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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.3.14

The Tanagra plain and Eastern Boeotia

TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The area includes the plain to the N of ancient Tanagra, the low ridge of coastal hills to the E, the lower coastal plains beyond (Dilesi, Dramesi, and Vathy). Also included in the *chora* are the inland basin of Ritsona (which belonged to Tanagra at least in the Hellenistic-Roman period), the small coastal plain of Drosia (Chalia – which in some periods of history belonged to Tanagra), and the lower Asopos basin opposite ancient Tanagra. As M.H. Hansen (1996: 56, 104-5) pointed out, Herodotus and Thucydides normally refer to the *chora* of Tanagra as Τάναγρα[1], while later sources use Ταναγραία[2], Ταναγραική[3].

The area is bordered to the N by the Messapion mountain chain. As Philippson (1951: 498) remarks, Mt.Sagmatas/Ktipas (SW section of Messapion), as a narrow line of limestone heights, separates the basin landscape with new deposits from the coastal area of Euripus[4], and marks the low passage between the basin landscape of the Theban plain and the 'Tanagra' area (see below – PHYSICAL LAND UNITS).
An E spur of Mt.Ktipas, namely Galatsidesa in this NE section, reaches the Euboic sea with the promontory of Vessalas (the site of the ancient sanctuary of Artemis in Aulis), which divided the two gulfs of Mykro and Megalo Vathy[5], while another spur to the NE abruptly reaches the steep coast of the Euboic sea E of ancient Anthedon (see chapter II.3.13)[6], marking a narrow pass where an important coastal road runs (Philippson 1951: 499). To the SE of it the rectangular peninsula of Chalia opens up, 7km long along the coast and 3 to 4km wide. Its SE edge is cut by the Euripus strait, which cuts the city of Chalkis into two parts.

To the S of the limestone ridges of Messapion/Ktipas and the gulfs, the landscape is marked by later alluvial deposits, along the Euboic sea (Philippson 1951: 499).

[1] Thucydides III 91.3-4
[2] Strabo IX 2.10; Pausanias IX 19.8, but also earlier Thucydides IV 76.4.
[3] Strabo IX 2.11
[4] Euripus is the ancient name of the strait dividing Boeotia from Euboea.
[5] In this area, the railway (and a modern road, not present in Philippson's time) runs along the coast, while the older Athens-Chalkis road runs through the inner part, on top of the low limestone hills (see fig.1 in chapter II.1).
[6] Here Ulrichs (1840) saw traces of an ancient road.

The Ritsona delta is a fertile coastal plain to the S of the Megalo Vathy bay, rich in wine, olives and cereals, where the village of Vathy is located (Philippson 1951: 516).
Small hamlets/villages, such as Pharos or Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos, exist also in the coastal plain to the S. This coastal plain is bordered to the S by the hill also known as *Kala Denta* (immediately to the S of Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos) along which runs a 'bad' road (as defined by Philippson 1951: 516) towards the modern village of Schimatari. In the fields were new pine trees in Philippson's time, while by the sea there were badland (eroded area) gorges. To the SE of Schimatari starts a stream that ends in a small delta by the modern village of Dilesi (identified with ancient Dilion – see appendix I.14).
A long and wide formation of tertiary hills, essentially marking the N watershed of the Asopos river valley, extends to the E from Schimatari with an elevation of 160m, runs parallel to the Dilesi stream mentioned above, and later descends to 80m by the outlet of the Asopos. These Tertiary hills, with mainly pine trees and bushes, continue to the coast, crossing the entire area between Schimatari and the sea.

In the interior, the small inner areas of Ritsona lie in a small basin surrounded by hills below the Ktipas ridge along its E side, marked by the passage of the Ritsona river which flows into the sea via the Ritsona delta (see above), while from Sphaides/Eleon to Dritsa/Harma there is a series of low limestone hills rising in the middle of the Tertiary formations marking the surrounding area (the 'corridor' – see appendix II –Eastern Boeotia; Philippson 1951: 512). In line with Dritsa/Harma following a NW-SE direction is the village of Bratsi/modern Tanagra, on the slopes of Soros, whose Eastern spur is the site of ancient Tanagra (see below), which overlooks the wider Tanagra plain.

Boundaries
The area controlled by the *polis* of Tanagra fluctuated in size over the centuries.
A recent work of A. Schachter (who investigated literature, inscriptions, coins, and archaeological remains, with the aim of defining the fluctuations of the border – Schachter 2004) showed that the Tanagrans were able to exploit land not normally identified as theirs, especially in southern parts of the *chora*.
Generally speaking, the topographically definable borders of the *chora* are: the Galatsideza ridge (N), the Ktipas



Fig.1. *Topographical setting of the region*

ridge (W), the Soros range and Parnes foothills (S), and the shores of the South Euboian gulf (NE) - Fossey 1988: 98-9.

Through the examination of the sources for the location of ancient Graia and Delion, Schachter's work points out that the boundaries on the E between Tanagra and Oropos (the *methoria* – the no-man's land between two *poleis*) would have been a fairly fluid area, around ten stades, that used to be somewhere between 1.5 and 2 km E of ancient Delion (Thuc. IV 9.4), probably W of the mouth of the Asopos (Plato, *Critias* 110d-e), and was probably not definitely fixed at a specific point (Schachter 2004: 52).

Considering the Northern boundary, the impression is that until some time in the 4th C BC the region N of Tanagra (as well as the control of the eastern seaboard) belonged to Thebes, but subsequently, and throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, to Tanagra (Schachter 2004: 54). Therefore, in the Classical period the boundary would have been lying S of the territories of Eleon, Harma, Pharai and Mykalessos (the so-called *tetrakomia* – see below), and Aulis, while during the 4th C the territory of Tanagra was extended to include at least Aulis if not the other towns in the region, which were certainly Tanagran in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Schachter 2004: 59).

To the South, the Skourta plain – which was common pasture land shared by Boeotians, Athenians and even Corinthians (Munn & Zimmerman Munn 1990: 36-37) - can be regarded as *methoria*, no man's land between the territories of Attica and Boeotia (Eleusis and Tanagra), as pointed out by Schachter (2004: 56) following his examination of historical sources. Considering also the identification given by Munn (1988: 363-371) of the two watchtowers in the NE corner of the Skourta plain, at Tsoukrati and Limiko, as Boeotian, Schachter says that the territory of Tanagra extended into the Skourta plain to the W, and eastward along or into the northern flanks of mount Parnes, past Sphendaleis, and, clearly, up to the Oropia (in the 5th C too - Schachter 2004: 57). The border would have been at the NE corner of the Skourta plain[7].

To the West, following Herodotus (IX 15.1) and Xenophon (*HG* V 4.49), Skolos[8] must have been the first place along the Asopos which was within Theban territory, so the border would have been not far to the E of it (Schachter 2004: 57), though the actual border area still remains vague.

PHYSICAL LAND UNITS

Plains constitute the majority of the *chora*, mainly marking the coastal area towards the E (see above and below *passim*). Mountainous landscape is very poorly represented, only at the NW edge, constituted by the Messapion ridge. Hilly landscape mainly marks the inner area running NS and is constituted (from N to S) by the lower slopes of Messapion, the low ridge geographically separating the Eastermost region from the Theban plain, and the low hilly morphologies of the same formation crossing the Thespiae and Parasopia & Plataea areas (Tertiary *tafel* of Thebes).

Hilly landscape	32.9%
Mountainous landscape	2.3%
Plain	64.8%

1	P1_P2	lacustrine basin, valley	37%
2	P3	gentle slope	10.8%
3	P4	foothill	17%
4	H1	plateau	12.8%
5	H2	gentle slope	3.3%
6	H3	moderate slope	6.3%
7	H4	severe slope	6.7%
8	H5	very severe slope	3.8%
9	M1	plateau	0.5%
10	M2	plateau/gentle slope	0.5%
11	M3	moderate slope	1%
12	M4	very severe slope	0.2%

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

As visible also from the map with land units (fig.2 in chapter II.1), the region does not have clearly defined geographical boundaries, presenting landscapes which recur several times in different locations, without therefore constituting real physical units. Landscapes composed of plains, for instance, constitute part of the coastal area towards the E, but also mark the landscape of the E part of the Theban plain probably belonging to ancient Tanagra. Foothills (P4) usually form a line running along the foot of the hills, but we can see areas with the same morphological characteristics (below 200m sl and slope ≥ 10%), though with much wider dispersion over the landscape, in the area E and NE of Tanagra and as far as the shoreline. Therefore, even the landscape of the coastal area is not even, with plain features (P1_P2) towards the sea and gentle slopes and foothills (P3 and P4) running along the edge (as we find commonly elsewhere, for instance in the valleys around Copais basin), but forms a variagate picture, formed by P3 and P4 features irregulary alternated with P1_P2 features, thus consituting a fairly irregular landscape, marked by low rolling hills.

RESOURCES

A map showing land potential for the Tanagrike area has not been realised, since the Geological base map for the area (Chalkis sheet) is not available; it has not yet been issued by IGME.

The landscape of this wide *chora* is variegated, and therefore so are the available resources. Also, some parts of the landscape had a changing history, which has altered land use and resource exploitation over time. For instance, one can consider the area between Dramesi and Ritsona (see below) for a long period as a zone of

[7] For the Skourta plain, see appendix I.14 – THE SKOURTA PLAIN SURVEY.

[8] For the location of Skolos see Schachter 1986: 133 and below in the text.

predators during the Middle Ages, when thick wild forest took the place of the productive cornfields and vineyards. Generally speaking, the wide *chora* is very fertile, both the coastal plain and the inner hills. The Tanagra plain can be considered one of the most fertile areas of Boeotia, unfortunately slowly but progressively occupied today by a widely expanding industrial area to the N of Athens. Observing it from the acropolis of ancient Tanagra, in the summer one notices that the predominant colour of the landscape is still yellow, as mostly cultivated as cereals (as it was in the past, most probably), compared to the Theban plain, currently mainly characterised by irrigation cultures.

A few areas can be considered as marked by peculiar characteristics with regards to land potential and land use. For instance, the Chalia peninsula, the Ritsona delta, and the Asopos lower valley.

The Chalia peninsula (see above) is consituted by limestone conglomerate and *poros* covered by red soil, cultivated mainly as vineyards and olive trees, especialy in the middle of the plain, where the village of Chalia lies (Philippson 1951: 499). In the SE part of the peninsula, by the Euripus, is a non-cultivated formation of rudist limestone, which also forms the Karababa hill (W part of modern Chalkis – see below). In Philippson's time, this part of the peninsula was covered only with maquis and frigana. The coast of the peninsula is steep with small flat sandy gulfs, while to the S of Chalkis the Euripos channel is a small plain crossed by the railways, with a salt-installation in Philippson's time.

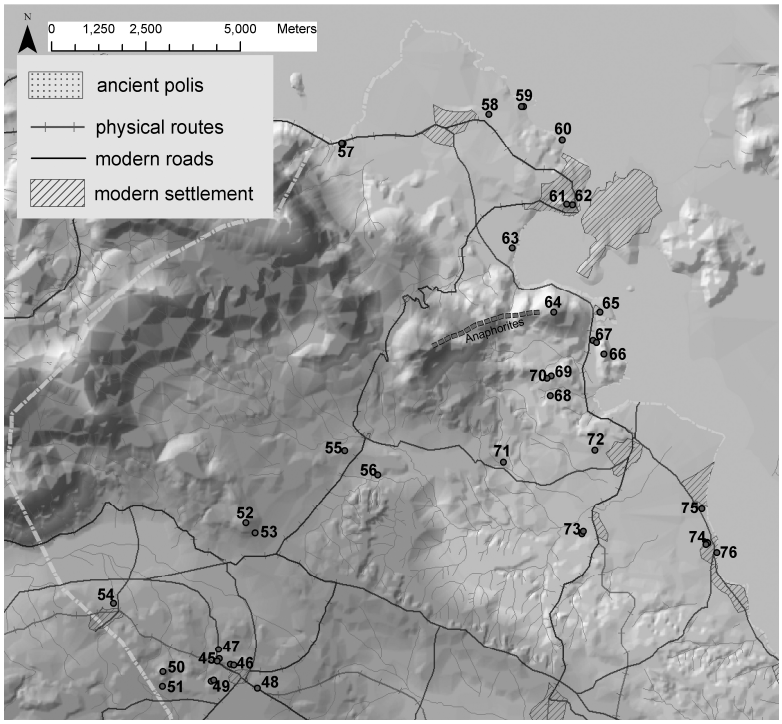


Fig.2. *Archaeological map of the Tanagrike chora (N part).*

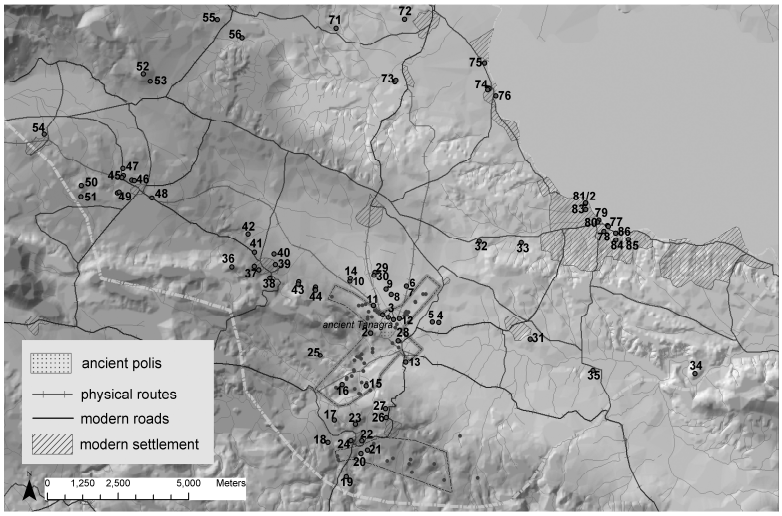


Fig.3. *Archaeological map of the Tanagrike chora (S part).*

The Ritsona delta is a fertile coastal plain to the S of the Megalo Vathy bay, formed by the deposits of the Ritsona stream[9] and rich in wine, olives and cereals (Philippson 1951: 516). The river no longer reaches the sea, and its former delta deposits consitute a promontory, with a lighthouse, just 500m from the Euboian coast[10].

The lower Asopos valley, which crossed longitudinally the Southern part of the Tanagra *chora*, is marked by a fertile landscape of river terraces. The Asopos river runs through incised gorges from the Parasopia into the Tanagra area. From the site of ancient Tanagra (at the Grimada location – see below) it points to the E in a wide valley, marked in Philippson's time by pear and oak trees, used for grazing and husbandry activities (Philippson 1951: 519). Today it is mainly cultivated, with the lower terrace and the river bed recognisable through the presence of flourishing reeds. The N boundary of the lower Asopos valley is constituted by a line of low Tertiary hills, covered with bushes and pine trees in Philippson's time (see above).

[9] Several *kseropotamoi* join near the hamlet of Ritsona (180m asl), forming a wider stream (Ritsona) that runs towards E to the coast S of Aulis and empties into the plain of Vathy (Philippson 1951: 515). Along the N bank of the stream runs the road to Vathy.

[10] Together with the Lilados delta in Euboea the promontory creates a narrow pass of 500m (the 'Burtsi strait', the narrowest after Euripos).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

1	**TANAGRA Grimada**	*Components TA_1 to TA_8*
2	**Grimada**	*Component TA_220*
3	**Extramural buildings by ancient Tanagra**	*Components TA_224 to TA_226*
4/5	**Kokkali**	*Components TA_9 to TA_11* (4); *TA_12, TA_13* and *TA_198* (5)
6 – 13	**Other burial places**	*Components TA_14 to TA_16* (6); *TA_221* (7); *TA_202* (8); *TA_199 to TA_201* (9)*; TA_204 and TA_222* (10) ; *TA_203* (11) ; *TA_17 and TA_18* (12)*; TA_205 to TA_207* (13)
14	**Tanagra N**	*Component TA_227*
15	**Agios Konstantinos**	*Components TA_19 to TA_29*
16 – 26	**Kleidi burials**	*Components TA_30* (16); *TA_36* (17); *TA_34* (18); *TA_35* (19) ; *TA_32* (20); *TA_37 and TA_38* (21); *TA_31* (22); *TA_33* (23)
24/25	**Kleidi**	*Component TA_208* (24) *and TA_228* (25)
26/27	**Agios Thomas**	*Components TA_40* (26); *TA_41 and TA_42* (27)
28	**Lari**	*Component TA_39*
29/30	**Kesseri**	*Components TA_43 and TA_44* (29) and *TA_223* (30)
31	**Oinophyta**	*Components TA_45 to TA_49*
32/33	**Prophitis Ilias**	*Components TA_50 to TA_54* (32) *and TA_55* (33)
34	**Bathiza**	*Components TA_195 to TA_197*
35	**Asopos S**	*Component TA_219*
36 – 42	**Bratsi/Modern Tanagra**	*Components TA_56* (36); *TA_57, TA_68 to TA_70* (37), *TA_62* (38) ; *TA_65 to TA_67* (39)*; TA_64* (40)*; TA_63* (41); *TA_58 to TA_61* (42)
43/44	**Gephyra/Ledeza and Dendron/Grava**	*Components TA_71 and TA_72* (43)*; TA_73, TA_74, TA_209 and TA_210* (44)
45 – 48	**Dritsa/modern Harma – Pyrgos (ancient ELEON)**	*Components TA_75 to TA_85 and TA_88* (45)*; TA_86 and TA_87* (46); *T_89 and TA_90* (47) ; *and TA_211* (48)
49	**Dritsa – Proph.Ilias**	*Components TA_91 to TA_95*
50/51	**Meg. Kastron**	*Component TA_96* (50); *TA_97 and TA_98* (51)
52/53	**Kastron Lykovouni (ancient HARMA?)**	*Components TA_ 99 to TA_104* (52)*; TA_105 and TA_106* (53)
54	**Sphaides/modern Eleon**	*Component TA_212*
55	**Ritsona**	*Components TA_107 to TA_114 and TA_213*
56	**Ritsona Kamileza**	*Components TA_115 to TA_118*
57	**Lithosoros**	*Components TA_119 to TA_125*
58	**Drosia area**	*Components TA_126 and TA_127*
59	**Drosia – Ag.Minas**	*Components TA_128 to TA_131*
60	**Rodia**	*Components TA_132 and TA_133*
61/62	**Karababa**	*Components TA_142* (61) *and TA_143* (62)
63	**Glypha**	*Components TA_134 to TA_141*
64	**Mikro Vathy - Meg. Vouno**	*Components TA_144; TA_146 and TA_147*
65	**Mikro Vathy N**	*Component TA_145*
66	**Vathy Nisi**	*Components TA_149 to TA_150*
67	**Mikro Vathy (Artemis sanctuary)**	*Components TA_151 to TA_155*
68/69/70	**Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos**	*Components TA_156* (68); TA_157 to TA_163 (69); *TA_164* (70)
71	**Vathy - Proph.Ilias**	*Component TA_148*
72	**Vathy – Koulourеza**	*Component TA_214*
73	**Agios Panteleimon (ancient PHARAI?)**	*Components TA_165 to TA_168*
74	**Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos**	*Components TA_169 to TA_176*
75	**Pharos Avlidos**	*Component TA_177 to TA_179*
76	**Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos shore**	*Component TA_180*
77 – 86	**Dilesi**	*Components TA_181 and TA_182 and TA_193* (77)*; TA_183 to TA_185* (78); *TA_186* (79); *TA_216* (80); *TA_194* (81); *TA_217 and TA_218* (82); *TA_187* (83); *TA_188* (84); *TA_189, TA_190 and TA_215 (85); TA_191 and TA_192 (86)*

Table 2. *List of archaeological components and activity loci mapped in figs.2-3.*

The area of ancient Tanagra and its surroundings is in general the best known within the wider *chora*, both for the presence of the ancient city and the strong indications given by the well known cemeteries (in the Mycenaean period with the *larnakes*, and in historical times with the 'Tanagrines' – see above). This might also explain the significant presence of personal or group interest within the panorama of archaeological discoveries in the area (see graph in fig.5).

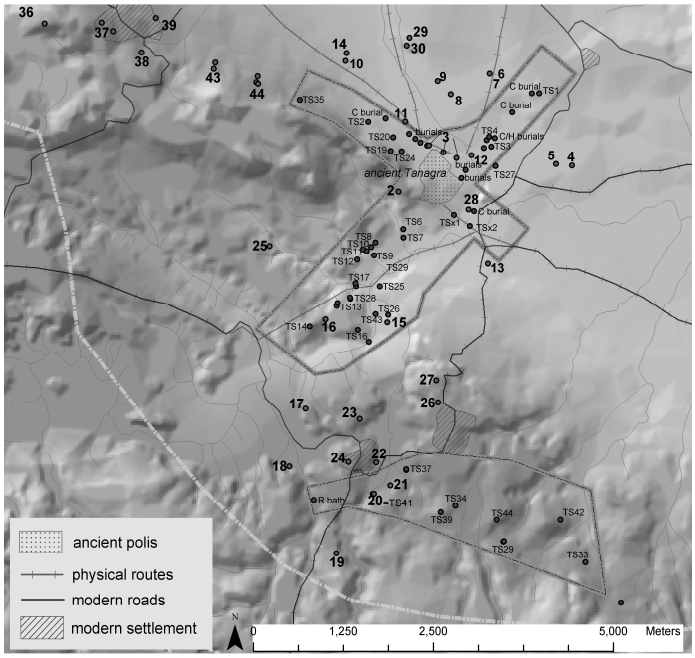


Fig.4. *Same as fig.3, but limited to the area area intensively and systematically surveyed, with discovered sites (listed in appendix I.14 - table SURVEY SITES) marked.*

Accidental discoveries also appear to a large degree, and are mainly represented by burials discovered through ploughing and robbing activities, and easily recognisable through the specific material culture associated. The quite high amount of 'other' is due to the discovery of evidence from other (minor) periods of occupation at major prehistoric or historical sites, such as traces of prehistoric activities found at large historical sites, such as Dritsa/modern Harma, or signs of Greco-Roman activities at well known prehistoric sites, such as Glypha. Rescue excavation also constitutes a section in the archaeological knowledge of the area, especially in recent years. See, for instance, the excavations carried out around the site of ancient Tanagra on the occasion of works for the natural gas pipe-line– 1997 (AD 52 (1997): 371ff), which uncovered burial areas and extramural buildings as well as rural sites (*components TA_222, and TA_224 to TA_227*), and parts of Greco-Roman roads leaving Tanagra [AE1862 and AE1863].

The high density of components around Tanagra is mainly due, as seen earlier, to research on cemeteries (prehistoric and Greco-Roman). An increase in the density of sites is recognisable also in the Bratsi/Modern Tanagra area (for the *larnakes* cemeteries mainly) as well as around Dritsa/Harma and Dilesi sites.

A Systematic Intensive Surface Survey was carried out in the area around ancient Tanagra (area surveyed mapped in fig.3) from 2000 to 2006 by J.L. Bintliff and a Leiden/Ljubljana team and discovered sites listed in appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY PROJECT - and mapped in fig.4. Even though limited to a relatively small area of the *chora*, surrounding ancient Tanagra, the data resulting from intensive and systematic surface surveys are quantitatively substantial in the picture of the available archaeological record for the wider area (see graph in fig.5). This is obviously due to the intensity of research in the small area around Tanagra in comparison with the poor data from other areas.

A new intensive survey has also been started in 2007 in the area of modern Arma and Eleon by the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP). Also, a systematic surface survey has been carried out in the upland plain of Skourta, at the border between Boeotia and Attica, in the uplands to the S of the territory of Tanagra (Munn – Zimmerman-Munn 1987-9[11]). The research and results are briefly illustrated in appendix I.14 – THE SKOURTA SURVEY. They have not been included in the graph in fig.5.

In fig.6 we can see the relationship between known archaeological sites and the distance from the modern road network. Correspondence, apart from hilltop sites which are obsiously off the roads, is striking indeed, though once again (see other *chorai* for similar cases) the older road to Thebes, as well as the coastal road, for instance, follows the same route as in antiquity, and the occupation might be linked to the ancient routes.

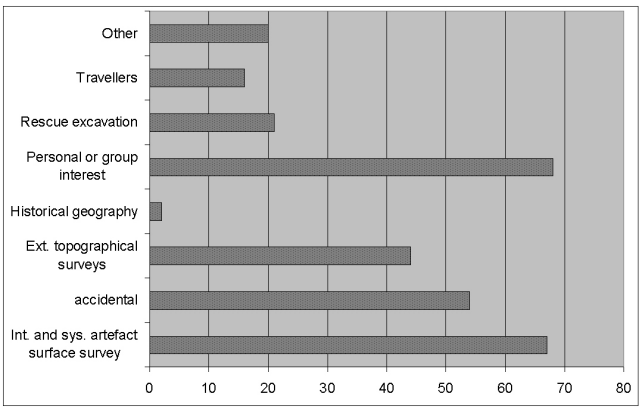


Fig.5. *Graph illustrating the proportion of components discovered within different research frameworks including Intensive and Systematic Artifact Surface Survey (Tanagra survey project).*

The ratio of known Prehistoric to Greco-Roman components is 74 to 154 (1:2.1), while among the historical periods, 58% are dated Archaic to Hellenistic, 22% Roman –Late Roman, and 20% are attributed to the general Greco-Roman period. The elevated presence of components of Prehistoric date is certainly due to the presence in the *chora* of the famous LH burials with larnakes (see above) which have led to research aiming to uncover Mycenaean cemeteries and sites and have drawn the interest of prehistorians.

[11] For further bibliography see appendix I.14.

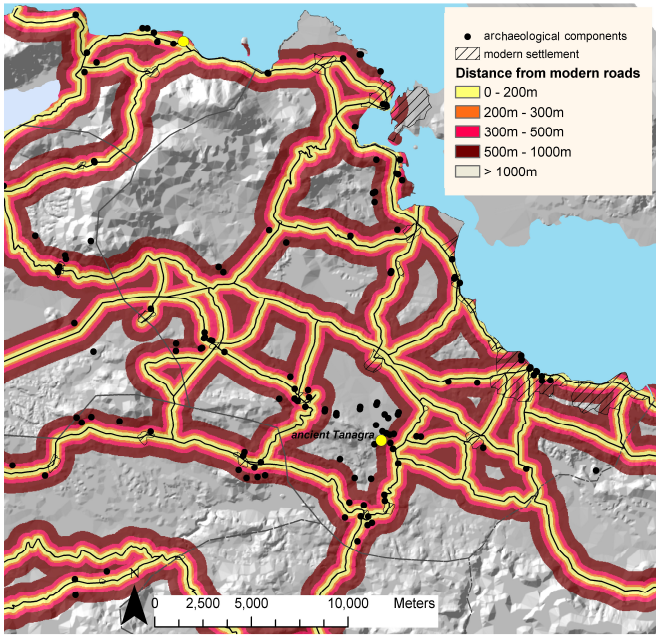


Fig.6. *Relationship between components and modern road network.*

ANALYSIS OF THE *CHORA* LANDSCAPE

PREHISTORIC PERIOD

The archaeological record available in Eastern Boeotia for Prehistoric periods is quite large.

For the Neolithic period, activity foci are known at the site of ancient Tanagra (*component TA_1*), at Ag. Konstantinos (*component TA_19*), at Proph. Ilias (*component T_50*), in the area of the Agios Thomas village (*component TA_42*), at Drytsa-Pyrgos (*component TA_75*), at Lithosoros (*component TA_119*), at Glypha (*component TA_134*), at Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos (*component TA_169*), and probably at Kokkali (*component TA_9*); and just a presence at Oinophyta (*component TA_45*). In an area close to the Asopos river, intensive survey work discovered an interesting extensive settlement pattern from the Neolithic period (see appendix I.14 – the Tanagra survey project) – see fig.5 in chapter II.3.11.

EH is attested at the site of ancient Tanagra (*component TA_2*), at Kokkali (*component TA_10*) and at Ag. Konstantinos (*component TA_20*), at Proph. Ilias (*component T_51*), at Bratsi by the Frankish tower (*component TA_58*), at Drytsa-Pyrgos (*component TA_76*) and on the Meg. Kastron hill (*component TA_96*), at Kastron Lykovouni (*component TA_99*), at Ritsona (*component TA_107*), at Vathy-Proph. Ilias (*component TA_148*), at Pharos Avlidos (*component TA*_178), at Bathiza (*component TA_195*), as well as probably in the area of the Agios Thomas village (*component TA_41*) and at Dritsa-Proph. Ilias (*component TA_95*). The EH presence at Oinophyta (*component TA_46*) is doubtful, while the burial site at Kesseri (*component TA_43*) is related to a probable settlement nearby. Important settlement sites are known at Lithosoros (*component TA_120* – EH I), on the contemporary Drosia-Ag. Minas promontory (*component TA_128* – EH I), and at Glypha (*component TA_135*) in the Drosia plain to the NE, as well as at Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos (*component TA_170*). EH presence is always situated on prominent sites, even if they are often quite low – see fig.6 in chapter II.3.11.

Generally speaking, MH Boeotia shows fewer sites than the EH period, and this is due to a preference for a nucleated rather than dispersed settlement pattern (see fig.5 in chapter II.3.11 for Tanagra, and also the *chora* of Thebes – for a different opinion see Fossey 1988 vol.II). MH nucleated settlement is known in elevated locations at Ag. Konstantinos (*component TA_21*) and at Drytsa-Pyrgos (*component TA_77*), and in prominent locations at Lithosoros (*component TA_121*) and Glypha (*component TA_136*), in the Drosia plain. The important settlement site at Glypha constitutes a parallel with the sites at Salganea and Dramesi along the Boeotian coast and with that at Magoulas and Amarinthos Euboea (AD 43 1988 (1993): 203)[12]. A probable settlement site is known at Ritsona (*component TA_108*) and at the site of ancient Tanagra (*component TA_3*). Activity foci are reported at Bathiza (*component TA_196*) as well as at Proph. Ilias (*component TA_52*), while MH tombs 1.5km from the site (*component TA_55*) might be related to another settlement – see fig.7 in chapter II.3.11.

LH settlement is known on the Ag. Konstantinos hilltop (*component TA_22*), at Drytsa-Pyrgos (*component TA_78*[13]), at Kastron Lykovouni (*component TA_100*), and in lower locations at Proph. Ilias (*component T_53*), Ritsona (*component TA_109*) as well as Lithosoros (*component TA_122*) and Glypha (*component TA_137*). There is a little LH evidence from the Mikro Vathy (Aulis) area[14] and from the Dramesi area[15]. LH burials are well known in the area of Kleidi, Agios Thomas and Bratsi/modern Tanagra (*components TA_31 and TA_37*; *TA_40*; *TA_61 to TA_64*), most of which produced Mycenaean *larnakes*. Their presence could lead to the existence of settlement in the area, which has not been located yet but is certainly not on the site of Greco-Roman Tanagra (see appendix I.14: Tanagra Grimada and Kokkali sites). The LH burials at Gephyra/Ledeza and Dendron/Grava by Bratsi (*components TA_71 and TA_73*) are to be linked to corresponding small settlements next to them (*components TA_71 and TA_73*) – see fig.8 in chapter II.3.11.

[12] In general, the EH and MH settlement in NE Boeotia must be seen within the wider framework of Euboean settlement dynamics (among others Sampson AE1974: 5 and 14 and Sacket et al. 1966: 66 n.93). In addition to the sites listed here, a probable prehistoric focus is also known at Rodia (*component TA_132*).

[13] *Component TA_94* at Dritsa-Proph. Ilias could represent halo activities of the settlement at the Dritsa-Pyrgos site.

[14] LH burials (Mykro Vathy N – *component TA_145*), a possible LH fort (Vathy Nisi - *component TA_150*), LH potsherd scatters (*component TA_163*).

[15] LH activity focus and burials (Pharos Avlidos – *components TA_177 and TA_179*).

GRECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY[16]

Town level

The ancient city of Tanagra is the main settlement of the extensive plain (300 sqkm) to the N of the ancient city that Strabo (IX.2.10) and Pausanias (IX.19.8) mention as *Tanagraia*. The city was located between two rivers, in a well defended spot and central to the Eastern part of Boeotia, of which it was the most important city. The Tanagra site shows occupation from Late Neolithic to Late Roman and even later periods, with a significant gap within mature Late Helladic[17].

Before the addition of Aulis and the *Tetrakomia* (Harma, Eleon, Mykalessos, Pharai) during the Hellenistic period (Schachter 2004: 60), ancient Tanagra was located roughly in the middle of its *chora*, and it would have been a suitable meeting place for economic and social purposes[18]. After the annexing of NE Boeotia, in the area defined here as the wider *chora* of Tanagra, unlike other *chorai* of Boeotia, other town level sites were present (Aulis[19], Harma[20], Eleon[21], Mykalessos[22], Pharai[23]), with a certain autonomy throughout the Greco-Roman period, though probably never truly independent *poleis*. In the Classical period, four of these constituted the *Tetrakomia*[24].

Village level

The wider region of Tanagra and Eastern Boeotia is quite peculiar compared to the other *chorai* of Boeotia. The Northern area is settled according to a system of towns which never reached the status of real *poleis* but worked as nucleated foci within the settlement chambers they occupied. Accordingly, in the Northern area there is no real room for 2nd rank settlements, with the exception of the areas towards the gulf of Euboea: the Chalia/Drosia plain, where attempts have been made to locate *Salganeus*[25], *Chalia*[26], *Hyria*[27], the Mikro Vathy area[28] and the Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos area[29].

On the other hand, the proper *chora* of Tanagra, which belonged to the city throughout its entire history, would allow for the existence of satellite settlement(s) of Tanagra. The sources mention *Stephon*[30], *Schedia*[31] and *Gephyra*[32], while the archaeological record allows for the existence of a settlement site S of Tanagra, just on the

[16] Period maps are included in chapter II.4, figs.18-20-22-24-26-28.

[17] See *components TA_1 to TA_8.* The great 4th C BC plan and rewalling at Tanagra attest to a large and wealthy city in Classical Greek times, and it is perhaps only with the arrival of Roman power in the Late Hellenistic (2nd to 1st centuries BC), when we might expect some radical change in its prosperity (considering the shrinkage of urban areas at cities such as Thespiae and Hyettos and the temporary or permanent cessation of occupation at the town of Haliartos and the village-town of Askra, plus drastic depopulation at rural sites). However, the examination of ceramic material collected at the site seems to indicate a fairly strong Flavian to Severan urban occupation (Poblome et al. 'The Late Hellenistic to Late Roman ceramic spectrum of Tanagra. Approaching the urban assemblage' in Bintliff et al. 2008). Later, there certainly seems to have been a large and busy city in the Late Roman period (ca. 400-600 AD), as the vast bulk of all surface finds from Tanagra belong to Late Roman forms.

[18] As Schachter points out (2004: 60), because of its location, Tanagra was open to a variety of influences from abroad. The Tanagraia, as events of the 5th C show, was particularly vulnerable to attack by land and sea (this is probably why Tanagra was loyal to Thebes for most of the Classical period). Another important area of access to Tanagra was the coast (see Tanagran participation in the foundation of Herakleia Pontike by the Megarians, ca. 560 BC – Herodotus IX 55).

[19] Aulis in Pausanias' time was a village, inhabited by potters, which belonged to Tanagra (Philippson 1951: 498). Most probably it should be located at the Vathy-Ag. Nikolaos site, as supposed by Blegen (1949).

[20] Attempts have been made to identify it with the Kastron Lykovouni site (but see discussion in appendix I.14 – *components TA_105 and TA_106*). The contemporary name *Harma*, following the 'Hellenisation' of village names, is attached to the village formerly called Dritsa (see next footnote).

[21] With occupation from Geometric to Late Roman (Dritsa-Pyrgos / modern Harma village *components TA_79 to TA_85*).

[22] Ancient Mykalessos has been located at Ritsona. The town site shows occupation probably from Geometric to Late Roman, with a gap in the Roman period, as regards surface material reported so far (*components TA_110 to TA_114 and TA_213*). No systematic research has been carried out at the site.

[23] The location of *Pharai* is still uncertain. Candidates are Agios Panteleimon (*components TA_165 and TA_166*), and less probably Bratsi/modern Tanagra village (*component TA_56*) and Asopia-Chlebotsari (see chapter II.1.11 and appendix I.11).

[24] According to Strabo, Pharai was a town belonging to the Tetrakomia.

[25] Karababa has been identified with historic Salganeus (though only Roman can be attested distinctively – *component TA_142*), while 'prehistoric Salganeus' has been located at Lithosoros (for discussion see Wallace 1969: 246ff.; Wallace 1979: 41; Fossey 1988: 80).

[26] For identification issues see Fossey 1988: 77-78.

[27] Fossey (1988: 76) locates *Hyria* (*Iliad* II 496) at the Glypha site, Frazer (1913) at the Vathy-Ag. Nikolaos site (which Blegen 1949 identifies as ancient *Aulis*), while attempts have been made to locate it at Dramesi / Paralia Avlidos, which has also been identified with Homeric *Graia* (Fossey 1970).

[28] In the Vathy area, on the low Vessalas ridge, some evidence mainly from earlier periods may indicate a village site (Vathy-Ag. Nikolaos - *components TA_158 to TA_162*) with associated burials (Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos *component TA_164*). According to Blegen (1949), *Aulis* was situated on the Vessala hill. Also located in the area is the sanctuary of Artemis (see *components TA_151 to TA_155*) and a settlement is known at the sanctuary site in the Late Roman period (*component TA_154*).

[29] On the Agios Panteleimon ridge are traces of a settlement (*components TA_165 and TA_166*) and burials (*components TA_167 and TA_168*).

[30] For *Stephon*, a possible location has been suggested at Bratsi/modern Tanagra (see appendix I.14). The site is mentioned by Plutarch (*QC* 37 [299C]) as first occupied by the founders of Tanagra, presumably a fortified place.

[31] Attempts have been made to locate it on the Ag. Konstantinos hilltop (Fossey 1988: 56 - see appendix I.14), but this location was probably a hilltop refuge site (occupation attested in the Late Roman period – *component TA_29*) rather than a rural village/*kome*. Some others locate it at Bratsi/modern Tanagra (for the question see Fossey 1988: 56).

[32] A village, to judge from the name –raft, or pontoon bridge- near the Asopos, perhaps on the N bank, perhaps occupied by the Gephyraioi: *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Γέφυρα.

basis of burials (Agios Thomas and Kleidi area[33]) and the fertile land available. There is very probably not enough evidence for a settlement at Oinophyta (*components TA_47 to TA_49*), presumably only the site of the battle that took place in 457 BC, won by the Athenians[34]. Also, the site at Bratsi could simply be a fort.

Delion, the port of Tanagra with a sanctuary of Apollo, has been located in the area of the modern village of Dilesi. Archaeological evidence seems to indicate that at least in Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman times a settlement developed around the harbour (*components TA_191 and TA_192, TA_217 and TA_218*). Burials might be an indication for it (*components TA_185 and TA_186; TA_189 and TA_190; TA_215*).

A Late Roman settlement site is known at Ag.Konstantinos (*component TA_29*), probably with a defensive hilltop character.

Rural segment

The archaeological record includes some activity foci which could be linked to rural activities in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods: *components TA_59 and TA_60* (Archaic/Classical at Bratsi, by the Frankish tower), *component TA_44* (Classical/Hellenistic) which could correspond to *TA_223* near Agios Thomas and *component TA_209* (Archaic), as well as probably *component TA_39* (Classical) at Agios Thomas and a building S of Bratsi (*component TA_57*).

The Roman rural landscape is represented by *component TA_210* (Roman) at Dendron Grava and a Hellenistic or Roman rural site at Bathiza (*component TA_197*).

In the NE area, the rural picture is much less known[35]: a Classical rural site which could be represented by the evidence at Lithosoros (*component TA_125*), undetermined evidence (Geometric to Classical) on the Drosia-Ag. Minas promontory (*components TA_129 to TA_131*) as well as activity foci at Glypha (*components TA_138 to TA_141* - Geometric/Classical) and at Rodia (*component TA_133*).

We can distinguish the Late Roman rural sites, which are usually larger in extent: *component TA_227* at Bali and a probable rural activity represented by *component TA_98* at Meg.Kastron. In the NE area, Late Roman is reported at Glypha (*component TA_141*), at Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos (*component TA_156*), and at Mikro Vathy by the Artemis Sanctuary in the form of a small settlement with a bath (*component TA_154*).

Much of the rural landscape structure is known in the environs of the ancient city of Tanagra due to the intensive and systematic survey - Tanagra Survey Project - carried out in the area (see appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY PROJECT, *Greco-Roman Antiquity*). The picture of the rural landscape changes considerably from the Classical/Hellenistic to the Roman/Late Roman period, and changes are related to both the topographical setting and the size of the sites, as well as the distance from the city.

The small farms of Classical and Early Hellenistic date discovered by the survey are all at a distance from the city (from 1.8km and further), as the immediate outskirts of the city were farmed directly by inhabitants of the city itself[36]. The large number, the small size and the distance from the city of the small rural sites indicate a pattern of rural exploitation of the hinterland of a Classical city and possibly reflect agricultural plots. The position of the rural burials confirm the picture, as it reflects the position of family plots of people (see chapter II.3.3) either resident in the city, who were going from it to the fields, or of people living in the countryside in nearby farms, of which some were identified by the survey. The rural sites discovered represent both permanent habitation (TS1, TS25) and seasonal sites (TS11, TS12, TS16, TS17, and possibly TS7)[37]. Family farms typical of the Classical period show a preference for a location on hill-slopes that naturally constitute suitable zones for olive trees and cereal cultivation[38], as has also been noted elsewhere within Boeotia and Greece[39] (for details see appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY PROJECT, *Greco-Roman Antiquity* and fig.22 in chapter II.4). The population living in the rural sites in the Classical period represent only a small percentage (estimated around 20-25%) of the whole *polis* (*asty* + *chora*) population (Bintliff 1997b: 235). The general picture given by the density and distribution of material, which can also be observed in other survey projects in Greece, reflects the political importance that the countryside (*chora*) received in the framework of the city-state (*polis*) system, within which the rural segment was considered as an active and vital part.

In the Roman period, we observe changes in the exploitation of the rural landscape, and in particular in the Late Roman period, when traces of these socio-economic changes become particularly visible archaeologically. Those changes concern site size, distance from the town, as well as topographical location/characteristics, and testify to a different socio-economic system and transformations concerning land

[33] Most likely the settlement would have to be located somewhere between or beneath Kleidi or Agios Thomas, since cemeteries seem closer to the modern village area than to the Ag. Konstantinos site. Intensive survey work (Tanagra survey) between Agios Thomas and Kleidi did not locate any settlement site, and one could even suggest its presence below the modern village of Kleidi.

[34] Thucydides I 108, 2-3; Diodorus XI 81-83, 3; see appendix I.14 and Schachter 2004: 59 n.46.

[35] What is known is mainly just due to interest in Prehistoric sites, and usually the known Greco-Roman components are at the same location as the Prehistoric occupation.

[36] See elsewhere in Boeotia, at Thespiae for intance (chapter II.3.9 or bibliography on the matter).

[37] For a debate about permanently residential or seasonal farms in the Classical-Hellenistic period, see among others Foxhall 2004, Osborne 2001, Pettegrew 2001; Osborne 1992; Snodgrass 1990; Snodgrass 1987: 117-19; Osborne 1985b; Bintliff-Howard-Snodgrass 2007).

[38] To the S of ancient Tanagra, for instance, the small farms and groups of burials, which as suggested could be related to family plots, are located on the higher slopes of the Asopos valley, in the fertile hilly landscape of marls.

[39] See for instance *components T_55 to T_57* – appendix I.12 in the area of Vagia. For other areas of mainland Greece see for instance Cavanagh, W. – Mee C. - James P. 2005: 70 table 2.4 for Laconia.

property which characterise the period (mainly larger properties and specialisation in products). The picture resulting from the survey attests to the preference for lower locations within the valley, in contrast to the higher level on the slopes which constitutes the preferred location during Classical times (see above)[40], as well as a greater proximity to the city site[41]. Generally speaking, the mid and large size Roman rural sites (some of them fairly rich - TS2, TS3 and TS4) in the surroundings of the city reveal the important development of the countryside, while the noted preference for a lower location within valleys and basins[42] reflects the character of specialised and intensive cultivation which characterises the period, most probably grapes, as seems to be attested by the large quantity of amphora sherds[43] which were found at the sites as well as in the city (cf. Poblome et al. in Bintliff et al. 2008). We could therefore hypothesise a network of commercial villa estates aiming at a wider market than Tanagra itself. The main period of occupation of those sites in Late Roman times is in parallel with the peak of occupation of the Late Roman *polis* of Tanagra, in which one can note high activity from the 4th to the 6th C AD (for details see appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY PROJECT, *Greco-Roman Antiquity*).

Burial areas

Some burial areas in the vicinity of the Tanagra city site may be related to the city, such as the burials on Kokkali hill[44], or in the immediate surroundings of Tanagra (*components TA_14 to TA_18; TA_199 to TA_207; TA_221 and TA_222*). On the other hand, some of those components could also represent cumulative cemeteries linked to rural settlements, along main roads (see Mesogeia), as *components TA_97, TA_212, TA_214, TA_180, TA_219* in the wider region might also do. Intensive and systematic artefact surface survey in the surroundings of Tanagra (see appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY PROJECT) discovered many burial areas which correspond both to city cemeteries and to burials connected with the rural occupation of the landscape (see RURAL SEGMENT above and the archaeological maps with survey sites fig.4[45]). In particular, none of the burial areas located in the S survey transect are on the natural roads from the city but they are rather located higher on the hill slopes and most probably linked to family plots and farms (see appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY PROJECT, *Greco-Roman Antiquity*).

The burials in the surroundings of Bratsi may also be linked to the rural occupation of the landscape (*components TA_65 to TA_67*) rather than to a settlement site (see above and appendix I.14). Moreover, burials that seem to create a circle around the village of Kleidi (*components TA_32 to TA_36; TA_38 and TA_228*) have been related to the Ag. Konstantinos site, but could be linked[46] to a settlement probably located further S, as yet undiscovered (see above, footnote 33).

The burial picture also indicates Greco-Roman burial places linked to town sites, such as at Dritsa-Pyrgos *components TA_86, TA_87, TA_89, TA_90 to TA_93 and TA_211* linked to ancient Eleon, and at Ritsona Kamileza *components TA_115 to TA_118* linked to ancient Mykalessos.

In the plain of Drosia, possible burial activities (*components TA_126 and TA_127 and component TA_143* at Karababa) constitute the sole archaeological evidence there for the Greco-Roman period, along with the Classical rural focus –*component TA_125* (mentioned above). Burials in Mikro Vathy (Aulis) area (*component TA_164*) and in the Dramesi area (*components TA_167 and TA_168*) could be linked to probable nucleated settlement exploiting the area.

Cult places/Religious areas

The sacred landscape of the region is mainly represented by the Classical to Roman Artemis Sanctuary at Mikro Vathy (*components TA_151 to TA_153*), an Archaic? sanctuary by Kleidi (*component TA_208*), and the Apollo sanctuary in the area of Dilesi, for which candidates are mainly *components TA_183 and TA_184* (on the Palaiochori ridge) and *component TA_187* (on a hill above church of Ag. Paraskevi). A possible cult place is at Agios Konstantinos (*components TA_23 and TA_24*).

Forts and fortifications

A Greco-Roman fort is known at Mikro Vathy-Meg. Vouno (*component TA_144*) and must be seen in connection with the Anaphorites fortified line, which probably marks the boundary between Boeotia and Chalkis when the latter had control of the plain of Chaleia below (see appendix I.14).

Bratsi (*component TA_56*) probably may also simply be a fort of the Hellenistic period rather than a fortified settlement, as well as the fortified hilltop of Kastron Lykovouni (*components TA_102 to TA_104*). A Greco-

[40] The location of the discovered sites (farms or villas) of the Roman/Late Roman period attests to the preference for these zones, in the S transect as well as in similar topographical settings/locations to the N and W of the city (fig.26 and fig.28 in chapter II.4).

[41] The same behaviour can be found at the outskirts of other Boeotian *poleis*, such as at Thespiae (see Thespike *chora* – chapter II.3.9, and discussion in chapter II.4).

[42] The preference for lower locations in this period can be noted also elsewhere in Boeotia according to the archaeological record available (see *components T_146 and T_147* in the area of Vagia, the villa sites in the lower Kephissos valley by ancient Chaironeia, as well as *component AK_53* by Akraiphia.

[43] Mainly large amphorae, locally made, normally reserved for long-distance trade.

[44] Those are the well known cemeteries which produced the terracotta figurines called *Tanagrines* (*components TA_12, TA_13, TA_198*).

[45] In particular, to the W of the city, by the city wall, for city cemeteries, and in the N and S survey transects for rural cemeteries.

[46] With the exception of the possible Late Roman burial site (*component TA_30*) which could be related most probably to the settlement at Ag. Konstantinos.

Roman fort is also reported at Vathy Nisi - *component TA_149*.

Other activities / unspecified activity areas
Ancient quarries are known in the area (*components TA_220 and TA_228*), as well as signs of activity interpreted as a pottery workshop S of Dilesi (*component TA_188*).
Harbour installations are known at Dilesi, where the ancient port of Tanagra (*Delion*) must be located (*components TA_181 and TA_182; TA_193; TA_216; TA_191 and TA_192*)[47].
Unspecified activity areas can be located in the surroundings of ancient Tanagra (*components TA_224 to TA_226*).

LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS IN THE CHORA *LANDSCAPE*

The ancient city of Tanagra is the main settlement in the basin of Tanagra, built at a strategic point. It controls two fertile plains, Laris and Asopos, as well as the hilly country of Tetartogene, mainly southwest of the city, where at heights of up to 200m are situated the present day villages of Ag. Thomas and Kleidi. Before the addition of Aulis and the *Tetrakomia* (Harma, Eleon, Mykalessos, Pharai) during the Hellenistic period, ancient Tanagra was located roughly in the middle of its *chora*. This area is divided today among four modern villages which go back to the Ottoman period. Modern Tanagra (formerly Bratsi, recorded 1506-1570) is located on the slopes of Soros, whose Eastern spur is the site of ancient Tanagra, overlooking the wider Tanagra plain. Modern Schimatari (recorded 1466-1642) is NE of the ancient city, controlling the plain north of the city but extending its territory to the sea to include the modern harbour of Plaka Dilesi, the harbour of ancient Tanagra. The hilly landscape and valleys south of the ancient city fall into the territory of two modern villages, Ag. Thomas (formerly Liatani recorded 1466-1688) and Kleidi (recorded 1506-1642). It is interesting to note that the borders of these modern village territories fall at the location of the ancient city, thus dividing the large plain which was controlled by the ancient city. Here, at the foot of the ancient city, the medieval site of Agios Thomas, also the site of a Frankish tower, could represent a possible continuation from the ancient city. In antiquity this large area, in which several settlement chambers are formed, would not have been exploited solely by the city.
In the immediate vicinity of the city, the systematic Tanagra survey located small farms of Classical and Early Hellenistic date that appear from a distance of 1700m from the city wall, once again showing that the immediate surrounding of the city were farmed by inhabitants of the city itself. With slight discrepancies in attributing patterns which we will not discuss here, this matches what has been claimed by Snodgrass (1987/9) concerning Classical farming around the Boeotian cities. Finds such as the loom-weights, lamps and cooking pots indicate more-or-less permanent habitation. The distribution of these sites and of the small burial components associated with them is indicative of the practices of land use. The small size and the distances from the city indicate a pattern of rural exploitation of the hinterland of a Classical city and possibly reflect agricultural plots. Especially in the southern transect surveyed (see map in fig.4, and figs. 22 and 24 in chapter II.4), characteristic is the existence of a site every 100 metres or so, conforming to the picture of small and medium sized Classical farms in the rural landscape observed in other parts of Boeotia but also in other Greek surveys. No nucleated settlements (hamlet level) were located in the immediate hinterland of the city, as attested around Thespiae and Thebes – see chapters II.3.9 and II.3.12, but only individual farmsteads[48].
At greater distances from the city, the existence of second order villages is postulated by the ancient sources (see above VILLAGE LEVEL). The medieval settlement pattern also indicates the existence of several settlement chambers within the territories of modern villages or those of the Ottoman villages, which seem to reflect a settlement pattern of rural nucleations. In the area of the Ottoman village of Ginosati (predecessor of the modern village of Ag. Thomas, formerly Liatani), on the upland plateau and hills SE of the ancient city, the Tanagra survey located a series of Middle Byzantine villages about every 1500m, exploiting this agricultural landscape. The Tanagra survey located small farms of Classical/Early Hellenistic date in this area, as well as a larger rural estate of the Late Roman period.

The area N/NW of the ancient city was settled in antiquity according to a system of towns which operated as nucleated foci within the settlement chambers they occupied, with a certain autonomy throughout the Greco-Roman period though probably never truly independent *poleis* (Aulis, Harma, Eleon, Mykalessos, Pharai – see above). Some of these settlement chambers form foci of settlement in the modern and Ottoman periods. Modern Harma (formerly Dritsa and by the site of ancient Heleon – see above) is recorded from 1466 to 1688. The presence of a Frankish tower in the locality suggests Albanian recolonisation of an abandoned Greek village. Modern Eleon (formerly Sphaides), at its W, is also recorded in the Ottoman archives of 1466-1570). At the small modern hamlet of Ritsona, by the site of ancient Mykalessos, ruins of a deserted village could not be identified with any place in the Ottoman archive and could be of a later period.
The area towards the gulf of Euboea also presents a number of settlement chambers, occupied by the modern villages of Drosia (formerly Chalia, recorded from 1506 to 1688) and Vathy. The large number of secondary villages, especially in the territory of Vathy, most of which go back to the Ottoman period (Pharos, formerly Gierali, recorded from 1466 to 1642; Paralia Avlidos,

[47] The prosperity of the harbour in the Roman/Late Roman period fits well with its interpretation as the harbour of ancient Tanagra, quite prosperous in this period.

[48] See figs. 22 and 24 in chapter II.4, and appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY PROJECT, table SURVEY SITES.

formerly Dramesi, recorded from 1466 to 1688; Kalo Chorio, formerly Kribesi, possibly recorded from 1466 to 1642), and the deserted Ottoman villages of Kapandriti and Lavda, as well as the deserted village at Ritsona (see above), indicate the existence of several settlement chambers in this area. Indeed, for this area in antiquity attempts have been made to locate several second rank settlements, such as *Salganeus*, *Chalia*, *Hyria*, *Aulis*, as discussed under the archaeological entries listed in appendix I.14 (see also below), and at Ag. Panteleimon by Kalo Chorio evidence indicating an ancient settlement was found (see below and appendix I.14).

As seen above, the large *chora* of Tanagra constitutes a peculiar case within the Boeotian panorama. Hansen (1996: 105) also points out that the Aristotelian collection of *politeiai* seems to have included a *Constitution of Tanagra* (Plutarchus *Moralia* 299C) which reported a tradition that the territory of Tanagra had once been inhabited *κατὰ κώμας*. In terms of organisation of the landscape, we see a picture of decentralisation, where each *polis*/*kome* worked as an attraction factor. Several *kome*-type town centres mark the landscape of the Northern area, each dominating a settlement chamber: Mykalessos, Eleon, Harma, Aulis, with the addition of smaller settlement areas, such as in the area of Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos and in the Drosia/Chalia plain. On the other hand, the city of Tanagra dominates the Southern part of the *chora*, the proper *Tanagraia*. According to Schachter (2004: 60), before the addition of Aulis and the *Tetrakomia* (Harma, Eleon, Mykalessos, Pharai) during the Hellenistic period, the *chora* fell naturally into two sections, roughly equal in area, with the site of ancient Tanagra located roughly in the middle[49]. The city dominates a landscape of hills and plateaus, although its natural *pediada* (plain) seems to be that towards Attica.
The *kome*-type centres in the wider *chora* never became politically strong (see above) nor very large[50], and this can be explained by considering the landscape character, marked by not very good soils, optimal for pine trees but not very good for much else. Even today the landscape is quite empty (the settlement at Ritsona, for instance, which has to be considered the successor of Mykalessos, lies abandoned, and in its place rose a hamlet of 3-4 houses around the deserted village), and settlement along the coast (Pharos, Paralia Avlidos, Dilesi), characterised by large extents irregularly occupied by pullulating houses, should not mislead us, as it is due mainly to summer houses and touristic activities by the coast (see fig.1). This seems to be confirmed by the recent past history: in the Ottoman period pirates controlled the area which was completely abandoned by the historical population, while in Early Modern times bandits took over the area, still unsafe for living. On the other hand, the city of Tanagra also never grew particularly large (the walled area is 31ha[51], and in some periods it extended into the extramural area[52]), despite the large area of fertile low hills and plateaus it controlled, and its extended *chora* in some periods of history. This may be due to the fact that its territory was continously under threat from Thebes[53], whose power was always greater throughout the Greco-Roman period. This tension both allowed the smaller communities to pursue their autonomy and stopped any centre from gaining leadership. Within the *chora* the balance was maintained by different factors, both historico-political and geographico-topographical. Between central Boeotia, dominated by Thebes, and Eastern Boeotia, there is only a band of hills running in an EW direction. Thebes lies at the edge of this line of hills, which, however, do not mark a natural division, and therefore the landscape is not characterised by a natural logic of space and areas of influence can only be set by arbitrary divisions. The settling of Thebes in that particular location somehow conditioned the position and size of the other settlement in the wider area of central and Eastern Boeotia, as pointed out earlier (chapters II.3.11 and II.3.12).

Several settlement chambers can be detected in the area, where living settlement can be noticed (even if usually shifted in location) from Late Prehistory until today. The examination of landscape data and the archaeological and archival record, as well as a cost-distance analysis[54] (fig.7) lead us to distinguish them as follows:

[49] This may explain at least in part the choice of Grimada as the urban centre of the *chora* (Schachter 2004).
[50] Generally speaking, the settlement chambers of the towns of Eastern Boeotia have never been well investigated (for instance, for Ritsona we know mainly only the rich cemeteries).
[51] The city size is comparable with Hyettos and Haliartos.
[52] As the Tanagra survey project is discovering (see Bintliff and Slapšak's preliminary report in Pharos 2007).
[53] The smaller communities in the plain towards Thebes (Mykalessos, Eleon, Harma) were threatened in particular, and for a long time they were under the influence of Thebes. At some point Tanagra even lost control of the port of Delion. This is why in this area the small *poleis* (joined in the *Tetrakomia*) managed to provide stronger resistance than in other regions (see the case of Askra in relation to Thespiae for instance, or the absence of town level settlement in the wider area of Thebes). Massive defensive walls, in many cases since the Archaic period, attest the effort of these small communities to demonstrate their autonomy and their pursuit of *polis* status in front of both Tanagra and Thebes. Mykalessos, for instance, retained limited autonomy at least as far as control over its small territory was concerned.
[54] See chapter II.3.1 – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS.

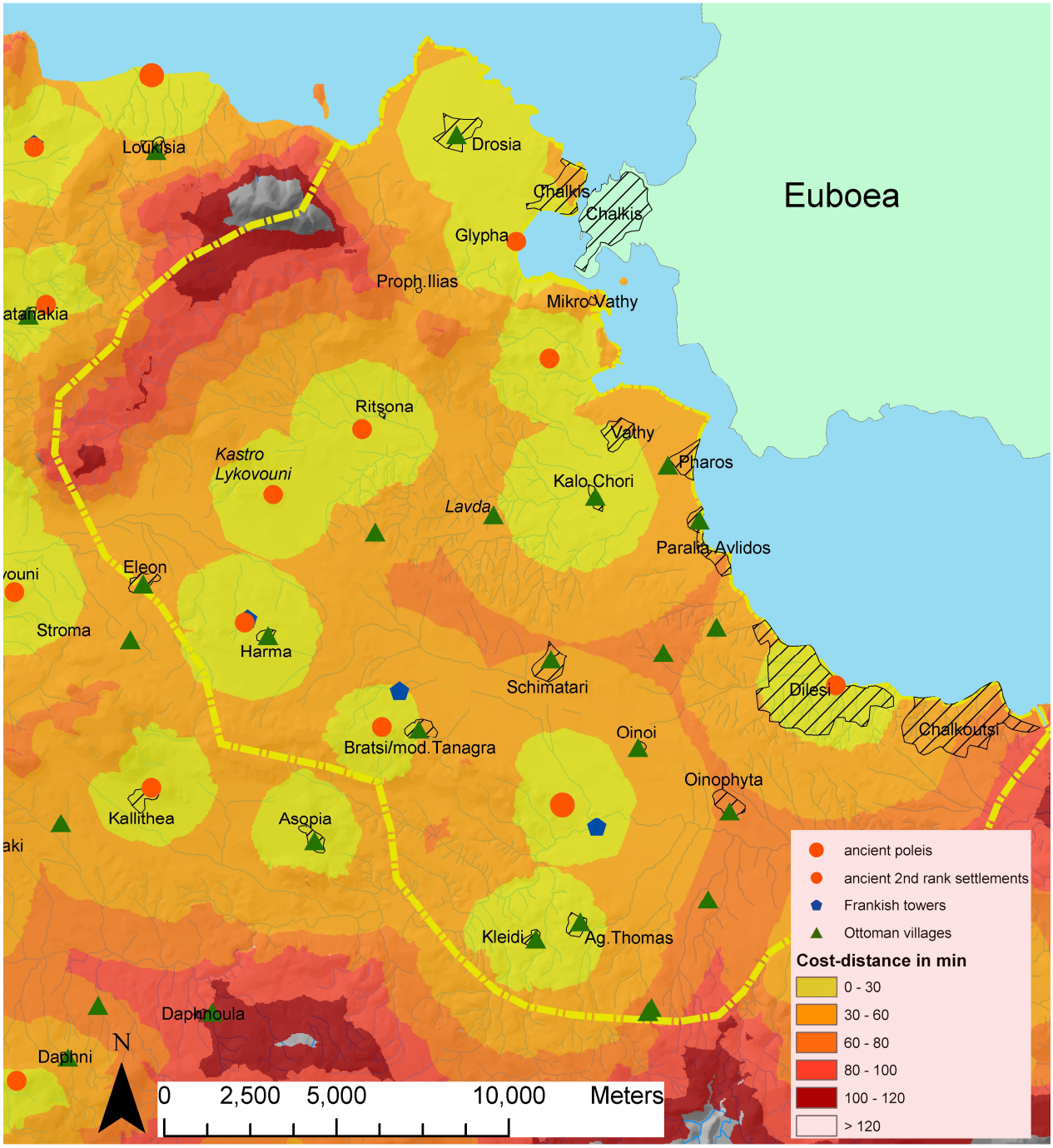


Fig.7. *Classified surface representing the cost-weighted distance (1/2 h walking and further ranges) from recognised 1st and 2nd rank ancient settlements (represented by larger and smaller dots). Areas without dots indicate potential settlement chambers. Ottoman villages and Frankish towers have also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

Tanagra area. The location of Grimada, site of the ancient *polis* of Tanagra, was occupied probably from the Neolithic, and certainly during the Bronze Age, while in the Late Bronze Age, settlement foci are elsewhere in the area (Bratsi, Agios Konstantinos-Agios Thomas)[55]. The Grimada location is then occupied by a town level centre from the Geometric until the Late Roman period. In the Medieval period, the Grimada location is once again abandoned, in favour of locations some of which were already settlement foci in the late Prehistoric period (Bratsi, Agios Thomas, Kleidi - Ginosati in Medieval times, see Vionis 2006). For the Medieval (Frankish) period, there are remains of towers with associated settlements to the immediate E of ancient Tanagra (Ag.Thomas church) as well as to the NE of Bratsi village. In Ottoman times a hamlet was located on top of the earlier acropolis ridge within the walled area of the

[55] The Grimada location was not the Mycenaean centre, which was, however, nearby, since we do have a lot of rich Mycenaean cemeteries in the environs.

ancient city[56]. In the 15th century AD Ottoman records, the Tanagra district is covered with small Albanian hamlets, including the direct ancestor of the modern village, today renamed Tanagra after the ancient town nearby, but until recently retaining its original 'Arvanitic' name of Bratsi. In the area of the Bratsi/modernTanagra village, archaeological evidence could permit (even if without certainty) the existence there of an ancient settlement[57] as well as of a Medieval (Frankish) focus[58]. We observe both recurrent and shifting settlement choices within a wider settlement chamber, somehow natural in an open area like the *Tanagraia*, with fertile soil throughout, and without physical constraints. In modern times, Schimatari, in the middle of the plain and at an important road junction[59], became the actual centre of the area, with several other second rank settlement foci (Bratsi/Modern Tanagra, Oinophyta, Agios Thomas, Kleidi and smaller Oinoi, with the Dilesi and Chalkoutsi coastal sites), some with Ottoman predecessors (see above). In the area of the modern villages of Kleidi and Ag.Thomas can also be located a second-rank settlement, according to the burial evidence all around the two village hills (see appendix I.14)[60].

Dilesi area. The ancient harbour of Delion (harbour of Tanagra) has been located in the area of modern Dilesi/Plaka Dilesi, in association with the Apollo sanctuary (see appendix I.14). A settlement grew up around these activities.

Eleon and Harma area. Ancient Eleon has been identified with the rich remains of an ancient town on a rise to the NW of the modern village of Harma. On the other hand, attempts have been made at identifying ancient Harma with the poor remains on the top of the Kastri Lykovouno ridge. In the map showing the results of a cost-distance analysis one can see that the latter spot would fill a settlement gap between ancient Eleon (modern Harma – occupied both in Frankish and Ottoman times) and Mykalessos (modern Ritsona). The land available to these town settlements was not very fertile, though agricultural exploitation can be carried out, as the traditional use of the landscape shows. This aspect, as well as their border location between the spheres of influence of Thebes and Tanagra, could help to explain the quick advantage that Tanagra took of them already in the Hellenistic period (see above)[61].

Ritsona area. Ancient Mykalessos lies in a remarkably distinctive micro-landscape, surrounded by more-or-less high mountains, which nowadays gives the impression of how the countryside must have looked like in Classical times. We know, however, that the landscape character changed many times, and the area was invaded by forest and wild vegetation after antiquity, being abandoned and at the mercy of pirates in the Middle Ages, and bandits in 17th and 18th century (see above)[62].
The site lies in an area characterised today by what may have been a typical 'Classical' landscape. Around the ancient town are fields in the plain, all the way to the mountains. At the end, where the higher mountains begin, they border the forest. On the slope, every now and then, there are vineyards and olive trees. On the other hand, despite the large basin available, the poor limestone and conglomerates lowlands which mark the area would never support anything larger than a *komopolis,* dependent on Tanagra since the Hellenistic period (see above)[63]. In the post-Roman period we do not have any real centre after Mykalessos (Bronze Age site, and then early *polis*[64] absorbed by Tanagra). In the Ottoman archives we cannot find any corresponding record, while a deserted village is visible today by the tiny hamlet at the small road junction[65] in the Ritsona locality below the ancient acropolis.

Chalia/Drosia plain. There is little evidence for ancient occupation in the area, especially in earlier periods (Geometric to Classical), though mainly rural and burials without any identified settlement focus (see above RURAL SEGMENT, BURIAL AREAS). Several attempts have been made to locate the settlements of *Chalia*, *Hyria*, *Salganeus* in this area (see above and appendix I.14). In Prehistoric times the main settlement (*Salganeus*) was at Lithosoros, while in historical times it could have been at Karababa (see above VILLAGE LEVEL). Bintliff's Thiessen polygon analysis on Greco-Roman villages of Boeotia (Bintliff 1994b fig.20) includes three settlement foci in the area: Lithosoros, Chalia/Drosia and Glypha. These settlement chambers, in close proximity to each other, seem to be occupied in different periods, with shifting of the main settlement, or at least not always the three of them contemporaneously (also in the Ottoman period we have evidence for only one settlement, at Chalia/Drosia – see above). The archaeological evidence from Chalia/Drosia and Karababa is very poor (see appendix I.14), but might refer to the same settlement chamber, and we might suppose the existence of a settlement focus in

[56] A four-longhouse hamlet found during survey in 2001 (Farinetti – Sigalos 2002 and Bintliff et al. 2001).
[57] Attempts have been made at identifying it with ancient *Pharai* mentioned in ancient texts as a member of the *tetrakomia* (see appendix I.14 for discussion).
[58] A Frankish focus is attested by the presence of a tower.
[59] The Schimatari road-junction is in a strategic position for the market of Boeotia.
[60] See discussion under the site of Ag. Konstantinos (appendix I.14).
[61] The massive city walls by which the *town* of Eleon was surrounded, as still visible today, clearly indicate their twofold function: defensive, as is natural, but also symbolic, in order to visibly express a *polis* status which it never entirely had. This character would probably join Eleon with Mykalessos, Harma and Pharai, although the archaeological record is less rich in these other cases.
[62] In 1934, the wide basin of Ritsona was full of bushes (Philippson 1951: 515).
[63] Pausanias notes that the men of Tanagra use the land of the Ritsona basin (in addition to other places, i.e. ancient Harma area) for grazing (Paus. I 34.2).
[64] Flourished in the mid 6th C BC (rich necropolis) and declined in the 5th C BC. Destroyed during the Peloponnesian war, but was still alive in the 4th C although under the control of Tanagra.
[65] Between the Thebes-Chalkis and Thebes-Vathy roads.

the area. Moreover, the evidence at Lithosoros indicates a settlement focus only in the Prehistoric period, while in historical times the site was probably only rural. In the cost-distance analysis (fig.7), three settlement areas were included, centered on the main known sites (Glypha, the area of Chalia/Drosia, and Karababa), simply to investigate a possible general settlement structure.

Mikro Vathy (Aulis) area. In the area between Mikro and Megalo Vathy[66] lay the sanctuary of Artemis, to which a small settlement could be associated. The Aulis settlement, however, which in Pausanias' time was a village inhabited by potters and belonging to Tanagra (Philippson 1951: 498), might be located in an inner location, at the Vathy-Ag.Nikolaos site. In the Late Roman period a small settlement/villa site took over the sanctuary. All these activities refer to the same settlement chamber, indicated in fig.7 as a result of a cost-distance analysis on Greco-Roman settlement.

Dramesi / Paralia Avlidos area. In Prehistoric times the settlement focus was at Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos (see appendix I.14). In Greco-Roman times a probable settlement is to be located at Ag. Panteleimon[67], in association with burials (see appendix I.14), which would mean a shifting in the main settlement location from the coast to the interior. If the evidence represents a settlement site its location would fit a natural agricultural block suitable for sustaining a village. The settlement chamber would extend to the coast, allowing the settlement to exploit the coastal Vathy plain (see below - Ritsona delta), which in Prehistoric times would have had an important settlement at Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos[68], while today the agricultural wealth supports four villages (Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos, Vathy, Gierali/Pharos, Kribesi/Kalo Chorio) as it did in the Ottoman past (Lavda, Dramesi, Gierali, Kribesi - see above and fig.7).

To the S of the *chora*, the upland Skourta plain constitutes a long-lived settlement chamber whose history must be linked with its border position between Boeotia and Attica (see above –*borders*, and appendix I.14).
In the wider region, possible settlement gaps can be noted in the area of Oinophyta (where, though, there is very probably not enough evidence for a settlement - see above VILLAGE LEVEL), as well as in the area to the NW of Kastri Lykovounou and Ritsona, where, however, the topographical characteristics (E fridges of Messapion ridge and land marked by low fertility) as well as the existence of the nearby settlement immediately to the E, would seem to preclude the existence of other settlement foci.

In conclusion, by looking at the settlement history and comparing the settlement situation with the LH, we notice some interesting elements arising after the general depopulation phenomena which had characterised the period immediately following the fall of the Mycenaean kingdoms. The general picture of the Geometric period is that of nucleated settlements, where we see the remnants of different disperse communities gathering together in certain centres, as already suggested by Fossey (1988). Also some new centres were created, as is the case for Tanagra, which gathered all the people from the neighbouring settlements (especially those along the Kerykion ridge, at the end of which Tanagra lies), and for Chalia-Agios Minas, along the NE shore. Moreover, the majority of the sites showing possible or very limited occupation during LH become settlements during the general recovery of the Geometric period (fig.8 in chapter II.3.11 and fig.18 in chapter II.4). In the Archaic period, after the recovery, the landscape fills up with settlements. The land is divided to create the apparently 'natural' mosaic of the territories of the emerging *poleis* (Bintliff 1994). Part of this pattern is comprised of the town level sites of Aulis, Harma, Eleon, Mykalessos, Pharai (see above) – fig.20 in chapter II.4. Moving to the Classical/Hellenistic period, the survey results have proved Tanagra to be at its flourishing peak (like the majority of Greek *poleis*). The great 4th C BC plan and rewalling attest to a large and wealthy city. As a consequence, the enlarged city territory overcomes the territories of the individual smaller towns, which retained a certain autonomy but never became truly independent *poleis* – figs. 22 and 24 in chapter II.4. In contrast to ancient writers' emphasis on the demographic and economic decline of Southern Greece by the era of the Early Roman Empire, indicated also in the shrinkage of urban areas observed in the Boetia survey, and in several other surveys in mainland Greece, the city of Tanagra shows signs of a fairly strong occupation in the Roman period as well[69]. This is in accordance with Strabo's (IX 2.25) consideration of Tanagra as a relatively well-to-do community. In the Late Roman period (ca. 400-600 AD) there seems to have certainly been a large and busy city, as the vast bulk of all surface finds from Tanagra belong to Late Roman forms (Bintliff and Poblome et al. in Bintliff et al. 2008). As for the port of Tanagra, ancient Delion, Strabo (IX 2.7 (403)) has it as a 'small town', while in the 2nd C, Pausanias (IX 20.1) seems to imply that it was just a sanctuary. The main peak of Delion, in fact, as of the other Eastern Boeotian harbour of Anthedon, is attested in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (AD 1981: 193). On the other hand, regarding the other town centres examined above in the wider area under the influence of Tanagra in Hellenistic times, Mykalessos and Harma are both known as having been deserted by Roman times. This would attest a decay of

[66] Megalo Vathy must have had importance in Prehistoric and Protohistoric period, as a harbour site.
[67] A possible interpretation of the site as a settlement and an identification with ancient *Pharai* is discussed in Fossey (1988: 97-8).
[68] The LH site has been identified with Homeric *Graia* (Fossey 1970: 3-22). On the other hand, Blegen (1949) felt this was ancient *Hyria*, disagreeing with Frazer's (1913) attribution of this to Meg. Vouno area (Vathy - Agios Nikolaos site, see above).
[69] The examination of ceramic material collected seems to indicate a fairly strong Flavian to Severan urban occupation (Poblome et al. in Bintliff et al. 2008).

the nucleated centres in Roman times, as the abandonment of the sanctuary at Aulis in Late Roman times and the establishment of a wealthy rural estate would also suggest - fig.26 in chapter II.4.