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## **Boeotian landscapes. A GIS-based study for the reconstruction and interpretation of the archaeological datasets of ancient Boeotia.**

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## II.2

### The Boeotian landscape: state of archaeological research

The archaeological landscape of Boeotia has been studied in different ways throughout the centuries of archaeological research, according to different perspectives and approaches applied. Many descriptive catalogues and monographs on archaeological findings and excavation, as well as synthetic studies and broader perspective research, some of them with a strong historical focus, have been published to date, making available to us a large amount of data. Within the framework of the present research, all archaeological information available for the region of ancient Boeotia has been collected and inserted into the database, according to the methodology described above (chapter I.2.2). This mainly included: archaeological reports, systematic and rescue excavation reports, extensive topographical research, intensive surveys – published and preliminary results, ancient travellers' reports (examined partially).

This series of information produces inhomogeneous, non-linear datasets, marked by different levels of complexity. For instance, different degrees of detail and complexity characterise the information and the archaeological evidence available from the bibliography (in a broader, regional perspective) in comparison with those resulting from more recent intensive and systematic artefact surface surveys, which intensively cover the landscape in search of all traces of human activity in smaller defined areas.

As seen earlier (chapter I.2.2), a field named 'discovery' is present in the database structure, in which is input an indication of the research framework within which the discovery of each individual cluster occurred. In order to maintain coherence, the choices are limited to: extensive topographical surveys, intensive topographical surveys, intensive and systematic topographical surveys, intensive and systematic artefact surface survey, historical geography, rescue excavation, personal or group interest, travellers, accidental, other (see table 6 in chapter I.2.2). In filling in the field for each cluster, attention has been paid to the first discovery (when known) of the particular cluster (in this way monitoring the knowledge actually available), while later researches are indicated in the bibliography (and indicate the quality of the information). This is why our research was primarily interested in the mapping and monitoring of available archaeological knowledge and its possible biases within each area under study.

By indicating the source type, the archaeological information can more easily be checked and monitored, and by querying the field, the database user can easily find all records (clusters) found through a precise

discovery type, and detect biases in discovery. (This analysis has been performed, for instance, for each *chora* – see *chorai* chapters.)<sup>1</sup> Discovery type is indicated for each single cluster, also for multiperiod sites, in an attempt to indicate the discovery type for each single period of occupation or use, each of which constitutes a different cluster. With the value 'other', for instance, I indicate cases in which evidence for certain periods was discovered 'by chance' on a site whose main occupation is investigated by archaeologists interested in other periods or other site types.

In fact, the whole of the archaeological record available for Boeotia comes from one of those different kinds of research trends or discovery occasions, and every source of information available can be classified in one of these groups. Generally speaking, an overview of the cluster discoveries would give us a general overview of the state of research on the Boeotian archaeological landscape.

According to the classification available in the database (see above), the available data will be briefly presented in this chapter, in order to give a quick overview of the state of research on the Boeotian landscape.

#### DESCRIPTION OF AVAILABLE DATA

Archaeological information available for the region has been collected until 2006.

Primarily descriptive sources (such as archaeological reports or gazetteers) must be distinguished from analytical and synthetic works, which do not directly present the archaeological information but rather try to analyse the settlement and the landscape history (even if partial, concerning only certain areas, certain periods or a certain topic of research), and can therefore be included in the research and interpretation already carried out on Boeotian landscape history<sup>2</sup>. Here, I will present mainly descriptive sources, from which the archaeological record available is actually generated, aiming at the construction of the archaeological map. Synthetic works are quoted

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<sup>1</sup> In an attempt at monitoring the biases in the archaeological knowledge available for the region, I also proceed, in each *chora* chapter, to other consideration of the data (metadata inquiries), e.g. GIS analysis to monitor the relationship between discoveries and proximity to modern roads.

<sup>2</sup> Some works present both aspects, e.g. Fossey 1988 (with gazetteers and settlement analysis), or Lauffer Kopais I (with comments on the settlement pattern attached to site descriptions).

within the single analytical and synthetic chapters of the present work.

Available sources of archaeological information include:

**Extensive topographical survey reports:** site-oriented extensive research, conducted over the whole region or in wide areas, including mainly Fossey's 1988 detailed gazetteer of Boeotian sites (certainly the starting point for the present work).

**Intensive topographical survey reports:** site-oriented research conducted intensively (but not systematically, and not involving artefact surface survey) over quite small areas, such as, for instance, the very detailed and useful work conducted by Lauffer in the Copais area (Lauffer Kopais I).

**Intensive and systematic topographical surveys:** this category includes, for Boeotia, various research: part of the work done by Munn in the Skourta plain area, when fieldwork was conducted (apart from the areas where transecting was carried out – see below) by examining the landscape (25% of the whole area, especially in the locales of Pyli, Skourta and Stephani), looking for sites (in this sense I indicated the survey as topographical), but without counting sherds systematically. It was not a proper artefact surface survey but was nevertheless conducted in an intensive and systematic way. The category also includes Fossey's rural survey in the Chostia area (territory of ancient Chorseiai – Fossey Chostia I), as well as David French's Prehistoric site survey for Central Greece, carried out since the 1960s (French 1972).

**Intensive and systematic artefact surface survey reports and/or preliminary data:** in Boeotia, intensive and systematic artefact surface surveys have been carried out in different areas (mainly the areas of Thespieae, Haliartos, Hyettos, Tanagra and lately Koroneia) by the Boeotia Survey Project (since 1978, directed initially by Bintliff and Snodgrass, then by Bintliff alone, and currently by Bintliff and Slapšak – see bibliography for references)<sup>3</sup>, in the ancient Thisbe area and in the islets in the gulf of Domvraina by Gregory (1980, 1986 and 1992), in the Skourta plain by Munn (limited to the transect survey - see bibliography for references), in the urban area of Plataea by an Austrian team led by Konecny, in collaboration with the local *ephoreia* (in the person of V. Aravantinos), all characterised by intensive and systematic fieldwork, albeit conducted according to slightly different methodologies (fig.1).

**Historical geography:** including mainly research focused on the quest for *poleis*, town and village

<sup>3</sup> For the present work, I have inserted into the survey sites database only the artefact concentrations securely dated, mostly from preliminary reports (never fully and systematically published or currently being published) – see each individual *chora* chapter.

settlements and cult places (Kirsten's and Pritchett's studies, for example).

**Rescue excavation:** archaeological reports, both Greek (AD; Praktika; AAA; Ergon) and foreign (mainly journals of the foreign archaeological schools in Athens: Archaeological Reports, BCH chronicles, etc.), are the main source of information on rescue excavations, as well as some conference papers (especially from the proceedings of the Boeotian international conference<sup>4</sup>) presenting results from new (often unpublished) rescue excavations.

**Personal or group research interest:** this category includes site-oriented and period-oriented research (Dickinson's work for instance, HS&D 1979), problem-oriented research (for example the work of Knauss et al. on Copais,<sup>5</sup> or other works published mainly in journals concerning Greek studies) as well as systematic excavations or test soundings carried out to address specific questions or to investigate further sites already known.

Gazetteers reporting mainly Prehistoric sites, or evidence from later periods only when they occur at Prehistoric (or possible Prehistoric) sites (for instance, Hope Simpson 1965, HS&D 1979, Syriopoulos 1968 and 1983-84), are usually included into the category of 'Personal or group interest', and sometimes in 'Ext. topographical surveys' according to the kind of research that led to the actual discovery of the site<sup>6</sup>.

**Travellers:** some sites were first discovered during the journeys carried out by early travellers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> (and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>) centuries. They especially visited the main sites known from historical sources. Among other travellers see especially Leake, Gell, Ulrichs, Ross (see bibliography for reference). Travellers were not read systematically or thoroughly, but were checked only on certain occasions with regard to specific problems (see quotation in text and footnotes)<sup>7</sup>.

**Other:** mainly cases in which evidences for certain periods were discovered by archaeologists interested in other periods or other site types while their investigation was in progress.

**Accidental:** Accidental discovery, mainly from field ploughing or tomb robbing/illegal excavations.

<sup>4</sup> A', B' and Γ' *diethnes synedrio Boiotikon Meleton* (1988, 1995 and 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Knauss et al. mainly KOPAIS 3, but also several articles.

<sup>6</sup> Gazetteers are obviously taken into consideration for this purpose only when scholars working on them first discovered the particular cluster.

<sup>7</sup> The aim of the author is to do this as a further step, and include the information in the database, as part also of the GIS of later periods which is in preparation (with K. Sbonias, and with contributions from M. Kiel and J.L. Bintliff).

## II.2 STATE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

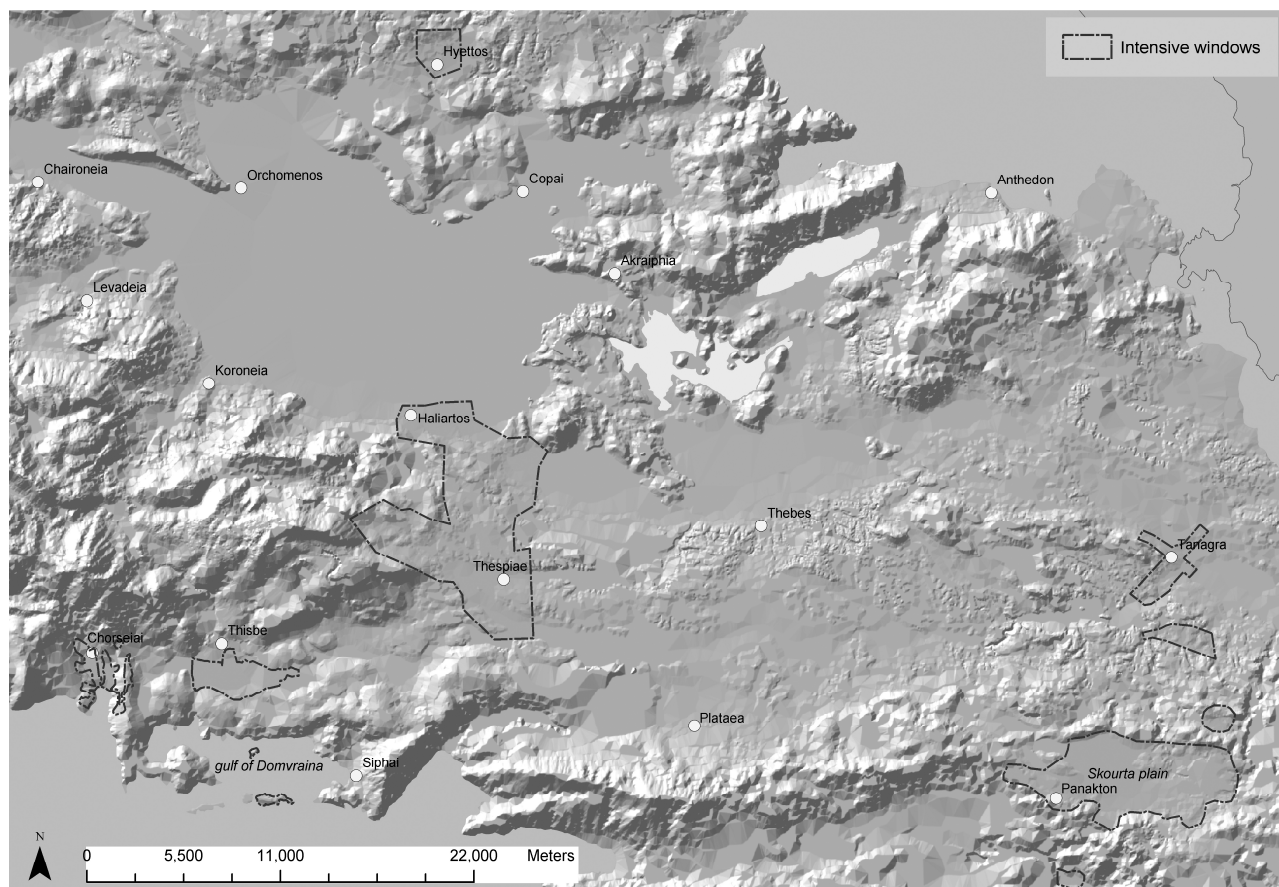


Fig. 1. Areas of Boeotia intensively and systematically surveyed.

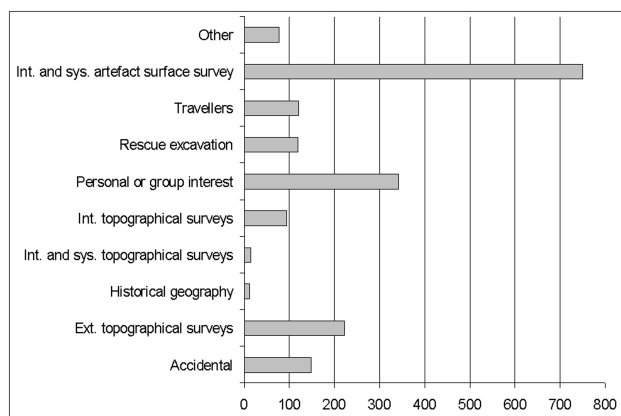


Fig.2. Graph illustrating the proportion of components discovered in the whole ancient Boeotian region within different research frameworks.

In addition, there are some sites known only from ancient texts which mention *polis* names, cult place dedications or distances between places, sometimes providing an indication of their position, but sometimes not. For the present work, only located sites, archaeologically known (whether mentioned by ancient sources or not), have been included in the database. Mention of the other sites (known only from ancient texts) has been made in the chapters for the individual *chorai*, in the majority of cases within the description of a cluster, in discussing the possible identification, or, in the case of settlements, also

in the concluding discussion of village places and settlement chambers.

Among the ancient texts, Strabo's and Pausanias' itineraries certainly constitute the first, contemporary, travellers' reports, used by many scholars working on Boeotian topography.

The starting point for the collection of available archaeological information was Fossey's 1988 book - still the richest source of information as far as extensive research on ancient settlements in Boeotia. Following Fossey's general structure, data are also gathered according to *chorai* (ancient *poleis* territories) in the present work.

### BIASES IN AVAILABLE SOURCES

As we have seen, some of the available sources focus on a particular period, sometimes also mentioning the presence of other periods (though unsystematically, as in the case of the Prehistoric Gazetteer for instance), others are diachronical, and take into account different periods (naturally scholars who compile the accounts are more familiar with certain periods and their data can therefore be slightly biased), others are concentrated on a specific area / on an area of specific interest (works on Copais for instance) and this results in areas better and less known (we know almost nothing about the Asopos valley, and we have little evidence from the Livadeia area, etc.).

Some of the sources give the precise location of the evidence they report, leading to an easy positioning on the available topographical base maps, while some others allow us only to guess just few details about the location.

Thus, in taking information from diverse bibliographical data sources, the resulting archaeological map will be quite variable in density of mapped clusters as well as detail of information (accuracy of the attribute, in GIS language) and accuracy of position. We therefore face problems of integration of data from different data sets; some more accurate and less biased than others<sup>8</sup>.

Generally speaking, as often happens in archaeological research, the information available is biased by personal research interests or research targets.

On the other hand, we can obtain a less biased picture from rescue excavation data rather than from data collected within the framework of site-oriented or period-oriented research. From rescue excavations, for instance, we might obtain information on the rural segment of the landscape, usually known almost only by artefact surface survey, and, both in the former and in the latter case, we might get 'unexpected' information, as neither type of investigation is focused on a specific and restrictive research aim.

Moreover, a basic distinction can be made between studies producing data qualitatively described (topographical work, some excavation reports, etc.) and studies producing data quantitatively collected (artefact surface survey, recent systematic excavations, etc.)<sup>9</sup>.

Conversely, in the case also of intensive artefact surface surveys, even if realised in the same methodological and theoretical framework, the results obtained are not always easy to compare (see van Leusen 2002: chapters 2 and 13, Alcock – Cherry 2004, and chapter I.2.2 in the present work).

In Boeotia, several intensive and systematic artefact surface surveys have been carried out in different areas in the last three decades: the Boeotia Survey Project, mainly in the areas of Thespieae, Haliartos, Hyettos and Tanagra (since 1978; directed initially by Bintliff and Snodgrass, then by Bintliff alone, and currently by Bintliff and Slapšac)<sup>10</sup>; Gregory's project in the Thisbe area (Gregory 1980 and 1992); Fossey's survey of the area of ancient Chorseiai (Khostia I); the Skourta plain survey by Munn

and his team (limited to the transect survey<sup>11</sup>); the Plataea urban survey by an Austrian team led by A. Konečný in collaboration with the *ephoreia* (V. Aravantinos)<sup>12</sup> – see fig.1<sup>13</sup>.

Those projects are all characterised by intense and systematic fieldwork, albeit conducted according to slightly different methodologies<sup>14</sup>.

Within the tradition of gazetteers, either diachronical or period-oriented, we can detect different approaches and tendencies.

Among others, Fossey, especially in his topographical gazetteer published in 1988, shows a particular interest in some areas (especially the area to the Gulf of Corinth, where he also carried out an intensive survey project, at Chostia) and in some periods or particular types of archaeological evidence (fortifications and forts, for instance).

In general, he sometimes reports on places he visited personally (fieldwork carried out mainly in the late 1960s and 1970s), either known sites or places he seems to have discovered, giving fresh information from the ground, while other times he reports information from other sources (accounts up to ca.1980-1982).

As Bintliff (2000a) points out, Fossey's book is the natural, if not the *only* starting point for the construction of an archaeological map of Boeotia. "*It offers an excellent survey of the published material by the mid-1980s, and also provides a useful basis for propositions regarding settlement dynamics testable by further more intensive landscape research*" (Bintliff 2000a: 123).

His approach is extensive and site oriented, and biased by a sometimes acritical approach to the sources employed. The quantitative aspect of the evidence he reports on (the quantity of sherds he saw) is usually unclear, and needs to be questioned according to the issue of representativity (see chapter I.1.2). This is not only the case for his own visits, but also an inner bias in earlier accounts that he uses (that often create settlement sites from a few sherds on the ground). Despite all this, his collection of information constitutes the main resource of our

<sup>8</sup> For a broad discussion of this issue see Van Leusen 2002, focused on the integration of data from intensive and extensive surveys, as well as from intensive surveys of different kinds carried out in different periods and within different research frameworks.

<sup>9</sup> In general, it must be pointed out that the archaeological record has suffered damage during the landscape's recent history (e.g. through deep ploughing, intensive building and industrial activities).

<sup>10</sup> Bintliff 1985; Bintliff – Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 1992d; Bintliff – Howard 1999; Bintliff – Howard - Snodgrass 1999; Bintliff et al. 2000; Bintliff et al. 2004; Bintliff 2006; Bintliff - Howard – Snodgrass 2007; Bintliff – Slapšac 2007; Bintliff et al. 2008.

<sup>11</sup> An intensive and systematic artefact surface survey (fieldwork from 1985 to 1989) carried out in 3 areas: the Panakton area (around Panakton); an area NE of Stephani; an area to the NE of the latter and further from Stephani (marked on fig. 5.2 of Munn – Zimmermann-Munn 1989).

<sup>12</sup> See *ArchDelt* and *AREports* on the project, from 1997 onwards.

<sup>13</sup> One could add to the list the the first intensive sherd collecting, at modern Dritsa/Harma (ancient Eleon), in the 1930s (!), illustrated by a photograph in van Effenterre's book, *Les Boeotiens* (vanEffenterre 1989: 29). Recently, a project (The Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project) has started in the area of on the plains surrounding the modern villages of Arma, Eleon, and Tanagra (first report in *Teiresias* 37 (2007) part 2).

<sup>14</sup> We should keep in mind that even data collected by intensive and systematic surveys should be processed with a strong 'critique', mainly comparing on-site data with off-site data collected in their immediate surroundings (see Bintliff – Howard 1999 for the methodology in use for instance within the framework of the Boeotia project).

archaeological database, and he usually provides, through his own visits or other sources of information available to him, more valuable information as far as the chronological aspect is concerned.

One could also note that surface pottery reported by Fossey seems to be, in the majority of cases, mainly fine ware, because he uses it as diagnostic for dating. In this way, though, we lack information on the actual presence of coarse ware on the sites, even if undatable. On the other hand, Fossey certainly recognises Greco-Roman wares better than does Lauffer or other scholars whose major interest is the Prehistoric period.

As for Prehistoric gazetteers, they note, when available or when noticed, evidence from later (Historical) periods, but since this is not their main interest (nor their specialisation), their information on historical periods can not be taken for granted, and most of the time is incomplete, even if useful (especially HS&D 1979). On the other hand, Fossey, as we saw, through his own visits or other sources of information available to him, provides more valuable information as far as the chronological aspect is concerned.

As for the majority of Prehistoric gazetteers, the main problem is the spatial fuzziness of their data, which are rarely precisely located in space. Though HS&D 1979 report geographical coordinates of sites (probably approximate central location), for instance, it is not always clear precisely where at the site something was noticed, especially for the more complex settlement sites. A useful work is that of Syriopoulos, who gives useful information especially on the Geometric (and Protogeometric) period, sometimes overlooked by other studies. In his two gazetteers (1968 and 1983-4) of Prehistoric sites, he sometimes copies information from previous similar works (Hope Simpson 1965, for instance, and in his second publication also HS&D 1979), and he sometimes reports new information from personal visits or recent accounts.

Papachatzis' work (1981 - a topographical account on the basis of Pausanias' text) has also been used on some occasions. He combines Pausanias' text with the results of modern excavations and visible monuments, in a clearly narrative approach.

Pritchett's topographical work<sup>15</sup> has been used especially for marking ancient routes, and also for discussions on some particular sites and identifications.

As far as the theoretical background of their work is concerned, these studies are mainly extensive topographical research, also considering the periods when they were carried out<sup>16</sup>. The most recent general work (Fossey 1988) still tends in that direction.

<sup>15</sup> Pritchett's topographical work is published in five volumes (from 1965 to 1982).

<sup>16</sup> Generally speaking, topographical studies are mainly lacking in distinguishing the level of complexity the 'site' is characterised in the different periods of actual occupation recognised in a certain location. In particular, small pot samples

On the other hand, Lauffer's work (summed up in the 1986 Kopais I book, but actually carried out largely before the Second World War) moves towards a much more intensive level of research, apparently less site-oriented. It is focused on the Copais area, with special interest in certain areas surrounding the lakes.

Examining his work considerably carefully, the impression was given that he visited some areas of the Copais basin and its surroundings more intensively than others. For instance, in the Koroneia and Haliartos area (as well as in NE Copais - Ptoon area), it seems that he actually walked (intensively even though not systematically in 'modern artefact surface surveys' terms) almost every metre of terrain, while in other areas his movements seem to have been rather 'site-oriented' or along main roads (in the Orchomenos or Hyettos area, for instance)<sup>17</sup>.

Another good recent study is that of Knauss and his German team, who carried out major archaeological work with the German Institute led by H. Kalcyk (Knauss et al. Kopais 3). Though it is of interest mainly for the technical hydraulic section, the three volume work on Copais (Knauss et al. 1984, 1987 and 1990 - Kopais 1, 2, 3) also provides sound information on the archaeological evidence they noted (especially in Kopais 3)<sup>18</sup>. The research is biased by the fact that they were following the 95m contour line around the basin in order to discover sites closely bordering the lake, and in particular the three settlements mentioned by the ancient authors (mainly Strabo) as 'swallowed up' by the lake in an early period (old Orchomenos, Eleusis, Athinai)<sup>19</sup>. Knauss et al. attempt identifications of the activity foci they found with places mentioned in ancient texts. For the purposes of our work, it is very much more of interest, that traces of human activities and occupation, dating back to different periods, have been found in the Copais area, irrespective of their exact identification. Some of them show continuity of occupation, even if the character of this occupation still requires further study<sup>20</sup>.

As noted earlier, new and different information on the archaeological record of the region is also provided by recent rescue excavations, which are to some extent less

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from large multiperiod sites often tend to be given equal credit with the large samples representing the major periods of occupation (for this see also Bintliff - Howard 1999 and chapter I.2.2 of the present work).

<sup>17</sup> See also chapter II.3.1 and appendix III for comments on this work.

<sup>18</sup> The archaeological study was led by H. Kalcyk.

<sup>19</sup> See also chapter II.3.1 and appendix III for comments on this work.

<sup>20</sup> In some cases I made an attempt to identify the site character, but my efforts are based only on other people's information and the topographical location of site and geomorphological processes that could have interested the formation of the archaeological records available to us, as well as human biases that could have contributed to the creation of the archaeological record.

biased by archaeologists' 'personal' and special research interests.

Furthermore, rescue excavations also help in increasing knowledge of some particular evidence. For instance, the ancient Boeotian cities that lie below modern towns are known better through excavations. Thebes is the most impressive, but Levadeia is also an example, and rescue excavations are almost our only means of knowledge of the ancient city. In fact, by means of rescue excavation in advance of modern construction projects, much more information can be obtained compared to that from other *poleis* now lying in the modern countryside (ancient Tanagra and Thespieae, for instance). On the other hand, the layout of ancient towns lying beneath modern ones is not so clear or easily definable (e.g. Thebes and Levadeia, but especially the latter); neither are the positions of sub-urban features (such as cult places or necropoleis).

For the Boeotian plains also, rescue excavations have been providing new information in recent years, especially with the construction of the new national road (highway) through the middle of the plains (Tanagra, Thebes and Copais), as well as work for the railway which, running through the foothills, has provided information on the areas where most ancient activities took place, and also the installation of a gas pipeline (*Agogos Physikou Aeriou* – DEPA 1993-94) which crosses Boeotia from NW (area of Davlias) to SE (area of Dervenochorion and Parnithas) – AD48 1993: 180<sup>21</sup>.

Therefore, as noted earlier, rescue excavations constitute an important chapter in the archaeological knowledge of the region (see fig.2), although the data must be collected under some limitations (especially time limits), as pointed out by the *ephor* of Boeotia, V. Aravantinos (2004: 82). Efforts have been made in the last decades to obtain useful and well-collected information from rescue excavations, while, as the *ephor* states: 'in the '50s, during work for the National Road, vases were found by workers of the Ministry of Public Works' while no archaeologist was present. The situation has now changed. Relevant examples of extended excavations for significant public works increasing archaeological knowledge are given from Akraiphnion (cemetery and other activities along the Athens-Lamia National Road) and Thebes (cemetery to the NE of the city, by the underground tunnel for the road Thebes-Mouriki/Thebes-National Road).

Some areas are also known better than others due to the specific interests of some scholars or of a group of scholars interested in a particular issue. For instance, the Dilesi area (and the area between Schimatari and Dilesi) is known quite well due to the intensive topographical work carried out by Brown while looking for the sanctuary of Apollo (Brown, BSA 1905/6: 93ff). Furthermore, the burial pattern in the area of ancient and modern Tanagra was quite well known due to the high level of interest in cemeteries of the Mycenaean and Classical/Hellenistic periods, due to the discovery of

*larnakes* and terracotta figurines respectively. In the same way, the area of Copais has been widely and thoroughly researched due to interest in particular issues concerning the hydrological behaviour of the former lake and surrounding settlement (see Lauffer and Knauss' Munich team for instance, above). Furthermore, fortifications on the E Copais area are well known from Noack's research around Gla. He interpreted as LH fortifications or fortified settlements, all the spots that then, after more careful examination (mainly by Lauffer), were actually found to be Greco-Roman settlement sites and, usually, fort sites. Noack's travels and notes though did help the next researchers to directly go to these places and investigate them more carefully.

In several cases, research led by personal research interest (in particular chronological periods rather than in specific areas) allows for the 'accidental' discovery, at the same spot or in the immediate vicinity, of remains of other periods or other characters than the main research focus. In these cases, quite frequent and marked as 'other' in the 'discovery' field of the database, the archaeological record can be considered somewhat less biased, at least as far as the character of the evidence discovered is concerned, if not for the location of the discovery, which is not casual as it is led by an interest in other periods. (Conversely, in the case of rescue excavation both discovery and location are casual.)

Fossey, for instance, like other scholars with expertise in material of the historical period, recognises different phases in potsherds whilst other visitors to the site (mainly Prehistorians) do not. This often happens, for instance, with sherds from the Hellenistic period, for which the picture improves for number of known activity foci due to scholars who can recognise it among other material.

Therefore, an interesting research issue is represented by the multiperiod sites. When dealing with extensive/topographical surveys, we often have as a result a high presence of multiperiod sites, which could then, however, turn out to be a biased picture of continuous occupation trends. The majority of data in any case derive from substantial multi-period sites rather than small, shorter-lived sites that are usually identified only by intensive surveys or through rescue excavation or (less often) accidental discoveries. In addition, in the topographical tradition, small pot samples from large multiperiod sites often tend to be given equal credit with large samples representing the major periods of occupation (for this see also Bintliff – Howard 1999 and chapter I.2.2 of the present work).

### Studies on settlement patterns and settlement histories

As mentioned previously, those descriptive/compiled works, which constitute the foundation of our archaeological data collection, often stand alongside topographical or landscape studies which perform a synthesis of the data available to them, in an attempt at reconstructing a settlement history of Boeotia, or parts of it. One of these is certainly Fossey (in the second volume

<sup>21</sup> For example: an EG cemetery near Solinari, remains of an ancient road near Thourion, etc.

of his 1988 work), who attempts to give a long-term history of settlement in the region, but also Buck, who tries to complement historical sources with archaeological data, from a non-archaeological point of view. Philippson and Kirsten (in Philippson 1950-9), through a historical geography approach (though less archaeological data, and in a minimal detail, were known by then<sup>22</sup>), also try to detect settlement trajectories.

Furthermore, some scholars offer synthetic work limited to small areas within the region, such as the Boeotia Survey project articles (in particular the Valley of the Muses and Thespieae), or the detailed work for the Skourta plain, etc. (see above). Moreover, as highlighted earlier, notes and issues on settlement patterns are also available in some mainly 'descriptive' works, which, however, also present attempts at synthesis, as in the case of Fossey 1988 (with gazetteers and settlement analysis) or Lauffer Kopais I (with comments on the settlement pattern along with site descriptions), or some archaeological reports.

We can note that in some of these works, attention is not paid to a critical examination of the actual archaeological evidence, and this often leads to the creation of settlement maps (and consequent settlement histories) on which it is not always clear what the dots represent in terms of actual evidence on the ground (just a few sherds, or complex evidence comprised of artefact concentration, remains of structures, excavated layers, etc.)<sup>23</sup>.

As noted earlier, reference to and discussion of those synthetic works are made *passim* in each individual *chora* chapter, according to needs and occurrence, as well as in chapter III.2 and appendix III.

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<sup>22</sup> For a discussion on the book see chapter II.1.

<sup>23</sup> As for the issue of representativity see chapter I.2.2.



