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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.3.8

### The Copais area: Haliartia

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The area of Haliartos comprises the S and SE area of the Copais, from the rocky spur of Petra and the area of Vrastamites/Ypsilantis (to the SW) to the peninsula of Kokkoretsa to the NE, as well as inner valleys within Mt.Helicon (Fossey 1988: 301).

The Libethrion/Tilphousion ridge (N section of Mt.Helicon) juts into the Copais with three promontories: the Western one is Petra, a limestone spur with a flattish top (288m) at the foot of which is the *Tilphoussa* spring; the central one is a schist promontory that encloses to the N the small bay with the village of Vrastamites/Ypsilantis and the Frankish tower; the Eastern one is the spur occupied by the acropolis of ancient Haliartos, which closes to the E the small basin with the village of Siachon/Petra (Philippson 1951: 451).

According to Philippson (1951: 451) the Copais lake formally reached the Petra spur, while today the channelled Kephisos frees up the passage for the road and the railway. In fact, according to the fluctuation model (based mainly on Knauss et al. work - see fig.10 in chapter II.3.1 and appendix III; on the archaeological Classical and Roman remains before the spring at the foot of the spur, see chapter II.3.1), the lake water did not reach the spur even in the past, probably not even in the Late Medieval/Early Modern period, when the level of the lake was higher (considering the passage of the Turks during the War of Independence – see below and see chapter III.1). Therefore, presumably also in antiquity the road ran here<sup>1</sup> (fig.2).

As Philippson (1951: 474) reports, beyond the Petra pass begins a line of marshes formed by the streams. This line runs along the foothills of the hills below Ypsilantis village. There, along the S edge of Copais, runs a small terrace, 150m asl (55m above the main level of the Copais plain), to which also belongs the limestone acropolis of Haliartos (Philippson 1951: 467). The modern village of Haliartos is situated in the area to the E of the ancient acropolis. To the immediate E of the acropolis is a turn of the Zagora stream (now channelled), descending from the Evangelistria valley, and completely dry in summer. The road leading to Mazi (Philippson

1951: 474) lies above Haliartos to its S, while the village of Zagora/Evangelistria is at the very end of the valley<sup>2</sup>.

The territory of Haliartos also includes the end of the E edge of the Copais basin, from the Phoinikion ridge bordering the Karditsa/Akraiphnion bay to the Onchestos pass. The edge of the basin here is characterised by the presence of abrupt slopes (20-30m high) as well as *katavothrai* (swallow-holes) behind which begin the low hills characteristic of this part of the mountain border of Copais. There are promontories and small gulfs and islets before the promontories. In Philippson's time, the land in the bays was cultivated while the land of the lake was deserted (Philippson 1951: 489). Today the whole area is cultivated. In this area of Copais, remains of Minyan channels and dikes are visible. Along this Eastern edge, between the Copais and Yliki lakes, lies a limestone plateau with a karst basin in it (Asprokampos – 137m height - Philippson 1951: 493-4), which could be included in the Haliartos *chora* (see below – *borders*). The limestone plateau continues to the S and comes close to the edge of the Theban *Tafel* (Philippson 1951: 494). In fact, only a low col separates the Copais basin, at its E side, from the NW edge of the Theban plain (Philippson 1951: 468). This col consists of rudist limestone and is crossed by two ways (20 / 30 m above the Copais) – the Southern one used today by the road, the Northern one by the railway (fig.1)<sup>3</sup>.

#### Boundaries

The natural boundaries are quite clear: to the N was the lake; to the W the Palaiothiva-Petra (or Libethrion/Tilphousion) ridge marks a natural border which continues through the saddle between the Evangelistria valley and the plain of Koroneia; the S border line is marked by the Helicon and the lower ridge which bounds the Valley of the Muses to the N; while the E border is marked by Mt. Phagas as far as the Kokkoretsa peninsula (Fossey 1988: 320) and, probably, the Asprokampos plateau. As for the area around the strategic pass between the Teneric plain and the Copais,

<sup>1</sup> It should be examined whether the rise in elevation is natural or rather artificial to support the road and prevent it from flooding.

<sup>2</sup> Zagora in Slavic language means 'behind the mountain'; probably because of the route that came from the N valley (see below and fig.2).

<sup>3</sup> The latter lies between limestone blocks, while at the former, today more incised because of the cutting for the new road, the enlargement of an older one, schist with conglomerate as well as serpentine and pebbles are visible (Mesozoic or Young Tertiary - Philippson 1951: 468).

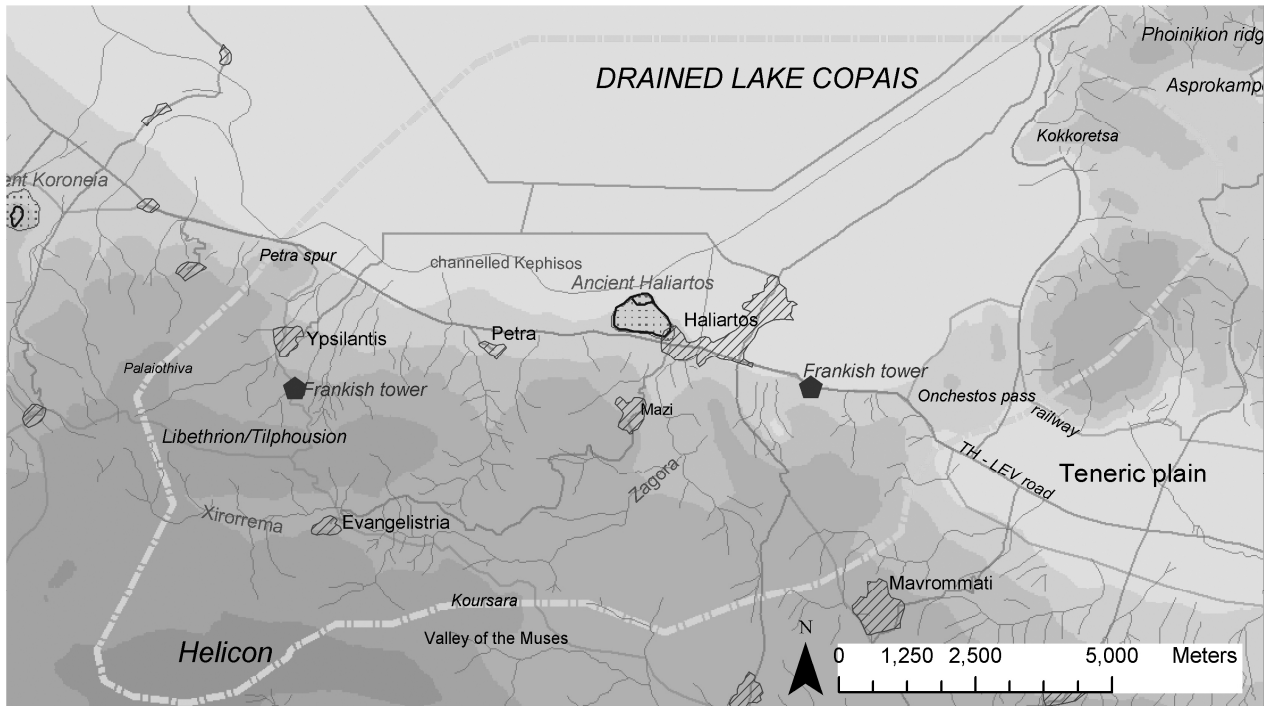


Fig.1. Topographical setting of the *chora* of Haliartos.

Onchestos was probably included into the territory of Haliartos (Fossey 1988: 320).

The border between the territories of Haliartos and Thespieae, on the light of intensive survey data, seems to lie in antiquity S of Mavrommati rather than N of the village, judging from the loss of small sites after Haliartos was destroyed by the Romans in 171 BC (J.L.Bintliff pers.comm. – see fig.19 in chapter II.4).

### PHYSICAL LAND UNITS

Mountainous landscape is quite well represented because unlike the bordering N and E Copais area, behind Haliartos lies the Helicon massif, making the S area of the *chora* comparable in landscape character to the *chorai* bordering Copais to the S (along Copais' S edge), such as the areas of Koroneiake and Levadeia (see fig.2 in chapter II.1). On the other hand, the NE side of Haliartos belongs to the lower limestone landscape which characterised N and E Copais; in particular it is comprised of a low relief/ridge separating Copais from Yliki (see Akraiphiai *chora* – chapter II.3.7).

Plain areas would include the Copais basin, so the plain landscape percentage would increase according to the actual portion of the Copais basin free from water (see below and digital reconstruction of lake fluctuations in chapter III.1).

<i>Hilly landscape</i>	30.2%
<i>Mountainous landscape</i>	14.4%
<i>Plain</i>	55.4%

1	P1_P2	lacustrine basin, valley	45%
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2	P3	gentle slope	2.3%
3	P4	Foothill	8%
4	H1	Plateau	8.4%
5	H2	gentle slope	1%
6	H3	moderate slope	5.7%
7	H4	severe slope	8.9%
8	H5	very severe slope	6.2%
9	M1	plateau	3.3%
10	M2	plateau/gentle slope	0.8%
11	M3	moderate slope	4.7%
12	M4	very severe slope	5.7%

Table 1. Percentage of the different physiographical classes present in the Haliartos area (P=plain; H=hill; M=mountain)

### RESOURCES

Hence, as one might expect, the amount of available land would have varied considerably according to the fluctuations of the lake. Conversely, one can clearly see from fig.8 (including the digital reconstruction of the lake model) how much land bordering the Copais could have been covered by the lake. This land was probably seasonal marshland, but available for agriculture in certain seasons and years (see chapter II.3.1 and III for the digital model of the lake fluctuations; see also below – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS). As also noted by Fossey (1988: 320), the basin slopes quite gently in this area, and different seasons could easily have provided quite different amounts of marginal pastures or marshes (mentioned in ancient texts: Strabo IX 407 and 411; Plinius *HN* XVI 66; Eustathius on *II* II 503). Much of the land along the foothills was probably not even marshy, since it lies at a slightly higher level (see chapter III.1).

### II.3.8 HALIARTIA

Certainly, resources from the marshy lake and the surrounding marshes were exploited by the local economy<sup>4</sup>. Reeds from the Haliartos marshes, used especially for flutes, are mentioned in Strabo IX 407 and 411, and Plinius *HN* XVI 66 (Fossey 1988: 320). Hunting activities were also practised (IG VII 2850 mentions a hunting club in the Roman period; IG VII 1828 – quoted in Fossey 1988: 320).

### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

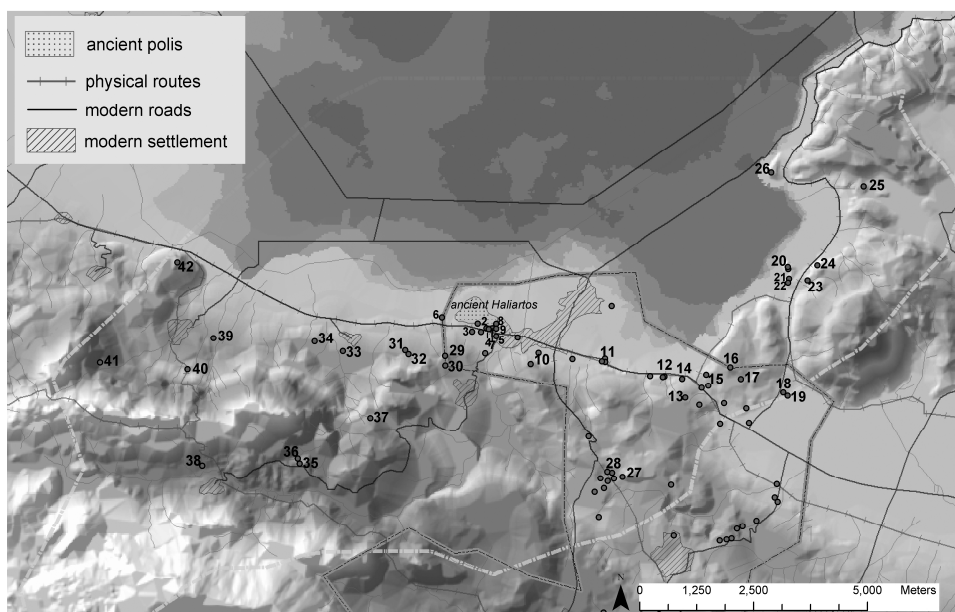


Fig.2. Archaeological map of Haliartos chora.

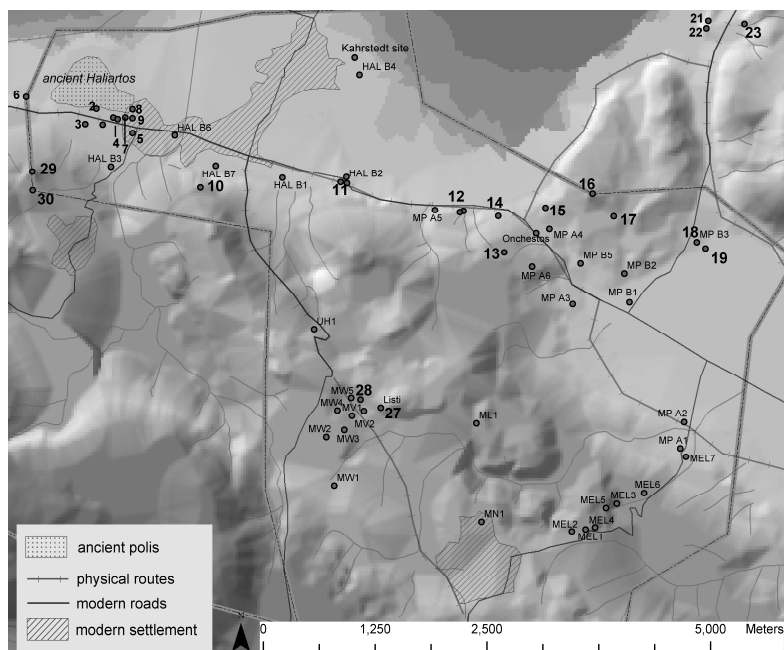


Fig.3. Same as fig.2, but limited to the area intensively and systematically surveyed, with discovered sites (listed in appendix I.8 - table SURVEY SITES) marked.

<sup>4</sup> Etymologicum Magnum: Ἀλίαρτος· ἡ πόλις. Ἥ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀλιέων καὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, reported by Fossey 1988: 320.



1	<b>HALIARTOS</b>	<i>Components HA_1 to HA_9</i>
2 to 6	<b>Haliartos burial places</b>	<i>Components HA_10, HA_11, HA_12, HA_13 (2); HA_23 (3), HA_24 and HA_80 (4); HA_26 (5); HA_27 (6)</i>
7	<b>Haliartos Kastron – SE</b>	<i>Component HA_25</i>
8/9	<b>Haliartos Kastron – East</b>	<i>Components HA_81 (8) and HA_82 (9)</i>
10	<b>Mazi Pyrgakos</b>	<i>Components HA_14 and HA_15</i>
11	<b>Pyrgos Haliartos</b>	<i>Components HA_16 and HA_17</i>
12	<b>Seidi</b>	<i>Components HA_18 to HA_22</i>
13	<b>Steni South</b>	<i>Components HA_28 to HA_32 (ONCHESTOS sanctuary)</i>
14	<b>Steni SW</b>	<i>Component HA_35</i>
15	<b>Steni North – Tsumbitses West</b>	<i>Components HA_33 to HA_34 and HA_85</i>
16	<b>Tsumbitses-Kazarma</b>	<i>Component HA_36</i>
17	<b>Steni North - Tsumbitses East</b>	<i>Components HA_37 and HA_38</i>
18/19	<b>Tsumbitses Ag.Panagia</b>	<i>Components HA_39, HA_40 and HA_76 (18); HA_41 (19)</i>
20	<b>Megalo Kastraki</b>	<i>Components HA_44 to HA_49 and HA_83</i>
21	<b>Kastraki area</b>	<i>Component HA_50</i>
22	<b>Mikro Kastraki</b>	<i>Component HA_51</i>
23	<b>Sphingion W</b>	<i>Component HA_52</i>
24	<b>Davlosis</b>	<i>Component HA_53</i>
25	<b>Kokkoretsa South</b>	<i>Components HA_54 to HA_59</i>
26	<b>Kokkoretsa - Proph.Ilias</b>	<i>Component HA_60</i>
27	<b>Listi</b>	<i>Components HA_77 and HA_78</i>
28	<b>Listi nearby</b>	<i>Component HA_79</i>
29/30	<b>Kariopoula</b>	<i>Components HA_61 (29) and HA_62 (30)</i>
31/32	<b>Stokthi Keramidissa</b>	<i>Components HA_63 (31) and HA_64 (32)</i>
33	<b>Petra</b>	<i>Component HA_65</i>
34	<b>Vigla</b>	<i>Component HA_66</i>
35/36	<b>Linopyrgo</b>	<i>Components HA_67 (35) and HA_68 (36)</i>
37	<b>Lykophio</b>	<i>Component HA_84</i>
38	<b>Mavri</b>	<i>Components HA_69 and HA_70</i>
39	<b>Vrastamites/Ypsilantis</b>	<i>Component HA_71</i>
40	<b>Ypsilantis Pyrgos</b>	<i>Component HA_72</i>
41	<b>Ypsilantis Ag. Nikolaos</b>	<i>Component HA_73</i>
42	<b>Petra/Tilphousion</b>	<i>Components HA_74 and HA_75</i>

Table 2. List of archaeological components and activity loci mapped in fig.2.

A major part of our archaeological knowledge of the area is the result of the intensive topographical work carried out by Lauffer during his personal research on Copais (particularly focused on Koroneia and Haliartos *chorai*) – see graph in fig.4.

Extensive topographical surveys are also well represented within the *panorama* of discoveries, especially concerning actual and probable fort sites and cult places, along with travellers' discoveries.

Rescue excavation discoveries are mainly associated with building excavations in and by the modern village of Haliartos, as well as along the Thebes-Levadeia road.

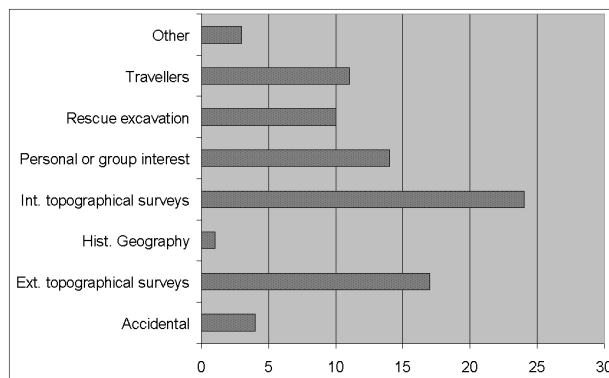


Fig.4. Graph illustrating the proportion of components discovered within different research frameworks.

A Systematic Intensive Surface Survey carried out in the area around Haliartos (area surveyed mapped in fig.2) by J.L. Bintliff and A.M.Snodgrass and their team (1986-1987) discovered sites listed in appendix I.8 (table SURVEY SITES) and mapped in fig.3.

Intensive surveys have contributed to knowledge of the landscape of the region. In fact, if we include the results of the intensive and systematic surface survey that focused on the Eastern part of the *chora*, mainly the lowland area towards Thespieae, the picture changes, as one may expect.

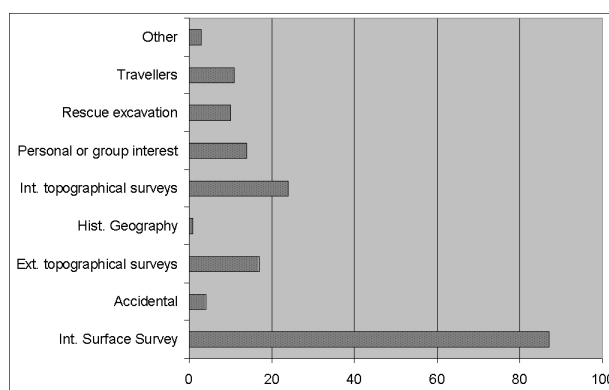


Fig.5. Graph illustrating the proportion of components discovered within different research frameworks, including Intensive and Systematic Artefact Surface Survey.

In fig.6 we can see the relationship between known archaeological sites and the distance from the modern road network. The apparent correspondence is weakened

when considering the physical routes map (fig.2), since the known sites are along the roads corresponding to the probable ancient routes (mainly at the edge of the basin).

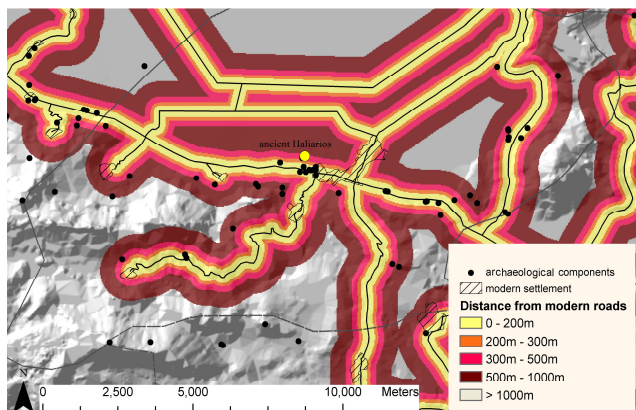


Fig.6. Relationship between components and modern road network.

The ratio of known Prehistoric to Greco-Roman components is 26 to 56 (1:2.15), while among the historical periods, 50% are dated Archaic to Hellenistic, 11% Roman-Late Roman, and 39% are attributed to the general Greco-Roman period.

## ANALYSIS OF THE CHORA LANDSCAPE

### PREHISTORIC PERIOD

The archaeological record available for the *chora* offers a fairly good picture as far as the Prehistoric periods are concerned (see figs. 6 to 9 in chapter II.3.1).

According to Lauffer (Kopais I), Neolithic sites are usually located around the Copais in rather open, fairly low, and not naturally defended locations compared to later Prehistoric sites. For the Haliartos area, *components HA\_16 and HA\_64* are known.

The site at Haliartos Pyrgos (*component HA\_16* - Haliartos Pyrgos cave) is quite an important site in Neolithic Copais (occupied until Late Neolithic), together with Orchomenos and the Pyrgos *magoula* site in the NW bay. Abandonment after the Neolithic period at the Megali Katavothra site (NE Copais) and at Magoula Balomenou (Chaironeia), as noted by Lauffer (Kopais I: 45-6), who points out that in all three cases the abandonment was probably due to such locations being vulnerable to the effects of water and marshes. Bronze Age settlements in the Copais area are all better defended (usually closer to the lake but in higher locations and usually with a strong connection to the areas behind them). In the case of *component HA\_16*, the site in the EH period had already moved to a higher position, on the plateau above the cave, as attested by intensive survey results (see above). The position is much better protected, though still by the spring and the lake. The Neolithic settlement at the S edge of the Copais area can therefore be compared with the settlement site in NW Copais. Likely EH sites are the EH activity focus found by the intensive survey by the Frankish tower at Haliartos (see

appendix I.8, table SURVEY SITES – HAL B2, for which only Neolithic was known from the cave below), as well as at the site of Haliartos itself (*components HA\_2 and HA\_3*). These follow the pattern recognisable in neighbouring areas of the SW Copais basin for EH and MH sites, with elevated positions overlooking the edge of the basin (see Kalami-Lioma, Agoriani-Dekedes in the Koroneia *chora*).

In the LH period, the picture of settlement in the area is less well known. LH is known with certainty only at Haliartos Kastron (*component HA\_4*) and at Tsumbitses Ag.Panagia (*component HA\_76*), both quite elevated locations at the edge of the basin, while LH is only probably attested at Megalo Kastraki (*component HA\_46*), with burials before it at Davlosis and Sphingion (*components HA\_52 and HA\_53*), and at Listi (HA\_78), as well as at Kokkoretsa South and at Petra/Tilphousion (*components HA\_55 and HA\_75*), where attempts to date the remains of the fort to the LH period have been made (see appendix I.8). As Lauffer points out (Kopais I: 35), the typical relationship that seems to occur in the Copais area is that of Prehistoric (LH mainly) burial areas usually located in the foothills or on the slopes of the land opposite the (fortified) settlement to which they were attached, usually located by the lake (on a spur, promontory, islet). According to Lauffer, this would be the case for Megalo Kastraki (*component HA\_46*) and the burial area by Davlosis (*components HA\_52 and HA\_53*). In this case, the settlement site would be Megalo Kastraki (but LH occupation is very doubtful - see appendix I.8, under the individual components).

### GRECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY<sup>5</sup>

#### Town level

Haliartos attests occupation from Protogeometric to Late Geometric times on the acropolis of the hill<sup>6</sup>, later to become the *polis* of Haliartos. It flourished in the Classical-Hellenistic period, reaching its greatest extent (around 40ha – Bintliff 1999d: fig.8) in the 4<sup>th</sup> C BC, and was destroyed by the Romans in 171 BC. The town of Haliartos used to lie in a strategic position, on a terraced promontory jutting into the lake and overlooking it at its SE corner. It lay along the route at the edge of the Copais which joined E and W Boeotia and crossed central Greece. In particular, when the Copais' water was at its largest extent, the *polis* of Haliartos dominated N to S access. Austin (BSA 1927: 206) notes "*the strategic importance of the position, to which the city doubtless owed its foundation*".

Between the acropolis and the Southern hills constituting the lower Northern spurs of Helicon lies a quite flat area which is, however, higher than the main basin (Lauffer Kopais I: 47). The area was available to the city

<sup>5</sup> Period maps are included in chapter II.4, figs.17-19-21-23-25-27.

<sup>6</sup> Together with two or three very small rural sites in Haliartos immediate vicinity (survey sites HAL B4, HAL B5, HAL B6, HAL B7).

inhabitants, since, being above the 120m contour line, it was always dry and free of marshes (according to the digital fluctuation model – see fig.2; chapter II.3.1 – PERILACUSTRINE LANDSCAPE- fig.10; appendix III). The area was crossed by streams coming down from the Helicon massif, creating a situation very similar to that of Koroneia, where, however, the ancient *polis* site was much more backwards).

### Village level

Within the *chora*, in addition to the main *polis* of Haliartos, there is space for more settlement sites at a village level. The settlement attested at Onchestos would fill a gap. Initially, in earlier periods, the settlement was a village strictly linked with the sanctuary, and a satellite of Haliartos. It then probably became much more, having the status of a small town<sup>7</sup>, especially after the fall of Haliartos, when the SE Copais area was controlled by Onchestos, as mentioned in Diodorus XVII 10.4 (see above – *components HA\_33, HA\_34 and HA\_85*, and below – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS).

Another village is mentioned by ancient sources - ancient *Okalea* (in particular, Strabo IX 410). Since Leake (1835: 205f), attempts have been made to identify ancient *Okalea* with archaeologically more or less known sites. The various hypotheses suggested for the identification are: the Linopyrgo site (*component HA\_68*), the Vrastamites-Ypsilantis site (Ross 1851: 31 - *component HA\_71 and HA\_72*), and Petra (Lauffer Kopais I – *component HA\_65*), as well as Mazi Pyrgakos (Leake 1835: 205 – *component HA\_15*). Up to now, however, attempts at identifying the site would seem to have been unsuccessful<sup>8</sup>. Among the many possibilities advanced, Lauffer suggests as most probable the Vrastamites-Ypsilantis site<sup>9</sup>, 6km distant from Haliartos and Alalkomenai, in accordance with Strabo IX 240, who reports (IX 410) *Okalea* as lying 30 stadia from Haliartos and Alalkomenai, between the two *poleis*<sup>10</sup>. During a personal visit to the site (after J. L. Bintliff, pers. comm.), Greco-Roman remains were noted, which would suggest the existence of a possible village below the Frankish tower in Ypsilantis valley (see below – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS).

### Rural segment

Our picture of the rural segment is enriched by the results of the Boeotia intensive survey, which discovered new sites and also clarified to some extent the occupation of

the few previously known rural sites. For instance, at Seidi (*components HA\_19 to HA\_22*) the rural character of the site is attested by intensive surface survey carried out at the place, otherwise known only as an undetermined activity focus.

For the Protogeometric to Late Geometric period, the survey attested a nucleated focus on the acropolis hill of Haliartos, along with some very small rural sites in its immediate vicinity (survey sites HAL B4, HAL B5, HAL B6, HAL B7 – fig.3).

For the Classical period, intensive survey results indicate a picture of relatively low rural density and a concentration in small to medium farms (figs. 21 and 23 in chapter II.4) noted also at Hyettos and Tanagra, in contrast to the picture of high rural density, including large Classical rural sites found in the survey sector S of the city of Thespieae (Bintliff-Howard-Snodgrass 2007: 146).

The Classical florescence of the town of Haliartos is followed by a spectacular collapse, which also affects the rural landscape, after the destruction of the city by the Romans. At the city site a few isolated buildings indicate the existence of a small settlement focus of rural character (*components HA\_25, HA\_81, HA\_82*). In the wider *chora* landscape, rural farms of Late Hellenistic – Early Roman date are almost non-existent in the Haliartos *chora* and very few in the overall results of the Boeotia Survey. Around the late 4<sup>th</sup> C AD, a radical change occurs in other parts of Boeotia, with the population rising again and the appearance of Roman villa and hamlet sites. It seems that the *chora* of the former city of Haliartos did not participate in this recovery (Bintliff 1999d: 29), although a few sites confirm the rural occupation of the landscape (*components HA\_25, HA\_81, HA\_82*, and the Kahrstedt site, a large Late Roman villa estate by the very edge of the lake – see appendix I.8 table SURVEY SITES) – fig.25 and fig.27 in chapter II.4. Characteristic in this respect is that in the Late Roman period the area of the Onchestos sanctuary was turned into a villa establishment (*component HA\_32*).

In higher areas in the Zagora valley one may expect sites linked with pastoral activities (*component HA\_68*, for instance, could be interpreted as such, as well as *component HA\_70*), as is usual on the slopes of Helicon, as also on the fringes descending towards the Copais basin (see Koroneia, Levadeia *chorai*).

### Burial areas

The burial areas immediately related to the *polis* of Haliartos, by it and along the main road exiting the city towards Thebes and towards Koroneia and Orchomenos, are well known. No other burials are known from the *chora*, apart from some grave material which could be linked to a (large?) rural site in the vicinity (*component HA\_69*), and the burial evidence (*component HA\_62*) linked to the fort (Kariopoula - *component HA\_61*), for which a strict link with a particular historical fact has been hypothesised<sup>11</sup>. *Component HA\_35* is probably linked to the settlement at Onchestos.

<sup>7</sup> The town of Onchestos is mentioned in Pausanias IX 26.5 as well as in Strabo IX 410, 412, as well as by Diodorus XVII 10.4.

<sup>8</sup> Mylonas and Kirsten (RE 17 (1937) s.v. *Okalea* 2302-3) give a useful summary of the ancient testimonia. Mylonas and Kirsten even suggested that *Okalea* was not to be located in Copais, but between Thebes and Thespieae (following Apollodorus *FGrH* 244, F 197 and Plinius *HN* IV 7.26 - Fossey 1988: 314). Buck (1979: 9) also gives a brief account of the problems of identification. For a summary of the identification dispute see Fossey 1988: 316 note 55.

<sup>9</sup> This identification had already been suggested by Ross 1851: 31.

<sup>10</sup> *Okalea* is called *polypyrgos* in the Homeric *h.Ap.* 242.

<sup>11</sup> Lisandros' military camp before the attack on Haliartos (395 BC), mentioned by Plutarch (*Lys.* 29.11).

### Cult places/Religious areas

The sacred landscape of the area is dominated by the presence of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos (*components HA\_28 to HA\_31*), at the passage between the Teneric and Copais plains. The sanctuary, whose life starts at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> C BC and continues until the R period, lay in a strategic position along the border between Copais and the Teneric plain, and played an important active and symbolic role in Boeotian history as the meeting point of the Boeotian Amphictiony (see among others Kirsten, RE (1939) s.v. *Onchestos* 412-7; Buck 1979: 10; Schachter 1986 s.v. *Poseidon* (*Onchestos*)).

Other cult places are not recognisable in the picture offered by the available archaeological evidence.

### Forts and fortifications

Several places are known which, considering archaeological evidence and location, might be interpreted as forts. Some of these are uncertain in date, and could be Prehistoric or Greco-Roman (4<sup>th</sup> C BC?), or both. Fortifications and watch towers indicate the strategic importance of the line Paliothiva-Petra as border line<sup>12</sup>. In this study, the Paliothiva fort is included in the Koroneia *chora*, while that of Vigla/Petra (the Tilphousion?) is recorded within this *chora*, not for historical political reasons, but just for simplicity and to avoid duplication.

The South and West forts of Kokkoretsa, if interpreted as such (see the individual components - *HA\_54* and *HA\_60*; uncertain character and uncertain chronological attribution), would mark the N border of the SW Copais bay, which belonged to Haliartos. The forts, if Greco-Roman in date, might have been controlled by the city of Haliartos.

The fortification at Kariopoula (*component HA\_61*) represents a special case. It has been connected with a particular historical event and, if the interpretation can be considered valid, probably did not belong to the Haliartos *polis*, but was built for an 'independent' military need (see footnote 11). This could be meaningful in terms of landscape. Some of the fortifications built on the mountains of Boeotia, whose remains are visible today, can be seen as permanent sites (over at least a century, or even longer) for reasons of control or defence, but some other evidence may correspond to precise choices over the landscape for a specific meaning.

### Other activities / unspecified activity areas

Some unspecified activity foci, of differing characters, can be pointed out in the general panorama of the archaeological record in the area. A possible character can be suggested for some (discussed under each individual component); but not for others.

Some of these should probably to be characterised as rural in character, linked either to agricultural or to pasturage activities (for instance, the historical site of Megalo Kastraki- *components HA\_47 to HA\_49*; component *HA\_68* or *HA\_70*).

### LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS IN THE CHORA LANDSCAPE

The Southern side of the Copais basin (namely from Onchestos to Petra and Koroneia) is, according to Lauffer (Kopais I: 39), the most favourable for settling of the whole Copais area; rich in small streams running down Mt. Helicon and in fresh water springs. The area is defined by the Copais lake from the lower, Northern side, and by the Helicon uplands from the Southern. In the case of Haliartos, in particular, the long, fertile valley of Evangelistria marks the upland landscape. The upland valley of Evangelistria (crossed by the deeply incised Kalamaki/Ksiorrema river), also has an exit, through the uplands, to the area of Koroneia.

The plain below the hilly landscape between Helicon and the Copais was also dry in antiquity, because it lies a few metres above the flooding area and outside the marshy zone (see above and appendix III). It is a 2-3km wide zone, very fertile (marked to its N by the channelled Kephisos, and in antiquity probably by the natural course of the Kephisos, and crossed by the road joining Thebes to Levadeia-Orchomenos). Therefore, Haliartos and the settlements here had a large area available for cultivation (unlike the communities to the N and E of Copais). This is supported by evidence from the Boeotia Survey project. As reported by Bintliff and Snodgrass (AR 1986-87: 23ff.), a large Late Roman estate centre (called the Kahrstedt site) was found well into the lake N of the city of Haliartos, along with a few small Greco-Roman sites found between the 95 and 94.5 contours level, just above the rim of the basin (see fig.3 and appendix I.8, table SURVEY SITES and figs.21, 23, 25 and 27 in chapter II.4)<sup>13</sup>.

This S edge of the Copais basin is marked by a series of settlement chambers<sup>14</sup> which run E-W and are associated with inland valleys and medium fertility hilly country of the northern slopes of Helicon and partially the fertile edge of the lake (fig.8). Modern villages, which go back to the Ottoman period, exploit these settlement chambers: Haliartos plays a prominent role both in antiquity and in the modern period.

Starting from the W we find the modern village of Vrastamites/Ypsilantis recorded in 1466-1688. Vrastamites is a Greek village, very important for its

<sup>12</sup> Kallet-Marx 1989: 301-311, provides a good consideration of visibility from towers (Palaiothiva and Evangelistria watch-towers), as well as a description of the sites of Paliothiva and of Evangelistria watch-tower as well as the routes (taken from Pritchett 1980).

<sup>13</sup> This information was used by Knauss and Kalcyck for the lake edge reconstructions, as well as for the construction of the digital model of the lake fluctuations (fig.10 in chapter II.3.1 and appendix III).

<sup>14</sup> These settlement areas are marked by bays defined by the Libethrion/Tilphousion spurs (see above - *topographical setting*). See fig.7.

clear signs of continuity from earlier medieval times. The Frankish tower (13<sup>th</sup> century) above the modern village, and remains of houses, indicate a large Frankish feudal village that continues and flourishes in the early Ottoman period (Bintliff-Kiel in preparation). Below the tower, remains of a possible Greco-Roman village are reported (see above – *village level*), and the presence of a settlement of second-rank status would fill in a gap at the W end of the *chora*<sup>15</sup>, as Onchestos did at the E end. A possible structure in the settlement organisation is visible in the results of a cost-distance analysis<sup>16</sup> having as a base a 2.5km average settlement territory from 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> rank settlements (fig.7).

W of Ypsilantis the modern village of Petra (formerly Siakho) is also recorded in the Ottoman archives in 1540 and 1570. The area provides some evidence for ancient occupation (*components HA\_65 and HA\_66*), and Lauffer has suggested a possible identification with ancient Okalea (see above – VILLAGE LEVEL). In my opinion, the archaeological evidence is not enough to support the existence of a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> rank settlement in this area, although the results of the cost distance analysis show enough room for a possible hamlet (figs. 7-8).

Further to the W follows the area of ancient Haliartos, which is more open to the exploitation of the alluvial soils of the edge of the lake. The modern settlement there (immediately E of the ancient acropolis) has a central character today, as in the past, and offers an interesting case of settlement history. After the destruction of the ancient *polis* in 171 BC there seems to be some Roman-Late Roman agricultural activity at the site (see above – RURAL SEGMENT and Bintliff 1991b: 126). Medieval Haliartos goes back to Middle Byzantine times, if not earlier, and flourishes in Frankish times<sup>17</sup>. In the Ottoman archives a Greek village named Harmena appears (1466-1570), identified with modern Haliartos. The early appearance in the defters as well as the presence at the site of Early Ottoman pottery (and not later - Bintliff 2000a) would indicate the flourishing of the site in that period as well as the abandonment of the entire location<sup>18</sup> until a late 19<sup>th</sup> century refoundation<sup>19</sup>. Therefore, the site

of Haliartos provides strong evidence for a nucleated settlement in several periods of the past. The ancient city appears as a small settlement focus in the Geometric period, along with some small sites in its immediate vicinity (see above – RURAL SEGMENT), exploiting the fertile area along the S side of the Copais. In the Classical period, the *polis* of Haliartos flourished, as did the rural landscape, with a moderate density of rural sites, as elsewhere in Boeotia (see above – RURAL SEGMENT). In the Roman period, after Haliartos' defeat, in 171 BC (see appendix I.8, under the city components), the evidence known from the city area and immediate surroundings is mainly to be associated with a rural occupation of the landscape, maybe hamlet-like, while the town-level settlement probably moved to Onchestos (see below). In the Late Roman period the *chora* of the former city of Haliartos did not participate in the general recovery of the landscape noted in other areas of Boeotia (notice though the LR Kahrstedt villa site by the edge of the lake). - figs.25 and 27 in chapter II.4.

At the eastern edge of the ancient *chora*, a final settlement chamber opens up, which would naturally include the Onchestos pass and the alluvial plains on both sides of it. The fact that this area belongs today to the modern village of Mavrommati, whose area also in the past could have been included in the ancient *chora* of Haliartos (see above – *boundaries*), would explain the apparent lack of a modern village in the strict Onchestos surroundings. In the Classical period the area is occupied by the important sanctuary of Poseidon (*components HA\_33 and HA\_34*<sup>20</sup>), associated with a habitation area, filling in the available settlement chamber in the area between the *polis* of Haliartos and the Teneric plain<sup>21</sup>, controlled by Thebes. The sanctuary overlooked the road joining Haliartos to Akraiphia<sup>22</sup>. During the 4<sup>th</sup> C BC, the meetings of the confederation (*koinon*) used to take place in Onchestos, and the sanctuary grew with a series of activities related to it as well as a small settlement, a satellite of Haliartos (once Thebes lost control over it). Later, as Theban hegemony weakened, there was a reduction in activities at the sanctuary, but the settlement probably attracted some of the population of the area. Progressively, with the development of civic activities, and especially after the fall of Haliartos (destroyed in 171 BC by the Romans), the settlement of Onchestos became a proper small *polis* site (*component HA\_85*), being in Roman times the only nucleated settlement within the same settlement chamber that Haliartos had once controlled. In this sense, the town of Onchestos is said to

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Copais Company, "but owing to its excellent communications and intermediate location between the two main provincial towns of Thebes and Livadeia, has gradually developed into a secondary service centre for surrounding villages" (Bintliff 2000a: 146).

<sup>20</sup> For a similar case of a sanctuary filling in the gap for a settlement site, see the Ptoion sanctuary in the Akraiphiai *chora*.

<sup>21</sup> See also Bintliff's Thiessen polygons analysis (Bintliff 1994b - fig.20).

<sup>22</sup> Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. *Onchestos*, says that Onchestos was between the two *poleis*. The road between Haliartos and Akraiphia ran along the SE edge of the Copais basin.

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<sup>15</sup> This was already suggested by Bintliff in his Thiessen polygons analysis (Bintliff 1994b - fig.20).

<sup>16</sup> See chapter II.3.1 – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS.

<sup>17</sup> The Frankish tower, by which Prehistoric occupation as well as a Greco-Roman activity focus have been noted (see appendix I.8, the Pyrgos Haliartos site), marks the location of another Frankish site, almost 3km to the E of the Haliartos *polis* site (fig.1 and fig.7), always by the edge of the basin.

<sup>18</sup> "We have made a plausible case that the location was deserted in the troubled 17th century for an upland village called Mavrommati Harmena (a kilometre to its south), which ought then to have been Greco-Slav in original ethnicity. Yet this village in turn is abandoned by the 19th century and its population moves to merge with the Albanian in origin and still currently occupied village of Mavrommati (Yorgi), further away in a different village niche" (Bintliff 2000a: 145-6). See fig.7.

<sup>19</sup> Modern Haliartos village was founded as a residence for the workers employed by the British Lake



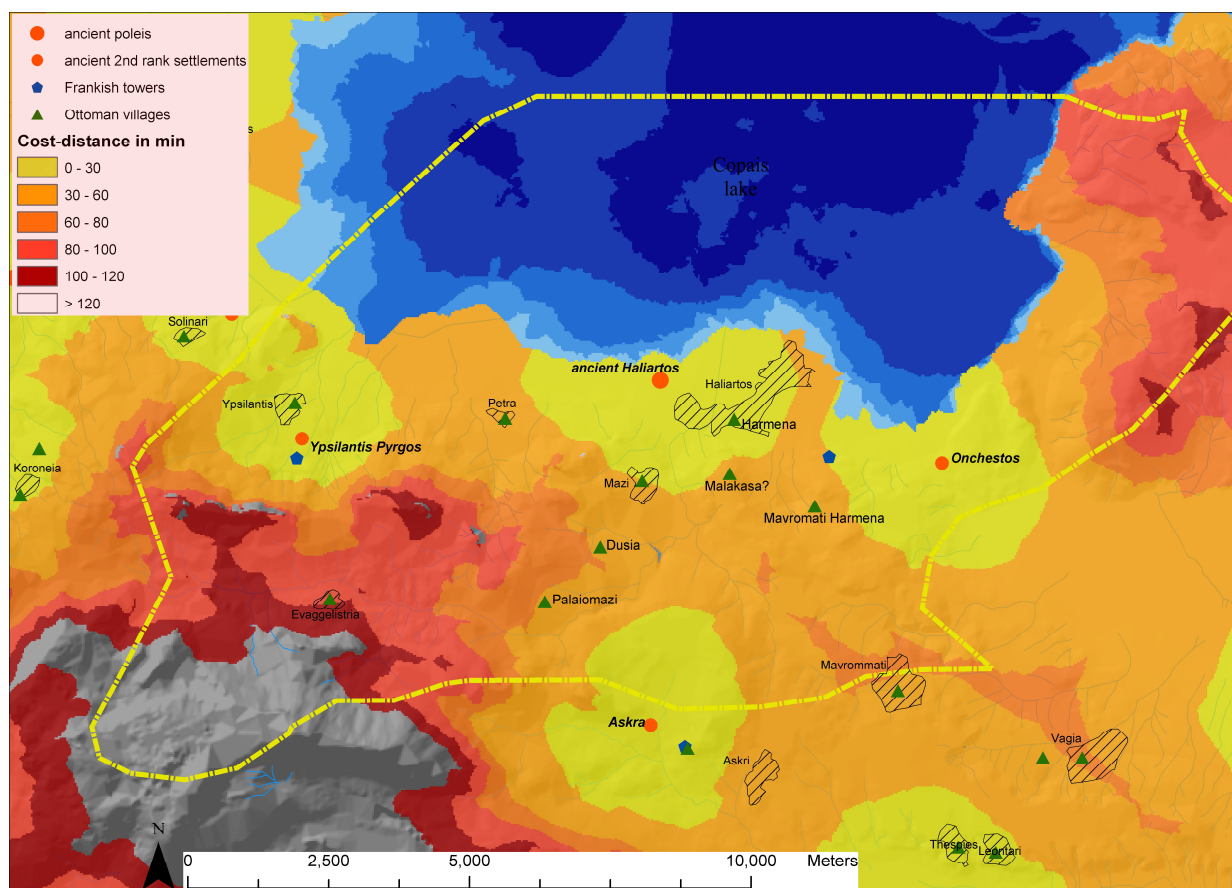


Fig.7. Classified surface representing the cost-weighted distance (1/2 h walking and further ranges) from recognised 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> rank ancient settlements (represented by larger and smaller dots). Areas without dots indicate potential settlement chambers. Ottoman villages and Frankish towers have also been added to the map to show their spatial relationship with the Greco-Roman settlement network and to appreciate potential settlement chambers.

have replaced Haliartos, in controlling the SE area of Copais, as mentioned in Diodorus XVII, 10.4 and proved by archaeological evidence<sup>23</sup> (see above and Bintliff 1991b:124). In the Late Roman period the area of the Onchestos sanctuary was turned into a villa establishment (component HA\_32), testifying to the transformation of the landscape during this period.

The southern part of the *chora* is occupied by part of Mt. Helicon. The Ottoman defters of 1642 record for this area a spatial sequence of villages, indicating also a route through the mountains. The villages are Mavrommati, Malakasa, Dusa, Espanos, Zagara/ Evangelistria and Rastamit/Ipsilanti (Bintliff-Kiel in preparation). On the map we can locate these Ottoman villages, of which only a few survived to the modern period (fig.7). Starting from E to W we find Mavrommati Harmena (recorded 1642, 1646, 1655)<sup>24</sup>, the village of Malakasa (recorded 1466-1688, probably identified with the modern toponym

Malaki in this area), the modern village of Mazi (also recorded in the Ottoman archives in 1466-1570), the now deserted village of Dusia (1466-1688, identified with the modern church of Zoodochos Pigi), the ruined village of Paleomazi<sup>25</sup> (possibly identified with the Ottoman village of Espanos which is recorded in 1466-1688 on the route between Dusia and Zagora), and modern Evangelistria (formerly Zagara, recorded in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman lists (1642-1687)<sup>26</sup> (see Bintliff-Kiel in preparation for the attributions). The large number of villages in this upland area is remarkable, and shows the existence of small settlement chambers across a demarcated zone of small valleys and slopes of middle fertility in this part of the mountains.

Were these settlement chambers occupied by second order villages in antiquity? The cost-distance analysis shows an empty zone in the elevated area beyond the immediate surrounding of the town of Haliartos to its S

<sup>23</sup> Dates and chronologies actually coincide, as regards development at the Onchestos settlement site and evolution of the rural landscape (see above in text, rural sites by Haliartos).

<sup>24</sup> The deserted village, in the upland area to the SE of Haliartos, was recognised through the intensive survey conducted within the framework of the Boeotia Survey project. See above, footnote 18.

<sup>25</sup> The ruined village lies by a perennial spring in the Evangelistria upland valley, ca 4km SW of and above Mazi on the SE slopes of the Goulas mountain, today crossed by the Mazi-Evangelistria road. The deserted village lies on its left side.

<sup>26</sup> During the Ottoman period the settlement moved from the N slopes of the upland valley to the S slopes with springs, due to the increase in the number of inhabitants.

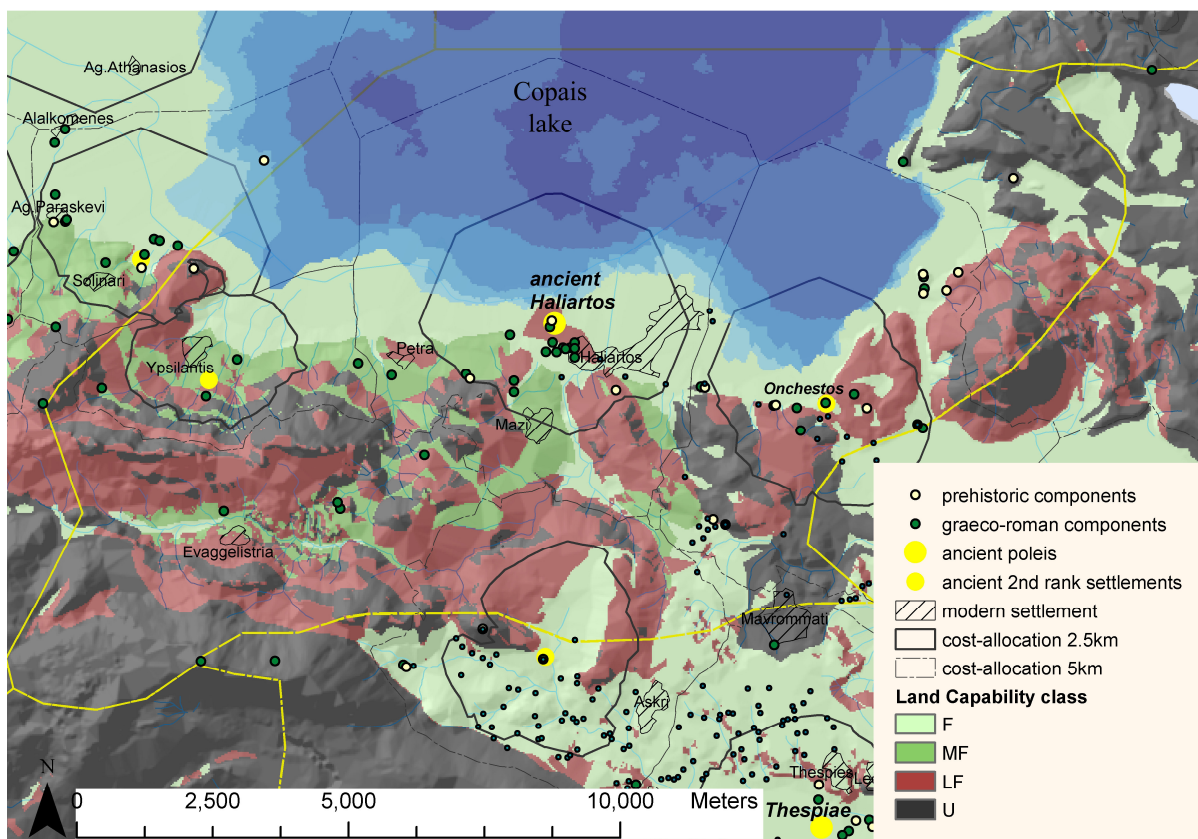


Fig.8. Map showing the Greco-Roman settlement network, the polygons resulting from the cost-distance analysis (marking half an hour and one hour walking time distance) and dots representing the known archaeological components (same as in fig.2), with land capability information underlain.

and SE (fig.7), within one hour walk ranges from nearest settlements. Within it, the archaeological record provides some evidence, but neither village nor hamlet sites have been recognised. Reused blocks in the medieval buildings of Palaiomazi<sup>27</sup>, which lies by a perennial spring in the Evangelistria upland valley, could be signs of Greco-Roman activity here<sup>28</sup>. To the NW of the village of Evangelistria, on a river terrace, remains from tile graves have also been reported (*component HA\_69*). This evidence, along with the presence of watchtowers (see above), may indicate activities associated with upland uses (as better recorded in the *chora* of Koroneia – chapter II.3.1), but no substantial ancient settlement in this upland zone. This gap could possibly reflect a real pattern, as in general at the rural level the Boeotia survey seems to indicate thin settlement beyond the immediate surrounding of the town of Haliartos (see above).

<sup>27</sup> The reused blocs are recorded in the database as AE1396.

<sup>28</sup> See also Lauffer Kopais I: 49.