids 463, 464 and 465, several large blocks of schist stone and brown-grey conglomerate were documented and in grid 471 several (probably not *in situ*) blocks of the same stone that were used for the city wall (yellow limestone) were recorded. Moreover, fragments of a Late Antique *opus sectile* floor made of square, rectangular and triangular white marble elements was found close to this area (south of grid 469), which according to the architecture specialist I. Uytterhoeven could hint at the presence of a villa or church,[585] testifying to the Late Antique occupation of this area of the hill.

---

581 Pictures are available at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2009_038.pdf.

582 E.g. http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2011_010.pdf.

583 Uytterhoeven 2014b, 3.

584 F. Vermeulen, pers. comm., in Boswinkel 2015. Images of the structure can be found at: http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2010_002.pdf (max length: 5.70m; not *in situ*, fell from above); http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2011_016.pdf (not *in situ*); http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2011_017.pdf (*in situ*); http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2011_018.pdf (not *in situ*); http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2011_019.pdf (not *in situ*); http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/VE2011_020.pdf (not *in situ*).

585 Uytterhoeven 2014b, 2.

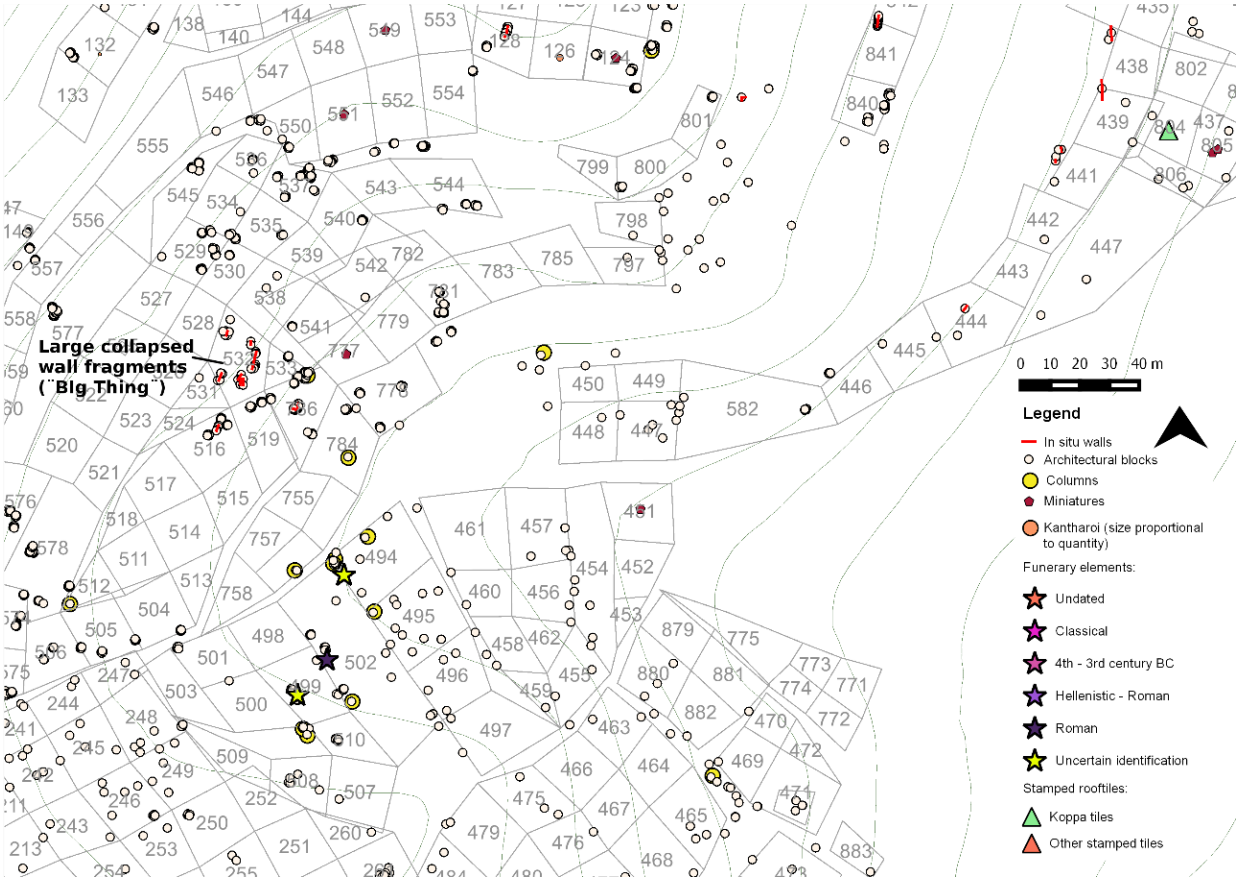

Figure 4.24 Eastern slope, southern part.

Funerary elements have been recorded along the lower eastern slope. On the western edge of grid 418, a (robbed) Roman tomb with *arcosolium* and several fragmentary cover slabs were found (Figure 4.26, location in Figure 4.21). The presence of this tomb can be considered as a marker for the eastern boundary of Roman Koroneia. On the southern side, a possible funerary slab was documented in grid 494. It must be noted that in the nearby grid 499, an inscribed funerary stele was found dated to the Imperial period by F. Marchand, and another possible sarcophagus lid were found. In this area, numerous sarcophagus lids were found along with small columns, but not recorded owing to burial and removal by the farmer of this plot during the survey.[586]

Pottery

In this area, the pottery processing is not yet completed. Grids 803 and 805 show a high density of finds. Among the categories of finds that have been studied so far, a number of loomweights were found, especially concentrated in grids 121-128 and in grids 802-803.[587] Fragments of *kantharoi* were collected in the grids 106 (1), 122 (2), 126 (2); 132 (1) and 141 (1) on the plateau and Classical – Hellenistic miniature vessels in grids 110 (1), 122 (1), 124 (1) and 412 (1), the latter being located on the slope lower than the theatre.

Moreover, fragments of 'Koppa' stamped tile were found in some of the grids in the lower slope (e.g. 404, 415, 421 and 804), while another stamped tile of which only the first or last letter is preserved

[586] J. Bintliff, pers. comm.
[587] Meens 2011.

Figure 4.25 The Roman tomb with arcosolium illegally excavated on the eastern side of the hill. Broken slabs were found in its proximity (picture by the author).

was found in grid 853 close to the theatre. The 'Koppa' tiles, defined as such because they bear the city stamp with the letter *Koppa* (Ϙ), used to indicate the /k/ sound in early Greek, are dated to the 5th, 4th and late 3rd or even early 2nd century BC,[588] and give an indication for the location of construction and rebuilding activities that were financed by the city, such as the city walls. The location of the collected city stamped tiles in the above mentioned grid indeed matches well the projected continuation of the city wall circuit whose traces have been found on the SE edge of the hill during the geophysical survey (see below). A fragment of tile dated to the Classical-Hellenistic period was collected in grid 796. The rectangular stamp on this tile has been interpreted by the pottery specialists as possibly bearing the text ']ΤΟΣΙΑ' (']TOSIA'), followed perhaps by another symbol at the end.

During a survey in the first years of the investigations at Koroneia, a concentration of figurines, fine ware and human bones were found in grids 297-298, at the foot of the hill, and outside the supposed city wall circuit in Classical times. These findings point towards the identification of the area as an Archaic – Classical cemetery (Figure 4.26).[589]

The area occupied by grids 754-758 shows a high density of pottery sherds, interpreted as a Roman pottery dump. This area, which was clearly extra urban or in any case peripheral when the sherds were

[588] Dated by F. Marchand; their study by Marchand is in progress.
[589] Bintliff *et al.* 2010, 37-9.

Figure 4.26 Sample of finds from the Archaic-Classical cemetery, the figurines highlighted (Bintliff et al. *2010, 39).*

discarded here, was included within the Classical – Hellenistic city wall circuit, traces of which have been identified during the magnetic survey beyond the modern road (see below).

During the first orientation survey by the pottery specialists on the hill, numerous traces of misfired pottery sherds and pottery waste have been found on the SE foot of the hill, especially in the area covered by grids 469-472. This zone could therefore be interpreted as an industrial quarter (the evidence pointing towards potters' workshops, but other crafts cannot be excluded as discussed in chapter 5, p. 213) possibly in use both in the Greek and Roman periods right outside the city wall circuit.

Finally, Frankish – Late Byzantine pottery was found to the north of the eminence where the Frankish tower was built, suggesting the presence of a medieval hamlet which seems to have lain north of and below the tower and the northern edges of the cemetery in grids 297-298.[590] It is significant that the water source (located east of grid 298, see Figure 4.10, nr. 4), which is now covered by a large fig tree, is positioned at a convenient location for its supply.

Stone finds

A large amount of fragments of grindstones were found in the agora, mostly belonging to the Olynthian Hopper rubber type (see overview in Figure 4.16). This type of large grindstone is typically dated to

[590] Bintliff *et al.* 2010, 39.

the Classical-Hellenistic period and could be related to commercial food processing activities.[591] It is however not clear if those that have been found in the agora can be ascribed to this period or to a secondary later context and purpose of use. Another two fragments of Olynthian Hopper rubber were found in grid 842 and other fragments of the same type of grindstone were collected also in the lower grids 802-807. This type of grinding tool is also the most common toward the south, 797, 785, 779, 780 (2), 778 (3). The highest number of grinding tools' fragments were however collected in the grids interpreted as a pottery dump, especially in grids 756 where 7 fragments of Hopper rubber and 1 of saddle quern were found.[592] Besides the saddle quern, other types of grinding tools found on the eastern slope include a fragment tentatively interpreted as belonging to a Rotary Hand quern, dated to the Roman period, in grid 800.[593] This fragment would represent the only example of this type of grinding tool at Koroneia, but its uncertain identification suggests caution. Evidence of olive or wine press installations that testify to the ruralisation of the urban centre from Late Antiquity onwards has been recorded on the lower eastern slope. Specifically, a fragment of circular press weight made of light grey limestone (architecture database, nr. 2) was recorded south of grid 840 and another, almost square pink limestone weight press (architecture database, nr. 29) was found in the same area. Finally, a fragment of a roughly worked large basin of uncertain function and date was found east of grid 400 (architecture database, nr. 156).

Geophysics

On the plateau, the magnetic survey has identified some wall alignments and streets with a roughly NS/EW orientation (see Figure 4.27). In the northern part, the results show long stretches of walls running NS and shorter EW partitions, which could be identified as a long building, possibly a *stoa*, whose boundaries however are not clear. It must be noted that some of the magnetic anomalies interpreted as wall lay in proximity of the above mentioned brick and mortar wall found during the illegal dig. From the southern edge of the plateau clearer results have instead emerged. The area roughly corresponding to grids 139-144 is occupied by an *insula* measuring about 33 x 33 meters, bordered on its south edge by a street about 3 meters wide crossing grids 547, 548 and 552 (see Figure 4.27). Some of the internal partitions within the *insula* are recognisable, but at this stage it is not possible to clearly identify the spatial arrangement of the structure. South of the street, the wall alignments seem to point to the existence of another building of the same orientation, with another street at about 30 meters from the previous one, but the traces are too faint for any secure interpretation. Further south, across grids 527-529, the magnetic survey evidenced a clearer crossing point of two roads which have the same orientation of the road bordering the above mentioned insula. Interestingly, the distance between the two securely identified roads is about 60 meters, which confirms a recurrent building module of some 30 meters.

The survey has continued the investigation towards the south, around the area where the 'Big Thing' lies (see Figure 4.28 for an overview). The results evidence the presence of stretches of walls with the same orientation as the 'Big Thing', therefore orientated a few degrees off in relation to the *insula* on the plateau, but no clear building shapes can be recognized. A little south, an anomaly interpreted as a street has been identified across grids 514, 515, 757, 755, 754 and, beyond the modern road that surrounds the hill, 461 and 457 where it bifurcates in two segments, one proceeding towards SE, while the other one running towards north. This street is not aligned with the roads that were seen closer to the plateau and it is not possible to establish whether these streets are part of the same network or represent street systems that were laid out in different historical periods. Towards the SE, the road seems to intersect

[591] Brasser 2013, 44.
[592] Brasser 2013.
[593] Brasser 2013.

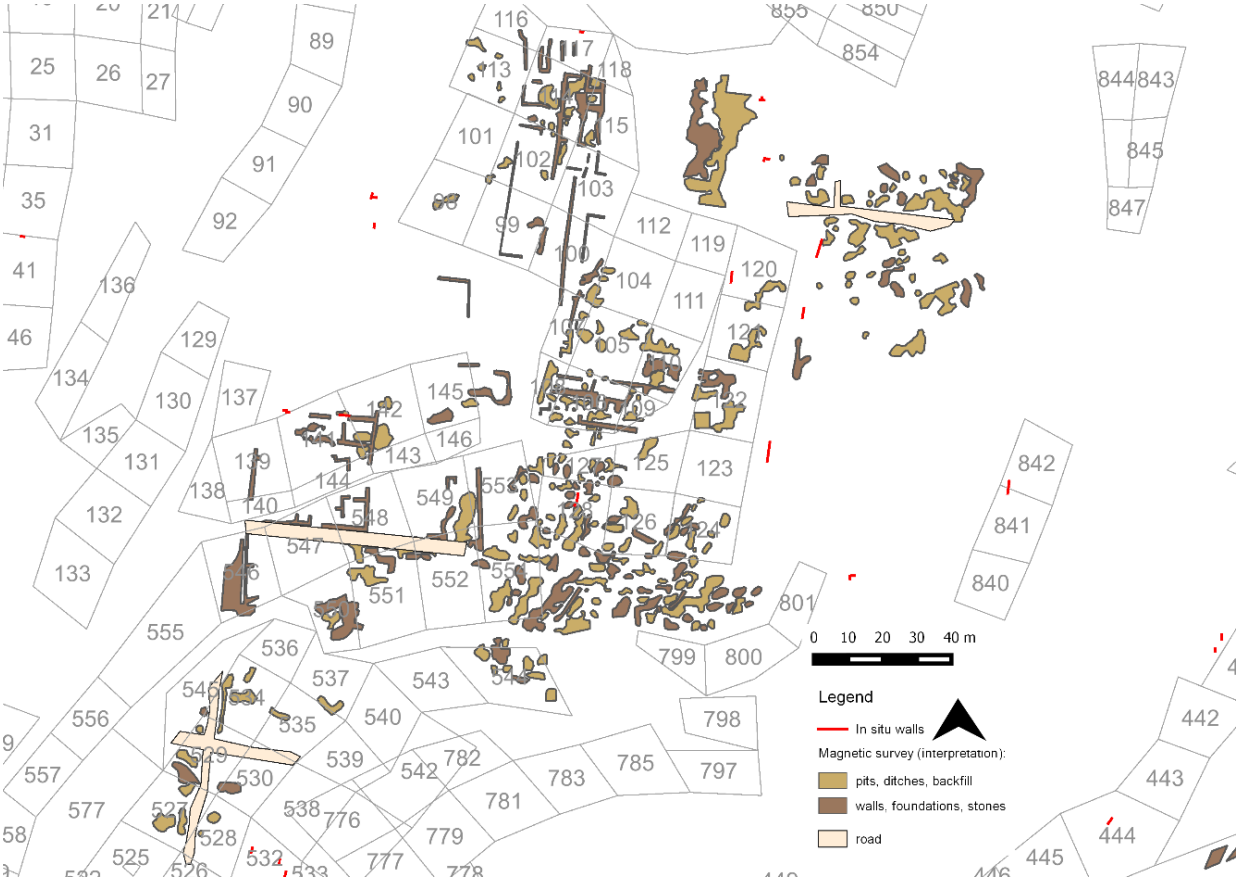

Figure 4.27 Detail of the interpretation of the magnetometry survey's results (by Eastern Atlas) on the eastern slope of the hill. The raster image of the results in this area is shown in Figure 4.29.

the large anomaly that the magnetic survey has identified running from grid 452 until grid 502 (but that continues again towards SW in grid 246, see below *Southern slope*). This anomaly, reaching 20 meters of width as it approaches the modern road, can be identified as the double curtain city wall that enclosed the urban centre on its southern side. The extension of the anomaly, exceeding the typical city wall's width, might be explained as remains of construction debris and limestone fragments.[594] In case the road and the city wall belonged to the same chronological period and were contemporary in use, their position in relation to each other suggest that a gate was located at their intersection.

Water infrastructures

A sewer was recorded just south of grid 377, between the theatre and the plateau, oriented roughly EW and presumably flanking a street (Figure 4.10, nr. 3). At the foot of the hill, some 150 meters SE from the Frankish tower, an underground fountain has been discovered under an overgrown fig tree (Figure 4.10, nr. 4). Another water source was probably located on the SE foot of the hill, near grid 775 (Figure 4.10, nr. 5).

Discussion

The eastern slope has yielded significant traces of occupation of the hill, both in terms of private and public architecture. The ancient theatre of Koroneia was located in the natural depression on the eastern

[594] Meyer and Pilz 2016, 12.

slope, close to the plateau where the evidence suggest that the agora/forum of the Graeco-Roman town was located. This proximity is often observed in Boeotian urban centres, where the theatre had usually an important role as a place where festivals and rituals associated with local cults were celebrated, such as the *Agrionia*, a festival in honour of Dionysos, which at Orchomenos took place in the theatre near the temple.[595] The few finds associated with the theatre do not allow us to make hypotheses on its appearance and actual size. The natural depression obviously gives the maximum extent (about 80 meters), but it must be noted that the retaining walls often encompassed a larger area than what was available for the spectators to be seated in.[596] As a comparison, the theatre of Thebes, the largest in Boeotia and dated to the 3rd century BC, had a diameter of ca. 110 meters.[597] Regional comparisons show that Boeotian theatres were often erected directly on the slope, adapting to the natural morphology more than being constructed to follow a preferred orientation.[598]

On and around the plateau, numerous evidences of public and honorific architecture have been found and, for this reason, the area has been identified already in the early years of the survey as the possible agora/forum of the city. The current available data recorded on the northern and eastern parts of the plateau point indeed towards a pronounced public character given the traces of large buildings and honorific monuments. The southern part is instead occupied by *insulae* measuring roughly 30 x 30 meters. The wall alignments recorded on this part of the eastern slope share the same roughly NS/EW orientation as the *in situ* walls documented on the northern slope, which confirms the presence of an orthogonal roughly NS/EW urban layout. This spatial organization can be followed only for some 150 meters towards the south, as the traces of walls identified during the magnetic survey on the lower SE slope have a slightly different orientation (which will become more marked in the wall stretches on the lower southern slope, see below). At this stage of the research we suppose that this is the result of the attempt to negotiate between an orthogonal grid and the natural morphology of the terrain, which has been evidenced in other sites as well such as at Haliartos and Hyettos.[599] The orientation of the *insula* and its bordering street follows indeed the edge of the plateau, while the shift in orientation seems to have been made to adjust the buildings to better fit the sloping ground towards the south (see Figure 4.28).

Regarding the boundaries of the town on the eastern slope, the findspots of the 'Koppa' stamped tiles match well with the projected line of the city wall circuit that the magnetic survey has recognized at the foot of the southern slope (see Figures 4.28 and 4.32 for the hypothetical reconstruction of the path followed by the city wall circuit). The above mentioned funerary elements that have been recorded on the south-eastern slope are located inside the urban area that is marked by the supposed stretch of the city wall identified during the magnetic survey in the south edge of the hill. This is not in contrast with the costume of keeping *necropoleis* outside the urban area. The inscribed stele has been in fact dated to the Imperial period and therefore this area could well have been a Roman cemetery, in use after the destruction or obliteration of the Classical-Hellenistic city wall. The above mentioned Roman pottery dump, located in grids 754-758, is also inside the city wall circuit.

If the identification of the magnetic anomalies will be confirmed, we can suppose the existence of a gate at the intersection of city wall and road, the latter being flanked outside the wall by an industrial quarter, especially in grids 879-882 and 469-472 (in Figure 4.24) where misfired pottery and magnetic anomalies point towards the possible existence of pottery kilns. The location of artisanal quarters at the

[595] Germani 2015, 360. See Germani 2012 for an overview of Boeotian festivals and contexts that were held in theatres.
[596] Germani 2012.
[597] Germani 2012.
[598] Germani 2015, 356. See chapter 5, p. 185 for a discussion on Greek theatres' orientation.
[599] See Sarris and Kalayci 2016, 51.

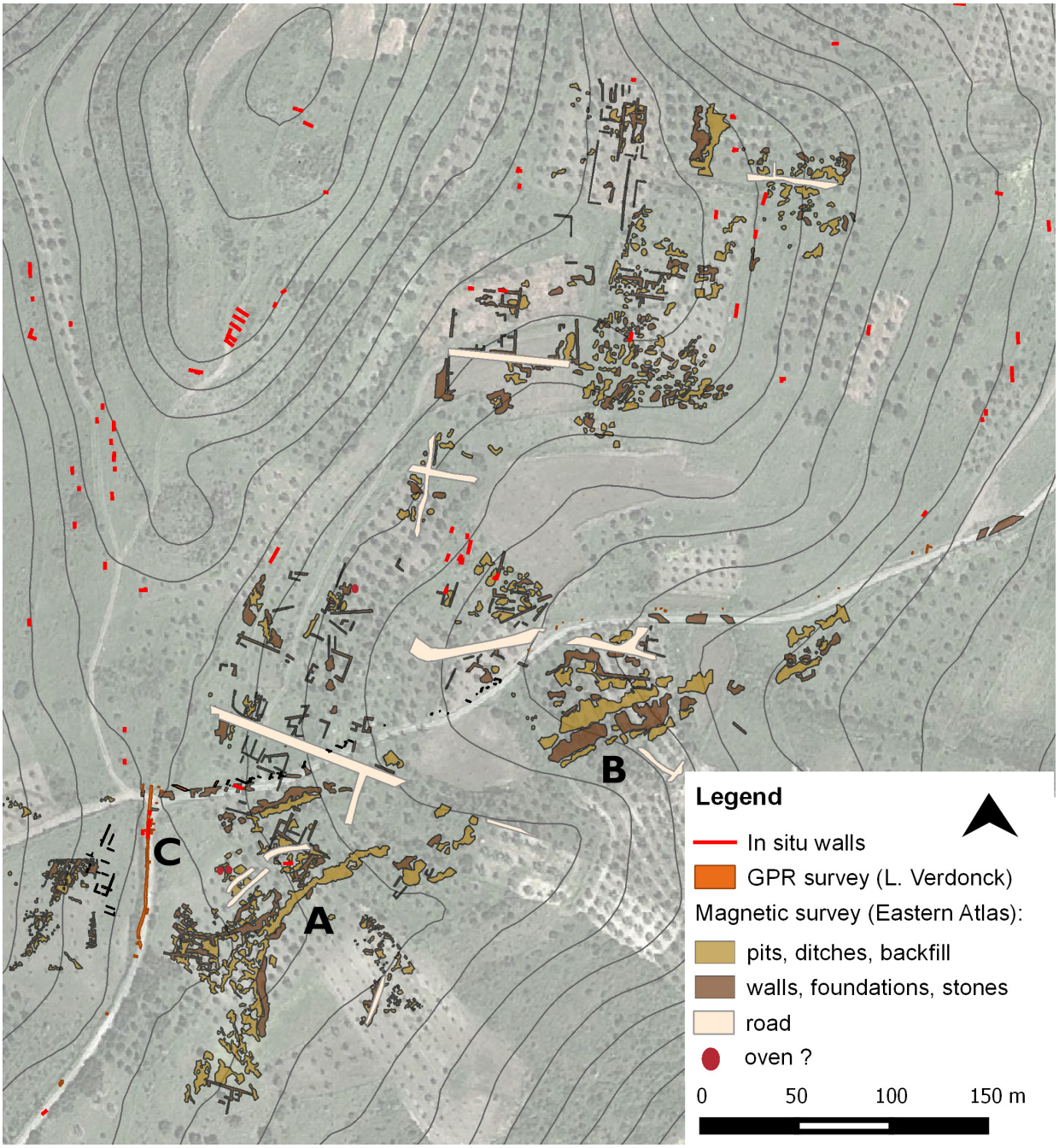

Figure 4.28 Overview of the areas on the eastern and southern slopes that have been covered by geophysical survey. The features interpreted as roads (in light pink) and the remains of foundations and walls (in brown) show a regular lay out on the plateau and on part of the southern slope, while at the foot of the latter the orientation shifts, probably to adapt to the terrain. Two large anomalies at the foot of the southern slope (A and B) have been interpreted as the city wall circuit. C identifies the supposed path of the Hadrianic aqueduct resulting from the GPR survey by L. Verdonck.

foot of the hill can be related also to the presence of water nearby, which represented an indispensable element for the preparation of clay (but see chapter 5, pp. 213-4). In the same area, the finds documented in grids 463-465 and 469, namely large blocks and the *opus sectile* floor testify to the occupation of this area in Late Antiquity, perhaps with a villa or a church.

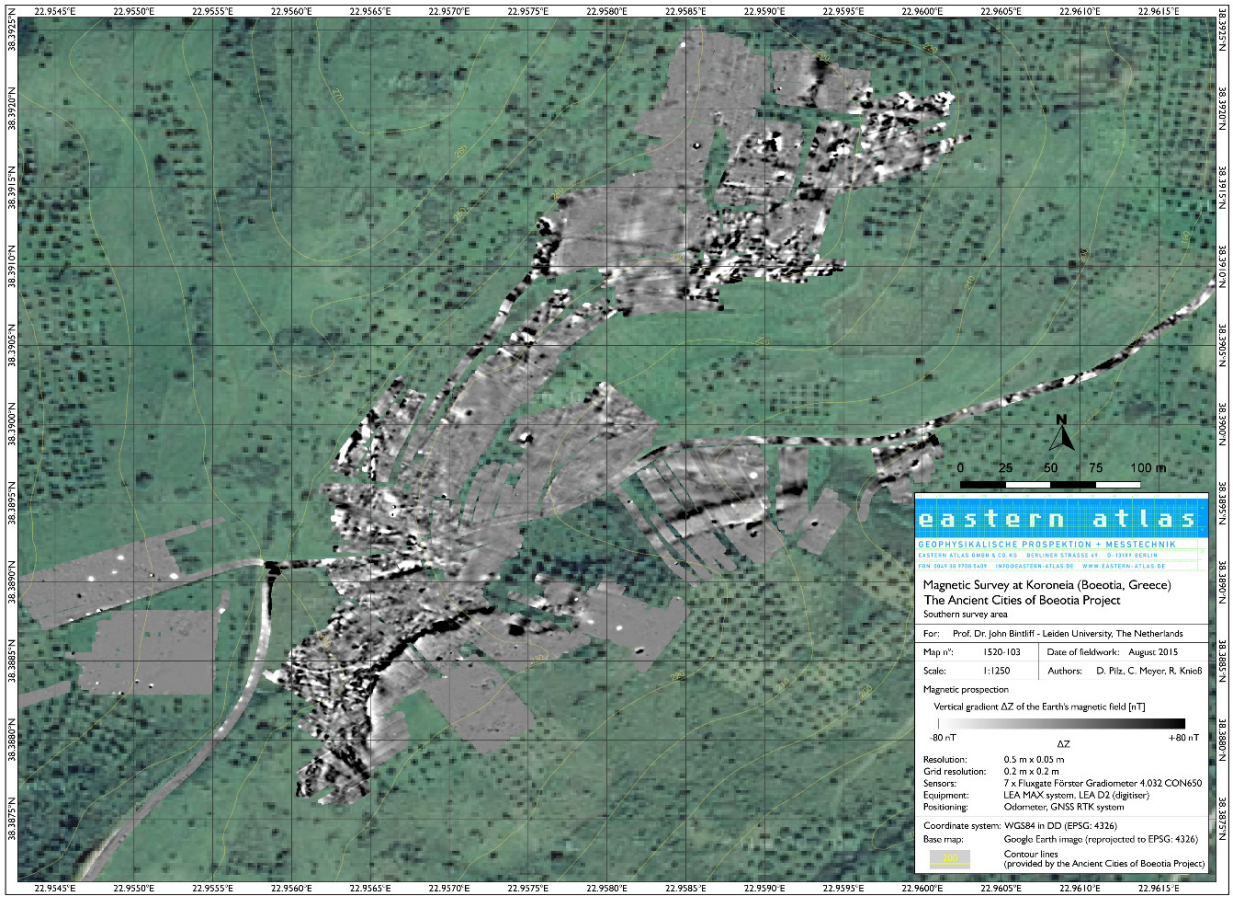

Figure 4.29 Results of the magnetometry survey on the hill's plateau and southern slope (by Eastern Atlas).

4.4.4 Southern slope

Architecture

The overview of the finds are presented in Figure 4.30. On the lower southern slope, a fragment of a Corinthian Byzantine capital decorated with a cross was found west of grid 510.[600] This gives us a clear indication of the presence of a church in this area. The north-east edge of grid 258 is occupied by a cluster of roughly worked grey limestone building blocks, varying in dimension from about 0.40 to 1.8 meter, which have been pushed towards the terrace's edge and could hint at the presence of a large building in the area.[601] Numerous worked stones were documented also on the edge of the terrace occupied by grids 216-224, testifying once again to the intense agricultural works on the hill.

A number of blocks recorded in grid 161 had probably fallen down from the acropolis, similarly to other blocks found on the western slope (see related section).[602]

Pottery

At present, there are only few available pottery data for this area of the town. Some textile implements, mainly discoid loomweights (which reflects the overall situation of the example so far examined), were

[600] Pictures available at http://www.boeotiaproject.org/files/09-13PDF/2010_080.pdf
[601] Uytterhoeven 2014a, 2.
[602] Uytterhoeven 2014a, 1.

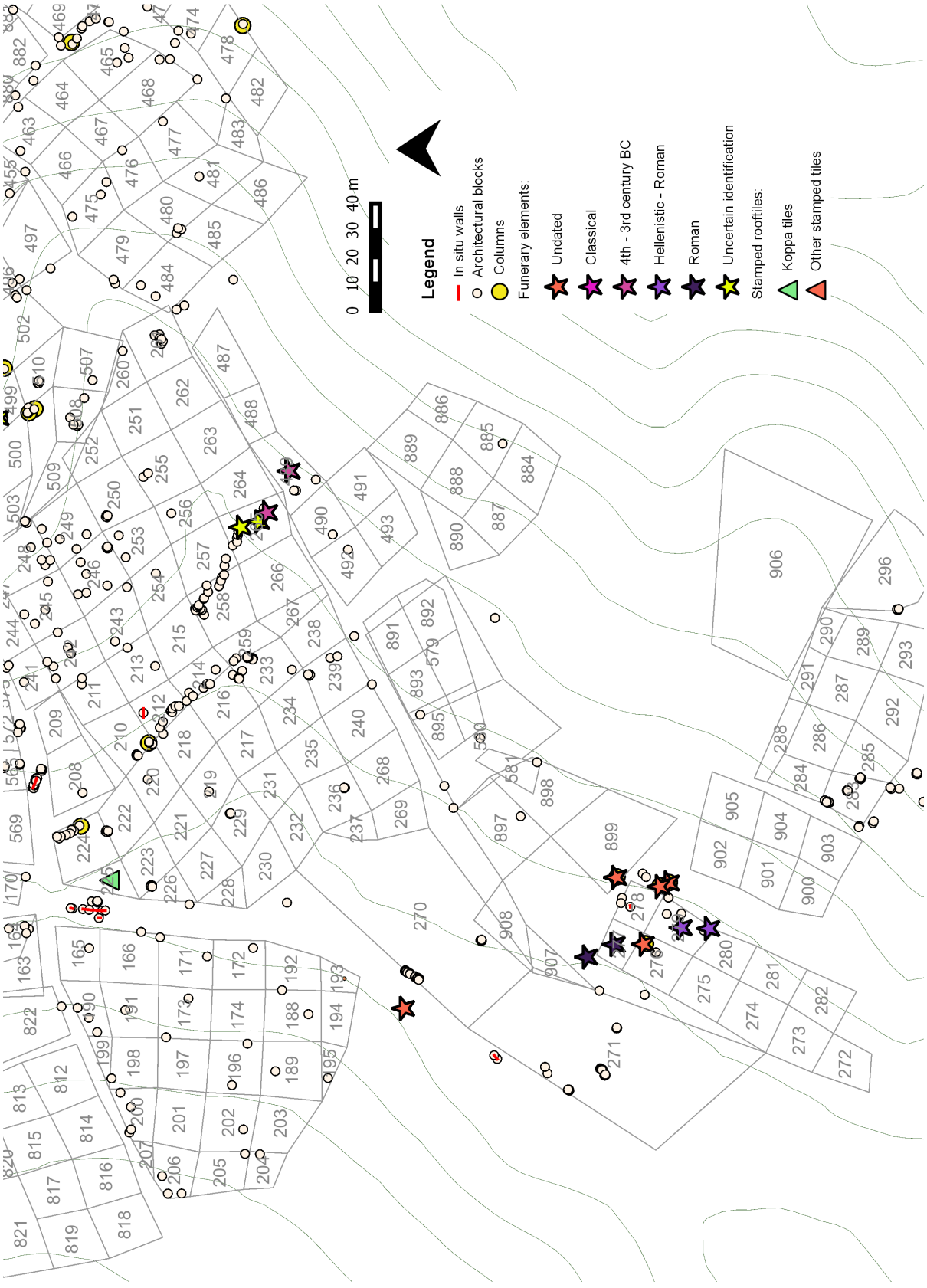

Figure 4.30 Overview of the finds on the southern slope

collected and studied:[603] in grid 165 (nr. 15, conical), 170 (nr. 34, discoid), 171 (nr. 93, spindle whorl), 174 (nr. 10, conical), 188 (nr. 65, discoid), 190 (nr. 42, discoid), 196 (nr. 51, discoid), 220 (nr. 49, discoid). A 'Koppa' stamp that was found in grid 225, which suggests the nearby presence of a structure financed by the town in Classical – Hellenistic time.

Stone finds

Grinding tools collected on the southern slope concentrate in grids 812-819, which are located outside the city wall circuit. Specifically, grids 813 and 814 one fragment of Pompeian Donkey Mill each, in the latter grid a fragment of a Saddle Quern was also found, grids 815 and 816 one fragment of Olynthian Hopper Rubber each, while grid 817 yielded 5 fragments of Olynthian Hopper Rubber. It seems likely therefore that a commercial activity oriented to grain processing and bread making was established in this area from Classical to Roman times. Considering the broader context of Koroneia's *chora*, this area seems in fact to be favourably located for town dwellers returning from their fields.

As far as funerary inscriptions are concerned, two findings in the adjacent grids 265 and 489 are dated to the 4th – 3rd century BC,[604] hinting at the presence of a Late Classical – Hellenistic necropolis in this area, which is in fact outside the supposed city wall circuit on the south. Further south, a Roman *necropolis*, perhaps already in use in late Hellenistic times, can be identified around grids 276-279. Funerary inscriptions dated to the late Hellenistic – (early and late) Imperial period by F. Marchand are in fact concentrated in those grids and in grid 899, where also other pieces of funerary monuments have been found.

Geophysics

A large area on the southern slope has been surveyed by using a GPR[605] and an array of fluxgate gradiometer probes to investigate the magnetic properties of underground anomalies.[606] These investigations showed the continuation of the anomalies, interpreted as the city wall, visible at the foot of the eastern slope, and a regularly laid out sector of the town with a different orientation than what was observed on the northern and eastern slope (ca. N25°E). The street system of this area is comprised of a long street about 3 meters wide that runs diagonally across grids 568, 564, 571, 575, 244, and 248, and continues in grids 507-508 (see overview in Figure 4.28). In between grids 244 and 248, another street, seemingly narrower, departs from the previous one making a 90° turn towards south-west. Another narrow road with the same orientation as the latter was identified further south crossing grids 266 and 492. The magnetic survey has identified several wall alignments which give the impression of a densely built-up area, although no individual building or insula-arrangement can be identified. Three anomalies that could be interpreted as ovens have been recognised in grid 520 (1) and 220 (2).

The GPR survey in this area identified some clearly recognisable traces of walls: wall alignments with the same orientation as the others that were recorded in this area have been found on the field west of the modern road (grids 165, 166, 171). On the modern road, a long stretch of wall, whose remains on surface were also spotted during the architecture survey, was identified (Figure 4.28, C). This feature runs NS for about 80 meters, therefore not sharing the common orientation of the other anomalies recorded in this area and seems to start bending at the end of the GPR-surveyed area (i.e. between grids 172 and 230). The interpretation of this long stretch is not secure, but its width (ca. 1 m) and the fact that it is only one line, which excludes that it can be part of the city wall circuit, leave as the only

[603] Meens 2011.
[604] Dated by F. Marchand.
[605] Verdonck 2013.
[606] Meyer and Pilz 2016.

other plausible hypothesis at this stage that these are the remains of the Hadrianic aqueduct that used to bring water to Koroneia. The location matches with the information collected by Lauffer during his survey that the aqueduct's starting point was on the ridge of the Megalo Butsurati, south of Koroneia's hill, and that it reached the town from the south.

Discussion

Since the results of the pottery data for this area are not available yet, we are limited in the hypotheses that we can make on this area of the town. The finds discussed in this section are dated mainly to the Roman and Late Roman period, but this obviously does not exclude an occupation of this area in Classical – Hellenistic times. The southern and eastern slopes seem to have become the focus of the Roman town. The aqueduct (if this identification will be confirmed) passing through this area would have offered a readily available source of water, making this location particularly favourable for housing quarters. As observed by Boswinkel in his analysis of the architectural finds, most of the walls in polygonal masonry are found in the north part of the site, while individual polygonal blocks are found on or near the plateau. This could be explained with the recycling of these blocks in the Roman shrunken town, which indeed occupied the eastern and southern slope leaving the northern part abandoned.[607] A Late Antique presence in this part of the hill is attested by the capital with cross recorded in grid 510, perhaps a trace of one of the churches that we know from 19th century travellers were located on the hill.

4.3.5 Western slope

The western slope is the steepest and made of low grade unstable metamorphic stone, with the exception of the upper terraces, close to the acropolis.[608] The unstable nature of the geology on this side facilitates the creation of gullies, and in fact two of them are present on the slope.

Architecture

On this side of the hill, the survey team identified the most conspicuous traces of fortifications, namely two protruding square towers, one west of grid unit 753 and the other one on the northern edge of grid 832 (located in Figure 4.31). Numerous blocks, most likely fallen from the acropolis wall, have been recorded in grids 176 and 177.[609] At the foot of the slope, in grid 877, 4 *in situ* limestone ashlars belonging to the same structure have been documented, namely two corner blocks and two central pieces lower than the corner blocks, indicating perhaps a threshold. Although at this stage of the research it is difficult to advance any hypotheses given the few surface remains, this structure could be interpreted as a temple.

Pottery

On the western slope, the highest concentration of textile implements was found (6 in grid 177; 5 in 178 and 3 in179; the lower grids 181 returned one loomweight and in 182 a tile which was possibly recut to serve as a loomweight was found).[610] It must be remembered that the studied textile implements represent only a fraction of the total collected pottery finds and therefore should not be used to draw statistical conclusions. On the grids not far from where the remains of one of the towers were recorded, a high concentration of stamped roof tiles were found, peaking with 7 fragments in grid 870. This density confirms the proximity of the city wall circuit running along the western slope.

[607] Boswinkel 2015, 202.
[608] Bintliff *et al.* 2013, 137.
[609] Uytterhoeven 2014a.
[610] Meens 2011.

Stone finds

The amount of stone finds on the western slope is very limited. A fragment of Olynthian hopper rubber and another one of an unidentified grinding tool were collected on the terraces below the acropolis (in grid 177 and 186 respectively). On the lower slope (west of grid 761), a fragment of a saddle quern was recorded.[611]

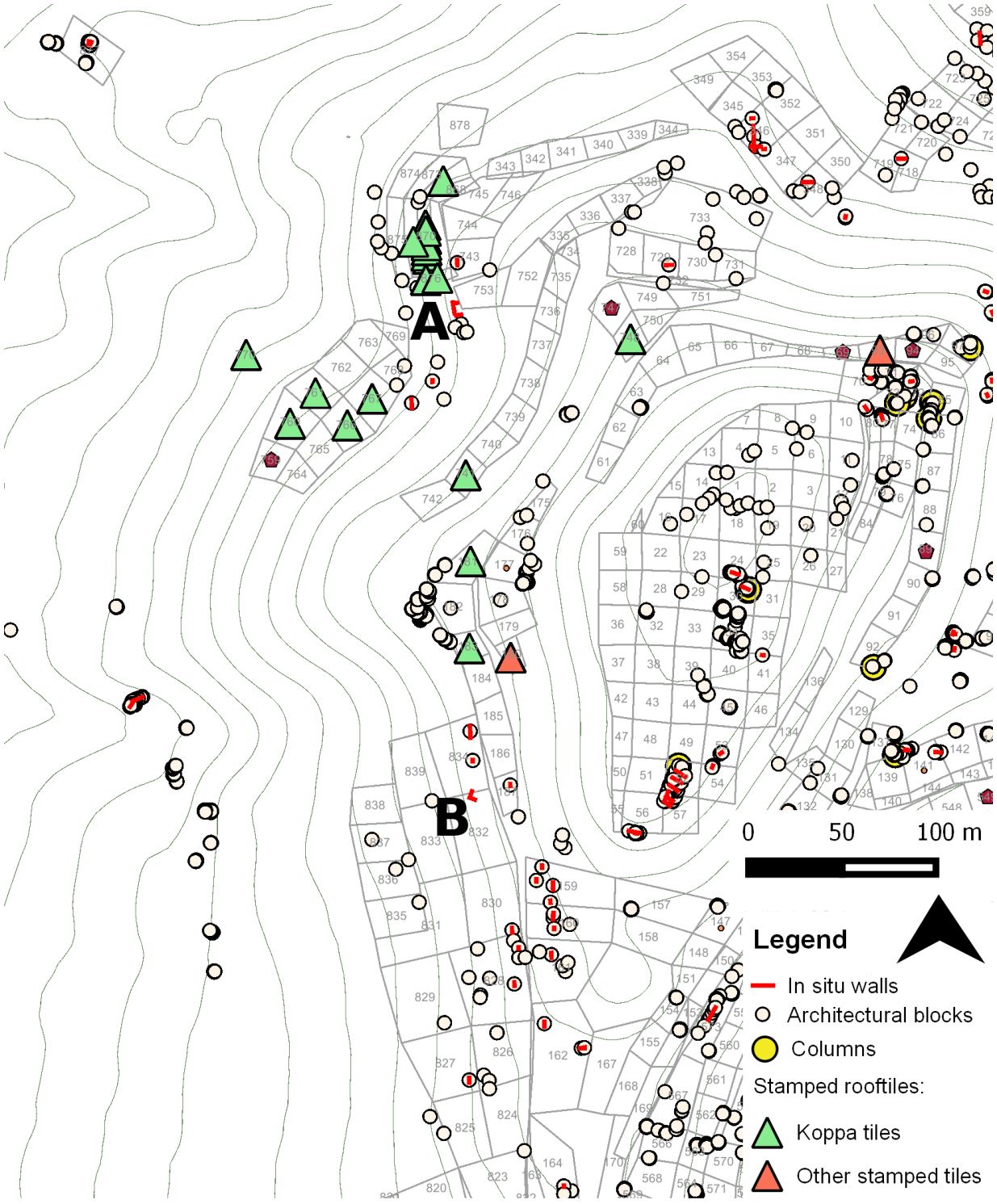

Figure 4.31 Western slope with surveyed towers (A and B).

[611] Brasser 2013.

Discussion

The fortification line on the western slope can be traced with high likeliness thanks to the remains of two towers, the distribution of the stamped tiles and the morphology of the terrain. The size of the Classical-Hellenistic walled town is therefore either about 34 (yellow line in Figure 4.32) or 37 hectares (orange line in Figure 4.32).

4.5. Conclusions

To sum up, the archaeological record from Koroneia is representative of the typical situation of a multi-period urban site in which building blocks and artefacts have been reused, excavated, removed and dispersed, both in historical and modern times, thus complicating our task of reconstructing its several phases of occupation. Nevertheless, the analysis of the multidisciplinary dataset, including historical

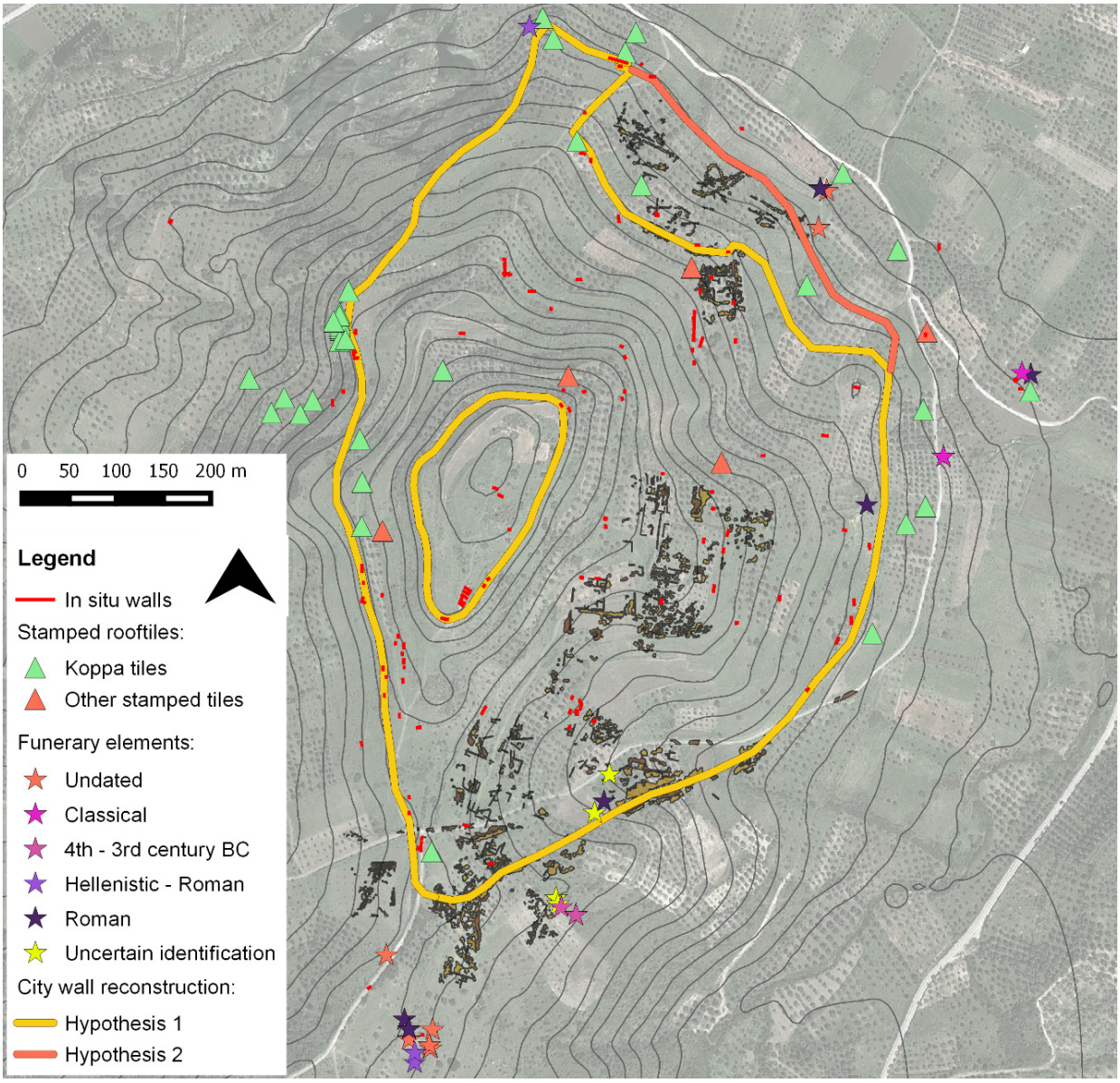

Figure 4.32 Reconstruction hypothesis of the path followed by the acropolis and lower city wall circuits based on the hill's contour lines, geophysical results and related finds such as funerary elements and stamped rooftiles bearing the city mark Koppa (Ϙ).

sources, previous research and the preliminary results of the of non-destructive methods employed by the Boeotia survey team have allowed us so far to: 1) reconstruct parts of the urban layout as regularly laid out with a NS/EW orientation, especially on the upper northern and eastern slope; 2) map provisional functional zones such as housing and public areas and position one area with large public architecture (possibly the agora/forum) on a plateau below and east of the acropolis; 3) establish the path of the lower city wall circuit; and 4) locate several *necropoleis* that marked the boundary between the town and the extra mural areas in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times, and some possible suburban sanctuaries.

Given that the study of survey finds is still in progress, especially in regard to the pottery sherds, there are some limitations in our current possibilities of following the urban development of the settlement through the centuries. From the integration of the available sources that I discussed in this chapter, however, it is possible to identify some modifications in the settlement's size and location. The Classical-Hellenistic town reached the largest expansion, up to the lower town wall circuit identified during the geophysical and architectural surveys. In Roman times, the urban area shrank considerably, leaving the northern slope abandoned and concentrating on the eastern and southern slope. The Imperial aqueduct, coming from the Butsurati ridge, must have offered a convenient source of water to the southern part of the town, and therefore certainly contributed to the concentration of the settlement in this area. The Late Antique phase features prominently on the acropolis, where some fragments of vaulted ceiling belonging to an imposing building, possibly an elite mansion, still survive, together with the (poorly) excavated remains of some possible houses. The series of strong earthquakes that hit Greece in 551 AD and that, according to Procopius, destroyed Koroneia are probably responsible for the physical destruction of this settlement, but are unlikely to have required abandonment, as other city sites show. Finally, a small community is attested below the Frankish tower during the Middle and Byzantine period outside of the ancient city. Scattered survey finds and the testimonies of 19th century travellers testify to the presence of (three) churches on the lower slopes of the hill, possibly belonging to this period.

The completion of the study of the architectural and pottery finds and the continuation of the geophysical investigations will further refine this provisional information. There will however remain areas that are not accessible for surveying or that have been only partially investigated due to the presence of overgrown vegetation or a steep slope, and features that were shown by the geophysical survey that could be identified securely only by excavating. Moreover, the identification of some of the structures uncovered during previous investigations on the hill remains still obscure. Specifically, the location of the Christian church, the Roman agora and the large cistern excavated by Pappadakis have all not been identified with certainty. The path followed by the aqueduct after entering the town and its endpoint are moreover still unclear.

Regarding the fortifications of the lower town, as discussed above, several *in situ* stretches of a wall built out of rectangular soft yellowish limestone blocks coming from a nearby quarry were recognised in numerous locations.[612] As was ascertained during the survey, the properties of the stone lead to its easy erosion when the blocks are exposed. Uytterhoven has suggested therefore that the choice of such poor quality, yet easily obtainable, stone for fortifying the lower town is a possible sign of an emergency measure in view of a possible military threat for Koroneia after the Classical period.[613] Although the fragmentary historical information that we have discussed above warns caution in advancing hypotheses, it seems possible that a rapid reconstruction of the fortification circuit was needed after the *andrapodismos* that the Koroneians suffered in 346 BC. The speedy recovery of the town, which spanned less than a decade judging from the Delphi inscription dated to 337/6, can be explained by the

[612] Uytterhoeven 2014a, 1-2.
[613] Uytterhoeven 2014a, 2.

use of readily available building materials and fits well into the currently available evidence. In this regard, however, further study needs to be done on the 'Koppa' tiles, which have been dated from the 5th to the 2nd century BC by F. Marchand: only when the finds will be plotted on a map and divided by age, will it become more clear if the tiles that have been dated to the 4th century BC can confirm our hypothesis of a rebuilding of the lower city walls in relation to the above mentioned *andrapodismos*. The 2nd century BC tiles, testifying to the final repairs to the city walls, fit well with the historical sources attesting the Roman policy of not allowing the reconstruction of the lower city wall.

As far as Koroneia's urban layout, the architectural and geophysical survey results showed the existence of a regular spatial arrangement, oriented roughly NS/EW, on the higher parts of the northern and eastern slopes. From comparisons with other urban centres in Boeotia and in mainland Greece, it seems likely that this roughly orthogonal organization was laid out in the late Classical – Hellenistic period. Plataiai, for example, received an orthogonal grid upon its re-foundation after Chaironeia in 338 BC,[614] and Tanagra also seems to have assumed its orthogonal plan in the 4th century BC.[615] In both cases, the overall plan was maintained up to Late Antiquity, albeit with some internal modifications that transformed *insulae* that were previously occupied by numerous house plots into large villas and shrinking in size of the town extent (see chapter 5, pp. 155-7). Comparisons with other sites, such as Hyettos and recently at Haliartos, show moreover that the regular grid was adapted to better follow the terrain morphology. This occurred probably also in Koroneia, where the results of both the geophysical and the architectural surveys show a change in wall orientation on the southern and south-eastern slope in respect to the roughly north-south axis which was preferred on the northern and eastern slope. These are therefore the working hypotheses that guided the reconstruction of the urban layout that will be discussed in chapter 6.

As a final point, besides the built environment, also the vegetation that was present in and around the town should be considered. Until now, however, no archaeo-botanical analysis has been made that specifically identifies botanical species at Koroneia.[616] From ancient sources, however, we know that the towns around the Copais had a very peculiar ecology and exploited the vegetation of the marshy areas as a source of income. For example, reeds were used for weaving and a sugary fruit called 'phleos' to make soap powder and as food for children and cattle.[617] Chaironeians especially are said by Pausanias to distil perfumes, which were used as healing unguents, from flowers such as irises that grew in the marsh, lily, roses, and narcissus.[618] Regarding Koroneia, as Fossey has suggested, the inscriptions testifying to the Imperial concern of protecting the agricultural land from flooding point also to the importance of crops as the main resource for the economy of this region.

[614] Konecny *et al.* 2013, 32-9.
[615] Slapšak 2012, 53-61. For comparisons with other sites, see also chapter 5, pp. 149-51.
[616] For Boeotia, see Rackham 1983.
[617] Fossey 1990, 220-66, esp. 251.
[618] Paus. 9.41.7; Fossey 1990, 251.