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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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Appendix I.1
Central Helicon: Koroneiake

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

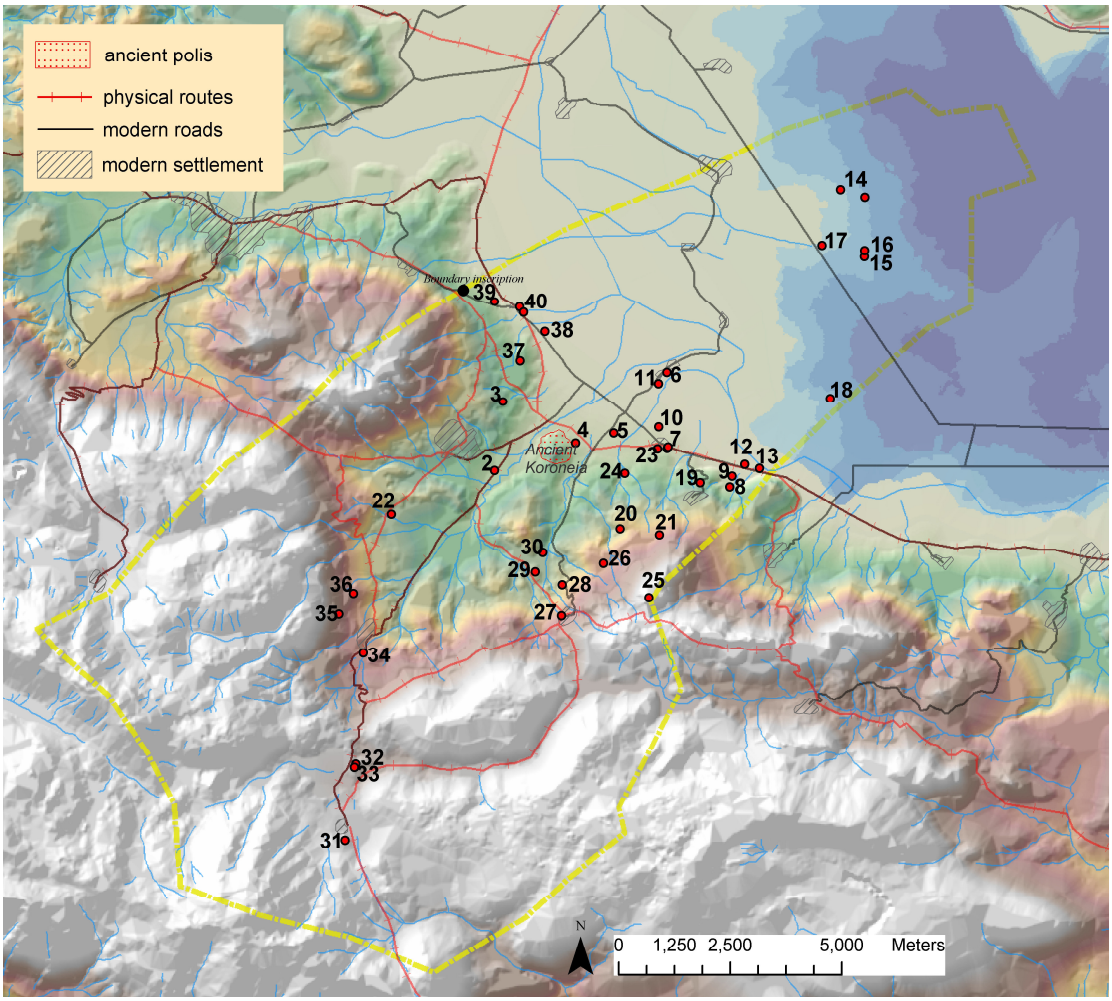


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of Koroneiake chora.*

1. PALAIA KORONEIA: *Components KO_1 to KO_10*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_1	C	settlement	Palaia Koroneia	Historical geography	certain
KO_2	N	? activity focus	Palaia Koroneia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
KO_3	MH	? activity focus	Palaia Koroneia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
KO_4	LH	? activity focus	Palaia Koroneia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_5	G	activity focus	Palaia Koroneia	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_6	A	settlement	Palaia Koroneia	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_7	H	settlement	Palaia Koroneia	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_8	R	settlement	Palaia Koroneia	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_9	LR	settlement	Palaia Koroneia	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_10	LR	burial place	Palaia Koroneia	Personal or group interest	certain

Components KO_1 to KO_10 refer to the ancient *polis* of Koroneia, including the settlement as well as burials and components within the *polis* area.

The ancient *polis*, situated at the NE end of the central ridge of Butsurati, is extended on two hills, one lower to the N, dominated today by the ruins of a Frankish tower, and another one higher to the S, the most prominent location of the ancient city. A fountain can be seen today below the ruins of the tower, and it most likely marks the place of a water source in antiquity also.
The two hills of the ancient *polis* of Koroneia are situated in the middle of two valleys, being the end part of a ridge which cuts the larger valley into two longitudinal sections (Butsurati). The Western one is wider, while the Eastern valley is narrower, and runs steeply down from the slopes of Helicon which constitute the Labethrion/Tilphousion ridge.
The city is mentioned in Strabo (IX 2.29) and Pausanias (IX 34.2). The site of Koroneia was already correctly identified by Leake 1835: 133-5.
Koroneia was a walled city when conquered by the Phokians in 353 (Hansen 1996: 91). There are remains of an undated polygonal circuit of walls around the acropolis, enclosing an area of 38ha (Fossey 1988: 325-6); another circuit of walls of an unknown date enclosing the lower town could still be seen in the 19th century (Frazer 1913: 70).
Small excavations carried out in the 1970s by the *ephoreia* (Spyropoulos) on the acropolis at different spots in the city area, recovered shallow archaeological strata. According to the excavator, the remains were disturbed by erosion and heavy cultivation, and although no prehistoric or Classical structures or deposits were found, structures datable to the LR - Early Christian period were (AD 1972: 317-318; AAA 1973: 385-392)[1].
On the other hand, surface sherds (whose density on the ground is incredibly high, especially in some areas) indicate the presence of an urban settlement there since the G period (*components KO_1 and KO_5 to KO_8*), and excavations conducted by Pappadakis (BCH 1923: 521-2) on the acropolis E slope attest the presence of the R agora as well as structures referring to a LR settlement and cemetery (*components*

[1] Later Byzantine ceramics were found by the Frankish tower at the N foot of the acropolis hill (Lock 1986) and on the acropolis (Leiden-Ljubljana Koroneia city survey project 2005).

KO_9 and KO_10). A theatre has been noticed for the city by travellers already [AE714 – Ross 1851 vol.I: 32, Gell 1819: 150, Frazer 1913: 170].
Surface sherds also seem to attest a possible presence of a Prehistoric activity focus at the site of the historical *polis*. Neo, MH and LH material are reported by prehistoric and multi-period gazetteers (HS&D 1979: G19; Fossey 1988: 326 and 1990d from his own fieldwork).

As Buck (1979: 58) states, in the Pherecydan tradition, several of Athamas' sons were eponymous heroes or founders of various Boeotian localities: Ptoos of Ptoon, Koronus of Koroneia; Onchestus of Onchestos, Orchomenus of Orchomenos, Sphingius of Mt. Sphinx. Most of his associations lie within the area that was probably under Orchomenian influence in the LH period.
Myth has it that Koroneia was one of the first cities conquered by the Boeotians, who came via Thermopyli and entered Boeotia through Chaironeia, and then conquered Koroneia and Orchomenos (Buck 1979: 80), and founded the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (see below). Archaeological data attest that most of Boeotia was parcelled out among various Boeotian communities, and by the end of the 9thC BC several *poleis* had been formed (Buck 1979: 91). Orchomenos, before the end of the 8thC, attempted to gain supremacy over all Boeotia, and it dominated Chaironeia, Hyettos, Olmones, Hyria, and Lebadeia and perhaps Koroneia and Copai before and during the time of Hesiod. The sanctuaries of Alalkomenai and of Itonian Athena lay fairly close to Orchomenos, and the Pamboeotia (taking place at the Itonion) would be easily under its control[2] (Buck 1979: 97). Lebadeia and Koroneia, probably after the defeat of Orchomenos by Thebes, broke loose and became independent if minor states. A fight between Orchomenos and Koroneia, with victory claimed by the former, occurred between 550 and 525 (dedication at Olimpia: Jeffery 1961; Buck 1979: 97).
The city was a member of the First Boeotian Federation (*Hell.Oxy.* XIX 3-4), the Second Federation (Diodorus Siculus XVI 35.3) and the Third Federation (CID II 74.50).
In 553/2 Koroneia was conquered by Onomarchos (Ephorus fr. 94a; Diodorus Siculus XVI 35.3) and became a Phokian stronghold (Demosthenes XIX 148; Diodorus Siculus XVI 58.1) until 346 when Philip had the city handed over to the Thebans (Demosthenes V 22, VI 13) who exposed it to an *andrapodismos* (Demosthenes XIX 112, 325). Shortly afterwards Koroneia must have been resettled, since in 337/6, one of the Boeotian *tamiai* in Delphi was a Koroneian citizen (CID II 74.50), as reported in Hansen 1996: 91.
Two important battles took place in front of ancient Koroneia in 447 and 394 BC.
Koroneia is reported to be one of the last Boeotian cities to fall into Roman hands (together with Thisbe and Haliartos, in 171/0 BC ca. (Livy XLII 63.3). According to Livy (XLIII 4.11) the city was sacked and its population sold into slavery only to be later released by decree of the senate. Afterwards, Koroneia faded from the scene until the imperial period (Fossey 1990c), when the city showed vitality (see the Koroneia city epigraphical archive, mentioning also hydraulic work and activities - indication of a relative prosperity at Koroneia-, and then statues to the emperors[3] …). According to Alcock (1997) the type of Greek poleis in the Roman period were linked

[2] Control of festivals was eagerly sought.
[3] An epigraphical archive, named the 'city archive', was found – see Fossey 1981-3. A statue of Hadrian was found in the water-reservoir discovered in the city site (BCH 47 1923: 521-522).

to the favour of the leading class in front of the emperor, and Koroneia was probably in quite a favourable condition, as the archive seems to suggest[4].

2. Ag. Athanasios: *Component KO_92*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_92	gr-rom	burial place	Ag.Athanasios	Personal or group interest	approximate

A small trial excavation by the church of Ag. Athanasios (probably to be located between the Ag. Georgios village and ancient Koroneia) brought to light some bases and some funerary *stelai* carrying names of ancient Koroneians [AE1673]. They are visible in the Museum of the church of Agia Triada in the village of Ag. Georgios (Pappadakis BCH 1923: 521-522).

3. Ag. Georgios - Xerokamara: *Component KO_87*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_87	gr-rom	activity focus	Ag.Georgios - Xerokamara	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Below the vulcanic E slope of Laphystion, 1.5km ca NE of Ag. Giorgios, a poor water source spills out, known as Xerokamara (Lauffer Kopais I: 119-120), that runs out today into a fountain made of ancient blocks, probably from ancient Koroneia [AE1165]. The slope goes down from Xerokamara another 100m ca and falls down into the 15m deep Phalaros valley. C sherds and tile fragments [AE 1166] are spread on the whole surface for an extension of 200-250m ca. from the fountain to the N (Lauffer Kopais I: sketch 129). The architectural fragments reused in the fountain might actually come from Palaia Koroneia and most probably are not associated with the site[5].
Lauffer suggests that the place belonged probably to ancient Koroneia. It overlooked the road to the city and could have been either a fortification for the entrance into the Phalaros valley, as Lauffer seems to suggest, or a workshop. According to Lauffer, a settlement could not have existed in such a vicinity to the city (only 1km to the E on the right side of the Pontsa/Phalaros river). I visited the place, and today nearby it is a cave for building material and the surface in the whole area is very much disturbed. Actually the spread of the sherds over a quite extended area, according to Lauffer, might be due to post-depositional reasons. The place could be a workshop (which might have been linked to the quarry activities – see below *component KO_88* – Triapi) or a rural activity of some kind. It is probably too close to the city site to be interpreted as a farm. The corresponding component is left as 'activity focus' with a

[4] The so-called 'city-archive' was inscribed on the wall of some major building – probably in the Roman *stoa* by the Pontsa river (see below in text). At least some inscribed pieces were reused in the monastery in the Pontsa locality.
[5] AE1165 (gr-rom reused) has not been assigned to any component.

general attribution to the gr-rom period, since the C date given by Lauffer could not be proved in my visit. He certainly could have seen more in a less disturbed area at the time of his visit, even though he was not probably very familiar with historical greek coarse ware (see below - Butsurati site).

4/5/6/7. ITONION: (4) *Components KO_14 and KO_16 to KO_19;* (5) *KO_83;* (6) *KO_33 and KO_34;* (7) *KO_41*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_14	A	cult place	Palaia Koroneia North	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_16	C	cult place	Palaia Koroneia North	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_17	H	cult place	Palaia Koroneia North	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_18	R	cult place	Palaia Koroneia North	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_19	LR	cult place	Palaia Koroneia North	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_33	H	? cult place	Mamoura/Alalkomenai -Metamorphosis church	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
KO_34	C	? cult place	Mamoura/Alalkomenai -Metamorphosis church	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
KO_41	C	activity focus	Agoriani/Ag.Paraskevi	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_83	gr-rom	? cult place	Thymari	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Different hypotheses have been suggested for the identification of the ancient sanctuary of *Athena Itonia*[6], mentioned by Strabo and Pausanias (Strabo IX 2.29; Paus. IX 34.1) and known as a federal sanctuary of the Boeotian League:

[6] Schachter (1981: 122-7) from textual evidence demonstrates its continued existence from at least the 6thC BC (and perhaps earlier) down to the 2ndC AD. Though sources tell us that in 191 BC the Itonian was devastated by the Roman consul Acilius Glabrion (Acilio Glabrione) after the victory at the Thermopylae, Pausanias (IX 34.1) says that the general assembly of the Boeotian League still met there. At the sanctuary of Athena Itonia the *Pamboeotia* festival was celebrated annually (Buck 1979: 88-9 – Pausanias IX 34.1; Strabo IX 2.29; Polybius IV 3.5, IX 34.11). The *Pamboeotia* were supervised by a group of delegates chosen by and from the constituent Boeotian states. Certain evidence for the use of the Athena Itonia sanctuary as the Federal Centre comes only from the H and R times (the earliest datable document is the treaty recorded on IG IX^2 1.170) (Schachter 1981: 126).

A. **(4) Palaia Koroneia North** (*components KO_14 and KO_16 to KO_19*), according to the interpretation of Spyropoulos (mainly *Praktika* 1975: 392-414 and *Ergon* 1975: 12-26). At the NE foot of the ancient Koroneia hill, in the wider open space in front of it, Spyropoulos excavated some buildings, dated from the A period to the 4th C AD (A to R), whose remains were found deeply buried. Those structures appeared to the excavator as belonging to a sanctuary[7] and he wished to identify it with the Itonion. Papachatzis (1981: 216), among others, gives credit to this identification.

B. **(5) Thymari** (*component KO_83*), according to the interpretation of Pappadakis (AD 2 (1916): 268) and Lauffer (Kopais I: 91ff). Lauffer locates it to the NW of Agoriani prehistoric mound, to the S of the new road to Kutumula/Koroneia, at the Thymari locality[8], from where architectural fragments and surface walls are reported (Lauffer Kopais I: 91ff). The area is crossed by a palaeo-stream (see Philippson 1951: 42), probably the ancient Kyarios (see Lauffer's sketch in Kopais I: 91ff and chapter II.3.1 of this work for the identification of rivers in the area). To *component KO_83* the units of archaeological evidence AE1156, AE1157 and AE1159 have been assigned. The big limestone worked block found during rescue excavation at Petra Nikola [AE1158] could be part of the cult place, marked by the presence of architectural fragments and surface walls in the Thymari area, but this remains just an interpretation.

C. **(6) Mamoura/Alalkomenai** (*components KO_33 and KO_34*), according to the interpretation of Fossey (1988: 331) and Pritchett (1969: 85-9, pll. 57-64), who locate it in the Copais plain, in the area of modern Mamoura/Alalkomenai. Mamoura identification is very vague, as it is only based on epigraphical evidence [AE757 - Foucart BCH 1885: 427-433; Adler RE (1916) s.v. *Itonia* 2375-6] and architectural pieces [AE755 – Pritchett 1969: 85-9, pll. 57-64 and AE1674 - AD 1 (1915): 42 no.4] found at the church of the Metamorphosis, few metres NE of Mamoura/Alalkomenai village.

D. **(7) Agoriani/Ag.Paraskevi** (*component KO_41*). A short distance further away from the modern village, in the plain, by the Alalkomenai Railway station and S of the settlement of Ag. Paraskevi, nearby the prehistoric mound (*components KO_36 to KO_39*) on the road Thebes-Levadeia on top of the gentle slope, excavations (AD 29 (1973): 272) found a building, containing a hoard of mid 5th C BC Boiotian coins, interpreted as a temple[9].

Whatever the actual identification might be, there are four different cult places (or probably three, if one excludes Mamoura's vague evidence) to be added to the general picture of the cult places of the Koroneia *chora* (A: from A to R period; B: generally gr-rom period; C: C to H?; D: C and probably later).

Mamoura (recently renamed Alalkomenai) seems to be a medieval settlement (which reused ancient blocks for building construction) – Papachatzis 1981: 214 after Pappadakis AD 2 (1916): 268. The settlement was at the border of the lake (fig.1 in chapter II.3.1).

[7] concerning a tripod base in this sanctuary -reused- cf. Amandry, BCH 1978: 565-9

[8] Between the Kyarios river and the new road to Kutumula/Koroneia, the area is crossed by a palaeo-stream (see also Philippson 1951: 42)

[9] Excavation work also discovered remains of a LG cemetery (mainly cremation) - *component KO_40* (AD 1973: 272).

For a possible identification of the Itonion, also see below *component KO_84* (Mamoura - Ag. Paraskevi), identified by some scholars with the sanctuary of Athena Tritonia. The component could be joined to *component KO_41*.

7. Agoriani/Ag.Paraskevi: *Components KO_40 and KO_41*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_40	G	burial place	Agoriani/Ag.Paraskevi	Rescue excavation	approximate
KO_41	C	activity focus	Agoriani/Ag.Paraskevi	Rescue excavation	approximate

On top of a gentle slope near the prehistoric mound (*components KO_36 to KO_39*), S of the settlement of Ag. Paraskevi, on the road Thebes-Levadeia, excavation works discovered remains of a LG cemetery (mainly cremation) - *component KO_40* (AD 1973: 272) - as well as a building of Classical date, containing a hoard of mid 5thC BC Boeotian coins (*component KO_41* - AD 29 (1973): 272; see above – ITONION).

8. ALALKOMENAI: *Components KO_21; KO_23 to KO_25*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_21	C	settlement	Solinari Vouno	Travellers	certain
KO_23	Preh	human presence	Solinari Vouno	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
KO_24	H	? Settlement	Solinari Vouno	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
KO_25	R	? Settlement	Solinari Vouno	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Components KO_21, KO_24 and KO_25: at the entrance to, and in the S corner of, the small valley at the W foot of Mount Petra-Tilphousion, on a very small ridge (known as *Vouno*) at the very foot of the hills below Solinari (ca 1km E of the village). The ridge is formed into slight terraces. On one of these Knauss (Teiresias 1987) mentions a shrine dedicated to Konstantinos and Eleni. A sketch of the place is in Lauffer (Kopais I: 73, sketch 82).
Evidence has been found attesting the presence of a C, H, R site, probably a settlement site, at the entrance to the small valley. The identification of this place with the ancient *komai* of Alalkomenai is accepted by the majority of the scholars that visited or surveyed the area: Fossey 1988: 334-335, Knauss et al. Kopais 3: 42-68 (for other hypotheses see below)[10].
The settlement area was located first on the basis of surface material [AE737; AE738; AE739] and traces of fortification: incoherent ('polygonal' – Leake 1835: 135) walls

[10] The ancient settlement of Alalkomenai is at the E edge of the basin and by the Petra promontory and Thilphoussa spring, where the old edge of the lake and today the Kephisos channel runs exactly at its foothill (Philippson 1951: 474; see fig.12 in chapter II.3.1).

[AE736], described and drawn by Lauffer (Kopais I: 73, sketch 82), and first noticed in the Vouno locality by Leake (1835: 135-6), by a small stream. The latter should be the Triton stream, according to Pausanias and Strabo (Pausanias IX 33.5; Strabo IX 2.36) accounts.
By the Triton river was also located the sanctuary of Athena Tritonia, known from the ancient sources and for which different hypotheses of identification have been suggested, varying according to the location of the site identified as the ancient *kome* of Alalkomenai, which the sanctuary was located next to (see below).
On the other hand, Lauffer (Kopais I: 73) suggests (following Pappadakis) a different location for the ancient *kome*, N of the small modern hamlet of Ag. Paraskevi, where other scholars place the Itonion sanctuary (see above - ITONION). They identify the cult place (*component KO_84*) as the sanctuary of Athena Tritonia/Alalkomenia (see below) and place ancient Alalkomenai nearby.
The ancient *kome* was called Alalkomenai, while its territory was called *Alalkomenia* (Hansen 1996: 79-80), and was very small (at least including the fortified mountain Tilphousion, according to ancient sources – Ephorus *FrGrHist* 70 fr. 153; Diodorus Siculus XIX 53.7).
The cult of Athena at the Alalkomenion (located at 300m ca N of Alalkomenai – Knauss et al Kopais 3: 50) was presumably an old one (Schachter 1981: 12), dating back to the A period. This fact might indicate that at least in the Archaic period Alalkomenai was a *polis* - Hansen 1995: 32-3- with the cult of its protecting god located in an extra-mural sanctuary (according to Stephanus Byzantius 68.18-9 the goddess had the epithet '*polias*').
Strabo (IX 2.36) retrospectively describes the site as a small polis (*polichni*) situated in a plain. According to Pausanias (IX 33.5) the settlement was just a *kome*, a '*polichni*' (just a shade of a polis) in decay at the time of his passage, 'low down at the foot of a mountain, not very high up'.

Components KO_23: Prehistoric traces (obsidian chips) were noticed at the site by Fossey (1988: 332).

9/10. Sanctuary of ATHENA TRITONIA/ALALKOMENIA: (9) *Components KO_63* and (10) *KO_84*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_63	gr-rom	cult place	Solinari NE	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_84	gr-rom	cult place	Mamoura - Ag. Paraskevi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Component KO_63 and *component KO_84* could be characterized as gr-rom cult places. Attempts have been made to identify them with the sanctuary of Athena Tritonia-Alalkomenia.

9. *Component KO_63* (Solinari NE): a gr-rom cult place represented mainly by architectural fragments [AE1111] found to the N of ancient Alalkomenai, between the

town site and the modern road, by the Triton stream. If we accept the suggestion of Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 54 and map 2.18) this component has to be identified with the sanctuary of Athena Alalkomenia/Tritonia. The evidence [AE1430] and [AE1431], inscriptional evidence and architectural blocks reused in churches in the area, could also be related to that cult place/sanctuary.

10. *Component KO_84* (Mamoura - Ag. Paraskevi): at the Livadi Dasou locality, between the Agoriani/Ag.Paraskevi hamlet and the railway station of modern Alalkomenai, between the road and the dam, ancient remains have been found at three spots, some excavated [AE754 (orthostats walls and foundations) and AE756 (light foundations with column bases)], others [AE1160] only seen on the surface and mentioned by Pappadakis (AD 2 (1916)). In addition, sherd concentrations have been found all over the wide area between the small hamlet of Ag. Paraskevi and the railway [AE1161 – recorded by Lauffer (Kopais I: 98)]. Those remains have been interpreted by Pappadakis (AD 2 (1916)) and Lauffer (Kopais I: 98) as the Athena Tritonia sanctuary [AE756 in particular]. They place ancient Alalkomenai nearby (300m ca) to the SE, as archaeologically represented probably by AE754 (excavated orthostats walls and foundations)[11] - see discussion above - ALALKOMENAI.
On the other hand, Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 54 and map 2.18) do not agree and see *component KO_63* as the most suitable for the sanctuary and *components KO_21 and KO_24/25* for ancient Alalkomenai. Fossey does not seems to agree either[12].
I think that the evidence found at Mamoura - Ag. Paraskevi could lead to the interpretation of the area as a cult place area (*component KO_84*), probably a large sanctuary place, which could even suit the identification with the large pan-Boeotian Itonion[13], rather than as a town/*kome* and the nearby local sanctuary. It does not look like a proper location for a town - too far down in the plain. Therefore, I included the evidence AE754 (excavated orthostats walls and foundations) in the cult place *component KO_84* only, instead of also creating another component as 'settlement'. Scatters of sherds and finding spots of architectural features and walls (some of them excavated) extend over a quite large area (700x700m ca, following Lauffer description), quite reasonable for a pan-Boeotian sanctuary area. The *component KO_84*, therefore, may even be joined to the *component KO_41* (see above), representing a large sanctuary (Itonion?). On the map they (*components KO_84 and KO_41*) are mapped separately (fig.1: nos. 7 and 10).

11. Mamoura/Alalkomenai: *Component KO_35*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_35	unknown	? burial place	Mamoura/Alalkomenai	accidental	imprecise

Inscriptional evidence (tombstones AE758) from the area of Mamoura indicates the presence of a cemetery area nearby (*component KO_35*). According to Fossey (1988:

[11] Pappadakis and Lauffer are somehow forced to the interpretation of some of these evidences as the ancient town of Alalkomenai, as they recognize some of the evidence as the sanctuary of Athena Alalkomenia, which is supposed to be close to the town.
[12] Fossey (1988) does not seem to mention the sanctuary, but he locates ancient Alalkomenai at Solinarion.
[13] For other hypothesis of identification see above ITONION.

332), the tombstones from the area of Mamoura may indicate that a small settlement existed by the sanctuary, as often happens in the case of religious centres. In my opinion, there is no reason to infer this, since known evidence could represent a cemetery and sanctuary on the road, linked either with Alalkomenai or Koroneia. Though one should keep in mind that epigraphical evidence is very movable, a burial area might have been related to the cult place (sanctuary) at a short distance (see discussion above on Itonion)[14], or it could have been a cemetery area along the road at the edge of the basin, linked either with Alalkomenai or Koroneia (most probably Koroneia - see location on map fig.1).

12. Solinari – Nat Road: *Components KO_93 and KO_94*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_93	G	burial place	Solinari - Nat Road	Rescue excavation	certain
KO_94	LR	? Settlement	Solinari - Nat Road	Rescue excavation	certain

Component KO_93: EG cemetery found by means of rescue excavations and systematically excavated (AD49 1994: 284-286), between the Solinari village and the drained Copais, to the right side of the old National road Athens-Lamia.

Component KO_94: Rescue excavations for the positioning of a gas-pipe (AD 49 1994: 284-286) found structures [AE1777] belonging to a settlement of Byzantine date together with a cemetery of G date (see *component KO_93*). Date is imprecise (indicated as Byzantine generally), but Greek scholars predominantly consider as Early Byzantine remains from the LR – Early Christian period as Early Byzantine.

13. Solinari Agios Ioannis: *Components KO_27, KO_28* (Tilphousion?) and *KO_29*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_27	C	cult place	Solinari Agios Ioannis	Travellers	certain
KO_28	H	cult place	Solinari Agios Ioannis	Travellers	certain
KO_29	LR	? burial place	Solinari Agios Ioannis	Other	certain

[14] Cemeteries and burial areas linked to religious centres are quite common in the Greco-roman period. See also, in the area, tombstones found at the site of the cult place by the Pontsa river (*component KO_30 and KO_32*).

The spur of Petra –Tilphosion or Tilphousion in ancient times[15]- constitutes a rocky projection of the ridge on which Koutoumoula/Koroneia is (otherwise called Libethrion/Tilphousion), towards the Copais basin.
At the foot of Petra rocky spur, along the passage which bordered the Copais lake, by the church of Agios Ioannis (Theologos for Fossey, the Baptist for Spyropoulos), Leake (1835: 135-136) noticed traces of ancient structures under the ruined chapel (ruined on his days, then reconstructed – picture in Papachatzis 1981: 210) as well as ancient sherds. Excavations by Spyropoulos in 1973 (AAA 1973: 381-385; AD 1973: 271) discovered structures that could belong to a temple of C and H date. The excavator suggests an identification with the shrine of Apollo Tilphosios mentioned by Strabo and Pausanias (the same identification is also given in Knauss et al. Kopais 3).
Strabo (IX 413) refers to the temple of Apollon Tilphosios jointly with a a *krini* (fountain), that comes up from under the Tilphousion *oros* (mountain). It was most likely a karstic source, as many others around the Copais basin, that spilled out fresh water. Pausanias (IX 33.6-7) mentioned the sanctuary after the *kome* of Alalkomenai, in a totally flat area, close to the *kome* and by a small stream, called Triton. The Triton can be identified with the small stream by the Solinari village (Papachatzis 1981: 214 n.6). According to Lauffer (Kopais I: 67), the sanctuary site has to be looked for in the area below the rocky spur, between the ridge itself and the road, where also in antiquity there was enough space for a road between the rock and the lake.
According to Philippson (1951: 451) earlier the Copais lake reached up to the Petra spur, while today the channelled Kephisos would free up the passage for the road and the railway. This certainly was not true in ancient times according to the model (see chapter II.3.1 – LACUSTRINE LANDSCAPE) and according to the archaeological remains (C and H – *components KO_27 and KO_28*) found in front of the spring at the foot of the spur. Therefore, the road used to run presumably here also in antiquity.
Papachatzis (1981: 214 n.6) suggests locating here the settlement of *Athinai* (identified with Kalami-Lioma site by others), on the basis of the passage of Strabo (IX 406): 'along the Triton were the small *poleis* (*polichnes*) Athinai and Eleusis, that were flooded by the lake'[16].
A fort is also known to be on top of the ridge (see appendix I.8 for details).

THILPOUSIA source – almost disappeared today, the water spring mentioned in ancient texts[17] was still visible at the beginning of the century and in 1938 Lauffer saw it (Kopais I: 38 and 67[18], and sketch 68). No archaeological remains have been found at the site, apparently[19].

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[15] Several variant spellings for the name – see Meyer *Der kleine Pauly* 5 (1975): 831. For reference on ancient sources see Fossey 1990f: 169-204 and Hansen 1996: 76.
[16] See Kalami – Lioma for *Athinai* (though not by the Triton) and Xinos for *Eleusis*. On the question of identification see Fossey 1990d.
[17] Pindarus Fr. 198b; Aristophanes Boeotus *FgrHist* 379 (*krini*); Ephorus *FgrHist* 70 and Theopompus *FgrHist* 115 (*oros*).
[18] The Tilphousia spring, Lauffer says, is to be recognized in the fresh water spring at the N foot of the Petra promontory.
[19] Below the ridge, by the Tilphousa spring, the tomb of Teiresias is mentioned in ancient texts (Strabo IX 411, for the spring see also Pindarus fr. 181). A sanctuary of Apollo is also reported in this locality by Strabo (see above in the text). In the Hymn to Apollo 244-276; 375-387 an oracle by the Tilphousia source is mentioned. Ross 1851 (vol. I: 31) saw here an ancient '*Teinanhäufungen*' (associated to the tomb of Teiresias). When Lauffer visited the place (1938), those remains were no more visible, due to

Lauffer (Kopais I: 98ff) reports that Pappadakis (AD 2 (1916): 257, n.2) noticed an inscription of a decree (*psephisma* - IG VII 2858) close to the Tilphousia spring, at the foot of the Petra mountain, 'by the Agoriani village by ancient Koroneia', which was then brought to Lebadeia. In his report Pappadakis notes how the inscription was found by the '*Skepasti Vrisi*', by ancient Alalkomenai (20 minutes from the hamlet of Agoriani/Ag.Paraskevi, as stated by the author) and not by the Tilphousia source (that is 3km from the Skepasti one), at the foot of the Petra/Tilphousion mountain, 50 *stadia* distance from Haliartos, as mentioned in Pausania.
The inscription is described in IG (VII 2858) as a 'tabula' that starts with the formula: *Thios. Eratonos archontos Boiotois, Amphot[tei]/ Ischinao elekse*, and it should be from the period of the Confederation. Additionally, in IG the inscription is reported as having been found by the Tilphousia spring. The misunderstanding is probably only apparent. Considering that Pappadakis identifies as ancient Alalkomenai the *component KO_84* (see above), the *psephisma* was not found at the foot of Petra/Tilphousion spur, but by the Skepasti Vrisi by the Agoriani village, which I could not locate exactly.

Component KO_29: by the church of Agios Ioannis (Theologos for Fossey, the Baptist for Spyropoulos), along the passage which bordered Copais lake, at the foot of Petra (ancient Tilphousion), a grave was found and described by the excavator (Spyropoulos AAA 1973: 81-385; AD 1971: 271) as of a 'very late date' [AE743]. Later on rescue excavations for the positioning of a gas-pipe (AD49 1994: 284-286) found a cemetery of Byzantine date [AE1676] together with a settlement (see *component KO_94*) a little further on. The given W. Date is imprecise (indicated as Byzantine generally), but burial and settlement could be linked.

14/15. Ag.Dimitrios East: (14) *Components KO_11 and KO_20;* (15) *KO_70*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_11	gr-rom	burial place	Ag.Dimitrios East	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_20	R	burial place	Ag.Dimitrios East	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
KO_70	H	? burial place	Xinos	Personal or group interest	approximate

Components KO_20 and KO_11: Fossey (1988: 326) lists under Koroneia an evidence for burials of a Roman date (AA 1937: 19). Checking the original bibliographical record, it turned out to be represented by different units of archaeological evidence:

- AE735: a necropolis of Imperial date, probably represented on the surface by a concentration of surface sherds (3 km E of Degle and the Ag. Dimitrios village).

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the construction of the road Thebes-Lebadeia and the railway crossing the area. Between them only few metres were left, in which Lauffer saw what he recognized as the Tilphousia spring (Kopais I: sketch 68). Today, the road has been enlarged even more, and the water source was obliterated.

- AE1134 (gr-rom epigraphical evidence): inscriptional evidence, found 7km (?) E of the Ag. Dimitrios village, close to the end of the Central Channel, where a grave tumulus [AE1135] is also known. The inscription is published in IG VII 2931: a tombstone (?) with the name Demetrios.
- AE1135: a grave tumulus (isolated tomb/tumulus) noticed 7km E of Ag. Dimitrios village, close to the end of the Central Channel, where the inscription IG VII 2931 [AE1134] was also found (probably in the area of Xinos – see Knauss et al. KOPAIS 3: 17ff – if this tumulus corresponds to the one Kambanis (1892) saw – see below *component KO_11*)

Accordingly, two components were created: *component KO_20* (a R burial place – AE735) and *component KO_11* (a gr-rom burial place - AE 1134+1135).
Component KO_11 might represent the tumulus site seen by Kambanis in 1892 (a tumulus with a marble block), and it is therefore probably to be located in the area of Xinos – see Knauss et al. KOPAIS 3: 17ff. Knauss though seems to imply that the '*inselartigen*' which Kambanis noticed was actually a small mound formed by the debris of a settlement (a sort of *tell*, 95.5m high), with burned clay pieces (perhaps, as Knauss says, from the mud bricks that the habitations were made of, probably not unlike some houses in the present day village of Xinos nearby). Following this interpretation, probably what Kambanis saw was not a tumulus, and therefore we could not locate *component KO_11* by Xinos. The location of the site remains therefore imprecise.

Component KO_70: Another burial evidence is known from the area, and has been recorded as AE1120. It is constituted by a HL tombstone, found in the vicinity of Xinos and mentioned by Knauss et al. KOPAIS 3: 17ff.

All those evidences could also be clustered together at the end, probably forming a cemetery area crossed by the modern channel. The area in the past might have been crossed by a road (in the area just outside the lake - see map in fig.1) and populated with burials and cult places (see XINOS).

16. Xinos: *Components KO_65 to KO_72*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_65	MH	settlement	Xinos	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_66	LH	settlement	Xinos	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_67	C	? cult place	Xinos	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_68	C	? burial place	Xinos	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_69	H	cult place	Xinos	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_70	H	? burial place	Xinos	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_71	R	? cult place	Xinos	Personal or group interest	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_72	LR	? cult place	Xinos	Personal or group interest	certain

Components KO_65 to KO_72: In SW Copais, to the E of the former delta of the torrent Herkyna (and the overflow of the Kephisos) is the area of Xinos, probably a small former islet in the lake. Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 17ff) found there, while following the 95 m. contour lines as the supposed regular extension of the Copais lake (see chapter II.3.1 –FLUCTUATING LANDSCAPE- and appendix III), traces of a MH, LH and C activity focus (*components KO_65, KO_66 and KO_67*), marked by a concentration of surface sherds [AE1113 (MH) – AE1114 (LH) and AE1115 (C)]. In the Prehistoric periods the evidence might represent a temporary or permanent occupation site, while for the historical periods Knauss et al. suggest the presence of a cult place. Also a burial area seems to be attested (*components KO_68 to KO_70*) for the Greco-roman period. The assumption is based only on epigraphical evidence (Knauss et al. Kopais 3: 17ff – AE1121 and AE1120), very movable, in apparent association with surface sherds (AE1115 for C period)[20]. One could only suppose that the available evidence could represent a burial area close to the cult place (association quite common in the Greco-Roman world[21]).

Components KO_67 and KO_69 and KO_71 and KO_72: the sherds (and black glazed tile) of the C period found at this place [AE1115], together with the inscription of Hellenistic times [AE1119 - dedication to Apollo Paiaion] and the presence of gr-rom architectural fragments [AE1118 - including a column drum], may be interpreted as traces of a cult place activity in C times (Knauss et al., KOPAIS 3: 17ff). Attempts to identify the site as a sanctuary to Apollo Paiaion have been made, considering the dedication to Apollo Paiaion found in the area [AE1119]. The Hellenistic dedication suggests the certain presence in the area of a cult place, and therefore the component for the H period is not accompanied by a question mark (*component KO_69*: H cult place). The presence of Roman *sigillata* ware and Late Roman potsherds (Knauss et al. Kopais 3: 17ff) can probably be linked to the continuation of the HL (and maybe earlier) cult place into the Roman and Late Roman periods. Even if inscriptional evidence is very much movable, its association with other remains could lead to the identification of the place as a cult area, at least in the H period. Considering only the known evidence for the C period [AE1115 and AE1118], the site could also have been a small rural site in C times, and it is only its most probable use as cult place in the following period (H and probably onwards) that led us to characterize the component for the C period as a possible cult place (rather than as a possible rural site/activity). On the other hand, in prehistoric times, the activity focus at the site has to be characterized as a form of dwelling associated with rural activities in the marshy area at the very border of the swampy lake (see chapter II.3.1 – FLUCTUATING LANDSCAPE- and appendix III).

[20] Sherds from the Hellenistic period are usually not noticed by people who are not familiar with pottery from the gr-rom period (almost everything recognized as not prehistoric and as pre-roman is usually mentioned as C), but could have easily been there.
[21] See above, n.14

An identification of the site with Homeric *Eleusis* has been attempted by Knauss et al.[22]

17. Xinos: *Components KO_64*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_64	R	infrastructure	Xinos	Personal or group interest	approximate

Component KO_64: to the W of Xinos site remains of a dike are reported, noticed already by Kambanis 1892 and then by Knauss et al. (Kopais 3 - map 2.2). Running in a SE direction, it crosses Xinos site.

18. Petra – Triton: *Components KO_73, KO_74 and KO_85*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_73	MH	? Settlement	Petra - Triton	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_74	gr-rom	? activity focus	Petra - Triton	Personal or group interest	approximate
KO_85	LH	? activity focus	Petra - Triton	Personal or group interest	approximate

In the area of the former delta of the joined streams Triton and Phalaros/Pontsa, in the locality of Petra, Knauss et al. (Kopais 3 1990: 62ff) noticed the presence of a large concentration of potsherds. Minyan (MH) sherds have been noticed, while the rest of the material could be generally dated as prehistoric, but authors do not specify. It was probably also an activity focus in the LH (Late Mycenaean) period. An inscribed tile fragment (R?) [AE1126] has also been found, at the foot of the stone bump noticed in the area (see AE1125 – undatable building material), but it cannot attest anything more than a probable activity focus. Further research in the area could tell us about the presence of other material from historical periods, maybe among the potsherds of unspecified date.
An identification of the site with Homeric *Athenai* has been attempted by Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 62ff).

19. Solinari: *Components KO_22 and KO_26*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_22	H	? burial place	Solinari	accidental	imprecise
KO_26	R	? burial place	Solinari	accidental	imprecise

[22] Along the Triton were the small *poleis* of Athenai and Eleusis, that were flooded by the lake (Strabo IX 406) (see Kalami – Lioma for Athenai and Papachatzis 1981: 214 n.6). As for the question of identification see Fossey 1990d.

Inscriptional evidence, which is very movable, indicates the presence of burials in the area of the Solinari village (one Hellenistic tombstone, IG VII 2976, and a Roman metric epitaph, *Chiron* 1976, 19 no.2, from Fossey 1988: 332).

20. Solinari - Agios Ioannis: *Component KO_82*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_82	gr-rom	? activity focus	Solinari - Agios Ioannis	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

According to Lauffer (Kopais I:90), in the church of Ag.Ioannis, at Solinari, ancient architectural fragments were reused. According to Lauffer, they would be material from ancient Koroneia, and one could agree since the distance is relatively short (2.3 km straight-line). The church lies ca 500m to the W of the lower Ag. Paraskevi chapel (the one with the new church – see *component KO_30* Solinari - Agia Paraskevi), where the ruins of two ancient chapels are (see Lauffer Kopais I: 90 - sketch 90). Ag.Ioannis is the Eastern one.

21/22. Sanctuary of Herakles Charops (*Charopeion*)

21. Solinari - Agia Paraskevi: *Component KO_30*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_30	gr-rom	? cult place	Solinari - Agia Paraskevi	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Epigraphical evidence reused [AE1101] in the old church of Agia Paraskevi, in the convent above the Solinari village. Though very movable, together with architectural fragments [AE1151] and surface walls (probably gr-rom) [AE1152] found in the vicinity, it could represent the evidence for a cult place in the area, although architectural fragments and reused material might come from Palaia Koroneia, as Lauffer (Kopais I: 88) notes. Evidence is not strong enough to be attributed a high degree of certainty and a component has been created as 'cult place'. A water source is nearby (Lauffer Kopais I: 88). Attempts have been made to identify it with the sanctuary of Herakles Charops (*Charopeion*), mentioned in ancient texts and never localized with certainty.

22. Pontsa - Agioi Taxiarchoi: *Components KO_31 and KO_32* (and *component KO_61)*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_31	R	cult place	Pontsa - Agioi Taxiarchoi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_32	LR	cult place	Pontsa - Agioi Taxiarchoi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
KO_61	R	? Infrastructure	Pontsa - Agioi Taxiarchoi	Ext. topographical surveys	imprecise

By one of the sources of the Pontsa/Phalaros river, in the Pontsa locality, in the Ag. Georgios village area, close to a modern watermill, is a church dedicated to the Ag. Taxiarchoi (probably built on an earlier church of Middle Byzantine period). A Roman *stoa* [AE1103] along with a terrace wall that today sustains the road have been located and excavated by the local *ephoreia* (AD 27 (1972): 316-7; AD 28 (1973): 272; Fossey 1973: 452; Fossey 1974: 123). At the site an 'archive' of inscriptions has been found (Pappadakis BCH 24 (1920): 388; BCH 24 (1921): 522; Fossey 1982-3 and 1991: chapter 1), containing among others: funerary inscriptions, 20-30 in number, and an inscription mentioning the selling of certain terrains to the Sanctuary of Egyptian gods [AE1106].
An attempt of identification with the Sanctuary of Herakles Charops (*Charopeion*) has been made by Papachatzis (1981: 219). Though the vicinity of fresh water spilling out and running along the *stoa* can be in favour of a sanctuary of Herakles (a healing hero), the identification cannot be supported with certainty. Fresh water sources have been noticed also by the Solinari - Agia Paraskevi site (*component KO_30*), though probably not forming a stream as at the Pontsa – Ag. Taxiarchoi location. Regardless, even if of uncertain attribution, both components (*KO_30* and *KO_31/32*) can be assigned the character of cult places, more certainly the Pontsa - Agioi Taxiarchoi (probably a sanctuary if one takes into account the importance of the structures found at the site), and only probably the Solinari - Agia Paraskevi one.

Component KO_61: Among the inscriptions found to be reused in the church dedicated to Ag. Taxiarchoi (Pontsa locality), by the site of the Roman and Late Roman cult place (*components KO_31 and KO_32*), an inscription was found, mentioning hydraulic activities under the emperor Hadrian, which interested Copais and probably one or both of the two rivers which flow through Koroneia territory, the Kyarios and the Phalaros (Pausanias IX 34.5 – see topographical description at the beginning of the chapter). The inscription was probably preserved in the sanctuary nearby (for the inscription see Fossey 1982-3 and 1991: chapter 1). The epigraphical evidence, referring to some work in the Hadrian period on the water of the Pontsa stream, in order to prevent impaludation and flooding, can give us information about the character of the landscape, which was marked by a surplus of water, at least in Roman Imperial times, which needed to be channelized and drained to get more land for agriculture (see chapter II.3.1 –FLUCTUATING LANDSCAPE- and appendix III).

Kalami/Ag. Paraskevi: two water sources near the Prehistoric mound Kalami – Lioma (see below), one 200m to the SE (Keramidi source); another one 50m to the W, are reported. A third water source in the area, close to the A.Ioannis chapel, 400m to the SW of the prehistoric mound, spills out warm volcanic water (after Pausanias IX 34.5). Pappadakis (AD 2 1916: 258) has suggested the location here of the sanctuary

of Herakles Charops (*Charopeion*). No archaeological remains would prove this identification.

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23. Agoriani-Dekedes: ***Components KO_36 to KO_39 and KO_12***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_36	N	activity focus	Agoriani - Dekedes	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_37	EH	activity focus	Agoriani - Dekedes	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_38	MH	settlement	Agoriani - Dekedes	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_39	LH	settlement	Agoriani - Dekedes	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_12	C	activity focus	Agoriani - Dekedes	Other	approximate

Low hill with a flat top, on the main road along the S edge of Copais, coming from Levadeia between the main turnings for Agios Georgios and for Solinari, to the S of the small hamlet of Ag.Paraskevi.

Visited because of its elevated position on the Copais basin, the hill shows signs of prehistoric presence (Neo to LH), marking a hilltop settlement site. It was possibly occupied at the beginning of EBA and certainly occupied during MBA, it shows signs of strong occupation in LH III times and it was abandoned in Late Mycenaean times (*components KO_36 to KO_39*). The surface sherds go from Neolithic to Late Mycenaean: the main ceramic types of each period are represented (Lauffer 1940; Lauffer Kopais I: 101ff; Fossey 1988). Potsherds and other artefacts (including obsidian flints and stone axes - AE1105), as well as bones, seem to lie especially immediately below the terrace limit.
Knauss et al (Kopais 3: 66) seem to imply that here should be the prehistoric centre of the area (the Homeric Koroneia[23]), which then moved to Palaia Koroneia in historical times (see chapter II.3.1 for discussion). On the other hand, Lauffer (Kopais I: 101ff) says the site can be identified with *Eleusis* (mentioned in Strabo IX 406)[24].

No evidence for any significant later occupation, 'later than Mycenaean' according to Fossey (1988: 335), is available for the site. On the other hand, Lauffer (Kopais I: 102) notes how on the flat top of the hill, where the prehistoric sherds were found in lower quantity in respect to the slopes, also isolated C sherds were found, in particular to the W, showing, he says, a later life of the place. Fossey (1988: 336) also found few isolated C black glaze sherds on the spot (*component KO_12*). I would suggest

[23] Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 66) point out that Koroneia hill for prehistoric occupation would be much higher compared to the other sites of Homeric centres in the Copais (240m compared to an average of 130/160m high – see chart p.67). But also Kalami - Lyoma can be seen as a potential centre for the Homeric Koroneia.
[24] For the question of identification see also Fossey 1990d.

that the C traces of activity focus (few scattered sherds among prehistoric material) on the flat top of the hill can be a sign of the presence of a rural site there (though no tiles are specifically mentioned) or rather of a rural C cemetery (usually spotted by the presence of few black glazed sherds). The relationship between this evidence and the building excavated on the slope closer to the road and reported by Spyropoulos (AA 1973: 272) is not clear, since the exact position of these trenches, which uncovered a LG cemetery as well[25] (see below Agoriani/Ag.Paraskevi) is not clear. The unit of archaeological evidence AE753 (C surface sherds), for the time being is associated with a question mark to *component KO_41* (cult place, see above – ITONION), forms also *component KO_12* on its own.

24. Solinari – Kaminia: *Components KO_86*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_86	gr-rom	activity focus	Solinari - Kaminia	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Between Trismagules and Agoriani runs a stream valley, called Kaminia because of the presence of an abandoned tile and brick workshop. To the NE of the Magoula mound (which is SE of Palaiokoroneia), immediately to the S of the confluence of the two small creeks, on a plateau, 700m W from Solinari, surface walls [AE1162], sherds and tiles [AE1163] are reported (Lauffer Kopais: 115ff).
Lauffer suggests that the evidence might correspond to a local sanctuary of Koroneia city (see Paus IX 34.7f), dedicated to Koronos or Koronios. The R inscription IG VII 2873 [AE1164], found in Solinari village reused in a wall of Ag. Nikolaos chapel, 700 metres to the W of the site -Lauffer 1976: 41, n.49-, mentions a temple dedication to Hero Koronios. According to Lauffer, the location of the place can speak for a possible sanctuary, similar to other situations in the Copais. In considering the position of the site and the evidence though, it could also be a rural site, and it would be worth a revisit. For the time being the component was recorded in the database as 'activity focus', generally dated to the gr-rom period.
Lauffer (Kopais I: 115ff) links this inscriptional evidence AE1164 to the remains found at Kaminia, 700m to the W (*component KO_86*). It corresponds very probably to a cult place in the area, but we cannot guess where it could have been. The AE therefore has not been assigned to a component, nor mapped.

25. Paliothiva: *Component KO_80*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_80	gr-rom	fort	Paliothiva	Travellers	certain

On the top of the PALIOTHIVA ridge (otherwise called the Libethrion/Tilphousion ridge) remains of a fortification (gr-rom fort) are visible, already seen by Ross 1851 vol. I: 31 [AE1149]. The fortified place on the plateau on the top of Paliothiva was apparently built in different times. A plan is in Lauffer (Kopais I: 82-6 - sketch 94)

[25] Probably to be positioned not on the slope of the prehistoric mound, but closer to the road.

and in Fossey 1990f (sketch with a plan in fig.2 p.173). Ancient tile fragments [AE1150] are reported on every side at the foot.
The site lay just above the saddle carrying one of the two routes leading out of the Zagara valley, as marked on the 1:100,000 Greek General Staff map (1943), as reported in Pritchett (1985: 155)[26]. Probably it has to be interpreted as a post of observation rather than a refuge site (Pritchett 1985: 155), with a view extending beyond Levadeia and Orchomenos to the W as well as to Haliartos and other sites to the E.

26. Tsoroko – Ag.Paraskevi: *Component KO_81*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_81	gr-rom	activity focus	Tsoroko - Ag.Paraskevi	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Tsoroko corresponds to the SW slope of Palaiothiva, where the upper chapel of Agia Paraskevi is (1.5km NE of the modern village of Kutumula/Koroneia). A fresh water source is nearby (Lauffer Kopais I: 89). Ancient foundation walls were found in the vicinity of the chapel (Lauffer Kopais I - sketch 100). A terrace wall was also noticed as forming a flat area, ca 100m below the chapel (sketch 101), quite clearly marked also on the 1:50,000 GYS map (forming a plateau – physiographical class H1).
The corresponding component has been created as a gr-rom activity focus, which could possibly be interpreted as a cult place on a terrace in a quite high position. Yet though the interpretation is much too vague and can be supported only by very movable evidence, an inscription, built in the church nearby, refers to a temple of Artemis [AE1153], together with walls sustaining the terrace [AE1154], which could have been realized with an aim different to agricultural purposes.

27. Kutumula/Koroneia - Ag.Taxiarchoi: *Component KO_75*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_75	gr-rom	human presence	Kutumula/Koroneia - Ag.Taxiarchoi	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

The finding of terracotta (a figurine) in the modern village of Kutumula/Koroneia near the chapel of Ag. Taxiarchoi, by which the Kephalovrisi source is located, can suggest human presence only for the gr-rom period, as general indication.

28. Kutumula/Koroneia - Ag.Giorgios: *Component KO_76*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_76	gr-rom	? activity focus	Kutumula/Koroneia	Int.	approximate

[26] Pritchett lists the reference in travellers on Tilphousion-Palaiothiva: Ross 1851 vol. I: 31-32; Bursian 1862: 234; Bolte RE s.v. *Helikon* (1912): 6; Schober RE s.v. *Tilphossion* (1936): 1045.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
			-Ag.Giorgios	topographical surveys	

In front of the destroyed chapel of Ag. Georgios, to the NW of Kutumula/Koroneia village, a carved small pillar (*Profilpfeiler*) carrying an inscription lies on the ground [AE1139]. In the church is also built a base [AE1140] (Lauffer Kopais I 1986: 77-8). The evidence could correspond to a possible sign of activity focus (a cult place?) at the spot or in the vicinity. The evidence AE1138 (gr-rom reused) has been assigned to this component with a question mark, since we cannot say whether all the evidences representing this component (*KO_76*) belong to an archaeologically meaningful unit or not. As stated several times, epigraphical evidence and architectural fragments can be very movable (in this case the possibility is strengthened by the lack of building material). The component is marked with a question mark and has been positioned on the map at the spot of the Ag.Georgios chapel, though the evidence may probably belong to one of the already entered and mapped components.
Lauffer (Kopais I: 77-8) notes that the architectural material [AE1138] found reused in the other chapel of the village, could be from Palaio Koroneia, even though it is not impossible that an ancient settlement could have been even here, where the modern village of Kutumula/Koroneia is (see below *–component KO_77-* for the evidence of a cemetery area that would support this hypothesis). I would not agree, since there is apparently no place for another settlement (village) site there in gr-rom times (see chapter II.3.1), and the evidence, if not too weak for anything, could also refer to an extra urban cult place (see for a similar evidence (reused only) *component KO_82*: Solinari – Ag.Ioannis, where though the architectural fragments reused could very probably have come from Koroneia, which the site is much closer to than *component KO_76*).

29. Koroneia – Kaminia: ***Component KO_77***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_77	gr-rom	burial place	Koroneia - Kaminia	Int. topographical surveys	certain

In the inner Kakaris valley, 600m NW of Koroneia village, is a flat top hill (physiographical class H1), called Keramidopilion or Kaminia because of the presence of abandoned tile and brick workshops in the area - (it is the inner SE hill of the Palaio Koroneia ridge - see sketch 85 in Lauffer Kopais I). There, ancient blocks of *poros* (porous limestone - travertine) have been found, as well as several bones and tiles from tile-roofed tombs (one of which is inscribed with *My* and *Omega* letters – Lauffer Kopais I: sketch 88). A component has been created as a burial place with a general gr-rom chronology. The site would be worth a revisit.
Lauffer says it could have been the cemetery place for the village supposed at Kutumula /Koroneia (see above *component KO_76*).

30. Butsurati: ***Components KO_78 and KO_79***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_78	C	rural site/activity	Butsurati	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
KO_79	Preh	activity focus	Butsurati	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

On the SE slopes of the Megalo Butsurati ridge, the terrace-formation of the Kakaris valley, remains of ancient activities have been noticed by Lauffer during his intensive visit over the area (Lauffer Kopais I: 80).

Component KO_78: Few C black glaze sherds and a larger number of tile fragments are reported. Lauffer (Kopais I: 80) points out that the place would have belonged to Koroneia, because it is only 2 km away. This is the natural conclusion in a logic of a survey oriented to the city / main settlement. For us, interested in the landscape as a whole, in its urban and rural forms, it is of interest that the place can be considered with certainty as a rural site/activity (farm) surrounding ancient Koroneia, exploiting the territory nearby (higher-up hill area, inner valley, good for slope agriculture and probably also suitable starting point for taking sheep for grazing to the upland plateau in summer seasons), rather than the fact that the place would have belonged to Koroneia, especially as it is not a self-standing settlement (see also Ag.Georgios - Xerokamara site).

Component KO_79: On the same site, a prehistoric activity focus was noticed by Lauffer. We cannot know (unless a detailed geomorphological mapping would be carried out) whether we are in the presence of an ancient river terrace showing palaeo-soils from the prehistoric period[27], but it could be , it seems, a very suitable location for a rural site (farm and *mandra* together) from which to take animals for grazing.
As Lauffer (Kopais I: 80) notes, very few prehistoric sites far from the Copais basin, like this one, are known, because of their position. This is true, and corresponds to a bias in research. As we noticed many times, archaeologists have been looking especially for hilltop sites around the lake. Only Lauffer's intensive walk over the landscape of this *chora* allowed us to obtain knowledge of this small site in the inner Kakaris valley.

31. Koukoura/Agia Anna: ***Component KO_13***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_13	gr-rom	? Settlement	Koukoura/Agia Anna	Travellers	certain

[27] As in the Tanagra South transect case (see appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY). Probably we are not in the presence of an ancient river terrace showing palaeo-soils from the Prehistoric period, also considering the quite high up location in the inner river valley.

Attempts have been made to locate ancient *Hippotai* (mentioned in Plutarch as a *kome* between Thisbe and Koroneia[28]) in the small basin of Koukoura/Agia Anna, in the hearth of Helicon (central ridge of Helicon: Palaiovouna), at the meeting point of the roads from Stiris to the valley of the Muses, and from Thisbe to Koroneia[29]. Today the village in the area is Agia Anna (formerly Koukoura). A settlement could have exploited this upland plateau also in antiquity, and it was probably located on the spot of the modern village or just above it (Roesch 1965; Fossey 1988: 339-40). The plateau played a central strategic role, and it would have been of interest to control it both for Thisbe and Koroneia. Ancient sources (Plutarchus *Moralia* 775A) give information about a treaty that split the territory of ancient Hippotai between Thisbe and Koroneia. The place also played an important role in the history of events (Burn 1949 and Buckler 1980: 55-58). Invasions and attacks from Phokis came from the pass at the locality of *Omorphi Lakka* (3rd Sacred War, and other attacks against Chorseiai and Koroneia). Today also through the pass runs a road (see map in fig.1) to the W of Agia Anna.

Only traces of fortification (in rough, dry stone masonry) have been noticed to the SW of the modern village (Fossey 1988: 339)[30], on a rugged and rocky hill. They had been reported already by Dodwell (1819: 259) as "*some ruins and large blocks of stone*", although he apparently did not visit the place (see Roesch 1965: 53 n.1).
According to Fossey (1988: 430-434; 1990e: 205-7), the place might have played the role of a refuge settlement during Dark Ages[31]. Fossey also notes: "*The plain is flat and could indeed have been conducive to horse-rearing (which might explain the ancient name)*".
Burn (1949: 317) describes the place thus: "*Helikon is formed by three parallel ridges. All except but the culminating one are cut through by the Phalaros valley and by that curious 'upper landing', above its head waters, at Koukoura.* […] *It is a very curious place, this Koukoura basin.* […] *It does not look like a glacier-scoop, and must once have been drained by the visible, as now by the underground, head-waters of the Phalaros. From it, east, south-east, west and north-west, radiate valleys which may once have held streams, but are now dry except immediately after rain, and all the better going on that account*".

32/33. Milia (32): *Components KO_49 and KO_50* and Milia S (33): *Components KO_95 and KO_96*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_49	C	? rural site/activity	Milia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
KO_50	gr-rom	? rural site/activity	Milia	Ext. topographical	certain

[28] Plutarchus *Moralia* 775A (*kome*, village destroyed by the Boeotians and territory divided between Koroneia and Thisbe). Koroneia and Thisbe continued to have a common border down into Roman times (IG VII 2870).
[29] Pritchett 1985: 151-156 ('Routes over Helicon from Thespiae towards Levadeia').
[30] Fossey (1988: 339) notes: '*Sherds and inner structure remains, if any, difficult to see because of the presence of a fairly thick scrub and tree cover*'.
[31] A Dark-Age settlement of the type supposed for Melainai (Skourta plain), and of the type seen at Mali (see Fossey 1985a).

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				surveys	
KO_95	C	? rural site/activity	Milia S	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
KO_96	gr-rom	? rural site/activity	Milia S	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

2km SW of Steveniko, to the immediate E of the road to Koukoura and near the edge of the plain of that village, on two adjacent small hillocks (Fossey 1988: 340). The name of the locality is reported as Milia. On both hillocks -Milia and Milia S (South) as recorded in the database- are several alignments of stones [AE768] and tile fragments [AE767], the remains of earlier buildings associated with undated material (tile fragments make us think of a rural site from the C period, but the hypothesis should be checked with further research). Two components have been created for each hill, one as possible rural site/activity C period, and the other one as possible rural site/activity gr-rom period. Only Fossey seems to report these evidences.

34. Agia Triada - plateau: *Component KO_59*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_59	EH	? Settlement	Agia Triada - plateau	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

On a plateau inside the village of Agia Triada, traces of an EH II-III occupation was noticed by the Speleologic Ephorate in 1995 (Ergon YPPO 2: 155; 3: 171). The settlement (?) site was probably linked with the so-called 'secondary product revolution', which left signs in the landscape (see *components KO_51 to KO_58* - Agia Triada cave site and discussion in chapter II.3.1 - PREHISTORIC LANDSCAPE).

35. Agia Triada cave: *Components KO_51 to KO_58*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_51	N	activity focus	Agia Triada - cave	Other	approximate
KO_52	EH	activity focus	Agia Triada - cave	Other	approximate
KO_53	MH	activity focus	Agia Triada - cave	Other	approximate
KO_54	LH	activity focus	Agia Triada - cave	Other	approximate
KO_55	A	cult place	Agia Triada - cave	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
KO_56	C	cult place	Agia Triada - cave	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
KO_57	H	cult place	Agia Triada -	Ext.	approximate

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
			cave	topographical surveys	
KO_58	R	? cult place	Agia Triada - cave	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

A cave that opens up in the limestone rocky slopes just above the modern village of Agia Triada, is clearly visible from a church dedicated to the Vierge just below it. The place is known from literature as the 'Cave of the Nymphs of Koroneia (Agia Triada)'. Excavations have been carried out near the cave mouth (Ergon ΥΠΠΟ 2: 155; 3: 171; AReports 2000-2001: 56). Prehistoric levels have been uncovered (Minyan and Mycenaean sherds and burnt layers covering strata with EBA pottery, N –final Neolithic- sherds and few obsidian blades and animal bones). They probably correspond to a seasonal rather than permanent occupation. Good water sources are nearby but the location is quite far from agricultural land. The cave site has probably to be linked with the development of stock-raising (sheep and goats mainly) at the turn of N and EB period. The site very probably might have leaved together with the EH II-III site on a plateau within the village of Ag.Triada (*component KO_59*)[32]. At the cave finds from the historical period are also reported, from the Archaic to the Late Hellenistic period, which probably refer to a cult place, identified as the cult place dedicated to the Leivethrides Nymphs mentioned by Pausanias and Strabo.

36. Agia Triada: *Components KO_60*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_60	EH	activity focus	Agia Triada	Personal or group interest	approximate

In December 1989 a few sherds and bones on the ground were noticed by Y. Suto (AAA 20: 66-74) N of the hilltop of the village, on the steep slope, at the edge of the road. Sherds are not described in totality, but one sherd is mentioned as belonging to a *Depas* shape ware (from Asia Minor), dated to the EH period. Suto says it cannot be from a grave as this kind of ware has never been found in the burial context; he comments that despite the presence of many bones fragments, it could be a settlement site.

37. Triapi: *Component KO_88*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_88	gr-rom	special activity	Triapi	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

Some ancient quarries, probably for building material, that must have belonged to Koroneia, are known (Lauffer Kopais I: 120) on the ridge called Triapi or Trapedi,

[32] As for the FN/EH occupation see chapter II.3.1 – PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

that goes to the N of Xerokamara until the road and the N slope of the Laphystion. This ridge can be considered the limit of the Phalaros/Pontsa valley (Lauffer Kopais I: sketch 130).

38. Magoula Kalami: *Components KO_89 and KO_90*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_89	Preh	settlement	Magoula Kalami	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
KO_90	EH	? Settlement	Magoula Kalami	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

A lower, ca. 2m high and 10m long *magoula* lies 300m SE of Kalami below the Triapi ridge (see *component KO_88*) in the plain (Lauffer, Kopais I: 120-1 - sketch 131). Lauffer reports it as the site of an earlier settlement. He reports it as a 'very ancient' site, since he noticed few scattered prehistoric sherds (coarse ware) lying still on the top, while the majority of the material lies at the foot of the *magoula*. Lauffer notes how the soil rich in material that we see today in the plain constituted the upper part of the mound (tell), most of which would have been eroded down. Its top was probably flattened more and more by agricultural activities.
It could be a small EH site. Lauffer notes that the *magoula* does not present any similarity with the Helladic sites of the Copais, while it rather reminds one of the flat *magoulas* of Phokis plain (Agia Marina, Agia Paraskevi in Phokis, as well as the Magoula Balomenou site close to Chaironeia). A marshy area lies in front of it (see Kalami/Rachi site and in chapter II.3.1 - TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING).
A general prehistoric component (*component KO_89*) has been created (allowing for the possible presence of other prehistoric period activities at the site) as well as a possible specific EH component with a question mark (*component KO_90*). The character of the site is certainly hard to define.

39. Kalami – Lioma: *Components KO_42 to KO_47*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_42	N	activity focus	Kalami - Lioma	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_43	EH	settlement	Kalami - Lioma	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_44	MH	settlement	Kalami - Lioma	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_45	LH	activity focus	Kalami - Lioma	Personal or group interest	certain
KO_46	C	? rural site/activity	Kalami - Lioma	Other	certain
KO_47	H	activity focus	Kalami - Lioma	Other	certain

The large mound at the NE foot of Mount Granitsa/Laphistion[33], visited because of its elevated position over the Copais basin, shows signs of an important prehistoric site (Lauffer Kopais I: 122-3 – sketch 136). Located 300m W of Kalami hamlet, this site is even larger in extension than the Agoriani - Dekedes site. The hill is ca 30m high and 50m long with some terraces on the N slope. Material is reported on the flat top and on the slope and lower terrace, and it is mainly prehistoric. The site has been interpreted as a large pre-Mycenaean hilltop settlement (*Stadtberg*), where only few LH materials were found [AE762]. Lauffer describes it as a typical settlement in front of a higher ridge (the Laphystion in this case). Like the Agoriani – Dekedes site, the mound does not rise straight away from the Copais basin bottom, but from an elevation of ca 10m above the Kephisos river level.
The main peak of occupation seems to be EH and MH (*components KO_43 and KO_44*), although quantitative differentiation cannot be made with the level of data available. Frequentation seems to start in the Neolithic period, when we apparently have signs of a focus of activity (*component KO_42*), without enough data available to suggest the degree of occupation. Signs of activity focus are also attested for the LH period (*component KO_45*), until LH IIIC according to Fossey (1988: 337).
Two fresh water sources are nearby the mound: one 200m to the SE (Keramidi source), another one 50m to the W. A third water source in the area, close to the Ag.Ioannis chapel, 400m to the SW of the prehistoric mound, spills out warm volcanic water (after Pausanias IX 34.5 from Pappadakis AD 2 1916: 258)[34]. The combination of two factors, elevated position and proximity to water, would explain the development on the mound of a prehistoric settlement, since the Neolithic period (jointly with the presence of a permanent marshy area nearby - see chapter II.3.1 - TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING).
For Lauffer the site does not seem to carry signs of later occupation (post-Mycenaean), neither on the top nor on the slope or at the foot of the hill, unlike the other Mycenaean hilltops in the area (Lauffer Kopais I: 122-3). On the other hand, Fossey (1988) reports small quantities of gr-rom pottery and tile sherds (black glaze) visible on the surface, and Pappadakis (AD2 1916: 258) has suggested that there might have been a small Classical shrine on the site. In the database a component (*component KO_46*) has been created as a possible rural site from the C period, because of the presence of black glazed sherds associated with tile fragments[35]. Also H surface material is reported from the site by Fossey (1988: 337)[36]. We therefore could consider the later occupation as a C-HL one (probably a rural site).

Fossey would like to identify the site with Homeric *Mideia*, for which see appendix I.2 (Lebadeia). Lauffer (Kopais I) says it can be identified with *Athenai*, while others do not agree (Knauss for instance – see above)[37].

[33] Nice picture of Kalami prehistoric mound in Lauffer AA 1940: 182.
[34] The presence of those fresh water springs has suggested the location here of the sanctuary of Herakles Charops (see above in text for discussion).
[35] Does Fossey mean that tile fragments were black glazed? Or potsherds only are black glazed and tiles are not?
[36] It could be the case as in many other multi-period sites: Fossey (or people expert in historical period material) recognizes different phases in potsherds while other visitors of the site (in this case, as in many other, prehistorians) do not (see chapter II.2).
[37] For the question of identification see Fossey 1990d.

40. Kalami/Rachi: ***Components KO_48, KO_62 and KO_91*** (marshy area)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
KO_48	H	? burial place	Kalami/Rachi	accidental	imprecise
KO_62	R	? burial place	Kalami/Rachi	Rescue excavation	approximate
KO_91	gr-rom	? Infrastructure	Kalami/Rachi	Rescue excavation	approximate

Component KO_48 and KO_62: Nearby the prehistoric site of Kalami – Lioma, in the area of the modern hamlet Kalami/Rachi, in a marshy area by the old national road Athens-Levadeia, a burial (a tile-roofed tomb) of a possible Roman date [AE1107] was found (*component KO_62* - AD 27 B (1972): 324). Also some inscriptional evidence from the H period, referring to burials, are known from the area (*component KO_48*) and could be linked to a burial area along the road exiting the city valley.

Component KO_91: Well remains [AE1672] to the W of the burial described above. They were not investigated as the area was marshy and a chronology is not available. The well (if gr-rom) could be linked to the gr-rom rural site (see above) on the Lioma mound or to a possible habitation area nearby the burial (*component KO_62*) close to which the well was found. The area here is always indicated as marshy – see Philippson's description (1951: 474) of the marshy area around Kalami and see fig.12 in chapter II.3.1.

Appendix I.2
Northern Helicon: Levadeia

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

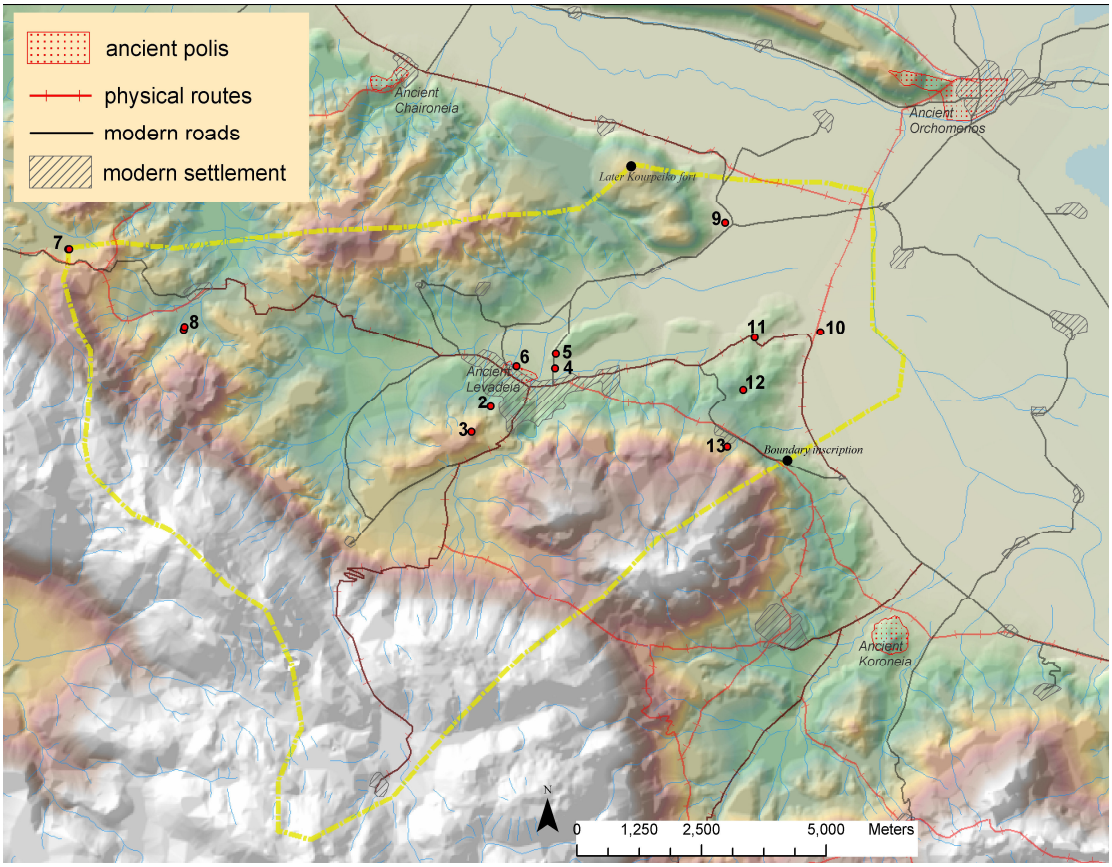


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of the Levadeia area*

1. LEVADEIA: *Components LE_1 to LE_6*

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_1	G	? Settlement	Levadeia	Other	imprecise
LE_27	A	Settlement	Levadeia	Other	certain
LE_2	C	settlement	Levadeia	Historical geography	certain
LE_3	H	settlement	Levadeia	Historical geography	certain
LE_4	R	settlement	Levadeia	Historical geography	certain
LE_5	LR	settlement	Levadeia	Rescue excavation	certain
LE_6	LH	? human presence	Levadeia area	Other	imprecise

Components LE_1 to *LE_6* refer to the activity locus corresponding to the ancient *polis* of Levadeia.

The location of the modern town of Levadeia and the ancient homonymous *polis* more or less coincide. The town lies at the SW corner of its valley, on the Northern foothills of the Laphystion mountain (physiographical class P3 – see chapter I.2.1), and faces the SW end of the Tryphiolithari ridge. To the S and W of the town the

mountain sides rise very steeply[1] (physiographical class H4 – H5). To the N and the E the city site is surrounded by land suitable for agriculture (F and MF class).

While Leake (1835: 120-1) and Ulrichs (1840: 166-7) rightly considered that ancient Levadeia should be located in the low-lying position of the modern town (according to Pausanias description of Levadeia as 'low-lying' IX 39.1), other travellers (Ross 1851 vol.I: 38-9; Gell 1819: 149, 156-7; Frazer 1913: 197) suggested a much higher location on the Tryphiolithari ridge, where only few remains leading apparently to a burial area (see below – *components LE_11 and LE_12*) have been found.

Pausanias (IX 38, 39.1) says that originally the town was higher up on the mountains and was called Mideia (from Aspledon's mother). Later on though, Levados came from Athens and people moved down the slope and the *polis* was given the name Levadeia after him. In contrast, Strabo (I 3.18) says that Mideia was a town bordering the Copais lake, and was swallowed up by the lake together with ancient Arne. Papachatzis (1981: 50) suggests that that people of Levadeia could have given to their *polis* the name Mideia because they wanted to show it as mentioned in Homeric Ilias (B 507) and therefore as one of the more ancient *poleis* of Boeotia.
This was not the case, and Levadeia does not seem to be occupied in earlier times, or at least must have been very small. As for LH only a piece[2] is reported as coming from the area, without exact provenance. Fossey (1990d: 57) correctly notes how no prehistoric material can with certainty be attributed to the site, while on the basis of that single sherd Hope Simpson (1965: 140 – n.412) seems to base the existence of a Mycenaean settlement[3]. The earliest possible archaeological evidence for the occupation of the *polis* itself dates to the 8th C BC[4]. Sherds, inscriptions and even some building remains attest occupation in the succeeding C, H and R periods[5]. The city lived until the Late Roman period. Although not very substantial in Hellenistic times (its muster-lists show a population smaller than Akraiphia, Thespiae and certainly Orchomenos) it is presented by Pausanias (IX 39.1 to 40.2) as among the most prosperous cities of Greece by his time.

Due to the fact that the ancient city lies beneath the modern one, the earliest periods of occupation, as well as the location of the ancient city centre and its relationship with its sanctuaries are not easy to clarify. On the other hand, rescue excavations beneath the modern town suggest that ancient Levadeia was probably built in the lower area of the modern town[6]. On the basis of the analysis of the known

[1] Description of the ridge behind the city in Philippson 1951: 445

[2] A LH III rython [AE787] in the Athens National Museum, registered as coming from Levadeia (*component LE_6*).

[3] See also Syriopoulos 1968: 118, YE59.

[4] Slight is the evidence for the occupation of the town in the Geometric period (Turner 1995). Scarce also are the archaeological finds from the Archaic period: a sculpted grave stele dated to the Archaic period and some epichoric stelae which may also date to this period - see *component LE_1*.

[5] C layers are less clearly recognisable compared to the H and R ones: BCH 1940/1, 37 n.2 (a Hellenistic building); AE 1953/4, 235-236; BCH 1953, 219 (a Roman aqueduct); AD 1965, 241-2 (4th cent. BC building); AD 38 B 1983: 135 (R structures); AD 50 B' (1995): 301. For the R period see Fossey 1990c. On the coins of the R period (Augustus) olive branches are illustrated (Papachatzis 1981: 250 fig. 303).

[6] The ancient city Eastern end is marked probably by the modern Chrisikou property (*oikopedo*), 100m NE to the *oikopedo* excavated for the new flat block (aphon Tolia) [AE1181, AE1174, AE1110] (Piteros 1995: 481-507).

archaeological evidence mapped on the 1:5,000 GYS map, Turner (PhD dissertation 1995 and summary in AJA 97 1993: 345) identified three main nuclei within the intra-urban plan: i) funerary monuments on the hill of Tryphiolithari (NE of town); ii) religious centre on the Western bank of the Herkyna river (monuments related to the oracle of Trophonios and the federal sanctuary of Zeus Basileus); iii) civic monuments in the NE quadrant of the modern town, between the funerary and religious areas.

Pausanias' text (IX 39.4) refers to many temples and sanctuaries belonging to the ancient city of Levadeia. This is why many researchers have attempted to identify these cult places with known archaeological remains and inscriptional evidence. Most of them would have been inside the city, others in the immediate outskirts, especially on the mountains above the city site. It is not the purpose of our work to deal with all these identification problems and discussions. An update account on the matter can be found in Turner, dissertation DAI 55 (1994/95) 1356-A. We will deal in the following paragraphs with a select number of cases related to the extra-urban sanctuaries.

2. Levadeia – Herkyna springs: *Component LE_10*

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_10	gr-rom	cult place	Herkyna springs	Travellers	approximate

The famous sanctuary of Trophonios, the feature for which Levadeia is mainly known, is still poorly known archaeologically. Traditionally, its location was thought to be on the W bank of the Herkina river, by the fresh water complex karstic springs, opposite the ancient *polis*. Pausanias describes the cult place as an *alsos* (Paus IX 38, 39.2), a 'sacred place with trees', a sort of sacred wood[7]. The area by the Kria spring (as it is called today), independently from its relationship with the oracle of Trophonios, as V.Aravantinos, is full with ancient building material and architectural fragments also reused in later constructions (especially in the biggest tower of the medieval fortress of Levadeia – see pictures in Papachatzis 1981: 50) [AE1293]. Furthermore, a statue (woman without head, dated to the 4th C BC) has been found during rescue excavations in the area (AD 49 B' (1994): 286-287).
On the other hand, scholars more recently suggested a higher up location for the sanctuary by the river but on the slopes of the Proph.Ilias hill (see below).
By the Herkyna/Krya springs a certain cult place was located - a cave sanctuary probably dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs (*component LE_10*)[8], testifying once again to the probable religious/cultic vocation of the area. At the entrance of the cave, on a rock, an inscription is engraved, datable to the second half of 2ndC BC. Usually epigraphical evidence is a very movable indicator of the presence of a site, but in this

[7] Papachatzis 1981: 245: The Trophonion is a 'manteion', together with the Boeotian Amphiaraion of Thebes and the sanctuary of Apollon on the Ptoion. In Plutarch's time (around 100 AD), among the manteia the Amphiaraion and the Ptoion were not existing anymore, while the Trophonion was (Plutarch *Pelop.* 16). The Trophonios is mentioned by Herodotus as well (1.46-47; 8.134). Around 175 AD, when Pausanias visited the sanctuary, he found it in its *acme*. Hadrian had visited the place a few years earlier and probably had given munificence. In the 3rdC the manteion is still in life (even after the anti idolatric laws of Theodosios II).

[8] IG VII 3094 - Schachter 1986: 187 dedication to a woman and a man. See also Mitropoulou 1995.

case, since the inscription is carved directly on the rock at the entrance of the cave, there is no doubt.

3. Levadeia - Proph.Ilias: *Components LE_7 to LE_9*

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_7	C	? cult place	Levadeia-Proph.Ilias	Rescue excavation	certain
LE_8	H	cult place	Levadeia-Proph.Ilias	Rescue excavation	certain
LE_9	LR	? cult place	Levadeia-Proph.Ilias SW	Rescue excavation	certain

Components LE_7 and LE_8: The remains of the temple of Zeus Basileus on the Proph. Ilias hill were accidentally found during wartime activities and quarrying for building stones. Pausanias (IX 39.4) gives mention of the temple on the hill where the church of Prophitis Ilias is now. Pharaklas first excavated at the site (Pharaklas AD 22 (1967): 244-5; AAA 1969: 228-232). The visible remains belong to the 3rd century BC, but among the debris were found also *poros* (porous limestone - travertine) fragments (some carved with floral reliefs, and two pieces from a geison in the Doric order) indicating the existence of an earlier, smaller Doric building (Pharaklas AAA 1969: 228-232). More recent excavations in the area, carried out by the Ephoreia, brought to light the whole large Hellenistic temple building (60x23m), whose construction was probably never finished/completed (AD52 1997: 392). In the construction of the sanctuary, probably to be interpreted as a federal sanctuary of the Boeotian confederation as Turner suggests (on the basis of historical and epigraphical evidence - see Turner's dissertation and also briefly the summary of her work in AJA97 1992: 365 and 1993: 345), black granite from the Helicon was used among other material, and precisely from the area of the modern village of Surpi/Analypsi.
Component LE_9: SW of the temple of Zeus Basileus an underground circular structure (LR[9]) was found, interpreted by Pharaklas (AAA 1969, 228-232) as the *manteion* of Trophonios, which would have been at this location and not at the Herkyna sources, as formerly believed. Turner (1995) also seems to agree in locating the *manteion* of Trophonios up on the Proph. Ilias location, identifying it with the walls visible on the surface next to the church of Ag. Ioannis Prodromos, just down the slope much closer to the Herkyna river bank (to the left side of the river). In any case, the cult/religious function of the structure can be most probably generally accepted, and I characterised the activity focus as a LR cult place.
Pausanias (IX 39.4) mentions more than one temple in the vicinity of the oracle.

4. Levadeia NE: *Components LE_14 and LE_15*

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_14	H	? burial place	Levadeia NE	Rescue excavation	approximate

[9] This dating rests on two sherds which from their description seem to be late Roman ripple ware of which the date may be much later than the mid 3rd century AD proposed by the excavator. Unfortunately the report is not sufficiently detailed to permit reassessment of the finds (Pharaklas AD 1967: 244-5; Pharaklas AAA 1969: 228-232; Fossey 1988: 345).

LE_15	R	? burial place	Levadeia NE	Rescue excavation	approximate

One tomb excavated (AD 22 (1967): 243-4 - H or R tomb) to the NE of the town. It cannot be located precisely. One could infer from the evidence (along with burial evidence found in the vicinity of the Ag. Vlassios church - see *components LE_11 and LE_12*), as Fossey does (1988: 346) as well as Turner, that certainly one tomb area lies to the North East of the modern town, to the SW slopes and foothills of Tryphiolithari.
Tombstones have also been brought to local authorities from field owners from areas around Levadeia (Kyriaki Levadeias and Distomo Levadeias - AD 27 (1972): 323) [AE1873].

5. Levadeia – Ag.Vlassios : ***Components LE_11, LE_12 and LE_13***

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_11	A	? burial place	Levadeia-Ag.Vlasios	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
LE_12	C	? burial place	Levadeia-Ag.Vlasios	Int. topographical surveys	certain
LE_13	H	activity focus	Levadeia-Ag.Vlasios	Other	certain

Tombstones found built in and in the vicinity of the Ag. Vlassios church jointly with sherd concentrations, marble blocks, and grave goods reported by local people [AE779; AE1247; AE1248; AE1175; AE778; AE785] testify to the presence of a burial area.
Near the church of Ag. Vlasios NE of Levadeia, on the slope of the central small ridge which crosses the Levadeia plain, archaeological evidence is reported by Lauffer and Fossey. The discovery of the site was done in the framework of an intensive topographical survey (Lauffer Kopais I: 145), but the site is known also to Fossey (1988: 346) through information given by local people. Lauffer (Kopais I: 145) attempts to identify the site with one of the extra-mural temples mentioned by Pausanias as belonging to ancient Levadeia (IX 39.4), while I would follow the interpretation given by Fossey (1988: 346), who reads the evidence as part of a possible large cemetery of the Levadeia town in the C period (and probably also in the A period, if we consider the archaic inscribed tombstone built in the church as coming from the immediate vicinity). Also the inhabitants of the small hamlet around the church, as reported by Fossey, refer to the finding of tombs in the area.
For the H period, only a terracotta figurine [AE786] found in the area can be surely datable (Fossey 1988: 346), but it is probable that the burial use of the area would have continued in the H period as well (the component type was left as 'activity focus' for the Hellenistic period, and it could be interpreted as a burial place because of supposed continuity of use).

6. Levadeia N: ***Component LE_24***

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_24	gr-rom	burial place	Levadeia N	Rescue excavation	certain

A necropolis was excavated at the modern hospital of Levadeia (N of town) by means of rescue excavation (AD 50 (1995): 301).

7. Karakolithos: *Components LE_16 to LE_18*

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_16	C	burial place	Karakolithos	Rescue excavation	certain
LE_17	H	burial place	Karakolithos	Rescue excavation	certain
LE_18	H	? Fort	Karakolithos	Personal or group interest	certain

Component LE_18: On Karakolithos, remains of a H (?) fortification are known (Bursian 1862: 183; Lolling 1989: 608; Fossey 1986: 59-61).
Components LE_16 and LE_17: Few metres W of the Karakolithos fort, traces of a C and H cemetery have been found (AD 33 (1978): 149-153).
According to Dasios (1995: 245-255), these remains would testify to the presence of an upland settlement in the area (along with Tsoukalades evidence). For the time being its position could not be found– see also below (*components LE_19 and LE_25*).

8. Levadeia-Delphi National Road – Tsoukalades: *Components LE_19 and LE_25*

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_19	R	burial place	Levadeia-Delphi National Road	Rescue excavation	certain
LE_25	R	burial place	Levadeia-Delphi National Road	Rescue excavation	certain

On the S side (left-hand) of the national road between Levadeia-Delphi (between the tunnel and the junction to the Tsoukalades village), isolated tombs of the R period (tile-roofed tombs) have been found during rescue excavations (AD 37 (1982): 170). No grave-goods and no surface sherds have been noticed. Tombs have been dated according to the tile shape. Later on, on the N side (right-hand) of the road, other tombs datable to the same period have been found (AD 50 (1995): 304), without grave goods but with a bronze earring.
Those evidences might either represent a larger burial area (which could have been linked to a village settlement existing there) or small rural cemeteries along the route to the Parnassos. The position of the evidence is not precisely given (nor the exact distance between the two discoveries) and therefore I preferred to create two separate components. Regardless, they testify to the presence of settlement activities in this upland area, as do *components LE_16 and LE_17* (see above)[10], probably linked to upland pasturage and the exploitation of the small alluvial valley.

[10] An identification with ancient *Trachinos* has been suggested for the area of the modern Tsoukalades village.

9. Thourion-Ag.Ioannis: ***Component LE_23***

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_23	gr-rom	? activity focus	Thourion-Ag.Ioannis	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Below the E slopes of the Thourion mountain, on a gentle slope rising up from the Copais (physiographical class P3[11]), by the church of Ag.Ioannis, medieval and ancient sherds have been noticed by Lauffer on the church terrace (Lauffer Kopais I: 146). The undetermined evidence reported from there, though, does not allow us for any interpretation. I can only note that the place at Ag.Ioannis (Thourion East), on the edge of the promontory jutting into the Copais basin, was overlooking the meeting place of the roads coming from Orchomenos, Chaironeia, Levadeia and Koroneia (fig.1), probably also in ancient time as it is today, and it would mark the NE corner of the *chora*.

10. Mavrogeia: ***Components LE_20***

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_20	gr-rom	activity focus	Mavrogeia	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

In terms of archaeological evidence found there, LE_20 carries signs of permanent occupation (a large pithos fragment, large painted vase fragment, tile fragments, as well as large stone blocks visible in the fields), whose character cannot be easily identified. In terms of landscape, its position overlooking the passage of the peri-Copais road led Lauffer (Kopais I: 139) to the interpretation of the site as a fort, controlling the passage of the peri-Copais road, that would pass from this location connecting Orchomenos and Levadeia with Koroneia and Haliartos[12].
On the other hand, landscape considerations would lead me to interpret the component as a large Greco-Roman rural site by the road, exploiting the fertile area at the edge of the Copais basin. The date remains undetermined unfortunately, and the site would need a revisit to clarify it.

11. Neraidogorna-Ag.Taxiarchoi: ***Component LE_21***

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_21	gr-rom	settlement	Neraidogorna-Ag.Taxiarchoi	Int. topographical surveys	certain

At the entrance of the Levadeia valley, W of Ag.Taxiarchoi church, below and on the slope of Moulki hill, as well as on the Kazakines slope, Lauffer (Kopais I: 140-1, sketch 148) mentions the presence of a quantity of sherds and tile fragments on the slopes on both sides of the road near the church dedicated to the Ag. Taxiarchoi

[11] see chapter I.2.1
[12] The Metachoion fort mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius (448.19), says Lauffer (Kopais I: 139), which would lay between Orchomenos and Koroneia, could do.

[AE1244-1245], at the entrance of the Levadeia valley. Lauffer interprets the evidence as signs of a large settlement site. I would agree with this hypothesis and I therefore created a 'settlement' component, probably with a hamlet or village status. On the other hand, if the evidence would turn out as constituted by material dating back to the R period, the component could also be interpreted as a large rural (villa) site. Its low position could support this interpretation, in considering the usual location of large villa sites in Boeotia, according to the results of the Boeotia Survey Project (see appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY). The site lies today across the road and in the past would have been probably along the main road from Thebes at its turning towards Levadeia.
As far as the other two units of archaeological evidence from the area are concerned [AE1242-1243: architectural fragments and blocks from nearby locations reused in the church], they could have easily come from Levadeia.
Other scholars identify the remains visible in and by the church dedicated to the Ag. Taxiarchoi with the temple of Zeus Laphystion[13], within the tradition of the quest for places mentioned in ancient sources.

12. Laphystion-Kazakines: *Component LE_22*

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_22	Preh	human presence	Laphystion-Kazakines	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

To the N of Granitsa/Laphystion village, on the Kazakines slopes, above *component LE_21*, Lauffer (Kopais I: 141, sketch 148) obsidian flints were noticed. He comments how the presence of a prehistoric site is notable here, in such an inner location compared to other sites around Copais. Few obsidian flints solely might indicate a 'human presence' rather that an actual site. The archaeological evidence [AE1246] would need a further look to be assigned a more specific character.

13. Laphystion: *Component LE_26*

Component	Period	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
LE_26	C	fort	Laphystion	Travellers	certain

To the S of Granitsa/Laphystion village, on a rocky eminence 1600m ca to the W of the church of Agios Ioannis, remains of a tower are reported by Dodwell 1819: 245, Leake 1835: 133, and Gell 1819: 140, travelling in 1805, and was drawn by Simone Pomardi for Dodwell (Camp II 1991: fig.1). Today the tower has disappeared and on the spot is a private house (Ath. Skorliakos). The site is largely described by Camp (Camp II 1991: fig.1 and fig.4). The square shape tower is probably to be dated to the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 4thC BC and presumably belonged to the system of watchtowers built by the Boeotian confederacy under the Theban domination

[13] On the other hand, Lauffer identifies the temple of Zeus Laphystion (which Pausanias IX 34.5 says it was 20 stadia from Koroneia) with the Kardavitsa height, 700m high W of the Profitis Ilias peak. Apparently he did not find any actual visible remains there, and therefore there is no associated entry in the Database.

(together with the towers at Evangelistria, Askra and Mavrovouni, for instance[14]), for whom it would constitute the Westernmost tower. The actual function of the tower must have been though to guard both the principal road through central Greece[15] as well as the passage between Koroneia and Levadeia *chora*. The tower has good sight-lines with both the fort at Petra and that at Orchalides, and Northward to Orchomenos, but none with Levadeia and Koroneia fortified towns.

[14] See correspondent entries in appendix I.7, I.8 , I.9, chapter II.4 and Kallet-Marx 1989: 301-311.
[15] It is known that the ancient route closely followed the line of the road that brought early travellers to the tower site (Pausanias IX 33-34 and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter: lines 224-76).

Appendix I.3
Chaironeia valley: Chaironeiake

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

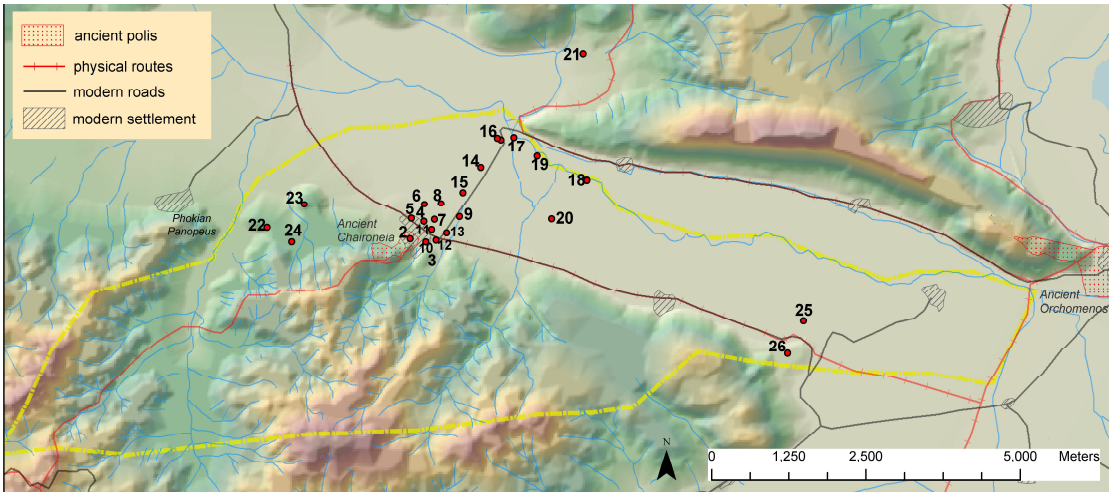


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of the Chaironeiake chora.*

1. CHAIRONEIA: *Components CH_1 to CH_9 and CH_38*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_1	A	settlement	Chaironeia	Other	certain
CH_2	C	settlement	Chaironeia	Travellers	certain
CH_3	R	settlement	Chaironeia	Travellers	certain
CH_4	H	settlement	Chaironeia	Travellers	certain
CH_5	LR	settlement	Chaironeia	Travellers	certain
CH_6	G	settlement	Chaironeia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
CH_7	N	activity focus	Chaironeia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
CH_8	EH	activity focus	Chaironeia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
CH_9	LH	activity focus	Chaironeia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
CH_38	gr-rom	cult place	Chaironeia	Personal or group interest	certain

The acropolis of the ancient *polis* of Chaironeia lies on a rocky steep spur above the village of Kapraina/Chaironeia[1]. The lower settlement is situated in the area of the modern village. It was located at the entrance of the narrow valley of the Kapraina stream, along the S side of the Chaironeia basin, and it was built on both sides of the stream. A possible extension of the lower settlement is to the NE of the walled acropolis (see Fossey 1988: 378 and fig.50), and would lie today underneath a part of the modern village area[2].

Components CH_1 to CH_6 (and probably also *CH_38*) refer to the *polis* settlement of ancient Chaironeia, while *components CH_7 to CH_9* refer to the earlier prehistoric occupation within the later *polis* site.

Components CH_7 to CH_9: At the site was found some prehistoric material, which probably represents an activity focus (if not a settlement site). Only Fossey (Fossey 1990d, but not in 1988) and HS&D (1979: G46) report the presence of Neolithic material from the city site, on the historical acropolis and on its N slope (*component CH_7*). They alone also report the presence of Early Helladic material (including EH III) from the city site (*component CH_8* - Fossey 1988: 375 and HS&D 1979: G46). Components (*CH_7 and CH_8*) have been left as 'activity focuses' since evidence [AE811 and AE803] is too scarce to attest with certainty the presence of a habitation/settlement site. Traces of a habitation site in the Middle Helladic period[3] are not known from the site, while a large Matt painted pithos in Chaironeia museum is recorded as coming from an unpublished tomb at or near the village (Fossey 1988: 380) – see below (*component CH_10*). As for the Late Helladic period, traces of an activity focus have been found within the W circuit of the acropolis walling and on the slope to the N (Fossey 1988: 375 and HS&D 1979: G46). According to the analysis Fossey made of the city walling, the earliest phase (the so-called W circuit) consists of a large circuit in Cyclopean masonry [AE792] encircling the whole mountain top (Fossey 1988: 378 plan fig.50[4] and Sotiriadis AM 1903: 324 pl.4)[5]. Also LH burial places are known from the area (see *component CH_11*).

According to Fossey, the settlement in the LH period must have extended to the top (later the ancient acropolis) and the N slope[6]. According to Fossey, thus, the site might have been an important fortified site in the LH landscape. We must take into account, though, that HS&D 1979 only report unspecified LH from the site (probably taken for granted from Hope Simpson 1965), and they do not mention a LH fortification (apparently noted only by Fossey). On the other hand, Fossey made a detailed study of the fortification and site (1990b). The different levels of research might be due to the incongruence in information, and the character of the LH *component CH_9* has been left as a generic 'activity focus'.

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[1] Papachatzis 1981: 260 pl. 314; general air view in Schoder 1974: 94-5; Fossey 1988: 375.

[2] The area of the ancient lower town is traced approximately in fig.1, but it was probably wider in the C period, when the burials appear at a further distance from the city compared to later (H/R) ones (see chapter II.3.3 – BURIAL AREAS).

[3] Prehistoric Gazetteerrs do not report MH material from city site.

[4] See also Fossey Papers 1990b: 100ff

[5] Fossey (1988: 378) adds: "*From the NW corner of this circuit another Cyclopaean wall runs Northwards down the mountain slope towards the plain below. This wall may suggest that, at the time of the Cyclopaean circuit, the lower settlement lay at the North foot of the acropolis*".

[6] Fossey mentions prehistoric sherds outside the W circuit to the N (W of the historical polis). One piece of obsidian lame was also found within the circuit (no AE) by Fossey (1990b: 100ff).

Components CH_1 to CH_6: As for the settlement site in historical periods, there is plenty of evidence both as for the fortified acropolis area as well as for the lower settlement (to be located probably N and E of acropolis)[7]. In the ancient *polis* and modern village area material from the G and A periods were noticed, as well as material and structural remains (some of which were systematically excavated[8]) from the C, H, R, LR periods, among which most impressive is the theatre. Also G and A material probably correspond to a settlement site (*components CH_6 and CH_1*) already in those early periods (as for the A period, the existence of a fortification around the acropolis can also probably be assumed – AE794). In the gr-rom period the acropolis was fortified [AE788]; what is mainly visible today is an ashlar circuit on the upper East slope of the mountain (probably of 4th C BC date).

Chaironeia is situated at the opening from Phokis to Boeotia, along the overland route from the N to Attica and Southern Greece. The plain in front of Chaironeia offered the battlefield for two events known from history: 338 BC and 86 BC (Sylla VS Mithridate). Pritchett (1958: 309) reports how C sherds were found below the modern village (see above), while in the Lykouresi basin[9] (to the S of the Chaironeia settlement site) a large quantity of surface sherds could be seen on the surface, but none appear to be C (they are unglazed tiles and pottery of a deep red colour, which could be Roman). On the basis of this, Pritchett concludes that the area was empty of habitation or other activities in the C period and therefore could have been where the Chaironeia battle took place. On the other hand, no-systematic personal visits of members of the Boeotia project (J.L.Bintliff pers. comm.) report several Greco-Roman pottery scatters (including C finds), likely representing small rural sites.

Component CH_38: Leake (115) had already suggested that the church of Panagia by the Turkish fountain near to the theatre of ancient Chaironeia would stand on the site of an ancient temple, either that of Artemis Eilethyia or that of Serapis, as he would suppose. In fact, by the church of Panagia, a part of the sanctuary probably dedicated to Asklepios - a deity frequently mentioned in inscriptions from the village - may have been found during an excavation, though few details are given, in BCH 1952: 224 and are reported by Fossey (1988: 379). An inscribed 'trone' [AE796] was found during a small excavation (together with a small statue of a young man). The inscription seems to mention Asklepios, and according to the excavator (Chr.Christou) is probably to be referred to the consecration of an area to the deity. The evidence would represent probably a cult place within the *polis*, but it could also

[7] Fossey 1988: 380 reports on the findings in the modern village area which confirmed the location of the lower settlement: in the rock face at the NE foot is carved the small theatre (description by Dilke BSA 1950: 35-7. Photographs: Papachatzis 1981: 260-2, pll. 315 and 317); many ancient blocks in its vicinity [AE795] especially in the nearby fountain; cf. Frazer 1913: 205-208. For the relative positions of the village, theatre and acropolis see Fossey 1988 fig.50. Classical potsherds and tile fragments [AE1185] have been found in the area of the modern village (Pritchett 1958: 309 – he saw material from excavation at the Panagia church). A Roman colonnaded building [AE1183] at the W edge of the village (BCH 1925: 456), and two Roman buildings with hypocaust (Kahrstedt 1954: 109; AD 1967: 243) are also known. Recent research (mainly rescue excavations during building activities in the modern village) has added to the picture new data, especially from the R and LR periods [AE798; AE1691; AE1679].

[8] AE798; AE1691; AE1679.

[9] It can be spoken of as the Likouresi basin, since it is not a stream valley as most land is well above the stream level.

have been an extramural sanctuary at the immediate outskirt of the city. As one cannot confirm it with certainty a different component has been created.

2/3. CHAIRONEIA area: (2) *Components CH_10* and (3) *CH_11*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_10	MH	? burial place	Chaironeia	Other	imprecise
CH_11	LH	burial place	Chaironeia E	Other	approximate

A large matt painted pithos in the Chaironeia museum is recorded as coming from an unpublished tomb at or near the village (Fossey 1988: 380). A component (*CH_10*) has been created as a possible MH burial place in the area. LH burial places are also known from the area (*component CH_11*)[10].

4. Chaironeia – dioikitirio: *Components CH_26 and CH_45*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_26	R	rural site/activity	Chaironeia – dioikitirio	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_45	LR	burial place	Chaironeia – dioikitirio	Rescue excavation	certain

Along the main road of the Chaironeia village, N of the road, a "suburban villa" was found and excavated during public work in 2002 on the *oikopedo dioikitiriou* (information from poster exhibition at Thebes museum - 2002).
From the mid 3rdC AD the site seems to be occupied by burial areas with graves. This could be associated with labour force for the villa and a probable different organization of functional spaces within the site, rather than to an abandonment of the villa site and the decay of the property system of large estates, as suggested by the panel of the exhibition at the Museum of Thebes (2002) [11].

5. Chaironeia N: *Component CH_12*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_12	H	? burial place	Chaironeia N	Rescue excavation	approximate

[10] 2 LH chamber tombs [AE1295] and signs of probable others on the E slope [AE800] HS&D 1979 G46 from AD 24 1969B: 179. It is said that the tombs were noticed for the first time, therefore probably AE1295 is not the same evidence as the chamber tomb [AE800] mentioned in Syriopoulos 1968 and Hope Simpson 1965. There is no location given for AE800, and it has been decided to list it under the same component entry (*component CH_11*).
[11] The villa / large estate system seems to begin in Boeotia usually in Mid Roman times (200-400 AD) and reach their maximum size and extent in Late Roman (400-600 AD).

To the N of the Kapraina/Chaironeia village, by the road towards the W, two tombs were discovered, made of reused material, with *lekythos* and glass finds of the Hellenistic (?) date (BCH 47 (1923): 522). Chronological attribution is not sure, and the component is recorded and mapped as probable.

6. Chaironeia – Plateia Scala and Vourlies: ***Components CH_46 to CH_49***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_46	A	burial place	Chaironeia – Plateia Scala and Vourlies	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_47	C	burial place	Chaironeia – Plateia Scala and Vourlies	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_48	H	burial place	Chaironeia – Plateia Scala and Vourlies	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_49	R	burial place	Chaironeia – Plateia Scala and Vourlies	Rescue excavation	certain

In the locality of Plateia Scala and Vourlies during rescue excavation in 2001 a cemetery was found dated to the A, C, H and R periods, up to mid 2ndC AD (information from poster exhibition in Thebes museum - 2002). It may be considered as the Chaironeia city cemetery, due to the extension and type of burials.
During the installation of the gas pipe-line in 1993 by Chaironeia (I.Galanou property at the 106th km of the pipe-line), an inscribed stele was brought to light [AE1685]. Excavation followed and revealed a small Christian building (AD 1993 (1998): 180). No component has been created for the AE1685 entry, because of the only evidence available and considered too movable. As for the excavated evidence defined as 'Christian', it is not specified whether it can be considered as LR, and therefore a component has not been created but only a mention is given here in the text.

7/8. Chaironeia - Rema: ***Components CH_34 and CH_35*** **(7);** ***CH_36*** **(8)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_34	A	burial place	Chaironeia - Rema	accidental	certain
CH_35	C	burial place	Chaironeia - Rema	accidental	certain
CH_36	C	burial place	Chaironeia - Rema	accidental	certain

Along the bank and the river bed of the man-made stream that runs through Chaironeia in the NS direction (Ksirorema or Vroulia), 6 tile-roofed and cist tombs in two groups have been excavated, 180-200m (A-C) -*components CH_34 and CH_35*- and 610-630m (C) -*component CH_36*- NE of the central road of the village (ca 600m

from the ancient theatre). The tombs date from the 6th to the 3rdC BC (AD 1994 (1999): 287-289). These pieces of evidence can help to interpret the areas as rural burial areas associated with isolated farms, as do the groups of cist tombs recorded as *component CH_50* (see below).

9. Chaironeia - Kovras/Agortses: *Component CH_50*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_50	H	burial place	Chaironeia - Kovras/Agortses	Rescue excavation	certain

A group of cist-tombs, dated to the H period (from 3rdC BC to 1st half of 2nd BC) related to a farm, were found in the area of the Chaironeia - Kovras/Agortses locality (information from a poster exhibition in Thebes museum - 2002).

10/11. Chaironeia museum: *Components* (10) *CH_15, CH_16 and* (11) *CH_37*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_15	R	burial place	Chaironeia museum	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_16	H	? burial place	Chaironeia museum	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_37	C	burial place	Chaironeia museum	accidental	approximate

Components CH_15 and CH_16: Discovered accidentally and excavated along the road behind Chaironeia museum (AD 1968: 223) was a cist-tomb carved into the rock, with glass finds inside: R (or H?). The evidence lies outside the supposed area of the lower town, but no attempts have yet been made to precisely locate the edge of the settlement in the different periods and it cannot be stated with certainty whether the burial would represent an extramural necropolis linked to the city or a rural cemetery.
Component CH_37: 100m from the museum, on the central road of Chaironeia (Atalali plot) a group of vases, figurines and objects, were found and delivered to the Ephorate (AD 1994 (1999): 287-289). They can be dated to the 5th C BC, and probably are from cremation burials (*taphiki pira*).

12. Chaironeia East: *Component CH_19*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_19	H	burial place	Chaironeia East	Travellers	certain

Component CH_19: just to the E of the modern village, next to the museum courtyard, the restored lion monument is visible marking the *Polyandrion* of the 254 Thebans

killed in the battle of 338 BC (Papachatzis 1981: 261 pl. 316; aerial view in Schoder 1974: 96).

13/14. Chaironeia North and Chaironeia bridge: (13) *Component CH_14;* (14) *components CH_13 and CH_17*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_13	R	rural site/activity	Chaironeia North/Magoula Balomenou	Travellers	precise
CH_14	R	rural site/activity	Chaironeia bridge	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_17	R	burial place	Chaironeia bridge	Personal or group interest	approximate

Component CH_13: Roman structures have been excavated[12] (PAE 1902: 55; AJA 1904: 357) N of Chaironeia, between the city and the Kephisos, 300m SW of the modern bridge (it corresponds to the Magoula Balomenou site – see below). Those structures might correspond to one of the two Roman brick buildings whose surface remains were seen by Dodwell I: 224 (see Kahrstedt 1954: 109, who interpreted them as villa sites). Fossey (1988: 379 and 1990c: 58) reports the evidence which constitute *component CH_13*, referring to it as a 'Roman farmstead'. The other brick building seen by the traveller might be *component CH_14*, excavated later and described here below.

Component CH_14: after the bridge at the entrance to the town, right to the road coming from Levadeia, rescue excavations –OTE telephone company- discovered part of an hypocaust and sherds from the R period (AD 1967: 243). The component might correspond to the second of the two Roman brick buildings seen by Dodwell I: 224 (see Kahrstedt 1954: 109) and interpreted as villa sites. The other excavated one might be *component CH_13* (see above)[13].

We cannot be sure whether those two Roman buildings, excavated later, correspond to the two brick buildings seen by Dodwell, which are probably the same as the ones mentioned also in Kahrstedt 1954: 109. As the identification is not certain, one could even hypothesize the existence of a third (or a third and a fourth) brick building seen by the traveller and not visible anymore[14].

Component CH_17: a cemetery of R date has been found during excavation next to the R building with bath - *component CH_13* (Praktika 1902: 55; AJA 1904: 357).

[12] Foundation walls, two cisterns, one probably belonging to a bath, a paved/slabbed floor (along with lots of potsherds from the R period). AE1184 (excavated structures - constituting *component CH_13*) is probably marked in the map in AD51 1996: 285 (fig.14), although the absence of a map key does not allow for a certain identification.
[13] AE1678 [CH_14] is probably mapped in AD51 1996: 285 (fig.14), without map key.
[14] For comments on R rural sites in the area see chapter II.3.3 - RURAL SEGMENT.

15. Varka: ***Component CH_18***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_18	R	burial place	Varka	accidental	approximate

About 3km NE of Chaironeia village, in the Varka locality, tomb remains from the 2ndC BC are mentioned in an enclosure (AD 1973-4: 442-3). Accidentally two tombstones where found while ploughing and then a small excavation followed.

16/17. Magoula Balomenou: (16) ***Components CH_21 to CH_24 and CH_13;*** **(17)** ***component CH_25***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_21	N	settlement	Magoula Balomenou	Personal or group interest	precise
CH_22	EH	? activity focus	Magoula Balomenou	Personal or group interest	precise
CH_23	MH	settlement	Magoula Balomenou	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_24	LH	? activity focus	Magoula Balomenou	Personal or group interest	precise
CH_25	MH	burial place	Magoula Balomenou	Rescue excavation	certain
CH_13	R	rural site/activity	Chaironeia North/Magoula Balomenou	Travellers	precise

A low mound can be seen NE of Chaironeia, N of the railway line and W of the bench of the Kephisos river, 300m SW of the modern bridge, in the locality of Gilophos (as mentioned in Syriopoulos 1968: 31). The mound is a tell, created by the superimposition of the occupation layers (mainly Neolithic period – see below). The dimensions of the *toumba*, as reported by Tzavella-Evjen, are N-S 155m and E-W 140m, measured through core-sampling (0.025m diameter).
Sotiriadis discovered the site at the very beginning of the 20th century, while searching for the Macedonian tumulus for the 338 BC battle (PAE 1902: 55ff)[15]. When he got to the site, the surface was cultivated and a piece of wall was visible[16]. During excavation, the upper layers found presented R (or probably LR) structures (recorded as *component CH_13* – see above) and graves (*component CH_17* – see above)[17].

[15] See Fossey 1988: 379, as well as Syriopoulos 1968: 30-1, N22 and Pritchett 1958: 308 n.19 for a summary of previous research.
[16] The wall had probably been seen already by Dodwell (see *component CH_13*).
[17] The knowledge of the later (R) activity focus on the site, in this case, is not due to the interest in the place because of the presence of a major site in the prehistoric period, as it happens in many other

Components CH_21 and CH_22: According to the account of Sotiriadis, prehistoric layers were found disturbed by later activities. The date of prehistoric material is not specified by Sotiriadis (who mentions generally prehistoric levels)[18], but it was examined later by Tzavella-Evjen. Sotiriadis notes how all the periods (from NEO to R?) were found in the excavation, while Tzavella-Evjen reports only EH, MH and C material[19] from the museum, where the excavation material was brought. This material suggests the presence of activities in those periods, though the relative layers were disturbed by later occupation (as stated by Sotiriadis), and probably partially by Sotiriadis' excavation as well. Tzavella-Evjen could not retrieve strata from that period's digging activities at the site years later, when her excavation revealed a Neolithic occupation at the site[20].
Three phases of Middle Neolithic occupation (5.000-4.000 B.C.) were noticed: the earliest at 4.30m depth, the middle at 3.30-3.90m, the more recent at 0.80-3.30m (the latter with 3 sub-phases). As stated by Tzavella-Evjen, some pottery found by Sotiriadis can be dated to the Late Neolithic (after 4,000 BC), probably from the upper layer of the *toumba*, which have been lost, as seen earlier.

Component CH_24: On the *toumba* site, low-level weak evidence for activities in the LH period is present. Only 5 LHIIIB sherds in the Chaironeia museum, reported as from the Magoula site and mentioned in the prehistoric Gazetteers, might be evidence of a burial place.

Components CH_23 and CH_25: Tzavella-Evjen in 1989 extended the excavation (rescue excavation – due to the opening by local farmers of a drainage ditch, where architectural fragments were found) and discovered a large settlement of the MH period (*component CH_23*) [21], extending to the S and E side of the Neolithic *toumba* towards the Kephisos river. The trench contained Neolithic sherds, lithic tools and a bone idol of human shape. The remains of walls dated back to the MH period (ca. 2000-1700 BC). MH pottery was found, mainly coarse ware but also a few pieces of Minyan ware of fine quality[22]. MH burials were also discovered (*component CH_25*).

The Kephisos river course has shifted during time, and it certainly would have been in a different location in the MH period (though it cannot be said exactly where). This would be proved by the appearance of archaeological remains inside the river (PAE 1989: 158, n.17 – MH tombs *component CH_25*) and therefore the limit of the MH settlement would not be marked by the river meander.

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cases, especially around Copais – see Kalami-Lioma,Koroneia area, and others. It is rather due to a visible surface wall (probably already seen by Dodwell), and secondly to its characteristic mound/tell shape for which it was visited later by Sotiriadis (personal interest).

[18] Sotiriadis, PAE 1902: 55ff; 1904: 40ff; 1907: 109; 1909: 123ff; AE 1908: 64ff; AM 1905: 120-129; REG 1912: 263-270.

[19] C material (if any) has probably to be considered off-site.

[20] H. Tzavella-Evjen: PAE 1986: 55ff; Ergon 1986: 90ff; AJA 91 1987: 320; A' *diethnes synedrio Boiotikon meleton* 1988: 37ff; B' *diethnes synedrio Boiotikon meleton* 1995: 63-67.

[21] Ergon 1989: 49ff; PAE 1989: 146ff; AJA 1991: 306

[22] A cist tomb was found in the S trench, consisting in a rideposition inside a MH wall foundation (ritual?). Tzavella-Evjen has written a lot about this discovery and its ritual implications, whose examination would lead us beyond the purpose of the present work.

During the excavation Sotiriadis found layers of 'empty soil'. He thought they might be the result of the practice Neolithic people had to cover the tombs, while later on he interpreted them as alluvial deposits from the river, until he reached the point to say that the whole *toumba* was a '*heroon*' dedicated to the Kephisos god. Tzavella-Evjen (1988: 37-41) does not agree with either of the two interpretations. She points out that the river was not running in the present day location, and that the form of the deposits presents a lacustrine character (*limnaias proelefsis*). She therefore suggests that probably the marshy lake would have reached an area very nearby the *toumba/magoula* and had an effect on the whole area. We would exclude the presence of the Copais lake or marshes in this area[23], although it cannot be excluded that this effect might be due to the presence of another former marshy area nearby, which could be read on the map (GYS 1:50,000 map) in the toponym *Loutsa* (see below Agioi Apostoloi-Agios Georgios site). The probable presence of the marshy area to the immediate N of the Kephisos river, and opposite the Magoula Balomenou site, might constitute a critical element which would have given a special character to the surrounding landscape, taking into consideration also the presence of a probable settlement or large rural activity to the other side (Agioi Apostoloi site – see below).

Joining all the information examined above, it can be concluded that:
- at the *toumba* site there is Neolithic occupation by the river forming the tell/mound (*magoula/toumba*).
- On the *toumba* site, EH material is also present (found in the Sotiriadis excavation), suggesting a probable focus of activity in the EH period.
- Later on, a MH settlement was located just below the *magoula* (to its S and E), extending until the river. Probably the river shifted its course through times, since MH tombs were found in its present river bed. A burial area was therefore located between the settlement and the river.
- On the *toumba* site, we probably have low-level evidence of activities for the LH period, but nothing more than weak signs. The five sherds in the Chaironeia museum dated to the LHIIIB period reported as from the Magoula site (decorated or distinctive sherds, I suppose), might be evidence of a burial place nearby.
- Yet on the *toumba* site, we do have evidence for occupation in the R (not better specified – CH_13) period, where a rural site was probably located.

18/19. Akontion – Kephisos: (18) *Components CH_40, CH_41 and* (19) *component CH_42*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_40	G	burial place	Akontion - Kephisos	Rescue excavation	precise
CH_41	A	burial place	Akontion - Kephisos	Rescue excavation	precise
CH_42	C	burial place	Akontion - Kephisos	Rescue excavation	precise

[23] On the shifting of the Kephisos river bed and related issues see chapter II.3.3 – LANDSCAPE IN THE LONG TERM. On the modelled extension of the Copais lake see chapter II.3.1 and appendix III.

During rescue excavations in occasion of the public work for the widening of the Kephisos river bed, four groups of graves belonging to an ancient cemetery were excavated (AD 1993: 183-7), for 2km along the river in the area of the Akontion village and the bridge of Chaironeia-Akontion. Excavated burials locations are marked in AD 51 (1996): 284 (fig.14). Below the graves are thick alluvial deposits. Among the graves, two groups are dated to the LG-A period[24], while the other two groups (five tombs only in total) are dated to the C period[25].

20. Chaironeia plain: *Component CH_20*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_20	H	burial place	Chaironeia plain	Travellers	approximate

Component CH_20: Out in the plain, ca. 2.5km to the E of the Magoula Balomenou site, by the Kephisos river, 3km E of Chaironeia and, as Sotiriadis (Praktika 1902: 58) notes, closer to the Bramaga village, is the burial mound for the Macedonians killed in the 338 BC battle[26] (Cooley, AJA 1904: 81-2 and Sotiriadis, Praktika 1903[27]).

21. Agioi Apostoloi - Agios Georgios: *Components CH_31 to CH_33*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_31	C	activity focus	Agioi Apostoloi - Agios Georgios	Personal or group interest	approximate
CH_32	H	activity focus	Agioi Apostoloi - Agios Georgios	Personal or group interest	approximate
CH_33	R	activity focus	Agioi Apostoloi - Agios Georgios	Personal or group interest	approximate

In a small valley bordered by the Akontion (Dourdouvana), the Idilion (Vetriza) and the Iphanteion (Paliovounas), in the area around the deserted village of Agioi Apostoloi, especially around and to the W of the church of Agios Georgios and towards the plain (*kampo*), an extended scatter of sherds is reported by Ph. Dasios (1995a). Dasios suggests the presence of an extended habitation (*ektetamenis katoikisis*) of Roman and earlier (C-HL) periods. The scattered sherds are mentioned apparently by Dasios only, who notes how Plutarch (*Syllas* 17.5) mentions *Assioi* in this area.

[24] The LG-A tombs are contemporary to the cemeteries of Akraiphnio, Ritsona and Pyri Thivon.
[25] Pottery from the cemetery was presented by Sarandopoulou 2000.
[26] Plutarch *Alex*. 9.3
[27] Two mounds were dug by Sotiriadis. One is Magoula Balomenou site and the other one is the Macedonian tumulus of the 338 BC battle (Sotiriadis, Praktika 1902: 53-59 and Pritchett, AJA 1958: 307ff).

The area of Agioi Apostoloi-Agios Georgios may belong either to Phokis (Panopeus) or to Boeotia (either to Chaironeia or Orchomenos), as the borders in the Kephisos valley are not clear. Dasios suggests an attribution to Phokian Panopeus (see chapter II.3.3 – BOUNDARIES). Dasios (1995b) states that certainly to Panopeus belonged the whole Idilion mountain and probably at least a part of the small valley, to get the NW hillsides of the Yphantion (Paliovouna) where a (Phokian) fort controlling the border was (at Mavrokastro), whose the remains can still be seen[28].

In the vicinity is an area called *Loutsa*, to the orographic left of Kephisos, with traces of canalizations visible on the map (GYS 1:50,000). Loutsa is an arvanitic word for 'wet'. It was thus probably a marshy area. To the S of this 'wet' area is also the Toumba/Magoula Balomenou site (see above).

22. Agios Charalambos: *Components CH_27 to CH_29*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_27	H	activity focus	Agios Charalambos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
CH_28	LR	activity focus	Agios Charalambos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
CH_29	LH	? activity focus	Agios Charalambos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

In a small valley between the Karvouni ridge to the S and an outlier of the same ridge to the N, facing westwards Agios Vlasios (ancient Panopeus), traces of ancient activities are reported on the N and S slope and in the valley bottom (Pritchett AJA 1958: 307-8; Fossey 1988: 383). In the valley is reported a spring by the newly constructed church of Agios Ioannis (Fossey 1988: 383), while the church of Agios Charalambos lies in the W part of the valley.

Components CH_27 and CH_28: The interpretation suggested by Fossey for the site as a sanctuary[29] is mainly due to the Schachter's and Pritchett's accounts for the reused blocks in the ancient Byzantine church (the old church of Agios Georgios probably), and it is given value by the fact that Fossey himself during his visit noticed on the site surface walls on the slopes, as well as H and LR potsherds[30]. On the other hand, both the LR and the H evidence could also represent a different kind of activity

[28] The fort is mentioned also by Philippson 1951: 426, map p.747 and it was mentioned by Diodorus XVI 58.4. The fort is not included into the database of this work because it was considered as being Phokian.

[29] Fossey (1988: 384) also attempts a possible identification with the sanctuary of Apollon Thourios (see though the recent discovery at Isoma, below – *components CH_43 and CH_44*).

[30] The ancient blocks could also be coming from the ancient city (Panopeus). On the other hand, the situation may be similar to the one at the Pontsa site (in Koroneia area – see appendix I.1), where architectural fragments from a Late Roman sanctuary at the site are employed in the construction of a Byzantine church, which was usually then surrounded by a small hamlet. Could it be the same situation here?

focus, such as a rural site, and this would probably be the case at least for the H period (see also discussion below – Isoma site).

Component CH_29: Fossey noticed at the site LH surface sherds (Fossey 1988: 383), but we cannot be certain of what they might represent. The site would deserve a revisit.

23/24. Isoma: *Components* (23) *CH_43 and* (24) *CH_44*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_43	gr-rom	fort	Isoma	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
CH_44	gr-rom	? activity focus	Isoma SW	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Component CH_43: On the hill Isoma, a roughly conical rise jutting northwestward into the Kephisos plain, to the W of Chaironeia, a fortification wall has been noticed by Camp et al. (AJA 96 (1992): 443-455). They suggest an identification with the Mont Thourion of Plutarch (*Sylla* 17.6-8). It is a rubble wall, today poorly preserved (plan of the fort in fig.12). As the authors say, there is no indication of date, but the trophy, commemorating the victory of Sylla over Mithridate VI at Chaironeia in 86 BC [AE1693], that they found on the same rise, could be connected with the building of the fort.

Component CH_44: In the vicinity, Camp et al. (AJA 96 (1992): 443-455) suggest the presence of the remains of the temple of Apollon Thourios, mentioned by Plutarch (*Sylla* 17.6-8), whose exact location is unknown (Schachter BICS 1967: 7 – see above Agios Charalambos site). The site, apparently never noticed earlier, is recorded in the Database as a possible cult place. At the confluence of several streams flowing roughly Northward off the ridge of Agios Dimitrios towards Isoma hill, they noticed a large terraced area, located ca. 500m S-SW of Isoma hill, on the W bank of the stream, and occupied today by the shrine of the Metamorphosis. Within this area, remains of late walls are visible, with numerous early blocks and architectural fragments built in. Opposite, on the E bank of the stream, they found archaeological fragments in some piles of rubble derived from collapsed huts. In this area Byzantine pottery in large quantity can be noticed, where surface remains of a settlement grew up around a church[31]. The terraced area, they say, could be what remains of a platform for a temple (C or H date seems likely considering the architectural pieces found). One should keep in mind, though, that the architectural pieces (reused in both locations) might have been taken from a place in the vicinity.

According to Plutarch (Sylla 17.6-8 – 463 A-B), at the foot of the Thourion mountain the river Morios and the temple of Apollo Thourios were located. As mentioned by Camp et al. (AJA 96 (1992): 443-455), Leake had identified Morios as the Vathyrema

[31] The Byzantine church and settlement could have developed on the site of the ancient temple, marking the continuity of a sacred vocation, as often happens in the area (see Pontsa site -Koroneia chora, appendix I.1- and Agios Charalambos site above).

and suggested that a Turkish village he called Mera, located near the banks of that stream (by Ag.Charalambos church), preserved the ancient name Morios. Local farmers confirm that a Turkish village named Megara once existed near the church.
By the church of Agios Charalambos, Fossey detected some remains (see above), which though Camp et al., after a visit to the place, do not consider substantial. They note that visible surface sherds were mainly medieval, and consequently the surface walls Fossey saw were probably later as well, linked to the settlement site by the church. On the other hand, Pritchett reports ancient blocks built into a ruined chapel near the shrine of Agios Vasileios just to the NW of Orthopagus, though he does not specifically associate them with the Apollo temple. The two sites – Fossey's and Pritchett's ones– are nearly 1km apart, on opposite sides of Hammond's hill (as called in Camp et al.'s work), which corresponds probably to the hill above Ag.Charalambos.

25. Thourion - Koumoulia: ***Component CH_39***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_39	gr-rom	? activity focus	Thourion - Koumoulia	Rescue excavation	certain

At Koumoulia locality, before the Thourion village, below the Frankish tower, rescue excavations during the installation of the gas pipeline (in 1993 – at the 104th km) brought to light pottery and badly constructed walls (AD 1993 (1998): 180), yet no exact chronology is given.

26. Thourion East: ***Component CH_30***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
CH_30	gr-rom	fort	Thourion East	Int. topographical surveys	certain

On a round shaped rise between the Frankish tower location and the Kephisos valley, on a flysch area on the NE descending slope of Thourion, Lauffer (Kopais I: 147 - sketch 154) reports traces of an ancient tower, whose square perimeter is visible on the ground.

Appendix I.4
The Copais area: Orchomenos

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

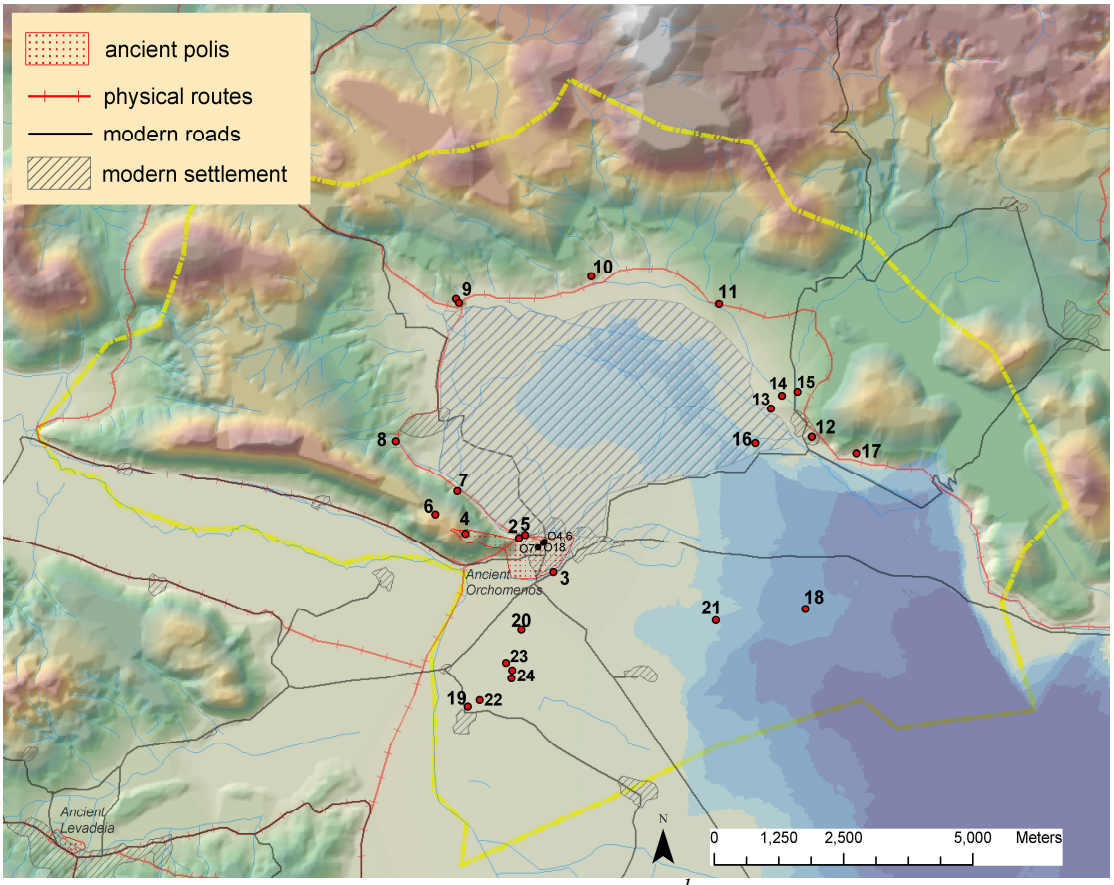


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of the Orchomenos chora*[1].

1. ORCHOMENOS[2]: *Components O_1 to O_11; O_13 and O_14; O_16 to O_19*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_1	N	settlement	Orchomenos	Other	certain
O_2	EH	settlement	Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_3	MH	settlement	Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_4	MH	burial place	Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain

[1] *Components O_4, O_6, O_7* and *O_18*, Prehistoric and LR burials within the city area, are marked on the map.
[2] Bibliography on the city site until the mid-80s has been collected by Fossey 1988: 352-3. More recent references are referred to here, under the individual components.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_5	LH	settlement	Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_6	LH	burial place	Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_7	LH	burial place	Orchomenos	Travellers	certain
O_8	SubM	? Settlement	Orchomenos	Other	approximate
O_9	PG	? Settlement	Orchomenos	Other	approximate
O_10	G	? Settlement	Orchomenos	Other	approximate
O_11	A	settlement	Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_13	C	settlement	Orchomenos	Historical geography	certain
O_14	H	settlement	Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_16	H	fort	Orchomenos	Travellers	precise
O_17	R	settlement	Orchomenos	Historical geography	certain
O_18	LR	burial place	Orchomenos	Rescue excavation	certain
O_19	LR	? Settlement	Orchomenos	Other	approximate

The ancient settlement site of Orchomenos lay at the foot of the E end of the Akontion ridge, at the NW edge of the Copais basin. From the top of Akontion, above Orchomenos, one can have the best look at the entire Copais basin.

As Philippson notes (1951: 471), as one comes from Levadeia through the fertile plain of Kephisos he sees the soft limestone rock of Akontion, with a small rock pick. The Akontion is the '*polis* ridge' of Orchomenos, called in modern times "Dourdouvana" and currently Akontion again. It is named after its characteristic dart shape. The toponym has to be included in the series of orographic names (mainly related to ridges and mountains whose slope or foothills host a settlement or city site) derived from the military equipment, as for instance Aspis at Argo and Kerykion at Tanagra, yet in Boeotia.

The slopes of Akontion suddenly end with a peak (369m asl) carrying the ancient wall (see below), and then towards the E they drop with a regular slope (ca 12 degrees of slope) and end with a small promontory-like feature that sinks down into the marshy area (Philippson 1951: 471). The Bronze Age and Greco-Roman settlement lay on the lower spur and extended into the plain.

To the E end of the Akontion spur at the edge of the plain, lies the monastery of Skripou (built in 874)[3], probably on the place or near a former sanctuary of the Charites. In the vicinity, on the abrupt Northern foot of the Orchomenos promontory, springs out the Akidalia spring (one of the sources of the Melas river). The medieval village of Skripou spreads SE from the end of the Akontion in the plain. Next to it, on both sides of the Kephisos river, which runs along the S foot of the Akontion, lies the large village of Petromagoula. Currently the river bed there is dry, while in previous

[3] The surface level around the church is much higher than when it was built, as noted by Philippson (1951: 472).

times it was not. In Philippson's times (1951) the two villages (Skripou and Petromagoula) together had the largest population in Copais. In present times the two villages form modern Orchomenos.

Ancient Orchomenos was located at a very nice spot, on a rock spur defended by the river, in the middle of a small area. The *polis*, with Tsamali bay to the N and the E and the long and narrow ridge of Akontion to the NW and the Kephisos valley to the W, was in a strategic position to control incoming routes to Boeotia from Lokris Opuntian (through the area of ancient Hyettos and the mountains behind Topolia/Kastro, as well as through the opening between Prophitis Ilias and Chlomon mountain to the N of Orchomenos) and from Phokis through the Kephisos valley (fig.1 in chapter II.3.4).
The settlement site at Orchomenos has a long documented story that extended since the Bronze Age until today, and is mentioned already in Homer (Il. B511, B605, I 381; Od. l 284, l 459). The conflict with Thebes within Boeotia marks its history throughout all periods, with a crucial importance for city power and life especially in Mycenaean and Archaic times[4]. Thebans destroyed it in 364 but then Philip the Fifth and Alexander the Great fortified it and gave it a new life during the Hellenistic period.

Component O_1: Excavated layers [AE429], from old and recent excavations, since the end of the 19th century (de Ridder 1895), attested the presence at the site of a Neolithic settlement. From the Neolithic period sherds were found but apparently no structures were noticed. Kunze (Orchomenos II) published in 1931 the Neolithic pottery known from the site already reported by Bulle (1908). Caskey (1960: 159ff) comments on the varieties and age of the Neolithic at Orchomenos. Several excavations have been carried out later on below the modern settlement site (mainly by Sotiriadis and more recently by the local ephorate) and found Neolithic among and below levels from later periods. As stated by HS&D (1979: G1), excavation data and visits at the place lead to conclude that the lower part of the Eastern spur of Dourdouvana/Akontion was the centre of the prehistoric site, and is in that area where Neolithic levels were also found. Fossey (1988: 354) describes the lower area, occupied by the prehistoric settlement, as "not rocky". I would rather say, as HS&D (1979: G1) say, that the prehistoric settlement lay on the extreme spur of the Akontion ridge (resembling under this respect other contemporary settlements in the Copais area – Kalami-Lioma, Agoriani-Dekedes, etc.). The expression "not rocky" used by Fossey probably stands for the area not strictly on the bare rock, but covered by the soil eroded away of the calcareous steep slopes of Akontion, as it constitutes the lower area of the Akontion hill-side.

Component O_2: Excavated layers [AE430] also testify the existence of an Early Helladic settlement site in the lower part of the eastern spur of Akontion. Structures of notable entity from the EH period were found at the site (Caskey 1960: 159ff), since de Ridder excavation (1895). Kunze (Orchomenos III) published in 1934 the Early

[4] Orchomenos, before the end of the 8th C, attempted to gain supremacy over all Boeotia, and dominated Chaironeia, Hyettos, Olmones, Hyria, and Lebadeia and perhaps Koroneia and Copai before and during the time of Hesiod (Buck 1979: 97). See also Farinetti 2003 for Orchomenos and the Archaic period.

Helladic pottery known from the site already reported by Bulle (1908). Sotiriadis' digs and more recently excavation work carried out by the local ephorate brought to light EH layers, pottery and structural remains. EH layers were noticed also by Fittchen[5] at the Asklepion, higher up on the E end slopes of the Akontion[6] - a fact that would prove –against Bulle- that the area (on the slope of Akontion, higher up compared to the lower settlement site –see above-) was settled from the EH period at the latest.

Component O_3: a Middle Helladic settlement is also testified by the presence of excavated layers and structures [AE431], since earlier excavations of de Ridder (1895) up to Sotiriadis (AM30 (1905): 130). Also recent excavations by the local ephorate interested MH layers.

Component O_5: remains of a Late Helladic settlement are known from the site and have been excavated (Sotiriadis' excavation - AM30 (1905): 130 - and more recent excavations by the local ephorate - Spyropoulos AAA 1974: 324). The widely known structure from the Mycenaean period is the Treasury of Minyas (*component O_7*), while the existence of a 'palace' in the area occupied later by the Skripou church was inferred from finds of wall frescoes among structures[7] of that period (Bulle 1908: 71-85)[8]. As Fossey (1988:356) notes, it is to the density of Byzantine settlement that Bulle attributes (1895:12) the disappearance of much of the Mycenaean and later remains. HS&D (1979: G1) notes how LH layers have been eroded on the slopes of Akontion, while elsewhere ('on acropolis', they say, probably meaning the lower area though) LH levels and fresco fragments are preserved (over earlier levels).

Components O_4, O_6 and O_7: a MH (*component O_4*) and LH I burial area (*component O_6*) has been excavated [AE437 and AE438] in the lower E spur of Akontion, North of the Treasury of Minyas (monumental tomb of Mycenaean period – *component O_7*), W of Skripou church along the road, in the Melissomandri locality[9]. Other LH burial places are known from the vicinity: see below *component*

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[5] The recent work of the DAI equipe lead by K.Fittschen, aiming to document the monuments of historic times and update the plan of S.Lauffer (RE Suppl. XIV 1974: 294 fig.1), reexamined (with drawings, plans, study) the fortification wall on the Akontion, and several other buildings. Among them especially: the so-called Asklepios temple (excavated by the French), the so-called Archaic temple excavated by Bulle, the rocky terrace with the sanctuary of Petakas outside the ancient city (also examined by the French, above the most westerly sources of the river Melas, connected by the French with the sanctuary of Herakles) - see AReports 1997-1998; 1998-1999.

[6] Amongst them an EH clay seal (Fittchen, AReports 1997-1998; 1998-1999).

[7] Three 'megaron' units, apparently part of the 'palace' (Spyropoulos AAA 1974, 316-323; cf. BCH 1975 pll. 111-3 and AD 1972: 258-263).

[8] There is a long debate on the question of the existence of a Mycenaean 'palace' at Orchomenos, and on its possible identification with the complex where fresco fragments were found, by the Skripou church. As for the purposes of the present work, it does not really matter whether what was found is the palace or not, nor whether Orchomenos had a palace or not. This certainly would be of interest to investigate the socio/political balances in the area, but for the purposes of the present work it is probably enough knowing the presence of an important settlement in the area (as the Treasury of Minyas seems to attest).

[9] Spyropoulos AD 1971: 218-9; AD 1972: 312; AAA 1974: 324. Mycenaean structures (the so-called 'palace') did not disturb the earlier cemetery. The MH – LH I burial area extended until the area to the N of the Treasury of Minyas.

O_22 (a tumulus of LH III date apparently) and *component O_24* (an extensive chamber tomb cemetery).

Component O_8: some isolated finds [AE443] are reported (HS&D 1979) from the Sub Mycenaean period.

Component O_9 and O_10: rescue excavations (AD 48 1993: 183-187) found (apart from remains of buildings of an R date – AE435) decorated geometric potsherds in a deeper sample section [AE1696] to the S of the LH so-called 'palace', and some PG and G isolated finds are reported from the site [AE1133 and AE444]. They could be related to a habitation or burial area. Other burials are also known from the vicinity, which may lead to the location of a settlement site in the geometric period at the Orchomenos site.

Components O_11, O_13, O_14, O_16 and O_17: the existence of a settlement site is well documented for Archaic[10], Classical, Hellenistic[11] and Roman[12] periods. The settlement was probably defended since the A period[13]. The Hellenistic fortification [AE1194] enclosing the E spur of Akontion up to its E summit (502m asl) is quite impressive and well known[14]; hence it has been created a separate component (*component O_16*) as the H fort standing alone.
We cannot know whether the surface walls [AE436] immediately S of Skripou/Orchomenos village mentioned by Lauffer (1974) are to be linked to the R *polis* settlement of Orchomenos or to a rural activity (villa?). Due to the uncertainty of the information, they have been added to the *component O_17* only as a possibility. The evidence AE436 could although constitute a separate component as a rural site/activity.

Component O_19: Fortification might have still been in use during the LR period, though there is no actual evidence of a settlement in that period, but some early Christian burials [AE442, *component O_18*] could lead to the hypothesis of a continuity of habitation in that period.
Component O_18: in 1954 LR graves (Early Christian – AE442 - BCH 1956: 295) have been discovered during the construction of a road between the church and the 'archaeological site' (treasury of Minyas?).

2. Orchomenos: *Component O_12*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_12	A	burial place	Orchomenos	Other	certain

[10] The excavated structures for the Archaic period belong to cult places mainly [AE433]. They attest though, together with other few remains, the presence of a settlement in the A period at the site, of which they would represent intrasite temples and cult places.
[11] The theatre is the most impressive remain from the period.
[12] In addition to public buildings (theatre, *stoa*) rescue excavations found remains of buildings of the R date of an unspecified function S of the church and SE of the ancient theater [AE435 and AE1197].
[13] Archaic defense wall (circuit) on the E slope of the Akontion reported by Spyropoulos [AE271].
[14] See Fittchen work mentioned in footnote n.5.

Archaic burials [AE446] are known, since de Ridder (1985: 137-224), in and around the so-called *Asklepieion* [AE1196].

3. Orchomenos: *Component O_15*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_15	H	burial place	Orchomenos	accidental	approximate

A small group of Hellenistic graves [AE441] have been excavated immediately to the SE of Orchomenos, in the Mesambelia locality[15].

4. Orchomenos: *Component O_16*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_16	H	fort	Orchomenos	Travellers	precise

The Hellenistic fortification [AE1194] enclosing the E spur of Akontion up to its E summit (502m asl).

5. Orchomenos neighborhood: *Component O_24*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_24	LH	burial place	Orchomenos neighborhood	Personal or group interest	imprecise

In the neighborhood of Orchomenos an extensive chamber tombs cemetery is reported [AE1198]. HS&D 1979 do not give any more details of a precise location, but this evidence is certainly not at the same location as AE439 – *component O_22* (see below).

6. Orchomenos quarry: *Component O_21*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_21	gr-rom	special activity	Orchomenos quarry	Personal or group interest	approximate

Ca 300m further W of Orchomenos-*Kastro* Fittschen (AReports 1998-99: 56) reports the quarries [AE1297], from which the building material for the fortification was carved out.

[15] AD 1972: 324

7. Melas source: ***Components O_35 and O_36***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_35	C	cult place	Melas Source	Personal or group interest	certain
O_36	H	cult place	Melas Source	Personal or group interest	certain

In correspondence to the westernmost spring/source of the Melas river, along the eastern side of the Akontion ridge, fine pottery, figurines and metal votive objects [AE1256], along with visible surface walls [AE1255] as well as structures carved in the rock [AE1254], mark the presence of a cult place in the C-H period. The evidence was known to de Ridder (BCH 19, 1895: 150ff.)[16]. Recent work on the area has been carried out by Fittschen (AReports 1998/9: 56 and fig.64; BCH 123 1999: 730).
The site has been interpreted as a cult place (probably a temple) dedicated to Herakles, mentioned by Pausanias (IX 38.7) [17]. The link that traditionally relates the figure of Herakles to the water element would suit the case, being the site by the point where the river Melas leaves the mountain spur.

8. Tsamali: ***Component O_37***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_37	C	? cult place	Tsamali	Personal or group interest	approximate

On the slope above Tsamali/Dionysos village, along the Western edge of the so called Tsamali bay (the NW bay of Copais), Bulle excavated the remains [AE603] of a small sanctuary of Classical date (results of the trial excavation in Bulle 1908: 116; summarized Lauffer RE, s.v. Orchomenos 325 and Kopais I: 149)[18]. Only 5th and 4thC BC fine, decorated pottery was found during excavation, which might lead to the interpretation of the site as a cult place (the associated component has been recorded as 'cult place?'). Bulle suggested the identification with a sanctuary dedicated to Dionysos, after whom, as reported by Fossey (1988: 363-4), the village would have recently been renamed Dionysos.

[16] Lauffer (Kopais I: 148) says it was probably here that Lolling saw remains of a polygonal wall, though in the database the evidence has been entered as seen at Polygira site (see below).
[17] The sanctuary of Petakas on a rocky terrace outside the ancient city, above the most westerly sources of the river Melas, was connected (probably correctly) by de Ridder with the sanctuary of Herakles. The setting for six tripods preserved in the rock still gives an idea of the former importance of the sanctuary (Fittschen AReports 1998/9: 56 and fig.64; BCH 123 1999: 730).
[18] In the former swampy area of Tsamali, from the W a schist structure gets into the plain that borders the marsh to the W. On it is the Tsamali village - 107m slm (Philippson 1951: 476). Philippson also notes the archaeological remains.

Lauffer (Kopais I: 151) suggests the presence in the past of a route leaving Orchomenos, passing by the two cult places (Melas source and Tsamali) and leading towards Polygira site and then all around the bay (see fig.1).

9. Polygira: *Components O_28 to O_34*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_28	N	? activity focus	Polygira	Personal or group interest	certain
O_29	EH	activity focus	Polygira	Personal or group interest	certain
O_30	MH	activity focus	Polygira	Personal or group interest	certain
O_31	LH	activity focus	Polygira	Personal or group interest	certain
O_32	A	? activity focus	Polygira	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
O_33	C	activity focus	Polygira	Personal or group interest	certain
O_34	R	activity focus	Polygira	Personal or group interest	certain

As reported by Fossey (1988: 360), at the furthest corner of the Copais basin's NW bay, about 2km N of the village of Tsamali, is the source of the river Polygira which flows around the N side of the bay until it joins the Melas river about 1km W of Pyrgos. For much of its course the Polygira river flows through marshy ground, but around its source the land is better drained. The source itself is a copious spring or double spring (called *Kephalovrisi or Kephalari*) at the end of a long stony ridge running out South East into the bay. On the ridge remains of ancient occupation were found. The site is known since Bulle, who excavated test trenches at the site (1908: 116ff), and it was inhabited in recent times by an outpost of the monastery at Skripou.

Syriopoulos (1968: Neo20) lists Neolithic material from the site, reported also in HS&D 1979: G2 and in later works (that quoted them), but no mention of Neolithic is in Bulle's report on the excavation nor in Hope Simpson 1965. EH (EH I) is reported by Hope Simpson (1965), Syriopoulos (1968 EH29) and HS&D (1979: G2). MH and LH surface sherds have been tested by excavation by Bulle (1908: 116-119), who uncovered MH and LH potsherds from excavated strata.
Generally speaking, the site was occupied in prehistoric times (as a settlement site probably). It was probably fortified, according to what is reported by HS&D 1979: G2, who mention Tegyra as a "*hilltop surrounded by a circuit wall ca 2.5m thick*". Fossey (1988) does not mention any fortification, neither does Lauffer[19], while

[19] Lauffer (Kopais I: 152) reports of a long connecting wall between the two small hilltops (AE1262) that reminds the prehistoric dike of Spitia Katavothra in the NW bay of Copais (see appendix I.6). It could be a terrace wall, or an infrastructure, or a sort of fortification (Bulle -1908: 117- has it as ancient dike). The evidence could be seen as a prehistoric fortification wall, but it would not be the fortification mentioned by HS&D G2, as they mention a hilltop surrounded by a circuit wall.

Knauss et al. (Kopais 3) note how the fortified site controlled the entrance to the mountain pass towards Abai and Hyampolis, and then Opus in the Euboic gulf (through the path followed by Leake – 1835: 161-4)[20]. A misleading probably leads to confusion between the Polygira and the Avrokastro sites (see below). The same misunderstanding could have also led to the mention of Neolithic material from the site (mentioned in Syriopoulos 1968 and in HS&D 1979 but not in Bulle (1908) nor in Hope Simpson 1965), which cannot therefore be considered as reliable.

Fossey (1988: 362-3) identifies the site above Polygira source as the earlier settlement site of ancient Aspledon, whose C and H fortified settlement would have moved to the Avrokastro site. On the other hand, Lauffer (Kopais I: 162), and Knauss et al. (Kopais 3) later, identified the evidence above the Polygira source as ancient Tegyra. In the remains in the area below the Polygira site, they see the sanctuary of Apollo Tegyraios, close to the Polygira river source[21].
Gazetteers do report prehistoric evidence but do not mention later material from the site. Archaic surface material from the site is mentioned apparently only by Fossey (1988: 360), while C (black glaze) and R (including *terra sigillata*) surface material were reported already by Bulle (1908: 116ff - lots of surface sherds at the W foothills and C sherds on top of the terrace above the surface walls visible).
Bulle (1908: 116ff) already, and then Lauffer (Kopais I: 162) and Fossey (1988) do report surface walls E and N of the spring. Lauffer had located the temple of Apollon Tegyraios by the spring at the Polygira site (AA1940 or AD1971)[22], but later (Kopais I: 152) he only referred to structures by the spring without mentioning the sanctuary anymore. Lauffer himself (Kopais I: 152) says that probably the traces of buildings are too well preserved to be ancient (also Bulle would suggest that the surface walls visible belong to recent periods), and we know that the site, as mentioned earlier, was inhabited in recent times, by an outpost of the monastery at Skripou[23]. On the other hand, Fossey (1988: 361) suggests that the traces of walling may mark the probable location of a lower settlement (but this is to support his hypothesis of identification of the site with ancient Aspledon).

If Fossey's (1988) interpretation (and identification with ancient Aspledon) had been taken into account the component for the historical period would have been a settlement (small scale settlement); unlikely, if Lauffer's (1940 and 1971, but not Kopais I) and Knauss et al.'s (Kopais 3) interpretation (and identification with the sanctuary of Apollon Tegyraios) was taken into account, and rather the component would have become a cult place. I preferred to record the evidence as an indistinct C and R activity focus.
If we identify the site with ancient Tegyra, probably a settlement ceased to exist there after earlier historical periods and the walling we see are mainly later (Byzantine-Medieval). The few others, probably C, may mark either a cult place or something

[20] On the communication routes in the area see Kopanias 2008 (fig.5).
[21] For the Apollon Tegyraios site see Plutarch *Pelopida*s 16.5f, reported in Lauffer Kopais I: 162.
[22] Many of the striking apsidal houses remaining here near Orchomenos proved to be ancient. Ancient Tegyra was here not at Pyrgos to the East (Lauffer 1940: 185). '*Here below the early settlement we find the two springs linked with the foundation of the Apollo Sanctuary, exact to Plutarch's description (Pelop.16)*' (Lauffer 1940: 187). The same identification is reported by Knauss et al. Kopais 3.
[23] Bulle 1908: 118 and plan fig. 30.

rather smaller, but not a proper settlement site in that period (see also discussion in chapter II.3.4 – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS). What Fossey reports as C and R pottery are mainly fine ware sherds (black glaze and *terra sigillata*). This could actually lead to the interpretation of the site as a cult place. We should take into account though that he may report only clearly datable wares, in accordance to the fact that he says '*including* terra sigillata' for the R material.

10. Avrokastro–Mavromandili: *Component O_44 to O_46*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_44	LH	? Fort	Avrokastro-Mavromandili	Travellers	certain
O_45	C	activity focus	Avrokastro-Mavromandili	Travellers	certain
O_46	H	activity focus	Avrokastro-Mavromandili	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

A spur on the N side of the Tsamali gulf (2km W of Polygira site), marked as Mavromandili on the 1:50,000 GYS map.
The position of the site is misled because of a wrong positioning made by Curtius 1892 (map in Tafel VIII) who located it at the NW corner of the Tsamali bay[24]. What Lolling had seen (1889: 193, in the locality he calls Avrokastro) and Bulle had visited (1908: 119), has to be located at the spur marked on the 1:50,000 GYS map as Mavromandili.
The place is already known by travellers (Lolling 1889: 193 and Frazer 1913: 195) that noticed traces, today almost invisible, of an ancient circuit which could be dated either LH (cyclopean walling?) or gr-rom. Lauffer (Kopais I: 154) visited the place and reported traces of cyclopean walling, while Bulle (1908: 119) could not see the walling but noticed C sherds at the foothill, and Fossey (1988: 361) saw traces of walling on the ground and sherds (C and H – AE600 and AE601). We cannot know if there is a strict connection between fortification and potsherds (C and H fortified site?). C sherds were seen by Bulle (1908: 119) and Fossey, and H sherds apparently only by Fossey[25], who also noticed the presence of ancient building blocks in the fields immediately S and SE of the hill. Evidence is probably too scarce to recognize the character of the activity focus (*components O_45 and O_46*). A LH component has been created also, with a probable character of fort – *component O_44*. We could consider though the option of the existence, if the circuit was Greco-Roman, of a fort at this hilltop site (either readapted from LH -if LH evidence are reliable- or build up *ex novo* in historical times).
The site does not seem to be mentioned (nor mapped) in Knauss et al. Kopais 3, while Fossey interprets it as a C and H fortified settlement (1988: 361-363 – Avrokastro

[24] Fossey (1988: 361) locates it on the tall hill with smooth steep sides (a spur from Milovouni) 1km NW of the deserted village of *Erimakalyvia*, in correspondence to the Curtius' wrong positioning rather than to the actual location visited by Lolling and Bulle.
[25] See elsewhere (*passim* and chapter II.2) for Fossey gazetteer reporting H material because of his better knowledge in recognizing fine wares especially from this period among other material.

site) and identifies it with ancient Aspledon, extension of the Polygira site occupied in an earlier period. According to Fossey, the Avrokastro site would have been abandoned by Roman times because of shortage in water (but it seems to be a fresh water source nearby!), while R material found at the Polygira site would suggest the continuity of this other settlement site. The hypothesis is based mainly on the lack of H pottery at the Polygira's site (consideration based on extensive and not systematic surface research and on the recognition of fine wares mainly) and on the fact that there were no other place-names mentioned by the sources to be attributed to one of the two sites. See discussion in chapter II.3.4 – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS.

11. Erima Kalyvia: *Component O_47*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_47	Preh	burial place	Erima Kalyvia	Int. topographical surveys	certain

30m ca W of the chapel of *Erima Kalyvia*, Lauffer (Kopais I: 156) mentions a cist grave, probably of a prehistoric date.
As Fossey notes (1988: 361) Erima Kalyvia was probably an offshoot of the village of Kolaka on Mt. Khlomon to the N, and the people of that village cultivate all the land in this area. A settlement might have existed in this area also in the prehistoric period, and even later, since the area could constitute a suitable settlement chamber (see chapter II.3.4 – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS for a discussion on this).

12. Pyrgos: *Components O_48 to O_56*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_48	N	? activity focus	Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_49	EH	? activity focus	Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_50	MH	activity focus	Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_51	LH	activity focus	Pyrgos	Travellers	certain
O_52	G	? activity focus	Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
O_53	A	activity focus	Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
O_54	C	settlement	Pyrgos	Travellers	certain
O_55	H	? Settlement	Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
O_56	R	? activity focus	Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

A steep hill to the immediate SE of modern Pyrgos village, on which stand the remains of a Frankish tower. The place is mentioned by different travellers (Fiehn, RE

1903: 124 s.v. *Tegyra*; Leake 1835: 159-160; Ulrichs 1840: 196; Frazer 1913: 195), by Schliemann 1881 also, and it has been investigated by Bulle (1908: 119-120). Afterwards, material from the site is mentioned by different gazetteers and topographical works: Wace - Thompson 1912: 196; Ålin 1962: 122; Hope Simpson 1965: 115 no. 399; Syriopoulos 1968: Neo21 – EH20 – MH31 – LH49; HS&D 1979: G4; Syriopoulos 1983-84: Neo245 - LH 205 - MH 151 - LH II33 - LH IIIA 75 - LH IIIIB 108; Buck 1979: 7-8 ; Wallace 1979: 163-4.

Although the place had been visited by many travellers, Bulle (1908: 119ff) first mentioned the prehistoric surface evidence (Neo, EH and MH).
As for the Neolithic period, no Neolithic material is apparently reported by any gazetteer. Bulle's account (1908: 119ff) on Neolithic from the site is, as noted by Fossey (1988: 367ff), "*much taken up with the description of a steatopygous statuette found in the vicinity*; *this object, whose non-Kykladic nature was pointed out by Wace and Thompson (*1912: 197), *is perhaps better associated with the nearby Neolithic site of Magoula*" (*component O_62*).
As for the EH period, HS&D 1979 report an uncertain presence at the site, while Fossey has EH I and II present. Certain EH occupation was found at the *magoula* site nearby – see below *component O_63*. As for the MH and the LH period (III A-C), HS&D 1979 report surface sherds of a high quality. Remains of a LH fortification [AE625] in Cyclopean walling style are also reported (Hope Simpson 1965 and HS&D 1979: G4), extending over an area of ca 250x150m (Knauss et al. Kopais 3: 68ff), probably part of the Mycenaean fortress system controlling Copais[26]. Due to its position along the Minyan great channel (see fig.11 in chapter II.3.1 – drainage work in Copais), the site in the Mycenaean period could have played a crucial role in the control of the drainage system of Copais in the NW area.
The historical phases at the site are represented as the following: G pottery on the site is reported apparently only by Fossey (1988: 367), while HS&D 1979 (G4) have A and C surface material. An earlier occupation at the site (either G or A) seems attested either way. Historical period (C-H probably) may belong the surface walls [AE606] reported by Bulle (1908: 119ff) jointly with C sherds, as well as traces of a gr-rom fortification [AE605]. In addition, a number of ancient blocks were built into the later tower [AE1209]. H surface material is listed in Fossey's gazetteer, while a later (R) occupation is probably to be excluded.

Some scholars (*in primis* Fossey 1988: 369-370, but Schliemann 1882: 160 already[27]) identify the Pyrgos hilltop site with ancient Tegyra, while Lauffer (Kopais I: 156) and Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 68ff) identify it with the acropolis of ancient Aspledon[28].

[26] Fossey during his visit was not able to locate the remains of this LH fortification (Fossey 1988: 368).
[27] Schliemann (1882: 160f) identified Xeropyrgo (Pyrgos) with Tegyra, since Plutarch (*Pelopidas*) mentioned it as standing not far from Orchomenos, above the marshes of the Melas, and the two cities were joined by a road, which led through a pass formed by these marshes (see chapter II.1.4 and appendix I.4 *passim* for a discussion on this issues of identification and routes). On his way from Orchomenos to Pyrgos, he travelled along a road for the most part across the rocks, very bad and full of stones, for 16 miles (5 hours on horseback).
[28] As noted by Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 68ff), Orchomenos and Aspledon are mentioned together in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Homer Il. 2.511). Strabo (IX 2.41) says that Aspledon is 20 stadia (= 4 km ca) from Orchomenos and the Melas river runs between the two. Strabo's words can tell us that Aspledon site would be the second one, by the Pyrgos village, on the hilltop where currently one can

13. Pyrgos *magoula*: *Components O_62 to O_66*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_62	N	activity focus	Pyrgos Magoula	Personal or group interest	certain
O_63	EH	activity focus	Pyrgos Magoula	Personal or group interest	certain
O_64	MH	activity focus	Pyrgos Magoula	Personal or group interest	certain
O_65	LH	? activity focus	Pyrgos Magoula	Personal or group interest	certain
O_66	C	activity focus	Pyrgos Magoula	Personal or group interest	certain

The *magoula* is a large limestone rocky hill, rising out of the Copais plain about 1km NW of the Pyrgos hill (Fossey 1988: 368, from Albanian *Magule* = hill, mound).

The *magoula* is ca 300m long, ca 200m wide and 25m high (Knauss et al. Kopais 3: 68ff). On all sides, except the S, the hill rises out of the plain in sheer cliffs (Bulle 1908: 115-124, pl. 34). To the SE and W are fresh water springs which create a certain marsh-like quality around the site even today (Fossey 1988: 368). In the past the whole bay was occupied by marshes (see chapter II.3.4 – TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING).
Bulle visited the site (1903) and investigated it first[29]. Lauffer then visited the place and described the visible remains (Lauffer Kopais I: 162-171). Potsherds of different periods as well as architectural remains were found at the site[30].
I have chosen to characterize the components as activity focus for the N, EH (EH II as reported in HS&D 1979: G5), MH periods and as possible activity focus for the LH period (LH I/II? and III A-B are reported in HS&D 1979 G5, LH I/II is reported in Syriopoulos 1983-4). This is despite Lauffer's remarks that N and EH are better and larger represented than MH and LH and despite the fact that Bulle's dig found N, EH and MH but not LH. Probably either Lauffer's remarks and Bulle's excavation results can be interpreted as a sign of a different level of occupation in later prehistory, or the disparity is due to taphonomic/post-depositional reasons (which washed away the top most layer).
Lauffer (Kopais I: 163-4) remarks that only two other sites in the Copais are similar to this in shape and height: Nisi by Stroviki (*component NC_1*) and Gla (*component NC_70*)[31].

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also see the remains of a Frankish tower. The late Mycenaean fort controlled the entrance to the mountain region of Hyettos-Olmones (Knauss et al. Kopais 1: 44). This place is widely recognized today as the acropolis of Aspledon, despite the fact that on the GYS 1: 50,000 map (1971) ancient Aspledon is located by the sources of the Polygira site which is instead recognized today as Tegyra with the temple of Apollo Tegyraios close to it (see *components O_32 to O_34*).
[29] Account of the excavation in Bulle 1908: 115-124.
[30] See HS&D 1979 (G1-G5) for dating of the material and the site (from previous accounts).
[31] See discussion in chapter II.3.4 - PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

According to Lauffer (Kopais I:170), the presence of fresh water springs at the foot of the hill would allow for the possibility of a settlement here which would have been in a close relationship with the settlement at the Pyrgos site. We do not have any certain information about the *durée* of settlement there and neither on the precise settlement site on the *magoula*, but we could hypothesize that the site would be abandoned at the beginning of the Bronze Age and reoccupied in the 5th C BC, as we will see below, probably with a different occupation character.

Prehistoric material constitutes the majority of material[32], but also some Classical potsherds have been found (the corresponding *component O_66* - has been recorded as C activity focus). Moreover, Bulle's investigation revealed, at the W end of the hill, terrace walls of laid trapezoidal masonry (Bulle 1908: 121-124, plan 35-6[33]; see also Lauffer Kopais I for a sketch –171- of the remains on the *magoula*). The structural remains visible at the site [AE1273] have been interpreted by Bulle as a sanctuary site of historical age, while Lauffer does not agree and would rather interpret them as a fort used in later prehistory and part of the system of fortification in N and NE Copais (even though the masonry is described as 'trapezoidal', this would explain the scarcity of material from the LH period)[34]. For the time being, until new research on the site would give us any further clue for the interpretation, those structural remains are entered as unknown surface walls [AE1273] and associated with a question mark to the LH and the C component (*components O_65 and O_66*). As for the remains dated to the historical period (suggested as C but could also be A or H, as there is an apparent lack of directly associated material) evidence could even represent a rural activity site. The wall of trapezoidal masonry could even be a terrace wall or similar, if the structure is not associated with the earlier –late prehistoric- occupation. On the other hand, the surface wall remains and the C material probably to be associated to them (although material from the historical period has been reported by Lauffer from the flat area and not in direct association with the structures) might really represent a cult place. Erosion processes, which probably uncovered the remains by eroding the soil away, jointly with heavy cultivation activities, which might have destroyed further remains, as Bulle had pointed out, must have affected the archaeological record. As Lauffer (Kopais I: 168) notes, soil is reduced to a minimum on the top.

An interesting feature from the site is constituted by series of one or many holes on top of the rocks [AE1271] in the W part of the *magoula*, and especially above the spring, whose meaning is still to be clarified (Lauffer Kopais I: 168).

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[32] Mainly N and EH and comparatively less MH and LH material (see above in text).

[33] As in Fossey 1988 -plan p. 371- "*inside the trapezoidal masonry walls are the remains of a large rectangular structure which Bulle suggested might be an aperipteral temple (5th C BC) of which the* pronaos *at the E end has completely perished. Bulle suggested that the absence of any other structural remains on the hill is probably due to intensive modern agricultural work on the flat area on the top of the* magoula".

[34] Bulle (1908) identified the *magoula* with the mount known from Plutarch (*Pelopidas* 16) as 'Delos', which was where the Melas marshes finish. Lauffer (Kopais I: 162-171) notes how Bulle thought the remains of the 'Classical' building they found could be the remains of the Apollon sanctuary which Plutarch mentions (*Pelopidas* 16.5), but he (Lauffer) disagrees (162 and 170), and recognizes the Delos mount with the Aspledon acropolis, which also marks the landscape. See Lauffer's sketch 171 (Kopais I) for a plan of remains. See also Knauss et al. Kopais 3: 68ff.

14. Pyrgos NW: *Component O_57*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_57	LH	burial place	Pyrgos NW	Personal or group interest	approximate

Probably the two entries, AE608 (the far side of the Pyrgos village) and AE1210 (in the torrent bed NW of Pyrgos), refer to the same archaeological evidence, representing a LH burial area in an imprecise location to the NW far side of Pyrgos, probably in the torrent bed of a stream[35].

15. Pyrgos-Trassa: *Component O_58*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_58	C	burial place	Pyrgos-Trassa	Int. topographical surveys	certain

In a flat, marshy zone to the W of the Pyrgos village, architectural fragments [AE1270] (including sarcophagus fragment), sherds (including black glaze) and tiles [AE1269], as well as bone fragments and surface walls [AE1267 and AE1268] extend over a large area, on both sides of the road by the Ag.Ioannis stream. The evidence was noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 159).

16. Pyrgos-Melas dam: *Components O_59 to O_61*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_59	gr-rom	activity focus	Pyrgos-Melas dam	Int. topographical surveys	certain
O_60	R	activity focus	Pyrgos-Melas dam	Int. topographical surveys	certain
O_61	MH	activity focus	Pyrgos-Melas dam	Personal or group interest	certain

A wide area ca 1km SW of the Pyrgos village, to the S side of the Melas dam, and 700m ca to the S of Pyrgos Magoula, that carries traces of an ancient settlement, as noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 161ff), has been surveyed by the German team working on Copais (Knauss et al. Kopais 3).

[35] AE608 has been assigned with a question mark to the *component* O_57. Mycenaean tombs found by Bulle on the far side of the village are associated - probably correctly- with the Pyrgos site by Hope Simpson 1965 (Fossey 1988: 368).
AE1210: [Syriopoulos 1968] Mycenaean tombs found in the torrent bed NW of Pyrgos.

Component O_61: MH (Minyans) sherds are reported in the area by Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 68ff)[36], in particular in a field cultivating cotton to the S of the dam, where the Polygira's outlet into the Melas river was before the drainage (see Knauss et al. Kopais 3: map 2.26). MH material, in such a low location, could represent a burial area, which could probably be referred to as the MH settlement at the Magoula Pyrgos site.

Component O_59 and O_60: Group of remains (architectural fragments and potsherds [AE1232, AE1233, AE1235, AE1236]) over an extended area, at the ancient outlet of the Melas river into the lake, just above the 95m contour lines (limit of the lake – like the other sites found by Knauss et al. – see appendix III). The site is by the Melas (dam) nowadays, but the ancient course of the river was somewhere else (see Knauss et al. Kopais 3 map 2.26). The components created from the archaeological evidence available were two: a gr-rom activity focus, and a R activity focus, the latter (*component O_60*) characterized by a more specific chronological attribution since the sherds seen at the site are reported as R (only R by Lauffer, from MH to R by Knauss et al., but with the majority characterised as R, *terra sigillata* included). We cannot exclude though, without a detailed study of the surface remains, the presence of an activity focus in other periods of the gr-rom range (*component O_59*)[37].
Interpreted as a Pyrgos site lower-town (Aspledon lower?)[38] by Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 68ff)[39], the remains were noticed first by Lauffer (Kopais I: 161). Knauss et al. notes how the site is located at the border of the lake, and gets fresh water from the Melas.
The sherds extended until the former outlet of the Poligyra river into the Melas, where, along with blocks (already seen by Lauffer) and a large quantity of building material (Knauss et al. Kopais 3: 68ff and also Kopais 1: 46ff), MH sherds were also noticed (see above, *component O_61*).

ASPLEDON: identification issues

What follows is a summary of the questions, still open, concerning the identification of ancient Aspledon.

Lauffer (Kopais I: 151) reports different hypothesis for the identification of ancient Aspledon, that have been discussed *passim* above and are summed up here:

- Leake (1835: 162) searched for the city in the area of Tsamali, but Strabo (IX 415) mentions Aspledon as at a distance of 20 stadia from Orchomenos, and

[36] MH material not noticed by Lauffer (who mentioned only R – Kopais I: 161).
[37] Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 68ff) report lots of sherds ranging from MH to R in the cotton fields to the S of the former outlet of the Poligyra river into the Melas.
[38] See discussion on identification of ancient Aspledon below in text.
[39] I have got the impression that they attempt the identification of this site as the lower town of Aspledon mainly because they do not have another place name mentioned by ancient sources to identify with those extensive remains found.

Pausanias (IX 38.9) says that the town was abandoned because of lack of water. Tsamali is only at 1.5km from Orchomenos and it is close to the Melas sources. Moreover, Lauffer notes how Strabo (IX 415) describes Aspledon as *eudeleios*, i.e. 'visible from a distance', and this would not suit Tsamali site, at least the cult place, as it is on a flat slope looking E. Furthermore, archaeological evidence there seems too scarce to represent a settlement site, at least from the present knowledge .

- Another candidate for Aspledon is the Polygira site[40]. The place described by Bulle (1908: 116ff) is not a specific site, but rather the whole angle of the NW basin, between two small hilltops. See above under the site, for details on the archaeological evidence from the area. Curtius 1892 identified the place with ancient Aspledon alth, Lauffer notes that here prehistoric material was found by Bulle's excavations, while at Tsamali no prehistoric material was found. The vicinity of the Kephalari spring can also lead to the interpretation of the site as ancient Tegyra rather than Aspledon.
- Lolling 1889: 193, Forchammer (1837: 177), and Bulle (1908: 119) identified Aspledon with another hilltop, called Avrokastro-Mavromandili, as does Fossey (1988: 360) – see below. There are also visible tracts of cyclopean walling going down the slope. Lauffer would not agree, but he hypothesizes here the existence of the Homeric Aspledon (with the Cyclopaean wall and cist grave as evidence for it), before it moved to the Pyrgos location.
- Dodwell 1819: 233, identifies with ancient Aspledon the site by the modern village of Pyrgos, and Lauffer agrees. On the other hand, Lolling 1889: 190ff. would identify this site with ancient Tegyra, as well as Fossey (1988: 367f) later. Materials from prehistoric to Classical periods have been found there. On the top of the hill Lauffer locates the acropolis of the earlier town, while in the C period the main part of the town would have developed in the plain in front. In the Trassa locality (swamp area) Lauffer noticed traces of surface walls and in the plain black glazed potsherds, tiles and bones - probably an indicator of the presence of a vast necropolis area. The settlement area should be probably located in the area S of the Magoula Pyrgos site (see Knauss et al.'s lower Aspledon). Aspledon was a quite large town in the Copais, bigger than the modern village of Pyrgos (Lauffer 160), even though it is not reported by Strabo IX 410 (it had probably disappeared by the Roman period). Lauffer (Kopais I: 161) reports how Spartans from Lokris, leading to Orchomenos, entered the Copais through the Ag. Ioannis valley, which ends at the Trassa area[41]. Here it would have been the road crossing the Copais.

Furthermore, Fossey (1988: 360) believes that the Poligyra site would have to be identified with ancient Aspledon (as traditionally intended; the name Aspledon is marked on the GYS topographical map 1:50,000 – 1971), that moved then to the Avrokastro site in C and HL times. See chapter II.3.4 – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS for a discussion on this.

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[40] The ancient Aspledon could not have been by the large *Kephalari* spring because Pausanias says it got deserted because of water shortage. Aspledon should have been by the Mavromandili area, more to the W (Philippson 1951: 476).

[41] Spartans –Lauffer says- would have got lost in the swamps..

17. Mavrospilia: *Component O_67*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_67	Preh	activity focus	Mavrospilia	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

In AD27 1972: 315 and AAA 1973: 202 the excavation of a cave site is mentioned by Spyropoulos as a trial dig with few finds (few sherds and one or two tools - AE604), just slightly to the E of Pyrgos, in the S mountainous lump which surrounds the Copais. Chronology of the finds is not specified (the component is dated generally as prehistoric), but it could probably be Neolithic. The cave was investigated by the *Italian Speleological Group* in the 1980s.

18. Old Orchomenos: *Components O_23, O_38 to O_43*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_23	gr-rom	activity focus	Old Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	
O_38	N	? activity focus	Old Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_39	EH	activity focus	Old Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_40	MH	settlement	Old Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_41	LH	activity focus	Old Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_42	C	activity focus	Old Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain
O_43	R	activity focus	Old Orchomenos	Personal or group interest	certain

5km SE of Orchomenos, along the 95m contour line, 5km N of the Xinos site (*component KO_64 to KO_72*) is a place, a little bit higher than the rest of the plain, jutting out like a peninsula over the area that was formerly occupied by the marshy lake (Knauss et al., Kopais 3: 32ff and map 2.8). According to Knauss, probably in ancient times the outlet of an older, northern arm of Kephisos was located into the lake at this place (difficult to say) [42].

[42] The site is called Old Orchomenos by the author. According to our reconstruction of the lake fluctuations, the place is apparently a little bit further back compared to the reconstructed 95m contour (see chapter II.3.1 – FLUCTUATING LANDSCAPE and appendix III). On the other hand, I located the site on the basis of the map published in Knauss et al. Kopais 3, map 2.8. I could not visit the place, but probably a more accurate GPS positioning is needed.

The site has been recognized as a MH habitation site (concentration of potsherds, among which oil lamps were found) – *component O_40*. The settlement was living in parallel with the MH settlement at Orchomenos (at the foot of Akontion)[43].
Signs of activities in the N(?) [AE1229] and EH period [AE1228][44] have also been noticed (*components O_38 and O_39*), as well as in the LH period ([AE1223] *component O_41*).
The authors suggest the identification of the place with old-Orchomenos, abandoned because it was 'swallowed up' by the lake, as reported by Strabo (IX 2.18 - together with Eleusis and Athenai - and IX 2.42). The inhabitants, according to the ancient author, protected themselves by moving to a higher position at Orchomenos (located at an elevation from 95m to 100m asl). The place is 5km from the foot of the Akontion ridge and lies in a polder (Knauss et al. Kopais 1: 225). As Knauss et al. note, the inhabitants of the site could get fresh water from the Kephisos or from the sources of the Melas, and the place could have had an agricultural vocation, being close to the *Hyppia* plain[45].

Components O_42, O_43 and O_23: material from historical periods is also known from the site. We cannot totally exclude the possibility that off-site material from later periods turned out to be interpreted as a site once found in a probable prehistoric site context. A closer and more intensive look at the material on the surface could help in the interpretation. For the time being, we can hypothesize the presence of a probable rural activity focus at the place. Knauss et al. (Kopais 3) suggest the presence of a cult place at the site, as at the Xinos site, identified by the authors as ancient *Eleusis*[46], and later as a cult place in gr-rom period (see chapter II.3.1 - *components KO_65 to KO_72*). On the other hand, at the Xinos site, epigraphical evidence and architectural fragments could lead to that interpretation, while in this case the evidence is less indicative, though architectural fragments and building material have been noticed [AE1230]. Thus, even if I left the component as a general activity focus, I would prefer to interpret the component of the gr-rom period as a possible rural site (a villa in the R period?), by the marshy area, for lake-related activities (the created components are C and R ones according to the chronological indication of the surveyors, though we cannot exclude the presence of intermediate, earlier or later periods, indicated as gr-rom in *component O_23*). Knauss et al. themselves note how the place could have been used to continue their agricultural activities, after the supposed abandonment of the habitation site, since its location in the middle of the basin was closer to the fields, even if they were living in a more secure place at the foot of Akontion.

[43] and the one at Magoula Balomenou site – component CH_23 as well as the one at Pyrgos and Pyrgos Magoula – see chapter II.3.4 - PREHISTORIC PERIOD.
[44] Dated to the EH period are two fragments of red ware dishes with a X inscribed – correlated to a type of ware in Kunze 1934. Knauss et al. Kopais 3 suggest a former cult of the Charites.
[45] The *Hyppia* plain is known, in association with Orchomenos, by ancient sources (Theophrastus *HP* IV 11.8) as the largest and nicest plain of Boeotia (Plutarch *Sylla* 20), where the infamous Minyan cavalry was trained.
[46] In parallel with the identification of this site as 'old-Orchomenos'.

19. Vranesi tumulus: ***Components O_26 and O_27***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_26	PG	burial place	Vranesi tumulus	Travellers	approximate
O_27	G	burial place	Vranesi tumulus	Travellers	approximate

A *magoula* with a conical shape S of Orchomenos by the village of Vranesi/Ag.Spyridon, about 5-6km SW of Skripou.
The site, already noticed by Ross (1851: 39), was excavated by Sotiriadis at the beginning of the 20th century (Praktika 1904, 39-40; Praktika 1907: 109; AM 1905, 132-3). He was probably looking for a LH site when he started the excavation. The *magoula* looked like one of the many *magoulas* in N Copais, usually in the LH settlements or tumuli. Although this tumulus lay among several small rises on the plain which (from surface sherds, according to Sotiriadis) should correspond to H or R burials (PAE 1904: 39) – see Vranesi: *component O_20*, in actual fact, the Vranesi *magoula* turned out to be a funerary tumulus, containing several PG and G (MG) tombs[47].
Desborough suggests that the site may be associated with Orchomenos (Desborough 1972: 202), while Fossey (1990d) is not convinced and believes that 6km is too long a distance when there are contemporary cemeteries nearby (Coldstream 1968: 198-9, 411). One could hypothesize the existence of another geometric settlement closer to the burial area, abandoned during the 8thC BC (material from the graves: PG-MG), since movement of settlements in the SW Copais during the Dark Ages seems to be not infrequent. On the other hand, the material noticed by Sotiriadis spread in the area (Hell –C?- and R fine wares), seems to testify the presence of burials in the area in later periods also, and those were probably linked to Orchomenos.

20. Orchomenos tumulus: ***Component O_22***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_22	LH	burial place	Orchomenos tumulus	Personal or group interest	approximate

The site is a tumulus that looks like a *magoula*. It is similar to the *magoula* by Vranesi (*components O_26 and O_27*), but much closer to the Orchomenos village (to its S). Sotiriadis (Praktika 1903: 41; AM 30 1905: 129-132) excavated it and identified it as a LH tumulus, with uncertain occupations from other periods also[48].

Sotiriadis noticed a lot of these *magoulas* in the area (N Copais), and investigated some of them (the more elevated probably). He interpreted all of them as signs for the presence of burial places. On the other hand, Lauffer (Kopais I: 139) notes how the

[47] Without any prehistoric nor LH material. G material examined by Andreiomenou AE 1985 (1987): 57-84.
[48] There are doubts on full stratigraphy, as noted by Syriopoulos 1968.

Copais area in general is full with these *magoulas*, typical of the Phokian landscape, that mark, in the majority of cases, prehistoric sites (habitation sites or burial places/tumuli, as in this case). Lauffer himself mentions the analogy with other tumuli in the area seen by Sotiriadis (AM 30 1905: 129)[49].

Sotiriadis (Praktika 1904: 37) during excavation noted that the deposits of Kephisos were 3m high at the site (and therefore, as he notes, the tumulus was once standing out of the plain by 8m, while at the time of the excavation –beginning of the 20th century- it was only 5m high). He also notes that during the excavation of the tumulus underground water appeared at a certain depth (3m ca), during the summertime, characterised by strong water withdrawal. But the original surface of it lies, as said above, 3m deeper than the surface today. The underground water would therefore be found at a deeper level only around September-October, when the heavy irrigation of the fields stops (and with it the heavy water withdrawal stops) and the added pressure raises the level of the aquifer.

21. Orchomenos Magoula SE: *Component O_25*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_25	unknown	activity focus	Orchomenos Magoula SE	Personal or group interest	certain

A *magoula* (with ancient sherds) has been noticed by Knauss et al. and it is noted on plan 2.8[50] (Kopais 3). The locality is reported as Magoula on the 1:5,000 GYS map, SE of the Orchomenos village.
Can the site be the Orchomenos tumulus site mentioned above (*component O_22*)? Or rather, since the sherds are reported generically as 'ancient', could it be one of the low 'bumps' noticed by Sotiriadis, characterized by scatters of H and R sherds? Probably the *magoula* in question is very much off the range area of the other *magoula*, being much further E (see GYS map 1:5,000 and 1:50,000).

22/23/24. Vranesi: *Components O_68* (22)*, O_20* (23) *and O_69 to O_70* (24)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_20	gr-rom	? burial place	Vranesi	Other	approximate
O_68	unknown	? activity focus	Vranesi	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
O_69	unknown	? activity focus	Vranesi	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

[49] I do not think one of the two *magoulas* (*components O_69 and O_70*) noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 139) refers to this tumulus. It is likely that they both refer to the other 'bumps' noticed already by Sotiriadis (Praktika 1903: 41).
[50] Apparently there is no mention of it in the text.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
O_70	unknown	? activity focus	Vranesi	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

Component O_68: The evidence AE1697 is described by Lauffer (Kopais I: 138) as a flat *magoula* 300m ca NE of the Vranesi/Ag.Spyridon village and 3.5km ca. from Orchomenos, similar to the Phokian *magoulas*, which mark typical prehistoric settlement sites. The *magoula* constituting AE1697 is 2m high, 15m wide and 40m long (sketch 145), but no sherds were found on the surface (Lauffer Kopais I**:** 138)[51].
*Component O*_20: AE1697 could be, as well as AE1239, one of the low tumuli (interpreted as necropolis) seen by Sotiriadis (Praktika 1904: 39).

Components O_69 and O_70. These two entries represent two tumuli (5m and 3m high - diameter 10m and 5m) noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 139). Probably neither of these is to be identified with the Orchomenos tumulus excavated by Sotiriadis (*component O_22*). Probably they both refer to the other 'bumps' noticed already by Sotiriadis (Praktika 1903: 41) – see *component O_20*. Lauffer himself mentions the analogy with other tumuli in the area (Sotiriadis AM30 1905: 129).

[51] The evidence AE1697 is recorded as 'unknown' because it represents just a topographical feature only, without further research.

Appendix I.5
The Northern mountains of the Copaïs: HYETTIA

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

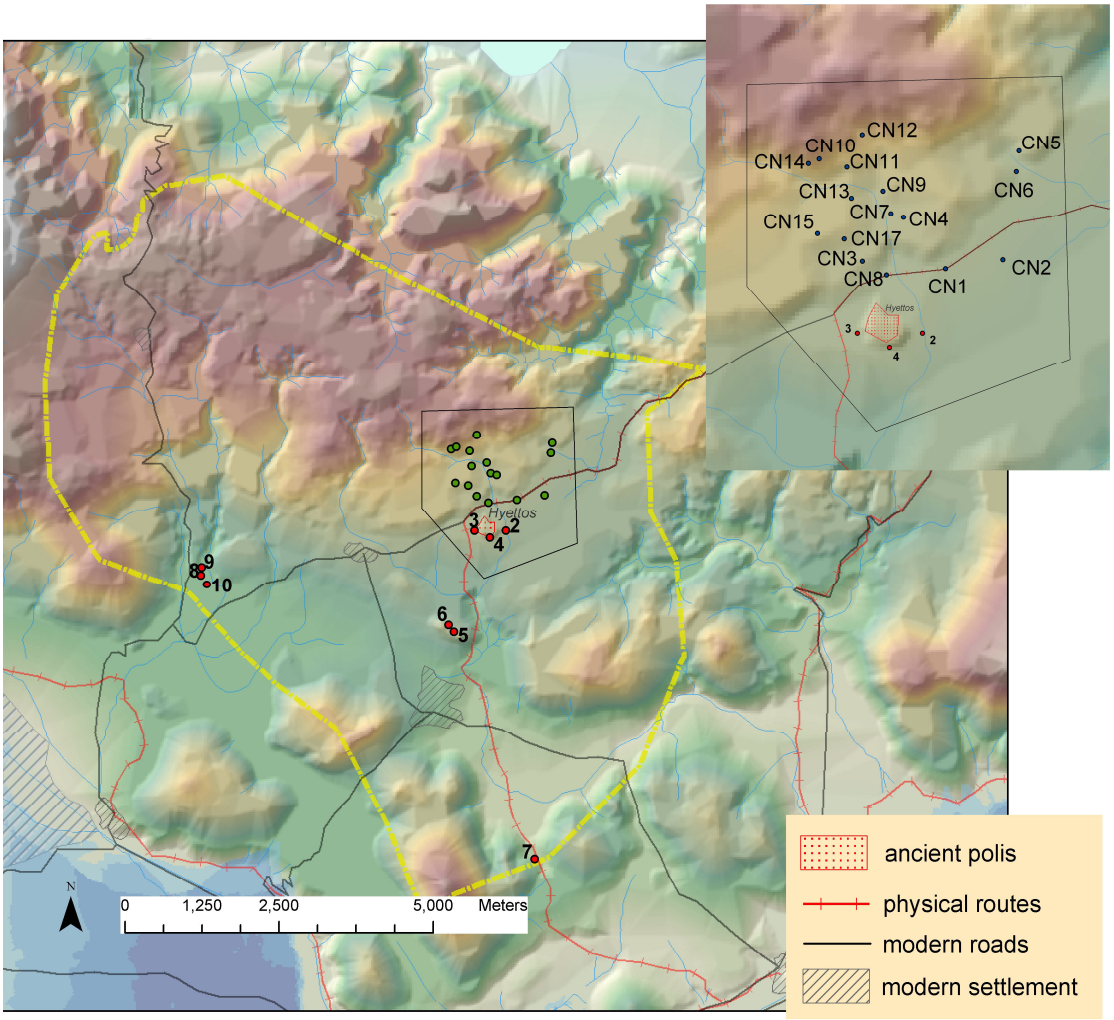


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of the Hyettos chora. The box indicates the area intensively and systematically surveyed.*

1. HYETTOS: *Components HO_1 to HO_6*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HO_1	A	settlement	Hyettos	Travellers	certain
HO_2	C	settlement	Hyettos	Travellers	certain
HO_3	H	settlement	Hyettos	Travellers	certain
HO_4	R	settlement	Hyettos	Travellers	certain
HO_5	LR	settlement	Hyettos	Travellers	certain
HO_6	Preh	activity focus	Hyettos	Int. topographical surveys	certain

The acropolis of ancient Hyettos is located on a steep-sided hill surmounted by the small chapel of Agios Athanasios, 1km S of the metochion of Agios Georgios, NE of Loutsi village (Fossey 1988: 293).
The site was identified because of two inscriptions mentioning the name (Papachatzis 1981: 164). The location of the ancient city, though, is known since Girard 1881 and Oldfather 1916. A detailed study of the city site was also done by Étienne - Knoepfler 1976, on excavations at the city site. Concentrations of surface sherds and visible surface walls are visible at the site. Intensive survey works in the urban area (Bintliff 1992d) [1] showed the location of the lower city along the E side of the acropolis and to the S of it, as previously supposed (Fossey 1988: 293; Lauffer Kopais I: 182).

No prehistoric material at Hyettos city site is mentioned in prehistoric gazetteers, though Fossey (1988: 293) noticed obsidian flints at the acropolis foothills[2] and intensive surveys on the ancient acropolis showed a prehistoric focus on the N part of the hilltop.
A fortification wall[3] is clearly recognisable, and occupation is attested from the G-A to the LR period. By means of intensive artefact surface survey a large settlement has been recognised in the A and C period (with a flourishing in the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period), progressively reducing its extension in Late Hellenistic (apparent concentration in the NE area), Roman and Late Roman (on top of the acropolis only) periods, showing a trend typical to several Boeotian city sites, with the exception of Thespiae and Tanagra especially (see dedicated sections).
Foundation myths link Hyettos with Orchomenos (Pausanias IX 36.7 and Hesiod *Grossen Eoien*).

Burial places have been noticed (either accidentally or through rescue excavations or through extensive surveys in the area) to the W, S and E of the acropolis and are listed here below. Intensive systematic artefact surface survey (Boeotia survey project in the early 1990s – Bintliff 1992d) discovered other focuses of burial activities probably related to the city site (see table 1 -*Survey Sites*- below).

2. Hyettos East: *Component HO_7*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HO_7	gr-rom	burial place	Hyettos East	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

Fossey (1988: 293) mentions tombs noticed in different torrent banks to the E of Hyettos, outside the settlement area.

[1] The Hyettos survey constituted a survey project on an ancient urban site lead by J.L. Bintliff, following Thespies and Haliartos survey, and preceding the Tanagra survey (see chapter II.2).
[2] At the SE foothills of the Acropolis hill, is situated an abundant fresh water source, currently tapped by the village of Pavlon (Fossey 1988: 293). The same water source alimented the river running nearby (see sketch in Lauffer Kopais I: 175).
[3] See plan in Étienne - Knoepfler 1976, and Papachatzis 1981: 165.

3. Hyettos West: *Component HO_8*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HO_8	R	burial place	Hyettos West	Rescue excavation	certain

A rock-cut tomb of a Roman date has been excavated on a hill 200m W of the acropolis of ancient Hyettos, during a rescue excavation due to metal mining activities (AD 1915: 42). The tomb (recorded into the database as isolated tomb – AE975) probably belongs to the ancient cemetery of the *polis* (see *component HO_7*).

4. Hyettos South: *Component HO_9*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HO_9	H	? burial place	Hyettos South	Other	approximate

A Hellenistic tombstone (BSA 1974, 121 no. 6) ploughed up to the S of the acropolis, might be evidence of a burial area, though it is very movable evidence and might come from the necropolis areas to the E and W of the acropolis.

5. Pavlon-Palaiokastron: *Components HO_10 to HO_13* [Olmones?]

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HO_10	gr-rom	settlement	Pavlon-Palaiokastron	Travellers	certain
HO_11	A	? activity focus	Pavlon-Palaiokastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HO_12	C	? activity focus	Pavlon-Palaiokastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HO_13	LR	? activity focus	Pavlon-Palaiokastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Identified by some as ancient Olmones, the fortified site lies on the Palaiokastron hill, 1700m ca SW of the Hyettos city site[4]. The place is called ‘Kastro’ or ‘Palaiokastro’, as reported in the 1:50,000 GYS map.

The location of a focus of activity (probably a settlement site, if not merely a refuge) seems to be certain in the gr-rom period, if one considers the concentration of sherds on top and on the slopes as well as visible surface walls and building remains [AE983

[4] Fossey 1988: 296-7 fig. 39 (plan of visible surface walls and fortification in small stones); Lauffer Kopais I: 182 - sketch 187.

- AE1281 - AE1283 - AE1338]. Nevertheless, there are no precise indications in the bibliography for the possible periods of occupation of the site; only little information is available. Fossey visited the site and reports (1988: 297) that he could not date almost any sherd. He recognized one sherd of late Roman ripple ware and a pyramidal loom weight of classical date. Yet as pointed out by Fossey, one of the possible buildings visible on the surface seems to be, from its plan and alignment, an aperipteral temple[5]. Traces of ancient fortification [AE982] were marked already on Frazer's map (1913: facing p.110), and noted also by Lolling 1887: 128.

The site has been identified with ancient *Olmones* (Fossey 1988, Lauffer Kopais I: 176 and Lolling 1889: 180-88 already), but Étienne - Knoepfler 1976[6] disagree with the identification and prefer to consider it as a refuge site - see Fossey 1988: 297 and Fossey 1990e: 208[7]. In the database for this work, the corresponding gr-rom component has been listed as 'settlement', even though one cannot be certain, without further archaeological research, whether it was only a refuge settlement in use for short periods, or it was indeed ancient Olmones, reported by sources as a proper settlement site, or rather, most probably, a small settlement/hamlet dependent on Hyettos.

6. Pavlon-Palaiokastron: *Component HO_14*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HO_14	gr-rom	special activity	Pavlon-Palaiokastron	Personal or group interest	certain

As still visible on the spot, and as already reported by Étienne – Knoepfler 1976 and later by Fossey (1988: 296), while the N slopes of the Palaiokastron hill are pierced at several points by modern iron workings, traces of ancient mining have also been noticed (Davies 1935) – *component HO_14*. The visible remains (or only some of them), considering the scarcity of diagnostic surface material reported (probably coarse ware), could even be related to mine activities there and/or in the vicinity.

7. Megalovouna-Kiapha: *Component HO_17*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HO_17	gr-rom	fort	Megalovouna-Kiapha	Int. topographical surveys	certain

[5] The aperipteral temple constitutes a group of early Boiotian temples which formed the subject of a separate study. A preliminary account was given before the Archaeological Institute of America, December 1970 in New York; cf. AJA 75 (1971): 201) [AE984 – A? surface walls].

[6] Étienne - Knoepfler 1976 prefer to locate ancient Olmones at the Stroviki site, with Archaic and Hellenistic finds along with the remains of the prehistoric settlement (see chapter II.3.6 – *component NC_7 to NC_11*).

[7] Problems in the identification are related to the distances in stadia given by Pausanias. Pausanias (IX 24.3) says that Olmones was situated only about 12 stades from Kopai, and comments that there was nothing worth looking at at Olmones -see also Papachatzis 1981.

In correspondence with Kiapha (Megalovouni) mountain pass, 3km S of Pavlon village, surface walls and architectural fragments (sketches 190-192) [AE1284 - AE1285], as well as a lot of surface sherds near the structure remains [AE1286] are reported by Lauffer (Kopais I: 182-3). Lauffer (Kopais I: 184) interprets the evidence as a fort checking the mountain pass, controlling the road connecting the upland with Copais[8]. Traces of an ancient road at the mountain pass have been noticed below it (Lauffer Kopais I: 182 - AE1280).

8/9/10. Kolaka-Agios Ioannis: *Components HO_15* (8) *and HO_16* (9) *and HO_18* (10)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HO_15	unknown	activity focus	Kolaka-Agios Ioannis	Int. topographical surveys	certain
HO_16	LH	burial place	Kolaka-Agios Ioannis	accidental	approximate
HO_18	LH	burial place	Kolaka-Agios Ioannis	accidental	approximate

A hilly landscape characterized the area of the church of Agios Ioannis, located ca 4km NE of Pyrgos village and 1km W of Loutsi. The area is known as Kolaka, with the name of the village situated 5km to the N-NE. In the area, above the torrent Platania, LH tombs have been found (*component HO_16* - AD 1968: 223-4)[9], as well as traces of an ancient activity focus (Lauffer Kopais I: 171-2, reported also by Knauss et al. Kopais 3: 68 – *component HO_15*). Lauffer mentions only the historical focus[10], without any reference to the LH graves found in the same area. Knauss et al. (Kopais 3: 68ff) point out that the LH chamber tombs by Ag. Ioannis may suggest the existence of a settlement nearby. A group of 17 robbed chamber tombs (*component HO_18*) were found on a hill to the SE of *component HO_16* (AD 1968: 223-4).
The historical activity focus (*component HO*_15), cannot be dated (recorded as unknown), since the reference to 'glaze sherds' is much too vague (C/H? – Med?).

What follows is a preliminary version of the list of sites discovered and recorded during the Systematic Intensive Surface Survey carried out in the area around Hyettos (area surveyed mapped in fig.1) in the years 1989-1991 by J.L. Bintliff and his équipe (mainly from the University of Durham – UK – Bintliff 1992d).

[8] The fort at Phtelio (Vristika locality) probably had a similar use –see appendix I.7. These kinds of forts were probably part of the 4thC Boeotian system of fortifications (see chapter II.3.5– FORTS AND FORTIFICATIONS)
[9] 18 Mycenaean tombs were found robbed (AD 1968 B23: 223-4).
[10] Lauffer (Kopais I: 172) reports of glaze sherds and tile fragments [AE1275], along with surface walls and house foundations [AE1274].

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chronology	Survey_CHARACTER
CN1	A	rural site
CN1	C-Ehl	rural site
CN1	G	rural site
CN1	LH	?activity focus
CN10	C	rural site
CN10	C-Ehl	rural site
CN10	Lhl-ER	rural site
CN11	A	activity focus
CN11	C	rural site
CN11	C-Ehl	rural site
CN12	C-Ehl	rural site
CN13	C	rural site
CN13	C-Ehl	rural site
CN14	H	rural site
CN14	Lhl-ER	rural site
CN14	LR	rural site
CN14	MR	rural site
CN14	R	rural site
CN15	*Med*	
CN3	EH	settlement
CN3	Preh	?burial place
CN4	C-Ehl	activity focus
CN5	C	?rural site
CN5	C-Ehl	?rural site
CN5	LR	rural site
CN6	A	rural site
CN6	C	rural site
CN6	C-Ehl	rural site
CN6	Lhl-ER	rural site
CN6	R	rural site
CN7	C-Ehl	rural site
CN7	Lhl-ER	rural site
CN7	LR	rural site
CN7	MR	rural site
CN8	LR	?rural site
CN9	A	activity focus
CN9	C	?activity focus

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chronology	Survey_CHARACTER
CN9	G	activity focus

Table 1. *List of intensive survey sites discovered during intensive and systematic survey work (Bintliff 1992d) – mapped in fig.1.*

Appendix I.6
The Copais area: Copai and the North-East bay

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

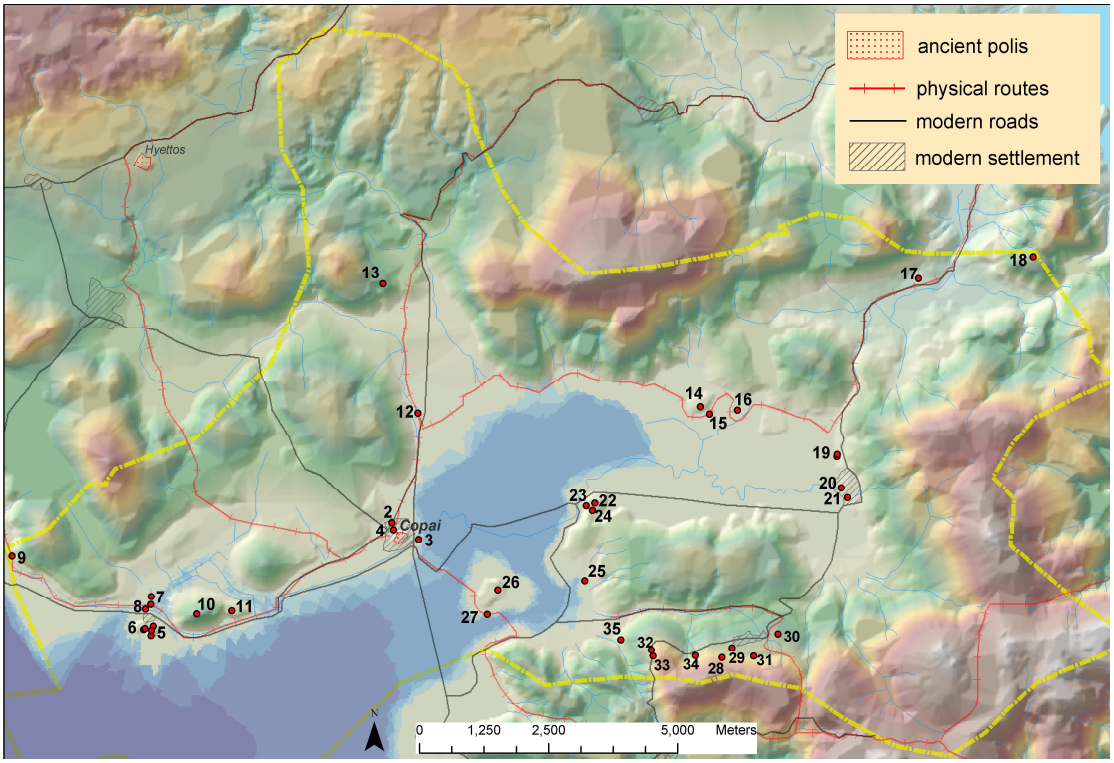


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of the region.*

1. Topolia/Kastro: *Components NC_15 to NC_24* (ancient *Copai*)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_15	N	activity focus	Topolia/Kastro	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_16	EH	activity focus	Topolia/Kastro	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_17	MH	activity focus	Topolia/Kastro	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_18	LH	activity focus	Topolia/Kastro	Travellers	certain
NC_19	PG	activity focus	Topolia/Kastro	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_20	G	activity focus	Topolia/Kastro	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_21	A	activity focus	Topolia/Kastro	Travellers	certain
NC_22	C	settlement	Topolia/Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_23	H	settlement	Topolia/Kastro	Ext. topographical	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				surveys	
NC_24	R	settlement	Topolia/Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

At the location of the modern village of Topolia/Kastro, on a steep-sided hill to the W of the New National Road, traces of ancient occupation have been recorded. The place was known as an ancient site (Copai) already to travellers (Leake 1835: 306; Forchhammer 1857: 179; Bursian 1862: 212; Vischer 1875: 580; Lolling 1889: 189; Frazer 1913: 131), who noticed surface structural remains, today mostly disappeared, since the modern village occupies exactly the same position of the ancient site. Schliemann (1882: 162) also knew the site[1].
The place has an 'island character', joined to the 'mainland' to its NW side by a narrow isthmus (similar to the case of Prophitis Ilias W of Sphingion in Haliartos' *chora*[2]) which probably most of the time was submerged underwater during periods of high level of lake water. Pausanias (IX 24.1) tells us that the way to the town of Copai is from Akraiphia, and Strabo (IX 2.18) relates that Copai had once been very nearly 'swollen up' by the lake. In Leake's time (Leake 1835: 307) Topolia location was an 'island' surrounded by water during the great part of the year. The fields to the E of the village were flooded when visited by Forchhammer (1857: 179) in the year 1834.

Prehistoric evidence is reported in various gazetteers, but We do not have any idea of the intensity of occupation in the **p**rehistoric period at the site, nor if the site was actually a settlement/habitation site in all prehistoric periods.
Neolithic surface sherds are reported from the site, as well as the EH (E slope especially – Hope Simpson 1965: 116) and MH material. Lauffer (Kopais I: 214) reports MH sherds to the SW of the village, by a fresh water spring (one of the few fresh water sources known in the N edge of the Copais, as Lauffer remarks). LH surface sherds were also found[3], probably to be connected with traces of polygonal walling, already noticed by Frazer (1913: 132). Prehistoric evidence is reported in various gazetteers.

The place has been identified as ancient Copai. The Copai settlement belonged to the series of Greco-Roman settlements around Copais, and it is mentioned also in historical texts. From Copai, for instance, troops were sent to the Delion battle, in 424 BC (Thucidides IV 93.4), together with the ones from Haliartos and Koroneia. With Medeon, Koroneia and Haliartos, Copai is also mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Il. II 502). The town existed in Pausanias' time (IX 24.1).

[1] Strabo (IX 411) tells us that Lake Copais was named after Copai. Schliemann (1882: 162) reports: in ancient times there was no common name for the lake, but it was called after the name of each city situated on its banks; thus *Copais* from Copai, *Haliartus* from Haliartos, and it has other names from other cities; in later times the predominating name, Copais, was applied to the whole lake, for the region of Copai forms the greatest gulf'. The people of Topolia/Kastro procure from the lake numerous eels, which were already in antiquity renowned for their bulk and fatness, and which Pausanias commends. Schliemann (1882: 160) visited ancient Copai, on the island of Gla [*sic*], close to the N shore of the Lake of Copais, joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. Obviously Schliemann visited Topolia/Kastro and not Gla.
[2] Lauffer Kopais I: 212.
[3] LH III material is reported by HopeSimpson 1965: 116. LH I and LH IIIA-B material is reported by Fossey 1988 [AE472].

PG material at the site was noticed by Fossey (1988: 277) and Desborough (1952: 195) discusses it, while G and A material is reported by Fossey (1988: 277), and mentioned in HS&D 1979 (see also AD 1967: 243)[4]. C and H material is also reported. R sherds were noticed by Fossey (1988: 277) only, during his own fieldwork in the area. AD 1967: 243 mentions G to Byzantine material probably from a burial area by the church of Ag. Paraskevi (see *component NC_25*), without mentioning specifically R material though. As for the LR period, only burial evidence seems to be available (see below *components NC_29 and NC_25*).

2/3/4. Topolia/Kastro NW (2): *Component NC_25*, Topolia/Kastro East (3): *Components NC_26 to NC_28* and Topolia/Kastro village (4): *Component NC_29*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_25	gr-rom	burial place	Topolia/Kastro NW	accidental	certain
NC_26	A	burial place	Topolia/Kastro East	Rescue excavation	approximate
NC_27	C	burial place	Topolia/Kastro East	Rescue excavation	approximate
NC_28	H	burial place	Topolia/Kastro East	Rescue excavation	approximate
NC_29	LR	burial place	Topolia/Kastro village	Rescue excavation	approximate

The gr-rom necropolis (*component NC_25*), probably related to the town, was found at the mainland foothill in front of the Kastro 'island', not far from the chapel of Ag. Paraskevi. Illegal excavations [AE463], surface material [AE1713 – from G to Byzantine - AD1967: 243], epigraphical evidence [AE1211] and reused material [AE1712] would attest it. Another cemetery area (from A to H – *components NC_26, NC_27 and NC_28*) was found through rescue excavations nearby Topolia/Kastro site, in the direction of Gla (AD 1964: 198-9)[5]. Near the village, a Late Roman tomb was also excavated (AD 1970: 227-8), with two inscribed gravestones (3rd and 4th C AD) – *component NC_29*.

5/6. Stroviki-Nisi: E hill (5) *Components NC_1 to NC_4 and NC_7 to NC_10*, *NC_5* (South), *NC_6* (North); W hill (6) *NC_11 and NC_87*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_1	N	settlement	Stroviki-Nisi	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_2	EH	activity focus	Stroviki-Nisi	Int. topographical	certain

[4] G material was found by the church of Ag. Paraskevi, probably to be associated with a burial area there (see *component NC_25*).

[5] This cemetery area was discovered during rescue excavation in occasion of works of the *Organismos Copaidos* levelling of the area. 46 graves excavated, A-C-H periods attested. They only represent a small part of a larger cemetery.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				surveys	
NC_3	MH	settlement	Stroviki-Nisi	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_4	LH	settlement	Stroviki-Nisi	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_5	unknown	burial place	Stroviki-Nisi	Other	certain
NC_6	MH	? burial place	Stroviki-Nisi	accidental	certain
NC_7	C	activity focus	Stroviki-Nisi	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_8	H	activity focus	Stroviki-Nisi	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_9	R	activity focus	Stroviki-Nisi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_10	LR	activity focus	Stroviki-Nisi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_11	C	activity focus	Stroviki-Nisi	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_87	C	burial place	Stroviki-Nisi	Personal or group interest	approximate

Above the modern village of Stroviki is a low rounded twofold hill called Nisi/Nisaki, crossed and cut by a cleft running from N to S. The name is due to the fact that, before the drainage of the Copais, the water of the Melas river was running between the '*nisi*' (island) and the small height where a chapel of Ag.Giorgios is, and therefore there was water in between (Lauffer Kopais I: 185) – see digital reconstruction of the lake fluctuations (chapter II.3.1 and appendix III). Lauffer (Kopais I: 185) says there is no fresh water spring nearby.

On the eastern half (the higher –ca 30m- larger and less rocky top), there are clear signs of settlement from Neolithic to LH times. Occupation at the site was already known to Ulrichs 1840: 197 and Lolling 1889: 191. Lauffer (Kopais I: 185ff) describes a quantity of fine wares easily recognizable from all periods. For the MH period he also describes imported ware known from the area only in the other two big settlements of Kalami-Lyoma and Agoriani-Dekedes (see appendix I.1).
Surface signs, marking habitation sites, are mainly on the E side of the two hills SE of Stroviki village. Surface sherds are known from the Neolithic period (AA 1940: 186), from the EH period (AA 1940: 186; AD 1969: 179; AD 1971: 241), from the MH, in

apparent association with cist graves[6] - *component NC_6* (AD 1969: 179; AD 1971: 241), and from the LH (AD1971: 241)[7]. All those periods are mentioned in the prehistoric gazetteers. HS&D 1979: G6 mention sherds spread over an area ca. 200m N-S by 150m E-W. Structures are reported in AD1969: 179 [AE642, AE643, AE644][8]. Obsidian flints and animal bones are also reported (Lauffer Kopais I: 186).

Lauffer compares the site with the other two 'island' prehistoric sites in N Copais: Gla and Pyrgos *magoula*. Stroviki-Nisi and Gla know a strong pre-Mycenaean occupation, while Pyrgos *magoula* does not.

A section seen and drawn by Lauffer (Kopais I: 192) on the place shows a clear break of occupation after the LH period. Afterwards, there are clear signs of the C occupation (*component NC_7*), though from the information we have we cannot infer the character. C sherds on alluvial terrain in the profile examined represent probably, says Lauffer (Kopais I: 193), an indication of an increase in the lake level in intermediate periods, and therefore a lack of occupation in the area. On the other hand, this can be simply due to different choices in settlement over the landscape. The signs of occupation for the C period might represent a rural site on the higher easterly hill (with cemetery site on the western smaller hill – see below *component NC_11*). The evidence is obviously known because of the heavy presence of prehistoric signs of occupation, representing a large prehistoric settlement, but this does not mean that in C times the settlement site had to be at a village status as well just because of the large prehistoric settlement there. Activities within the landscape change over time (see below also for a possible location of a sanctuary here).

Fortification or terracing walls are visible [AE1339]. Lauffer (Kopais I: 195-6) considers them prehistoric, and apparently so imply also HS&D 1979: G6. The structural remains are especially on the N side, and down the N slope prehistoric sherds have been found in larger number.
Surface sherds from the H period are also reported (Fossey 1988: 282 and HS&D 1979: G6) as well as R and LR (Fossey 1988: 282 only). Simply considering the information that inscribed sherds[9] were found in one of the buildings visible on the surface has got a votive character, one could attribute the building remains and surface sherds (or the whole system of terracing walls and building remains) either to a cult place (sanctuary) of a historical period, or to a fort containing a religious building (or a votive activity focus), if we consider jointly also Fossey's attribution of the fortification walls to historical periods. Obviously this would not exclude a possible prehistoric fortification at the place, since it could also be the case of a prehistoric fortification reused as terracing for a sanctuary or as a fort in the gr-rom period. But all these are simply hypotheses, and a more detailed research on the site would be needed.

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[6] On the N side of the hill foundations of two circuit walls and MH cist tombs were noticed (Syriopoulos 1968 AE631); W of meteorological station, two graves made of stones, not disturbed by robbers (one cist grave opened mentioned in AD 1969: 179 – *component NC_90* [AE1706]).
[7] Lauffer (Kopais I: 186ff) duplicates most of Fossey's material, except that he records LH I-III; Fossey found no Mycenaean material earlier than LH III, as is frequently the case in Boeotia.
[8] Easterly hill, immediately SE of village. Remains of prehistoric buildings interpreted as a prehistoric cult place (mainly because of the presence of some cup-form carvings in the rock - AD 1969 B: 179).
[9] AD 1973-4: 454. 6th C inscribed vase and inscribed sherds were found at Stroviki (on top of the hill), which could lead to the location of a probable sanctuary NW of the plateau (C sherds reported also in AD 1971: 241 – 5th C inscribed sherds).

Components NC_11 and NC_87: Few C sherds are reported from the E slope of the lower Western peak of Stroviki-Nisi (Lauffer Kopais I: 186) Signs of occupation here were also noticed generically by Fossey 1988: 282. They could indicate a burial place. C graves from the site are also mentioned in AD1969: 179 (*component NC_87*). *Component NC_87* and *component NC_11* might belong to the same activity focus (burial character).

Lauffer attempts an identification of the prehistoric Stroviki with the Homeric *Mideia* quoted by Strabo (I 59.9, 413). In addition, some attempts have been made to identify the place (if interpreted as a settlement site) with ancient *Olmones* (Étienne-Knoepfler 1976)[10].

7. Stroviki-Ag.Georgios: *Components NC_88 and NC_89*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_88	unknown	? Fort	Stroviki-Ag.Georgios	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_89	Preh	? activity focus	Stroviki-Ag.Georgios	Personal or group interest	certain

To the SE of the rocky hill (on top of which is the small church of Ag. Georgios) NW of the Stroviki village, worked blocks probably from a polygonal ancient wall (AD 1969: 179) – *component NC_88*, while to the N of the rocky hill, remains of buildings, probably Prehistoric, have been noticed (AD 1969: 179) – *component NC_89*.

8. Stroviki-Ag.Georgios: *Component NC_90*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_90	unknown	burial place	Stroviki-Ag.Georgios	Personal or group interest	approximate

Between Stroviki-Ag.Georgios and the Stroviki village, W of the meteorological station, two graves made of stones, undisturbed by robbers (AD 1969: 179).

9. Baroutospilia: *Component NC_14*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_14	N	activity focus	Baroutospilia	Personal or group interest	approximate

Some distance W of Stroviki, a cave site was excavated, probably with signs of Neolithic occupation (AAA 1973: 202).

[10] See Pavlon-Palaiokastron site in Hyettos *chora* for another possible location of the historical site (appendix I.5 - see Fossey 1988: 282).

10/11. Tourlogianni (10): *Component NC_12* and Tourlogianni-Bazaraki (11): *Component NC_13*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_12	LH	fort	Tourlogianni	Travellers	certain
NC_13	LH	? Fort	Tourlogianni-Bazaraki	Travellers	certain

On a conical peak NE of the modern village of Stroviki (known as Tourlogianni), Lolling (1889: 190) had already noticed wall foundation, and interpreted them as the remains of a prehistoric fortification. According to Fossey (1980: 162), Tourlogianni is part of the system of LH fortification (along with Stroviki-Nisi), while HS&D (1979: G6) believe that the fortification walls visible on top of the hill are historical (C or H in considering the sherds) as well as the remains of polygonal walls in the plain to the SE of Stroviki [AE1289[11]]. Two are the fortified hilltops on top of the Turlogianni hill (recorded as Tourlogianni –*component NC_12*- and Tourlogianni-Bazaraki –*component NC_13*).
Forchhammer (1857: 178) described Tourlogianni as an island, probably because the water of the lake was penetrating all around it when the water level was high (as in Stroviki-Nisi case - see digital model of the lake fluctuation in fig.1, described in chapter II.3.1 and appendix III). Lauffer (Kopais I: 207) believes that the fort on top of Tourlogianni-Bazaraki was LH/Mycenaean, intended to watch over the late prehistoric hydraulic works in the area between the foothill of Kymitis hill and Tourlogianni-Bazaraki hill (protecting wall [AE1291] and bridge [AE1292] remains - Lauffer Kopais I: 207 and sketch 216). Even if this is to be proved, the fort was overlooking a passage from Lokris to Copais – see also Kophia pass in Hyettos *chora* (appendix I.5, *component HO_17*).

12. Magoula Kavkala: *Components NC_30 and NC_31*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_30	N	activity focus	Magoula Kavkala	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_31	EH	activity focus	Magoula Kavkala	Int. topographical surveys	certain

2.2km N of Topolia-Kastro, ca 150m W of the motorway, on a small mound (*magoula*), is a Neolithic and EH activity focus, with a probable settlement/habitation character. Lauffer (AD 1971: 241-2) reports Neo and EH surface potsherds (though

[11] Lauffer (Kopais I: 198 – sketch 210) reports on a 'cyclopean' wall 2,5m thick seen by Kenny 1935: 210f, interpreted as a dam. It runs in the middle of the lake from the E side of Stroviki-Nisi towards the centre of the lake and then it turns towards the E and runs parallel in front of Tourlogianni hill.

he does not mention it anymore in Kopais I), and so do French, HS&D 1979, Syriopoulos 1983-84 and Fossey 1988 (probably from Lauffer).

13. Alogopatisia-Kaphkala: *Component NC_32*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_32	gr-rom	activity focus	Alogopatisia-Kaphkala	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Along the path from Topolia to Martino, ca 5km N of Topolia, on the SE slope of Mavrovouni, in the Alogopatisia locality, surface walls, as well as signs of terrace walling, have been noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 247-8 - sketch 246). The Alogopatisia locality lies in an alluvial valley, probably used for pasturage, in particular for horses, as the name states.
Being along the road from Copais to Eastern Lokris[12], according to Lauffer the evidence can be interpreted as a cult place. There are many similarities with another cult place site, to the S border of Copais, by the Petra mountain (Koroneiake *chora* – appendix I.1., *components KO_27 and KO_28*). In both cases, the cult place is exactly at a passage of a long-way road.

14/15. Chantza (14) and Chantza nearby (15): *Components NC_33 to NC_37*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_33	MH	activity focus	Chantza	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_34	LH	activity focus	Chantza	Travellers	certain
NC_35	Preh	? burial place	Chantza	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_36	A	burial place	Chantza nearby	accidental	approximate
NC_37	C	burial place	Chantza nearby	accidental	approximate

The western promontory of three peninsulas that jut out into the basin in far North Copais, W to Agios Ioannis promontory (*components NC_38 to NC_45*), is named Chantza. Fortification remains on top of it were first noticed by Noack (1894: 442f) that located here a prehistoric fortified settlement (Lauffer Kopais I: 242). Because of the exiguity of remains found at the site, as well as because the dating of wall remains was uncertain, the site did not get mentioned in the gazetteers of Mycenaean sites by Fimmen 1912, Wace-Thompson 1912 and Karo in RE Suppl. 6: 609. LH pottery was then found at the site and Noack's hypothesis was confirmed. Surface walls can be seen in olive grove fields, most of them almost destroyed. Typical Minyan ware was

[12] Traces of an ancient road can be found between Topolia and Martino (Lauffer Kopais I: 247). The evidence representing a possible road have not been inserted into the DB because Lauffer does not mention where he saw them.

also found through new investigations (Lauffer Kopais I: 242) and the site was probably also a MH settlement site[13].
The relationship between the site at Agios Ioannis at Spitia Katavothra and the one at Chantza is unclear. A dam is between the two peninsulas. This can lead to the hypothesis, according to Lauffer (Kopais I: 242-3), that Chantza would belong to the Agios Ioannis site, and they together would form a '*Art Doppelburg*', resembling this way the settlement situation at Megali Katavothra-Spilia Tsoutso sites, on two different promontories. Fossey also lists the Agios Ioannis and Chantza sites together (Fossey 1988: 287), as he does for the Megali Katavothra and Spilia Tsoutso sites (Fossey 1988: 286).
On the other hand, the site could also be a fort site, with no proper permanent habitation, linked to the Agios Ioannis site, which would be the proper settlement site. Fossey elsewhere (Fossey 1980: 159) listed Chantza as a fortified settlement, but then he thought that the situation would correspond rather to the one described in Fossey 1988, with Chantza as a fort related to the Ag. Ioannis settlement, since Chantza's rocky interior probably could not have supported a proper settlement site. He therefore links the prehistoric tombs (MH and LH) found at the site with the Ag.Ioannis prehistoric settlement site.
Components NC_36 and NC_37: Historical period burial areas were found in the vicinity of Chantza, mainly Archaic and Classical tombs (including a couple of small tumuli). According to Fossey, the historical period burials would also relate to the Agios Ioannis historical period site (Fossey 1988: 287).

16. Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra: *Components NC_38 to NC_47*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_38	N	? activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_39	EH	? activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_40	MH	settlement	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_41	LH	settlement	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	Travellers	certain
NC_42	PG	? activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	Other	certain
NC_43	G	activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	Other	certain
NC_44	A	activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Spitia	Ext. topographical	certain

[13] The presence of MH sherds is reported as uncertain in various gazetteers, except from Lauffer (Kopais I: 242) who noticed typical Minyan ware. Absidal buildings are also known from the site (Lauffer AA 1940: 185).

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
			Katavothra	surveys	
NC_45	C	activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	Other	certain
NC_46	MH	burial place	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	accidental	certain
NC_47	LH	? burial place	Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra	Other	certain

The promontory named after the chapel of Agios Ioannis on its top is the central promontory of three peninsulas that jut out into the basin in far North East Copais. On top of it lies a large prehistoric settlement site and a LH fortified settlement. The site was first noticed by Noack (1894: 444-8 and Taf. 13), which also describes the prehistoric fortification at the site (Lauffer Kopais I: 240 - sketch 242; Fossey 1988 plan fig. 37). Heavy cultivation and robbery at the site lead to the disappearance of most of the surface evidence seen by Noack.
Neolithic material is reported only by Lauffer, and only in AD 1971: 242. EH at the site is reported by Lauffer (few sherds EH III? - AD 1971 and Kopais I: 239), and Fossey (1988: 287), and as not sure by Hope Simpson 1965 and HS&D 1979. According to Lauffer (Kopais I: 239-40) EH occupation is not sure but probable, considering the continuity in later periods and the few sherds recognizable on the surface. Lauffer also remarks how signs of actual occupation differ from MH to Byzantine times - heavier for the prehistoric period, especially LH, and lighter for historical periods.
As for the MH period, there is evidence representing a settlement with graves in between[14], while in the LH period at the site is a fortified settlement[15], probably fairly developed (IIB-IIIB). Fossey (1988: 287) notes that there is abundant evidence that Agios Ioannis was a settlement before and much after the erection of the Mycenaean fortifications (unlike the Chantza site – see *component NC_34*). Moreover, Lauffer (Kopais I: 240-1) points out that the importance of the site cannot be understood without considering the drainage works undertaken at the foot of the hill to canalize the Melas into the Spitia Katavothra[16]. He remarks that at the Chantza site as well (according to this hypothesis also linked with the drainage system) the occupation would have started in pre-Mycenaean periods (see Chantza site – *component NC_33*). Fossey though does not agree with the importance assigned by Lauffer to Chanza in the MH period, neither with the existence of an actual settlement site at Chantza (see Chantza site).

[14] Unlike the Spilia Tsoutso site, for this place Lauffer (Kopais I: 240) hypothesizes the existence of a settlement site together with the cist-grave burial place. This is mainly due to the presence of a cist-grave cemetery disturbed by robber-trenches on the flat top of the promontory, along with MH sherds on the surface here, unlike at the Spilia Tsoutso site (where no sherds have been found apparently).
[15] For discussion about the stratigraphical relationship of cist tombs with prehistoric fortification see Lauffer (Kopais I: 239). He remarks that the case of Mycenaean fortification on top of MH graves is reported also for other sites, taking Mycenae as an example. Some of the graves could also be LH (*component NC_47*). LH IIIB chamber tombs (?) are mentioned in Syriopoulos 1983-84 (LH IIIB 114).
[16] Maintaining this belief, Lauffer concludes that drainage works were probably already undertaken in the MH period.

As for historical periods, signs of occupation are slighter, and are listed in prehistoric gazetteers, as they have been noticed by people interested mainly in the prehistoric occupation at the site. The historical activity focus there could have been a hamlet site, with recognisable traces of occupation from PG to C period (fertile land on the flat hill top). Only potsherds are known, but heavy cultivation at the site (and consequent erosion) may have destroyed structural surface remains, as both Fossey and Lauffer note, through which the character of the site might have been better understood. In other similar places, occupied in prehistoric periods, such as on Copais islets (ex: Pyrgos *magoula* or Stroviki-Nisi), surface signs lead to the interpretation of the evidence as cult places in historical periods. A detailed study of pottery remains would give us a better idea of what the available evidence might represent. Anyhow, if we consider the A and C cemetery area found in the vicinity of Chantza, we should probably at least hypothesize the existence of a habitation area on the Agios Ioannis peninsula. It could also have been a small hamlet linked to a cult place, but most probably it was just a long-life (G to C) small group of houses.
As Lauffer notes, the peri-lacustris road would have gone along the foothills of the promontory.

17/18. Souvliki and Bazaraki: Souvliki *Component NC_80* (17) *and* Bazaraki *NC_81* (18)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_80	Preh	human presence	Souvliki	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
NC_81	LH	? Fort	Bazaraki	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Along the road from Copais to Larymna, to the E of it, lies the Bazaraki hill[17]. The top of the Bazaraki hill would probably have been the location of a LH fort. In the Souvliki locality, on a fertile plateau to the SE of the hill, Lauffer (Kopais I: 243) noticed obsidian scatters (according to him probably early prehistoric - N/EH[18]). In the past also the upland way to Larymna should have crossed this area (Lauffer Kopais I: 243)[19].

19. Spilia Tsoutso: *Components NC_48 to NC_50*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_48	N	settlement	Spilia Tsoutso	Personal or	approximate

[17] In the area would also be the location of Pano-Larymna, the deserted medieval/ottoman village corresponding to modern Larymna by the sea.
[18] This interpretation is probably mainly due to the attempt to suggest a shifting of settlement from a lower location to an upper one, on top of Bazaraki hill, where the LH fort would have been – *component NC_81*.
[19] Lauffer suggests the hypothesis of a shifting of settlement in time between the two places (from earlier to later Bronze Age – from the area SE of the hill and the Bazaraki hill itself), as a situation similar to the shifting between the focuses in the depression to the S of Megali Katavothra site and the Megali Katavothra site itself (Lauffer Kopais I: 243-4 – see sites). Despite being a plausible idea, a few obsidian scatters are too scarce as evidence to lead to such a conclusion.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				group interest	
NC_49	EH	? activity focus	Spilia Tsoutso	Personal or group interest	approximate
NC_50	MH	burial place	Spilia Tsoutso - above	Personal or group interest	approximate

To the N of Megali Katavothra is a cave, which is in fact a *katavothra* (the opening of a subterranean natural channel), called Spilia Tsoutso, by which traces of prehistoric (Neolithic) activities were found (HS&D 1979 - G13 and other prehistoric gazetteers; Fossey 1988: 286[20] and Lauffer Kopais I: 233).
Only Fossey (1988: 286) seems to report EH material (EH II) from the site.
Lauffer (Kopais I: 233) reports MH cist graves on the flat surface above the cave[21] (on the spur under which the *katavothra* Spilia Tsoutso is) and other similar tombs on the S slopes by the Ag. Ioannis chapel (MH cist graves described in Lauffer Kopais I: 234-5 - sketch 237) – *component NC_50*. Here, on the S slope, he also noticed remains of a round shape structure (sketch 237), probably to be associated with the graves (a similar structure has been noticed also at Pyrgos-Chuntiklissa – see *component NC_68*).
In ancient times, the road should have been going along this upland area unlike the modern road that goes by the foothills in the basin (since the lake was not drained). Traces of old paths are still visible (Lauffer Kopais I: 233), and also traces of a more ancient upland path have been noticed in this necropolis area (Lauffer Kopais I: sketch 241).
Lauffer says that no sherds have been found in association, and surface walls neither. Therefore it was probably not a settlement site[22] but only the large necropolis associated to the large settlement site at Megali Katavothra. It would be a situation similar to others in the Copais NE area (see Topolia-Kastro, Medeon, etc.). Lauffer hypothesizes also that the small gulf between the two sites (Megali Katavothra and Spilia Tsoutso) would have been protected by a dam (like the one seen by Noack 1894: 443 at Spitia Katavothra – see above).

20. Agios Ioannis-Megali Katavothra: *Components NC_51 to NC_56*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_51	N	activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Megali Katavothra	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_52	EH	activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Megali Katavothra	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_53	MH	settlement	Agios Ioannis-Megali Katavothra	Int. topographical surveys	certain

[20] Fossey 1988: 286 lists Megali Katavothra and Spilia Tsoutso sites together.
[21] The first mention of the evidence in JHS 1944: 23.
[22] Unlike Agios Ioannis-Spitia Katavothra site, where MH burials were found in association with a settlement site (whose presence would be testified, according to Lauffer, by surface sherds, lacking in this case).

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_54	LH	settlement	Agios Ioannis-Megali Katavothra	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_55	G	activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Megali Katavothra	Other	certain
NC_56	C	activity focus	Agios Ioannis-Megali Katavothra	Other	certain

Above the main swallow hole (*Megali Katavothra*) on the E side of the Copais North East Bay, is a site which apparently presents a continuity of occupation from Neolithic to the Byzantine period (Lauffer, Gnomon 1952: 483). As Lauffer notes (Kopais I: 232), despite the fact that most of the plateau is today built, many open fields were still visible at the time of his visit.
Only Lauffer (Kopais I: 231) seems to report Neolithic (*rotpoliert ware*) – *component NC_51-* and EH (few sherds of Urfirnis ware) at the site, which he visited personally. MH surface material is reported from the site by Fossey (1988: 286 - Grey Minyan and Matt painted) and Lauffer (Kopais I: 231 - numerous MH sherds). No mention of MH is made by Hope Simpson 1965 or other prehistoric gazetteers, while the site is reported as a small LH settlement. No structural remains are visible, and apparently the site was not fortified[23].

Historical occupation at the site is known because of the interest in the prehistoric site, and in general in the prehistoric occupation in the area.
G material is reported only by Fossey (1988: 286)[24], while C material reported for the site by different gazetteers and topographical works might be interpreted as a rural activity focus or a farmstead.

21. Megali Katavothra SE: *Components NC_57 to NC_58*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_57	N	activity focus	Megali Katavothra SE	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_58	EH	activity focus	Megali Katavothra SE	Int. topographical surveys	certain

In a depression/sattle (‘*kessel’*) to the SE of Megali Katavothra, 200m SE of the chapel of Ag. Ioannis by the nickel mines (*Metalleia* locality, as marked on the 1:50,000 GYS map, by Neo Kokkino), Late Neo and EH potsherds have been noticed

[23] Lauffer (Kopais I: 232) notes the absence of fortification as a peculiar thing, unlikely in all known Prehistoric sites in the area. He suggests that it could be due to a catastrophic event, using, in my opinion, an explanation too extreme, which might simply be explained with a different character of the site. We should also take into account that the area is built over.
[24] Fossey also obtained information on the site from H.W.Catling, who informed him of the results of his visit to the site in the 1960s. They probably found fine ware from the G period, as they could easily spot it on the ground.

(Lauffer Kopais I: 227-9 - sketch 217 and 233)[25]. The depression which characterizes this place is in fact of karstic formation, and forms a terrace area (Philippson 1951: 487).

22/23/24. Pyrgos-Agia Marina: *Components NC_59 to NC_66* (22), *NC_67* (23) and Pyrgos-Agia Marina-Chuntiklissa: *Component NC_68* (24)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_59	N	? activity focus	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_60	EH	? activity focus	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_61	MH	? Settlement	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Personal or group interest	certain
NC_62	LH	settlement	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Travellers	certain
NC_63	G	? activity focus	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_64	A	? activity focus	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_65	C	activity focus	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_66	R	? human presence	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
NC_67	MH	? burial place	Pyrgos-Agia Marina	Other	certain
NC_68	MH	burial place	Pyrgos-Agia Marina-Chuntiklissa	Int. topographical surveys	certain

The steep-sided promontory of Pyrgos Agia Marina lies at the entrance to the Copais' North East bay, on the opposite side of Topolia-Kastro, ca 1km NE from the church of Agia Marina, after which it is named.
At the NW foot of the hill is located the important junction between two Mycenaean drainage channels (Fossey 1988: 283, Knauss et al. Kopais 3).
The location of a prehistoric fortified settlement at the site was first reported by Noack (1894: 445ff). Several periods are represented: Neo and EH (probably[26]), MH (mentioned in different prehistoric gazetteers), LH (mentioned in prehistoric gazetteers as a fortified settlement).

[25] This location has nothing to do with the Ag.Ioannis chapel near Megali Katavothra, 4km ca to the NW.
[26] Only Fossey (1988: 283) mentions Neo, as well as R.C.S. Felsch, who visited the site in 1978 (personal comment given to J.L. Bintliff). As for EH, Fossey only (1988: 283) reports it, while no mention of EH at the site can be found in prehistoric gazetteers.

A MH extended necropolis area has been noticed in a saddle to the S, linking the Pyrgos hilltop with the Chuntiklissa area (Lauffer Kopais I: 217 – *component NC_68*), with cist tombs similar to the ones found at Spitia Tsoutso and Spitia Katavothra. In the three cases tombs had been disturbed by robber trenches.
Also some other cist graves (*component NC_67*) were found in the W area of the hilltop (Fossey 1988: 283), inside the remains of a gateway of the later fortification[27].
Lauffer (Kopais I: 218) points out that the presence of such a high number of tombs from the MH period (compared to the exiguity of surface remains from the MH period at the site) may lead one to consider the possibility of a large necropolis to be associated with another big settlement in the period in the area - (Lauffer would suggest the settlement of Gla, taking into account the visible signs of a dam running from Gla towards this area as well as the similarity with other cases, such as the necropolis in front of the settlement site on the mainland found both at Copai –see above- and Medeon – appendix I.8).
We do not know whether before the LH fortification existed a MH fortification (and fortified settlement) existed as well. The presence of burials that could be MH (*components NC_67 and NC_68*), both outside and inside the fortification walls, seems to lead to a negative answer, as well as the presence of such a large necropolis in no correspondence with the apparent exiguity of MH surface material, as we saw earlier. Uncertainty remains (Lauffer Kopais I: 218).

Only Fossey (1988: 283) and earlier Ålin (1962: 123) seem to report surface material from historical periods. Fossey lists G, A, and C periods, represented probably by fine wares, easily distinguishable also for periods such as G and A (he mentions black glaze). A generic C material is reported in Ålin, who is clearly interested in late prehistoric periods and not an expert knower of gr-rom wares. R material is reported by Fossey with a question mark, and would probably represent off-site material and not a focus. Otherwise, in historical periods Fossey would see at the place a small settlement. Available information is probably too scarce to allow us to give an answer and assign a character to the components.

25. Agia Marina SE: *Component NC_69*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_69	Preh	? Fort	Agia Marina SE	Int. topographical surveys	certain

On the W slope of the Nisi ridge, SE of the Agia Marina church, remains of a fortification, probably prehistoric, were noticed apparently only by Lauffer (Kopais I: 219 - sketch 220 and 224). They could have been in connection with a dam [AE1304].

26. Gla: *Components NC_70 to NC_74*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_70	N	settlement	Gla	Other	certain

[27] As for MH tombs below LH fortification see also the case of *component NC_6* (Stroviki).

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_71	MH	? activity focus	Gla	Other	certain
NC_72	LH	settlement	Gla	Travellers	certain
NC_73	C	activity focus	Gla	Other	certain
NC_74	H	activity focus	Gla	Other	certain

Gla is named the well known islet in the middle of the entrance to the NE Copais bay, SE of Topolia/Kastro, 0.5km from the Phtelia promontory and from the small gulf of the E edge, below Kokkino. The dark limestone rocky islet is 750m long in the direction W-NW/E-SE. From afar it looks like a levelled hill with vertical sides on which open up *katavothrai* and caves. The NW side of the islet is wider and its NE part, where the focus of the archaeological remains are, is the highest. A lower edge of the islet extended towards East, in the direction of Kokkino. Gla controlled the entrance towards the Topolia bay and the *katavotrai*, the road towards the edge and the joining point of the two main channels of prehistoric drainage; the S main drainage channel used to run below the E edge of the walled area (see map in fig.11 in chapter II.3.1).

The prehistoric fortified settlement was already known to Schliemann (see Schliemann 1882) and travellers[28]. It was then excavated by de Ridder (twenty two days of excavations in 1893) and afterwards by Iakovidis, who carried out research on the site for a long period. The results of this research have been published in many monographies/articles, and recently (2003) in a book entitled: *Gla and the Kopais in the 13th century B.C.*
Neolithic (sherds noticed during excavations at different locations on the plateau – Fossey 1988: 288 and Iakovidis 2003, who summarize previous research) and MH (Fossey 1988: 288 from Wace - Thompson (1912: 193) have also been reported from the site[29], whose main focus though is LH (Mycenaean acropolis). As Iakovidis (2003) states, the rock was settled during the Middle and Late Neolithic period, while in Mycenaean times a strong Cyclopic fortification[30] [AE518] enclosed the plateau, with several structures in it (see Iakovidis 2003 – plan 1).
Iakovidis (2003) interpretes the LH site as a vast fortress, built as part of the drainage work controlled by Orchomenos, aiming at the exploitation of the Copais plain (see appendix III), and belonging to the Orchomenos Mycenaean palace. The earlier Mycenaean sherds at the site are late LH IIIA2 or beginning LH IIIB1, while destruction layers contain nothing later than advanced LH IIIB2 examples. Gla shows all signs of a violent destruction by human agency.

As in many other major prehistoric sites in the Copais area, evidence of an occupation in historical periods has been noticed. The occasion for the discovery is, as usual, due to the intensity of research in order to get a better knowledge of the prehistoric occupation. Surface material from historical periods (C and H) are reported by HS&D

[28] Dodwell 1819; Leake 1835; Forchhammer 1837; Ulrichs 1840; Ross 1851; Vischer 1875; Noack 1894.
[29] Wace - Thompson (1912: 193) mention some Minyan ware, but do not specify their source of information. Iakovidis (2003) shows perplexity, and allows for the possibility that those were LH sherds burnt grey. The existence of a MH settlement at Gla is implied by Lauffer (Kopais I), while discussing the Pyrgos-Agia Marina MH burial evidence (see component Pyrgos-Agia Marina).
[30] Gla is the Albanian equivalent of the Greek name (*Kastro*) – Iakovidis 2003.

1979: G9. Iakovidis 2003 reports on Hellenistic material noticed during excavation in the area of the LH buildings and at the gates[31].

27. Gla-Talantouseza: *Component NC_75*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_75	MH	burial place	Gla-Talantouseza	Other	approximate

In the Talantouseza locality, to the S of the Mycenaean acropolis, MH cist tombs are reported, as looted in the past (AD1970: 233).
Fossey remarks that their location is too imprecisely given to indicate which settlement they belonged to. In fact, since Gla was probably not occupied in the MH period (see above), those tombs would belong to another site. Also the MH tombs at the Pyrgos-Agia Marina site create a small problem in attribution, apparently. See discussion above, under the Pyrgos-Agia Marina site.

28/29/30/31. Kokkino near (28): *Component NC_76* – Kokkino W (29): *Component NC_77* - Kokkino NE (30): *Component NC_78* - Kokkino S (31): *Component NC_79*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_76	LH	activity focus	Kokkino near	Personal or group interest	imprecise
NC_77	Preh	activity focus	Kokkino W	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_78	gr-rom	activity focus	Kokkino NE	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_79	gr-rom	? burial place	Kokkino S	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Component NC_76: near the village of Kokkino (location no better specified) LH pots were noticed (Hope Simpson 1965: 120-121, quoted by Syriopoulos 1968 and HS&D 1979 – LH?).
Component NC_77: obsidian flints on a 30m large terrace at the W end of Kokkino village, crossed by the road (Lauffer Kopais I: 225-6).
Component NC_78: on a terrace near the village cemetery of Kokkino, Lauffer (Kopais I: 226) noticed surface walls and bumps of stones.
Component NC_79: to the E of the fresh water spring to the S of the Kokkino village an incineration burial place was noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 226). It could be gr-rom in date.

The area of Kokkino could constitute a settlement chamber, even today rich in wine yard, and including the valley running EW down to the Copais basin. *Component NC_78*, represented by AE1312 and AE1313, along with AE1315 (reused), nearby the village cemetery of Kokkino, would do for the settlement site of the area probably, as

[31] A few medieval sherds and two fragments of a LG vase were also found (Iakovidis 2003).

Lauffer says. There are water sources nearby (marked on IGME 1:50,000 geological map). On the other hand, those few pieces of evidence (and in no apparent association with pottery) are the only material signs of a possible settlement in historical times here, with the exception of a burial place (incineration) seen by Lauffer by a perennial water source – *component NC_79*. Lauffer notes (Kopais I: 227) that architectural fragments reused in the two chapels E of the Kokkino village [AE1315] are commonly thought to come from the Apollon sanctuary. He thinks though that the evidence could be a sign of a different cult place much closer and related to the settlement (?) site he hypothesizes to the N side of Kokkino (see above *component NC_78*).
The area is also well linked as far as communication routes are concerned. To the S, through the pass leading to the Apollon temple (Ptoion) runs a way towards Yliki lake and Thebes, while to the N the area is linked with the Copais basin. After the Byzantine period the settlement would have moved to the N, closer to the Megali Katavothra, by Neo Kokkino, W of the '*Metalleia*' locality, marked on the 1:50,000 GYS map. A deserted village was seen by Lolling (1889: 162) there.

32. Megalovouno NE: *Component NC_84*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_84	gr-rom	? special activity	Megalovouno NE	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Component NC_84: 400m ca from the place where the road from Akraiphnio to Kokkino bends to the E, right side of the road to the N of a R burial area (*component NC_85*), Lauffer noticed a quarry, which could be ancient (Kopais I: 223 - sketch 229).

33/34. Megalovouno NE: *Components NC_85 and NC_86*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_85	R	burial place	Megalovouno NE	Int. topographical surveys	certain
NC_86	C	burial place	Megalovouno NE	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Component NC_85: by *component NC_84*, two glaze tile covered graves, with glaze ceramic and lamps inside and on the surface were noticed near the road by Lauffer. A third tomb was also noticed 200m to the N (Lauffer Kopais I: 223 - sketch 229).
Component NC_86: above the road Akraiphnio-Kokkino, E of Kokkino - where the road crosses a stream, on a terrace, Lauffer (Kopais I: 223-4 - sketch 230) noticed tile fragments, bones and C pots.

Those traces of necropolis found to the NW and N foot of the Megalovouno ridge could refer to burial areas connected to the ancient town of Akraiphia, but could also

be interpreted as rural burials, still in the *chora* of Copai, or linked to a village settlement there (as suggested by Lauffer Kopais I: 225 – see chapter II.3.6 LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS). Therefore, for the time being the Megalovouno components have been entered under the NC *chora*. The definition of the exact border between ancient Akraiphia and Copai in this upland area is still problematic.

The area of Kokkino-Megalovouno was strategic as it would mark the border between Gla, Kokkino and Karditsa (says Lauffer – Kopais I: 257) and was the cross point for various roads leading to Akraiphia, Gla and Copais. Even if Gla does not play a central role in most periods of history (unlike what Lauffer seems to believe and too often implies), its wider area is indeed at a crucial location. The modern road between Akraiphnio-Kokkino follows almost the same path as the ancient one (Lauffer Kopais I: 222 – sketch 250 and 253), and crossed another path leading to Gla, seen by Noack (1894: 462)[32].

35. Megalovouno-Blaitesa: *Components NC_82* and *NC_83*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
NC_82	C	rural site/activity	Megalovouno-Blaitesa	Travellers	certain
NC_83	gr-rom	? activity focus	Megalovouno-Blaitesa	Travellers	certain

On the lower spur of the W slope of Megalovouno, called *Blaitesa* (from the Albanian word for beehives), 2.5km ca NW from Karditsa. On a flat terrace (200m long) above the 100m contour line, remains are visible 30m ca to the orographic right of a stream (Lauffer Kopais I: 252).
Surface walls (built with irregular big stones) and building material [AE1345 and AE1346] can be seen at the site, as well as C sherds [AE1347] among the surface walls, which lead to a dating of the site to the C period (Lauffer Kopais I: 256-7 - sketch 251). Structural remains had already been noticed by Noack (1894: 462), who interpreted the remains as a LH site. We cannot exclude the possibility that the period of occupation of the site could be other than C, but further surface research would be needed in order to get a better picture of the date of surface sherds. For the time being the component has been recorded as C. We cannot be sure either that the walls are pertinent to the site, and not built later with material reused. The site could be interpreted as rural in character, though we do not have any clue regarding the extension of the site, nor of its status (farmstead, hamlet?). A second component has been created as gr-rom –with question mark- taking into account the fact that this site could have other periods of occupation.
The burial place on the road between Akraiphnio-Kokkino just below this settlement site (*component NC_85* – see above) could be linked to this component.

[32] Noack 1894: 460f (fig.17) describes a path that would join Karditsa with Gla, and then Copais, crossing the Souvliki area, and another path which from Karditsa would pass between Phtelio and Mytikas and then would reach the Copais (Lauffer Kopais I: 259 sketch 253).

Appendix I.7
The Eastern Copais area: Akraiphiai

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

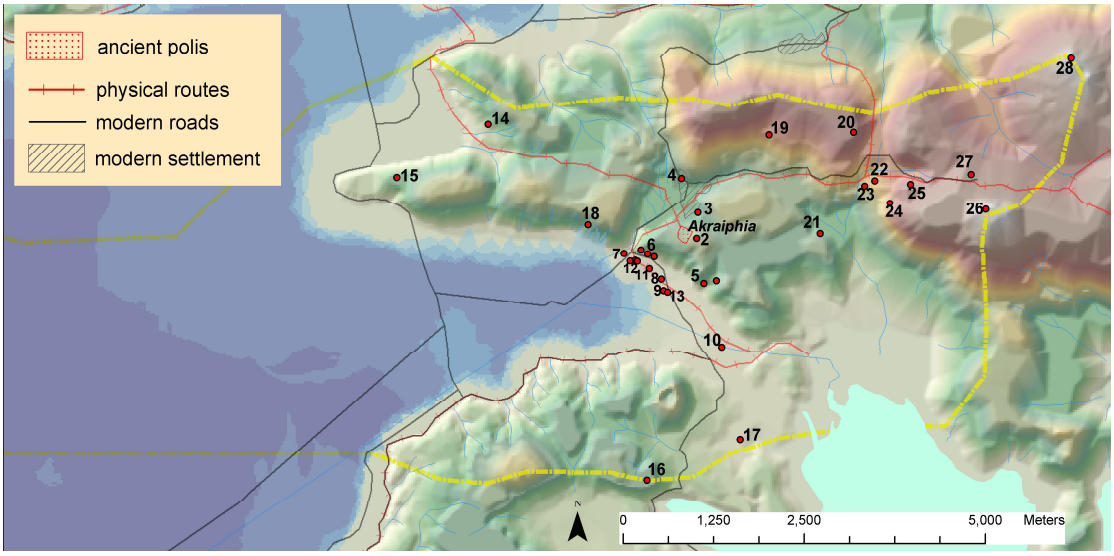


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of Akraiphia chora.*

1. Akraiphnion Skopià: *Components AK_1 to AK_6*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_1	G	settlement	Akraiphnion Skopià	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
AK_2	A	settlement	Akraiphnion Skopià	Travellers	certain
AK_3	C	settlement	Akraiphnion Skopià	Travellers	certain
AK_4	H	settlement	Akraiphnion Skopià	Travellers	certain
AK_5	R	settlement	Akraiphnion Skopià	Travellers	certain
AK_6	LR	? burial place	Akraiphnion Skopià	Personal or group interest	certain

To the S of the modern village of Karditsa/Akraiphnion, on a large, rocky hill (named Skopià) lie the remains of the ancient *polis* of Akraiphia[1]. The hill is overlooking a deep eastern bay of Copais (Stenà/Karditsa bay) which is separated from the Yliki lake only by a low ridge, ca 1.5km to the SE of the site of ancient Akraiphia.

The site was already known to travellers (see for instance Ulrichs 1840: 242ff and Frazer 1913: 97-99). Guillon and Feyel (BCH 1936: 461) carried out excavations at

[1] Position shown on Guillon's map (Guillon 1943) and in Papachatzis 1981: 146-150.

the site, uncovering the complete perimeter of the circuit wall[2] and locating the *agora*, as well as public buildings and many inscriptions[3]. Immediately afterwards, Chorapas' excavations were also published in JHS 1936: 19 and AA 1936: 123.
Fossey (1988: 269) reports G material from the site, though it is not clear whether he noticed it (or he found it reported) as from the city site or only from cemeteries. In any case, the presence of rich G (LG) cemeteries, attested trough excavations, starting from Chorapas' excavations and then with the many Andreiomenou's ones as well as more recent rescue excavations (see below for references), makes the existence of a G settlement at the site fairly sure.
Settlement components were created for G, A, C, H and R periods. Probably in the G period the settlement had a *protopolis* status, although Akraiphia seems to be much more developed in earlier historical periods compared to other Boeotian *poleis*[4]. On the other hand, as Lauffer (1940) notes, at the city site it seems that there are no traces of occupation in the Neolithic or Bronze Age periods (with the exception of traces of a prehistoric fortification and some MH sherds found below the acropolis hill – see below *components AK_28 and AK_60*).
Component AK_6: A cemetery area found in 1940 inside the Western part of the acropolis circuit by Threpsiadis (AE 1973: 83-5 no. 8; Fossey 1988: plan fig.35), indicated as of a 'later' date, may correspond to a shrinking of the city site in LR periods, as occurred in other Boeotian poleis as well (see Hyettos, for instance, or Thespiae, investigated through intensive artefact surface survey).
Information on the *polis* of Akraiphia in historical periods are indirectly given by the extended excavation carried out at the many cemeteries connected with the *polis* (see below: *components AK_7 to AK_18*), largely studied by Andreiomenou (monography in 1980 and then several articles and reports). The city life was also in connection with the presence of the Ptoion sanctuary above it, located within the *polis* territory (see below - *components AK_32 to AK_37*). Major work at the site and the wider area was conducted by the French School, starting with the book of P.Guillon (1943), and then published in archaeological reports, recently by Ch. Müller mainly.

2. Skopià: *Components AK_28 and AK_60*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_28	MH	activity focus	Skopià	Personal or group interest	certain
AK_60	LH	? Fort	Akraiphnion Skopià	Personal or group interest	approximate

Knauss reports in Teiresias 1987 about Homeric *Hyle* (Homer, Il II 500 and V 707-710), which he attempts to identify with the archaeological remains on the slope of Mount Skopià within the bay of Akraiphia. According to Homer, *Hyle* was "sloping towards the Kephisian lake" (Il V 709, cf. Pausanias IX 38.7). Knauss (1987) notes as the strongest support for the identification, "*the discovery of some remarkable*

[2] The circuit wall dates back to the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period (Garlan 1974), and is probably to be linked to the independency of the *polis* after the defeat of Thebes (Guillon 1948: 105).
[3] In the *agora* a large number of inscriptions were found, as well as a large cistern or monumental fountain close to which was found an altar with an inscribed base, dedicated to Zeus Soter (BCH 1936: 461).
[4] For a history of the *polis* see Hansen 1996: 78-9.

remains of a small but typically Minyan fortification, with walls in Cyclopean masonry. The prehistoric fortification is within the lower area of ancient Akraiphia and is surrounded by the polygonal walls of the archaic city". At the foot of Mount Skopià, in the deposit of a small torrent that descends from Mt. Ptoion, numerous surface finds confirm occupation in antiquity. Among them a number of gray and yellow Minyan sherds would constitute the evidence for a settlement in the MH period, bordering the Copais (Knauss 1987).

3 to 10. Akraiphnion burial areas: *Components AK_54 to AK_59* (3); *AK_7 and AK_8* (4); *AK_11* (5); *AK_12 to AK_17* (6); *AK_13 and AK_14* (7); *AK_48 to AK_52* (8); *AK_18* (9); *AK_9 and AK_10* (10)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_7	G	burial place	Karditsa/Akraiphnion	accidental	certain
AK_8	A	burial place	Karditsa/Akraiphnion	accidental	certain
AK_9	A	burial place	Akraiphnion Gouni	accidental	approximate
AK_10	C	burial place	Akraiphnion Gouni	accidental	approximate
AK_11	R	burial place	Akraiphnion SE	accidental	certain
AK_12	A	? burial place	Akraiphnion W foot	accidental	certain
AK_13	H	burial place	Akraiphnion W	accidental	certain
AK_14	R	burial place	Akraiphnion W	accidental	certain
AK_15	A	burial place	Akraiphnion SW	accidental	certain
AK_16	H	burial place	Akraiphnion SW	accidental	certain
AK_17	R	burial place	Akraiphnion SW foot	accidental	approximate
AK_18	R	burial place	Akraiphnion S foot	accidental	certain
AK_48	PG	burial place	Akraiphnion Grava	Rescue excavation	approximate
AK_49	G	burial place	Akraiphnion Grava	Rescue excavation	approximate
AK_50	A	burial place	Akraiphnion Grava	Rescue excavation	approximate
AK_51	C	burial place	Akraiphnion Grava	Rescue excavation	approximate
AK_52	H	burial place	Akraiphnion Grava	Rescue excavation	approximate
AK_54	H	burial place	Karditsa/Akraiphnion	accidental	approximate
AK_59	R	burial place	Karditsa/Akraiphnion	Rescue excavation	certain

Around the ancient polis of Akraiphia several cemetery areas have been found, ranging from LG to R date.
In the area of the village lies at least one of the *polis* cemeteries (Fossey 1988: 268 and no.1 in fig.35 – *components AK_7* and *AK_8* and probably also *AK_54 and AK_59*, discovered in 1994 - AD 49 1994 (1999): 278-281).
A burial area has been located also at the W foot of the Akraiphia acropolis hill, (Fossey 1988: 268 and no. 8 in fig.35 – *component AK_12*), another one at its SE foot (Fossey 1988: 268 and no. 6 in fig.35 – *component AK_11*), another at its S foot

(Fossey 1988: 268 and no. 5[5] in fig.35 – *component AK_18*), and another one at its SW foot (Fossey 1988: 268 – *component AK_17*). Other burials are known to the SW of ancient Akraiphia (Fossey 1988: 268 and no. 4 in fig.35 – *components AK_13 and AK_14*[6]), and to the SE foot of the Pholies hill (Fossey 1988: 268 and no. 3 in fig.35 – *components AK_15 and AK_16*[7]).
Another burial area would be at the E end of the Copais Karditsa bay, in an area called *Gouni* (Fossey 1988: 268 and no. 2 in fig.35 – *components AK_9 and AK_10*). It could be linked to the *polis* but, located further than 1.5 km from the city site, could also refer to the rural occupation in the *chora*.
Lauffer RE (1959) s.v. Ptoion summarises all information concerning cemeteries at his time, except the more recent (mainly from Andreiomenou[8], listed by Fossey, and some other discoveries, more recent than Fossey's book, always mostly from Andreiomenou and from the most recent excavations by the *ephoreia*). To the ones listed above, therefore, one can add the more recent discoveries (not in Fossey's book) mainly to the S of the city in the Karditsa bay.
At the Grava locality[9] (Andreiomenou Ergon 1991: 37-45; Ergon 1992 (1993): 53-59; AD 48 1993 (1998): 176-180; AD 49 1994 (1999): 278-281 - *components AK_48 to AK_52*), a section of a very large cemetery site was uncovered (more than 2000 tombs excavated up to 1994), other sections of which are probably referred to in some of the aforementioned components.
As outlined by Aravantinos (2004a: 82), since 1994, work for the enlargement of the National Road Athens-Lamia in correspondence to Akraiphnio and in particular the Grava locality allowed for the realization of an extensive excavation (four years, 1994-1998). In that locality, previous research (rescue excavations mainly, or accidental discovery, since 1974: to the S of the road and along the Kephisos river-bed, during its enlargement, as well as to the N of it) had already shown the presence of archaeological remains –see above in text- belonging to the large A, C and H cemetery of ancient Akraiphia, located at the edge of the Copais lake.
As Aravantinos points out, the cemetery is not characterized by organization of the area in tombs enclosed in circuits (*perivoloi*) with burials positioned along lines as in other Boeotian areas where large cemeteries are known (Haliartos, Thebes, Tanagra). The graves were located in groups in the open area along the edge of the lake, below the steep slope of the acropolis. Graves dated from the late G to H period, from 6th C to 3rd-2ndC BC mainly[10].
An inscribed funerary relief (end of 6thC BC) was ploughed up SE of the acropolis of ancient Akraiphia (Moraites field) in 1993. The discovery was followed by a rescue excavation which brought to light other graves belonging to the extensive cemetery area of ancient Akraiphia (AD 48 1993: 176-180). The funerary monument probably stood on the road from Akraiphia to Thebes, which was lined with extensive

[5] It probably corresponds to the Andreiomenou's '*Gypedo*' excavation (PAE 1989: 125-145).
[6] They probably belong to the Grava cemetery area (see below in the text). See also *component AK_57* (Akraiphnio-Nat.Road junction).
[7] They probably belong to the Grava cemetery area (see below in the text).
[8] AAA 1974: 95-112; 1977: 273-286 and summary in her book 'Το Κεραμεικόν Εργαστήριον της Ακραιφίας' 1980
[9] The exact location is not specified, but it is probably located below the foothills S of Akraiphnio, in the Copais Karditsa bay.
[10] Several are the reports on the most recent excavations on the cemetery area: AD 51 1996 (2001): 272-275 (amongst the graves were found shallow circular wells, probably associated with the drainage of the rain water – AE1821) and 275-278; AD 50 1995 (2000): 301-304; AD 49 1994 (1999): 278-281; AD 48 1993: 176-80.

cemeteries (from EG to the 3rd C BC). The actual stone-paved road (3.95m) was located in the NW part of the field [AE1722]. Apparently, in later periods (Late Hellenistic and Roman times), the dead were buried on the lower slope of the ancient acropolis (AD 1993: 176-180) and in its N foothill, in the area of the modern village (*components AK_54 and AK_59*).

11. Akraiphnion Grava: *Component AK_53*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_53	LR	rural site/activity	Akraiphnion Grava	Rescue excavation	approximate

In the locality of Grava (the same of the cemetery site represented by the *components AK_48 to AK_52*) the remains of a *'villa rustica*' (eight rooms) with an *opus spicatum* floor and an olive press were found during an extensive rescue excavation associated with works for the '*Agogos Physikou Aeriou* DEPA' (gas pipe line), in 1993 (AD 49 1994 (1999): 278-281). The villa was abandoned by the end of the 4thC AD. Aravantinos (2004a) also reports of other building remains of uncertain attribution, datable also to the LR period[11].

12. Akraiphnion-Nat.Road junction: *Components AK_55, AK_57 and AK_58*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_55	G	activity focus	Akraiphnion-Nat.Road junction	Rescue excavation	approximate
AK_57	R	burial place	Akraiphnion-Nat.Road junction	Rescue excavation	certain
AK_58	R	special activity	Akraiphnion-Nat.Road junction	Rescue excavation	certain

Component AK_55: During rescue excavations for the construction of the new bridge, at the Akraiphnion National Road junction, remains of buildings and sherds in excavated layers, representing a G activity focus, were found (AD 51 1996 (2001): 275-278). The evidence has been interpreted as a cult place destroyed by fire[12] (Aravantinos 2004a: 86).
Component AK_57: by the Akraiphnion junction of the National Road Athens-Lamia, during rescue excavations a burial building of R date was found with multiple burials, probably to be identified as *heroon*, as epigraphical evidence seems to attest (Aravantinos 2004a: 88). It could possibly be a cult place associated with a special cult for a dead person, as Aravantinos (2004a: 88) would suggest, in association with the cemetery area around it (see *component AK_14*).

[11] Probably some of them are workshops (loomweights and bone needles) (Aravantinos 2004).
[12] In the same area ritual fire places (*pires*) –A to C period- full of figurines (cultic function continued). Buildings (not yet studied) from C period (probably cult place with associated workshops).

Component AK_58: a pottery kiln installation of R date has been found by the burials (Aravantinos 2004a: 88) and probably consequently, I would presume, by the road running through the Grava area [AE1722].

13. Akraiphnion-Nat.Road S: *Component AK_56*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_56	N	burial place	Akraiphnion-Nat.Road S	Rescue excavation	approximate

Below ancient Akraiphia, on the left side of the National Road Athens-Lamia, at the deepest strata of the gr-rom cemetery excavation, Andreiomenou (PAE 1989 (1992): 125-145) found two built graves (PAP 1977 fig. 141 and 183) with two pots from the Neolithic (probably Late) period[13].

14. Phtelio-Vristika: *Component AK_21*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_21	gr-rom	fort	Phtelio-Vristika	Travellers	approximate

On the SW slopes of Phtelio, in the Vristika locality, in the vicinity of a deserted village (*Skoino Megalo*) lie the remains of an ancient fort, in a quite low location.
Lauffer (Kopais I: 259-261) points out how the fortification here is similar to the Kiapha fortification (between Pavlo and Stroviki) - see chapter II.3.5 *component HO_17*. C sherds [AE1349] have been found in association with the fortification remains [AE1348], in polygonal walling. The fortification belongs probably to the Boeotian system of 4thC forts, related to the Theban egemony, as well as the one at Kiapha pass probably[14]. In this case the fortification was overlooking a passage from Akraiphia to the basin and to ancient Copai (Lauffer Kopais I: 261 - sketch 253), described already by Noack (1894: 406f – fig.17). Lauffer (Kopais I: 262 - sketch 254) noticed traces of an ancient wall [AE1350], probably marking an old path, by the S corner of the fortification. He suggests that the fortification probably belonged to the territory of Akraiphia, and I would agree, also taking into account that the border was most probably at Phtelio, as the *oros* (boundary stone) would lead us to believe (see above).

15/16/17. Mytikas: *Component AK_22* (15)*;* Yliki NE - Vathy Spithari: *Component AK_23* (16)*;* Yliki NE: *Component AK_24* (17)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position

[13] The excavator hypothesizes the existence of a Neolithic settlement nearby, pointing out that up to then Neolithic graves in Boeotia had been found only at the Magoula Balomenou site (see *component CH_21*). Sampson (2000) notes the similarity of the two pots with the ones of the Final Neolithic periods found fragmented in the cave *Spilia tou Sarakinou* (*component AK_25*).
[14] See also other fort sites below in the chapter.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_22	gr-rom	? Fort	Mytikas	Ext. topographical survey	approximate
AK_23	gr-rom	fort	Yliki NE - Vathy Spithari	Ext. topographical survey	approximate
AK_24	gr-rom	fort	Yliki NE	Ext. topographical survey	approximate

Three gr-rom (probably 4thC) forts are shown by Fossey (1988) in fig. 35, though without mention in the text (probably from Guillon's map in Guillon 1943, vol. II, pl. V). One is on the Mytikas promontory, jutting into the Copais at the N side of the entrance to the Karditsa bay (in correspondence to and above the N end of the Akraiphia ancient dam)[15]. The other two are in the area between Akraiphia and the NE bay of Yliki lake (one on top of Vathy Spithari – *component AK_23*, the other one on a hilltop between Pontiki and Kori mountain – *component AK_24*).

18. Spilia tou Sarakinou: *Components AK_25 to AK_27*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_25	N	settlement	Spilia tou Sarakinou	Personal or group interest	certain
AK_26	EH	activity focus	Spilia tou Sarakinou	Personal or group interest	certain
AK_27	MH	settlement	Spilia tou Sarakinou	Personal or group interest	certain

Spilia tou Sarakinou is a large cave site on the SW side of Pholies hill on the Mytikas ridge, about 500m W of the point where the side road to Karditsa turns off the New National Road (Fossey 1988: 273), about 100m above the level of Copais basin, along the 200m contour line, in a quite high up location, marked on the 1:50,000 GYS map. From the cave site one can enjoy a beautiful view of the Copais basin.
Excavation at the cave started with Th.Spyropoulos (AAA1973: 201ff), and continued, after illegal digging activities at the site, with more systematic excavations carried out by A. Sampson (Speleological Service) since 1994, with modern methodologies and techniques.
The occupation at the site goes back to the Paleolithic period. The site is also important in the archaeological panorama of Boeotian prehistory, as it presents Neolithic pottery *in stratu*, unlike the majority of sites in Boeotia (with the exclusion of Eutresis, and few other cases). The cave of Sarakinos presents a quite wide opening (that allows light to come in) facing W. The inside is deep and flattish, quite high and with almost no stalactitic ornaments. Pottery, from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (EH, MH), was also found deeply inside, while in tiny spaces below fallen rocks in the form of Neolithic idols have also been found (Sampson 2000). The cave was abandoned during MH (probably after the drainage of the Copais, as suggested by

[15] Strangely Lauffer does not seem to mention it.

Sampson[16]). No traces of occupation in the historical period have been noticed, unlike other Boeotian caves (se Agia triada cave, for instance – appendix I.3.1).

Neolithic period (Late Neo I and II, and deeper Middle Neo): long use (various heart places and several floors), Neolithic figurines. Bone tools and jewels. Arrow heads made of obsidian and *pirolithos* show hunting activities, that are also testified by wild goat's teeth and deer bones. A tool made of deer bone was also found.
EH period (EH II): nice Boeotian ware of this period (especially small *phiales* were found), not very long occupied.
MH period: the presence of grinding stones and spindle whores shows habitation activities in the cave. Bones of goats and sheep, but also shells and fishes of the lake were found.

19. Megalovouno S slope: *Component AK_19*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_19	R	burial place	Megalovouno S slope	accidental	certain

On the S slope of the Megalovouno ridge R burial areas have been noticed and are reported in Fossey (1988: 268 and no. 7 in fig.35). They are probably not related to the city site, since they are quite further away (more than 1.5km). They could be related to villa sites or hamlets.

20. Megalovouno E slope: *Component AK_20*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_20	gr-rom	fort	Megalovouno E slope	Travellers	certain

A fortification site was noticed by Noack (1894: 452ff), and then examined by Lauffer (Kopais I: 264ff – sketch 258) on the E slope of Megalovouno, probably on the Anemomilos height (or nearby), to the SE side of the hilltop (above the road to Kokkino). C sherds lie in the area. As Lauffer (Kopais I: 267) suggests, the fortification probably belonged to Thebes or to the Akraiphia *polis* soon absorbed by Thebes. Lauffer (Kopais I: 267) lists what one would be able to see from the fort: until the city of Thebes, the W part of Yliki lake, towards Larymna and the sea. The Megalovouno fort would guard especially the passage towards the NE bay of Copais.

PTOION Sanctuary

Two topographical locations are mainly linked to the Ptoion sanctuary of Apollo: Perdikovrisi and Kastraki.

[16] Sampson BCH 124 (2000): 869-870 and Sampson 2000. He seems to accept the theory that drainage work in the Copais started in MH period (see appendix III).

The French School first began excavations in 1884 at Perdikovrisi and in 1903 at Kastraki.

21. Ptoion Kastraki*: Components AK_29 to AK_31*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_29	A	cult place	Ptoion Kastraki	Personal or group interest	approximate
AK_30	C	cult place	Ptoion Kastraki	Personal or group interest	approximate
AK_31	H	cult place	Ptoion Kastraki	Personal or group interest	approximate

This is the site of the cult place dedicated to the hero Ptoios. It is located on terraces on the N slopes of the Kastraki hill, on the S side of the valley which connects ancient Akraiphia with the sanctuary at Perdikovrisi (Fossey 1988: 273).
Excavations at the site were carried out by Guillon (1943) and then by Llinas (BCH 1964: 856-9; 1965: 914; 1966: 941-3). See also Papachatzis (1981: 152-5) for useful plates and reproductions of plans (for this site as well as for the Ptoion Perdikovrisi site). As summed up by Fossey (1988: 273), the history of this religious site appears to begin early in the 6thC BC and run through to the early Hellenistic period.

22. Ptoion Perdikovrysi*: Components AK_32 to AK_37*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_32	G	cult place	Ptoion Perdikovrysi	Personal or group interest	approximate
AK_33	A	cult place	Ptoion Perdikovrysi	Personal or group interest	approximate
AK_34	C	cult place	Ptoion Perdikovrysi	Personal or group interest	approximate
AK_35	H	cult place	Ptoion Perdikovrysi	Personal or group interest	approximate
AK_36	R	cult place	Ptoion Perdikovrysi	Personal or group interest	approximate
AK_37	LR	? cult place	Ptoion Perdikovrysi	Personal or group interest	approximate

The main Apollo sanctuary lies on the SE slope of Ptoion ridge, by the Perdikovrysi spring, an hour's walk above Akraiphnio. It lies in a favourable dominant position at the cross-point of roads linking upland plateaus (Lauffer Kopais I: sketch 264 showing the cross road point) and probably on the upland pass linking E Boeotia (Thebes) with W Boeotia (Copais area) – see fig.1. In the vicinity is a perennial spring that comes out at two points, SE and W of the sanctuary site. The sanctuary is built up on terraces that continue until the chapel of Ag. Paraskevi nearby (Lauffer Kopais I: 268).
Excavations and research were carried out at the site since Orlandos (AD 1 (1915): 94ff). His work was followed by a long tradition of French researches on the site (as

well as at the Ptoion Kastraki site – see above), since 1923 (BCH 47 (1923): 521), and even earlier with M. Holloeaux who in 1885 originally begun the work on the site.
An archaeological map was sketched by Guillon in 1943 (see '*Le trepied du Ptoon*'), before the Ducat book ('*Les Kouroi du Ptoion*') appeared in 1971, giving a long list of the various excavation reports and a good summary of the site history. The French School is still working at the site and reports come out every year, especially in the BCH journal.
The history of the sanctuary begins in the Late Geometric period and runs well into the Imperial period, if not later, since the cult centre seems to have moved to the Christian monastery of Ag. Paraskevi nearby (Ducat 1971). Cult activities at the Perdikovrysi site seem to start a bit earlier than that at the Ptoion hero shrine at Kastraki, where excavated layers dated back to the 6thC BC (A period).
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23. Ptoion Perdikovrysi - W slope: ***Components AK_38 to AK_40***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_38	N	? activity focus	Ptoion Perdikovrysi - W slope	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
AK_39	EH	settlement	Ptoion Perdikovrysi - W slope	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
AK_40	MH	? human presence	Ptoion Perdikovrysi - W slope	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

To the W of the sanctuary, on the terraced slope early research found wall and foundation remains, close to the W spring. Close to them obsidian flints and EH pithos fragments were found on the surface (probably noticed by Lauffer during a personal visit), as well as only one Neo potsherd (which could be put in connection with the obsidian flints found at the site – for which no date nor detailed study is available - Lauffer Kopais I: 268 and RE 1959: 1520-21). In RE 1959: 1520-21, Lauffer mentioned MH sherds from the area, while in Kopais I: 268-9 he did not mention MH .
According to the information, the place was therefore in use also in prehistoric times. According to Lauffer, the evidence can be interpreted as referring to a quite large primeval mountain settlement. The site here is close to a perennial fresh water spring and the area is characterised by fertile terraces. In considering the upland position, the evidence of Neolithic and especially EH occupation could be linked to the occupation of upland areas in the transition between Final Neo and EH, due to the increase and specialisation of pastoral activities (*Secundary Product Revolution* – as elsewhere in Boeotia, see chapter II.3.1)[17].

[17] Fossey (1988: 273), on the contrary, is tempted to associate the Neolithic an Early-Middle Helladic settlement at Perdikovrisi with the prehistoric settlement on the NW bay of Lake Yliki at Sengaina; the distance, he says, between them is too short for us to regard them easily as separate settlements - similar to the obviously small prehistoric settlement at the W end of Klimataria facing Sengaina across a small stretch of Yliki only – appendix I.12, *components T_113 and T_114*.

24/25. Perdykovrisi valley – plateau: *Components AK_41 to AK_43* (24) and Perdykovrisi valley: *Component AK_44*(25)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_41	C	fort	Perdykovrisi valley - plateau	Travellers	approximate
AK_42	gr-rom	fort	Perdykovrisi valley - plateau	Travellers	approximate
AK_43	Preh	human presence	Perdykovrisi valley - plateau	Personal or group interest	approximate
AK_44	LH	activity focus	Perdykovrisi valley	Personal or group interest	imprecise

On the flattish plateau above the Perdikovrysi stream, facing to the S the Ptoion sanctuary site, a fort was first noticed by Noack (1894: 454f)[18]. The place probably overlooked the pass between E (Thebes) and W Boeotia (Copais area) – see fig.1, as noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 274).

Component AK_41 and AK_42: At the site by the fortification a large amount of C sherds [AE548] and later material [AE1359] can be noticed. Pot-findings help in the understanding of the use of the site in historical times as a gr-rom fort (probably 4thC BC – *component AK_41*) connected to the Theban hegemony. The fort was also in use in later times – gr-rom *component AK_42* (Lauffer Kopais I: 272). Lauffer (273) describes the view from the fort location, which I could not map though with precision. He suggests (Lauffer Kopais I: 285) that it may represent an 'acropolis' rather than a watchtower like the other four forts known in the area (*components AK_21 to AK_24*), since it lies in a quite low location and apparently not in a strategic position. Fossey does not map it in his map with forts (1988: fig. 35).

Component AK_43: De la Coste and Seyrig (BCH 47 (1923): 521) found isolated obsidian flints [AE547] at the site by the fortification, that lead them (and later on Lauffer - Kopais I: 285) to identify the site as a prehistoric fort reused in historical periods. Lauffer would suggest that the fort would belong to the prehistoric settlement site found to the W of the Apollo sanctuary (see above), as already suggested by de la Coste and Seyrig (BCH 47: 521). Noack (1894) noticed a wall going down the slopes towards the location of the prehistoric settlement (100m ca below). Fossey (1988: 272) points out how several attempts have been made to associate the prehistoric material found in the area with various elements of the fortifications on the surrounding mountains (Lauffer RE 1959 1520-21; Hope Simpson 1965: 121 no.415; Syriopoulos 1968: 118 YE63 refers briefly to this 'Mycenaean' citadel but contributes nothing new), though in the majority of them the datable material which may normally be observed consists of tile pieces of the Classical period. This site could be an exception, as Lauffer in other cases interprets the fort correctly as historical, while in this case he believes in the possibility that the fort could also be prehistoric

[18] See Lauffer 1940: 187 and Kopais I: 269ff – sketch 269.

(Lauffer Kopais I: 272), reused later in historical times. Lauffer points out, to support his thesis, that he noticed a fixing in a wall, witness of a later (historical) use, which could also testify additional work on the fort in a later period. This would not lead us to suppose automatically that the fort would have been built in a prehistoric period, but simply that it was built in a previous period. Furthermore, at the prehistoric site to the W of the sanctuary, Lauffer does not seem to list LH material, but MH at the most. On the other hand, Fossey (1988: 272) reports the information that Mycenaean sherds [AE550] come from this area, probably referring to Hope Simpson 1965 (no.415) (*component AK_44*), but the connection with this fort is unclear (see *component AK_44*). The *component AK_43*, recorded as 'Prehistoric human presence', represents simply the obsidian flints found at the site.

Component AK_44: In the area of Perdikovrysi stream, to the S of the Ptoion sanctuary site, LH sherds have been reported (Hope Simpson 1965: no.415) as coming from one of the forts on Mt.Ptoion. It is probably the semicircular wall on the Ptoion highest peak described by Kenny 1935: 203ff, a little to the S of the 'round tower of polygonal masonry' probably Hellenistic (Philippson-Kirsten 1951 no.176). The evidence AE550 (LH sherds) could be also associated to the possible prehistoric fort -*component AK_43*- (see above).

Two other forts were noticed in the area, one on each side of the valley above the temple of Apollo Ptoios (Kenny 1935: 203ff) – *components AK_45 and AK_47*. The forts in the area would guard the approaches from Anthedon (via Paralimni lake), from Thebes and from Larymna (see fig.1).

26. Ptoion Pelagia: *Component AK_45*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_45	gr-rom	fort	Ptoion Pelagia	Travellers	certain

On a rocky point to the S of the Ag. Pelagia monastery, to the E of the Apollo Ptoios sanctuary, Noack (1894: 454) noticed traces of a fortification (AE1363 and AE1364 - Lauffer Kopais I: 283 – sketch 276), with surface tile fragments everywhere on the hilltop (AE1365 - Lauffer Kopais I: 284). The walling is similar to the one of the Megalovouno fort (*component AK_20*). This fortification, as well as others in the area listed in this catalogue, is to be dated to the gr-rom period, probably to the 4thC BC. It overlooked the passage towards the S and the Yliki lake and the Theban plain, as the Megalovouno fort guarded the passage towards the NE bay of Copais. The view from the fort is described by Lauffer (Kopais I: 286). From the location one could see until Haliartos.

27. Ptoion Pelagia Monastery: *Component AK_46*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_46	unknown	activity focus	Ptoion Pelagia Monastery	Int. topographical surveys	certain

To the W of the monastery and to the NW of a water source nearby, surface walls were noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 282-3 - sketch 275)[19].

28. Tsekoureli: *Component AK_47*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AK_47	gr-rom	fort	Tsekoureli	Travellers	certain

Tsekoureli is the steep sided hill to the N of the monastery of Ag. Pelagia, to the E of the Apollo Ptoios sanctuary. The Northern slope of the Tsekoureli leads into the NE Copais bay. A round shaped tower (watch tower) was noticed in the northern part of its flat top (200m NS and 50m EW) by Noack (1894: 452f), overlooking the NE Copais bay (Lauffer Kopais I – sketch 271)[20]. The view shed from the fort is described by Lauffer (Kopais I: 281): the three peninsulas by the Spitia Katavothra (Chantza, Agios Ioannis), Topolia/Kastro, Gla, Tourlogianni...
Lauffer notes how the polygonal walling technique here seems older than the one employed in the round shape tower on Megalovouno (*component AK_20*), while it looks more recent than that employed at Perdikovrysi (*component AK_42*). The fort could therefore be dated to the gr-rom period, and therefore should probably again be linked with the Theban hegemony (4thC BC).

*Sites on the N edge of Yliki lake, though probably belonging to the territory of ancient Akraiphia, are listed and discussed under the *chora* of Thebes, where the Yliki lake and the surrounding settlement will be discussed as a topographical unit.

[19] I visited the place, which is full of limestone rocks (from bedrock). It is difficult to see whether some of them are walls as well, and whether they are ancient.
[20] Lauffer notes how from nowhere else the NE bay of Copais is so visible as from Tsekoureli hilltop (Kopais I: 281)

Appendix I.8
The Copais area: Haliartia

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

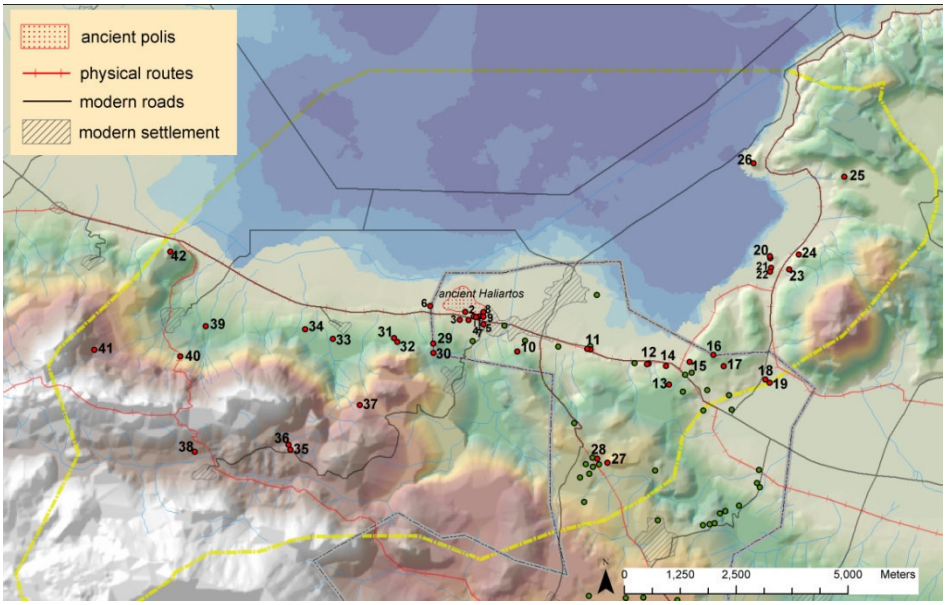


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of Haliartos chora.*

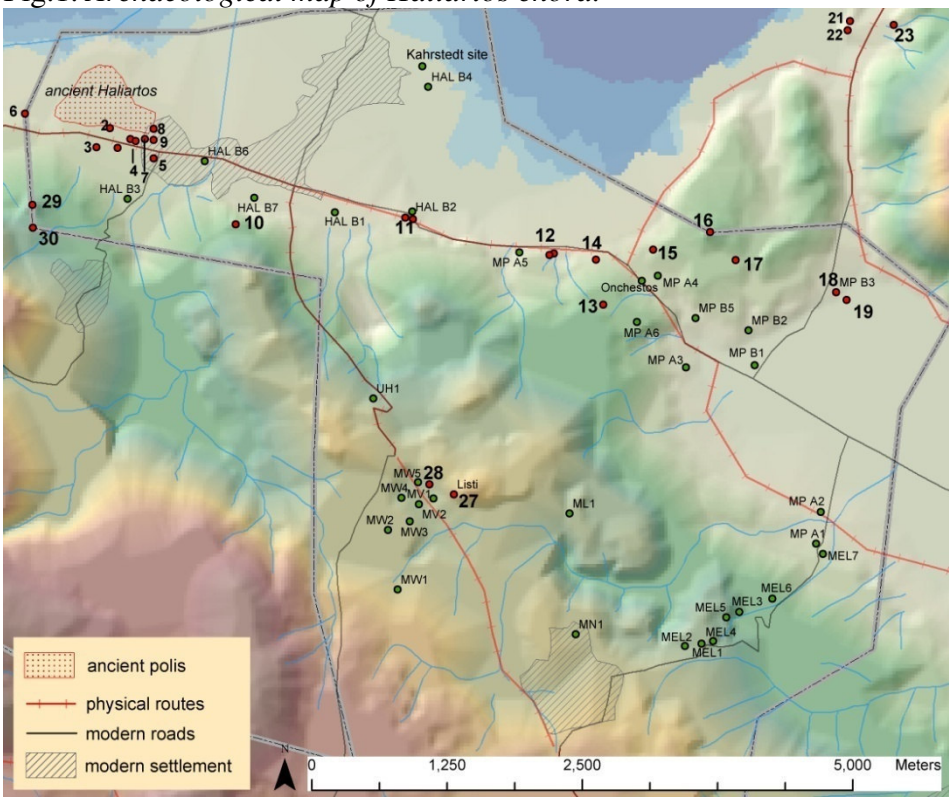


Fig.2. *Same as fig.2, but limited to the area intensively and systematically surveyed, with discovered sites marked (listed in appendix I.8 - table SURVEY SITES) .*

1. HALIARTOS: *Components HA_1 to HA_9*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_1	N	activity focus	Haliartos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
HA_2	EH	activity focus	Haliartos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
HA_3	MH	settlement	Haliartos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
HA_4	LH	settlement	Haliartos Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
HA_5	G	settlement	Haliartos Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
HA_6	A	settlement	Haliartos Kastron	Travellers	certain
HA_7	C	settlement	Haliartos Kastron	Travellers	certain
HA_8	H	settlement	Haliartos Kastron	Travellers	certain
HA_9	R	settlement	Haliartos Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

The ancient *polis* of Haliartos lies on an abrupt limestone ridge which forms a terrace above the basin, very close to the lake (currently the channelled Kephisos). From it the spring Kisoussa springs out (Philippson 1951: 474)[1]. The city controlled the pass between the acropolis spur and the lake that even in summer periods, as Philippson (1951: 474) remarks, was probably occupied by marshes. The area is in fact below the 120m contour line, which would correspond to the marshy lane, according to the lake fluctuation digital model – see chapter II.3.1 and appendix III.
The terrace-promontory, on which the acropolis of the ancient *polis* used to be, lies to the right side of the road Thebes-Levadeia, immediately after the modern village[2]. It is well physically fortified at its N and E sides overlooking the lake. The ancient city used to lie on the natural slopes on the S (until the modern road) and SE, marked by a large quantity of visible surface wall alignment (similar to the situation of ancient Tanagra, as they are both buried ancient cities and protected sites). The lower town is surrounded by a circuit wall (for fortification sketch see Fossey 1988: 303 fig. 41). A smaller circuit also marks the small proper acropolis on top of the promontory, naturally fortified, as said earlier, at its N side.

The historical site was known already to travellers (Frazer 1913: 164-6, which summarizes previous accounts, especially Leake), while Fimmen (1912) had noticed the presence of Pre-Hellenic material at Haliartos.

[1] A small rivulet, which gushes forth from the N side of the rock, runs into the swamps of the Copais (Schliemann 1881: 127).
[2] Today the modern village has been renamed Haliartos. In the past it was called Gribas and was joined with the older village of Moulki (Philippson 1951: 474).

The city was excavated by Austin at the beginning of the 20th century[3]. Another small excavation at the site was carried out by Andreiomenou (AE 1976: 17-20). Tomlinson reports on the prospection carried out in 1986 on the Haliartos city site (BCH 111 (1987): 541-542). Afterwards, work on the city site has been carried out by Bintliff and Snodgrass in the framework of the Boeotia Survey project (Bintliff-Snodgrass 1985a and 1985b; Bintliff 1994a).

A brief summary of the site history can be found in Austin (BSA 1927: 128-140) and later in Roesch 1976: 374-5. Generally speaking, we only have scattered references for Haliartos in official history, as it probably never played a leading part in Boeotian affairs (Austin BSA 1927: 129)[4].

Haliartos' earliest defence system, and the best surviving one, is the great 'cyclopean wall' around the acropolis. Typically Mycenaean, it would argue a major settlement at the site, together with the pot sherds [AE662] found on the acropolis (in the area of a later Archaic sanctuary, where MH and LH layers were excavated [AE658 and AE1443] – Austin BSA 1927: 129). One could wonder why it had never been a power in Mycenaean Greece. As for prehistory, N and EH is known from the site, from the acropolis. Apart from this area very few prehistoric sherds are known, such as a few isolated MH from various parts of the site.

Although G seemed to be poorly represented at Haliartos with only a few sherds of uncertain date and origin in the sanctuary and sanctuary area, intensive survey at the city confirmed the occupation from Proto Geometric to Late Geometric times on the acropolis of the hill, together with some very small rural sites in its immediate vicinity (survey sites HAL B4, HAL B5, HAL B6, HAL B7) – Bintliff 1994b: 213. Archaic material has also been found, especially in the sanctuary area on the acropolis[5]. In the C period, Haliartos was one of the *poleis* taking part in the Boeotian confederation (Kirsten 1956: 670). In the Boeotian league were 1.Levadeia, 2.Koroneia, 3.Haliartos (with the same rights in the same position); then the smaller places, as 4.Alalkomenai (small settlement) and 5.Okalia (with Tilphossion) and also Medeion/Phoinikis dependent from Haliartos, and also 6.Onchestos, probably also independent[6].

Abundance of 4thC BC material at Haliartos shows the city flourishing at this time (Austin 1927: 210). To the H period dates the majority of graves discovered by the Haliartos city site. While the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 335 deprived the confederate cities of political importance, it did not imperil their existence.

As is widely known, Haliartos was destroyed in 171 BC by the Roman praetor C. Lucretius, because the Haliartians had joined the cause of Perseus against the Romans[7]. In the R period, the evidence known is mainly to be associated with a rural

[3] Austin, BSA 1925/6: 81-91; 1926/7: 128-140 (summary in JHS 1926: 234-5) and BSA 1931-2, 180-212 (summary in JHS 1931: 189-190).

[4] The first mention is in Homer –Catalogue of Ships Il II 511ff- where Haliartos comes between Coroneia and Plataea, as 'grassy' Haliartos. Nonnus (*Dionisiaca* XIII.53) calls it 'watery/moist Haliartos'.

[5] By the Archaic period (Austin 1927: 206) the Copais drainage was in disuse and Copais again impassable. In winter it was much more a lake, in summer rather a marsh.

[6] At the beginning of the 4thC BC is reported the attack of Lysander the Spartan on Haliartos and his defeat and death before its walls. In the Plutarch version (*Lysander* 28) some Thebans attacked via the gates, others came round by the spring of Kissousa, keeping the city on their left, and attacked the outermost portion of the enemy forces. As Austin (1927: 207-9) points out, the latter account would prove that there was a path between the edge of the lake and the cliffs that form the N extremities of the acropolis (see fluctuation model of the lake in fig.1 and described in chapter II.3.1 and appendix III).

[7] In the first half of the 2nd C BC Rome was in conflict with Macedonia. In 171 Boeotians had to decide whose part they would take. Livy (XIV 46) tells of Macedonians winning back Boeotian cities -

occupation of the landscape, maybe hamlet-like (*components HA_25, HA_81, HA_82*), and of this kind was probably the Haliartos reoccupation after its destruction[8].

2 to 6. Haliartos Burial Places*: 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)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_10	C	burial place	Haliartos Kastron	Rescue excavation	certain
HA_11	H	burial place	Haliartos Kastron	Rescue excavation	certain
HA_12	C	burial place	Haliartos Kastron	accidental	imprecise
HA_13	H	burial place	Haliartos Kastron - South	Personal or group interest	certain
HA_23	gr-rom	burial place	Haliartos Kastron - South	accidental	certain
HA_24	H	burial place	Haliartos Kastron - SE	Personal or group interest	certain
HA_26	H	burial place	Haliartos Kastron - SE road	accidental	certain
HA_27	gr-rom	burial place	Haliartos Kastron - West	Travellers	approximate
HA_80	C	burial place	Haliartos - East	accidental	certain

Ancient burial areas have been found (mainly accidentally or by means of rescue excavations) in the vicinity of the ancient *polis*, in the majority of cases to its S, along the old national road (Thebes-Lebadeia), which probably marks the path of the ancient road[9]. The graves have been found usually clustered into funeral *periboloi* (as in the case of other *poleis* excavated cemetery sites, for instance Tanagra's ones – see appendix I.14), some of which monumental, with burials dated until the H period[10],

Thisbe, Koroneia and Haliartos. The latter two were won over and asked for garrisons. Haliartos people and people of Koroneia defied Romans and were besieged and were sacked awfully (Austin 1927: 211).

[8] Two years after the sack Athens asked for Haliartos land, that was given - several boundary stones were found. No new city was built, but it seems that a community of settlers tilled soil for benefit of Athenians (Austin 1927: 211-212). Also a hunting club is reported, which suits the Copais area (see chapter II.3.8 - RESOURCES).

[9] Fossey (1988: 305) reports on a very early 'excavation' of a grave near Haliartos: the Spartans occupying the Theban Kadmeia, 383-379 BC, excavated the 'Tomb of Alkmena' according to Plutarch (*de genio Socratis* 5-7; cf. Austin's discussion, BSA 1931/2, 209f.). The tomb was found to contain a bronze bracelet, two earthenware jars, and a bronze tablet inscribed with 'Egyptian' script.

[10] To the H period dates the majority of graves discovered by the Haliartos city site.

not later than 171 BC, when the town was destroyed by the Roman praetor C. Lucretius.

7. Haliartos Kastron – SE: *Component HA_25*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_25	gr-rom	activity focus	Haliartos Kastron - SE	Personal or group interest	certain

Immediately to the N of the road Thebes-Levadeia, and SE of the ancient site, in 1966 building activities (construction of a store-room) lead to a rescue excavation. Walls belonging to a building with three phases of occupation (R?) were found (at the same time with graves – *component HA_24*). They could be interpreted as a R farm living after the destruction of Haliartos city in 171 BC (AE 1967: 20-8; AD 1967: 242).

8/9. Haliartos Kastron – East: *Components HA_81* (8) *and HA_82* (9)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_81	R	activity focus	Haliartos Kastron - East	Rescue excavation	approximate
HA_82	R	activity focus	Haliartos Kastron - East	Rescue excavation	approximate

Component HA_81: At the E edge of the ancient site parts of four rooms associated with R material were excavated (AD35 1980 (1988):213-5).
Component HA_82: To the SE of the ancient site, on the N side of the Thebes-Levadeia road, remains were found of three building phases: 5thC BC [AE1729], H [AE1730] and R (*component HA_82*). The construction of the R phase includes the use of *spolia* and part of a hypocaustal room (AD 35 1980(1988): 213-5). The first and the second phase have been included in the *polis* components. The third phase confirms the reoccupation of the Haliartos city area after the destruction of the *polis* in 171 BC, probably with a small size focus rural in character (see *component HA_25*).

10. Mazi Pyrgakos: *Components HA_14 and HA_15*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_14	Preh	human presence	Mazi Pyrgakos	Int. topographical surveys	certain
HA_15	C	activity focus	Mazi Pyrgakos	Int. topographical surveys	certain

To the S of modern Haliartos and to the NE of Mazi village, on a hill with a flat top 20x50m large, the remains of a medieval round shaped tower are visible.

Component HA_14: On the E slope of the hill scattered obsidian flints were noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 48 – sketch 49). Lauffer suggests an interpretation of the

evidence as an early prehistoric site, maybe Neolithic (Kopais I: 48). A few obsidian flints cannot be an evidence representing a settlement site, as Lauffer (Kopais I: 48) seems to suggest. An intensive and systematic revisit of the site would clarify the character of the evidence (and the presence of eventually datable pottery), which for the time has been left as human presence generally dated to the prehistoric period.

Component HA_15: On the hilltop itself and on the slopes C sherds and tile fragments, as well as Byzantine sherds, are to be noticed on the surface (Lauffer Kopais I: 48 – sketch 49). The place could have been occupied by a farmstead in gr-rom (C only?) times.

11. Pyrgos Haliartos – cave: *Component HA_16* and Pyrgos Haliartos*: Component HA_17*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_16	N	activity focus	Pyrgos Haliartos - cave	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HA_17	gr-rom	activity focus	Pyrgos Haliartos	Int. topographical surveys	certain

A 15m high rocky eminence can be easily distinguished above the road of Thebes-Levadeia to its left, before approaching the modern village of Haliartos, because of the presence of a quite well preserved Frankish tower on its top, after which the place is named. Underneath are some caves, 1km ca to the W of Seidi cave site. Among them, a cave large and high, used until recently as a sheep-fold and now by a new café by the road, marks the site of a prehistoric (Neolithic) activity focus. A seasonal water spring is nearby, 20m to the E (see Lauffer Kopais I: 42 - sketch 40). Paleolithic material was also found at the site. An intensive artefact surface survey carried out at the place (Boeotia Survey project) showed the presence of a EH activity focus, and a G-A-C cemetery or shrine (see below, table 1 -*Survey sites*– HAL B2).

Component HA_16: Obsidian flints, and probably also sherds (Philippson-Kirsten 1951[11]), testify the occupation of the site in a prehistoric period (Neolithic). It was probably a cave site with fresh water nearby, and the marshes and the lake very close. Intensive artefact surface survey carried out at the place showed the presence of an EH activity focus (see below, table 1 -*Survey sites*– HAL B2). Fimmen (1912: 522) had noticed the site already and mentioned it as the more ancient site in Boeotia[12]. Fossey (1988: 319) notes how early excavations at the site have never been fully published, though it seems that material found was predominantly pre-Neolithic, as at the Seidi cave (see below). Lauffer (Kopais I: 42-3 - sketch 41) describes the section of an excavation trench (November 1937) in front of the cave, to the E slopes of the Pyrgos hill. In the upper layer (*humus*) C material was found (no Neo), but it probably would come from above (see results of intensive surface survey in table 1 --*Survey*

[11] It is not clear whether they noticed Neo sherds on top or below the Pyrgos hill [AE1390].
[12] Lauffer (Kopais I: 46) notices that we know only few sites where Paleolithic and Early Neolithic are attested, as this one, and we know those mainly by accidental reasons only.

sites– HAL B2). Underneath it is a 50cm thick layer of pebbles, and then the layer with Neolithic and earlier material. The site is therefore a quite important site in the Neolithic period of Copais (until Late Neo), together with Orchomenos and the Magoula Pyrgos in the NW bay. The abandonment after the Neolithic period can be noticed also at the Megali Katavothra site and at Magoula Balomenou, as Lauffer notices (Kopais I: 45-6) pointing out that in the three cases the abandonment would have been probably caused by the weak defence from water and marshes (effects) that such locations could offer.

Component HA_17: In historical periods, Lauffer suggests that probably a small hamlet or a fort was to be found at the site, on the hilltop. The top of the rocky hill is flat, extending 100m towards the S and 20m wide. On it can be noticed a concentration of artefacts, probably gr-rom (Lauffer Kopais I: 42). On the other hand, Lauffer notes, this material might also have been Frankish only, associated to the settlement around the tower. C material found in the superficial level of the trench excavated below, in front of the cave, and described by Lauffer Kopais I: 42-3, according to Lauffer had probably come from the hilltop above. An intensive artefact surface survey carried out at the place (Boeotia Survey project) showed the presence of a G-A-C cemetery or shrine (see below, table 1 -*Survey sites*– HAL B2), confirming therefore Lauffer's hypothesis and adding to it more details. The reused gr-rom material in the Frankish tower could be in association with the material found at the Pyrgos site, but could also come from either Haliartos or Onchestos nearby.

12. Seidi: *Components HA_18 to HA_22*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_18	N	? activity focus	Seidi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HA_19	C	rural site/activity	Seidi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HA_20	G	rural site/activity	Seidi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HA_21	A	rural site/activity	Seidi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HA_22	H	rural site/activity	Seidi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

500m ca from the Steni pass/Onchestos is a rocky emergence called, as well as the area immediately in front of it, Seidi. In the rock is a cave, where an epipaleolithic hunting *abri* was dug by E. Schmid in the 1950s and 1960s.

Component HA_18: Signs of a Neolithic occupation are reported by Fossey (1988: 319) and have been noticed later by intensive artefact surface surveys carried out at the place (Boeotia Survey project – see below, table 1 -*Survey sites*– HAL B1). Certainly Paleolithic material was also found at the site. Both Seidi and Pyrgos Haliartos cave sites are listed (separately) in Philippson-Kirsten: 475 notes 2 and 3.

Components HA_19 to HA_22: In front of the cave, on the slopes as well as on top of the rock, lie C sherds (glaze), fragments from Megaric cups, as well as tile fragments. Most of the potsherds lie in front of the rocky hill (Lauffer Kopais I: 41 – who believes they might belong to an ancient settlement). According to Lauffer (Kopais I: 41), material is only from C period, and there are no surface sherds from earlier or later periods, while, according to Fossey (1988: 319), who recognises and distinguishes better gr-rom wares, materials go from Geometric to Hellenistic times. the intensive artefact surface survey carried out at the place (Boeotia Survey project) confirmed the presence of a G-A-C-Early Hellenistic site, which can be assigned a rural character (see below, table 1 -*Survey sites*– HAL B1)[13].

13. Steni South: *Components HA_28 to HA_32* (ONCHESTOS sanctuary)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_28	A	cult place	Steni South	Other	certain
HA_29	C	cult place	Steni South	Travellers	certain
HA_30	H	cult place	Steni South	Travellers	certain
HA_31	R	cult place	Steni South	Travellers	certain
HA_32	LR	rural site/activity	Steni South	Rescue excavation	certain

The Onchestos Sanctuary site lies at the 91st km to the left side of the road Thebes-Haliartos-Levadeia, on top of the ridge immediately to the S of the road.

Components HA_28 to HA_31: Though architectural fragments and walling from the area were known already to travellers (AE688 - for summary of earlier accounts see Frazer 1913: 139-140), the Greek local *ephoreia* discovered the site in 1964 (AD 19 (1964): 200-201 and AD 1967: 242) and in 1971 an excavation was carried out (AAA 1971: 379-381 and 1973: 379-381; AD 28 (1973): 269-271).
The sanctuary life starts at the end of the 6thC BC (Spyropoulos AAA 1973: 379-381; Wallace 1979: 134-6). Excavated structures and surface sherds attest the use of the cult place until the R period. The sanctuary was in a strategic position and played an important active and symbolic role in Boeotian history (see among others Kirsten, RE (1939) s.v. *Onchestos* 412-7; Buck 1979: 10; Schachter 1986 s.v. *Poseidon (Onchestos)*)[14].

[13] AE1313 – a well carved block built in the church of Ag. Varvara chapel, 100m W of Seidi, is related by Lauffer (Kopais I: 41) to this gr-rom site. In my opinion, it can be easier related to the Onchestos site, and therefore in the database the Archaeological Evidence does not appear in association with any Seidi component.
[14] On the sanctuary as a meeting point of Boeotian amphyctiony and a place for equestrian races (*agones*) see ancient sources: Hom. Il II. 506; Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 230; Herm. 88.186; Pind. Isthm. I 33 with Schol.; Apoll. Rod. III 1242; Paus. I 39; Steph.Byz. s. Onchestos.

A common Boeotian festival was celebrated at the Onchestos sanctuary, and its governing amphictiony is thought to have met there at the shrine of Poseidon (Strabo IX 2.33).

Component HA_32: In the LR period the area of the sanctuary was turned into a villa establishment (excavation report by Spyropoulos AAA 1973: 379-381; Fossey 1988: 309).

Surface walls [AE689] to the S of the modern road Thebes-Levadeia, built in polygonal walling (interpreted as a possible circuit wall) may belong to the town of Onchestos (see below) rather than to the sanctuary site (see below). Also architectural fragments visible on the surface and already noticed by travellers [AE688 - AE1447], could belong to the settlement site rather than to the proper sanctuary site. In any case, the town that developed here, to the S and the N of the Steni passage, was linked to the sanctuary and developed in connection with it.

14. Steni SW: *Component HA_35*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_35	gr-rom	burial place	Steni SW	Rescue excavation	approximate

To the S of the modern road Thebes-Levadeia, on the sanctuary ridge's Western slope, some works apparently revealed a cemetery area, but they are unpublished and already Fossey was not able to acquire any further detail (Fossey 1988: 309).

15. Steni North – Tsumbitses West: *Components HA_33 to HA_34 and HA_85*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_33	C	settlement	Steni North – Tsumbitses West	Rescue excavation	certain
HA_34	H	settlement	Steni North – Tsumbitses West	Rescue excavation	certain
HA_85	R	settlement	Steni North – Tsumbitses West	Int. topographical surveys	certain

The remains of the ancient town of Onchestos lie on the SW terracing slopes of the Tsumbitses hill, at the Steni pass between the Copais and Teneric plains. The Tsumbitses flat top is ca 100m long, 50m wide and on it can be seen today the remains of buildings from the Ottoman village settled in this location (Kazarma locality – see below).
Ploughed-up stones [AE687] showing ancient occupation were noticed on the SW slopes by travellers (Ross 1851 vol. I: 25), and gr-rom sherds [AE1373] were noticed by Lauffer on the surface, and dated as C by him (Lauffer Kopais I: 19, from his early

visits). A white marble block built in a building of the deserted village has also been noticed (Lauffer Kopais I: 19), as well as the ruins of a large oblong building with its long axis orientated E-W, jointly with tile fragments (indication of a roofed building) [AE695] and a Doric capital of the late 5th or early 4thC BC and two inscriptions from the same area (AD 1964: 200-1, pl.237; BCH 1966: 856-7, fig.7; JHS Arch. 1965-6: 13).

Rescue excavation by the local Ephorate at the site (AD 29 (1973-4): 442-443 and later on AD 1991: 333) discovered a complex dated to the 4thC BC, enclosed by porches with shops and interpreted as the ancient *agora* [AE448; AE1450][15]. The area belonged to the *polis* of Onchestos and would be connected with the sanctuary of Poseidon (600m to the SE). According to Christopoulou 1995, it was probably a public open space (*agora*) for the private, civilian and cultural needs of the Boeotian *koinon*. Meetings and religious celebrations took place in the sanctuary, and the *agora* served all these. Christopoulou says that the expenses for the construction of the *agora* buildings were not covered by the *polis* of Onchestos only, but by the confederation (*koinon*[16]).
An earlier phase (C) is also represented in the excavation layers [AE1449]. Christopoulou (1995: 429-445) would suggest that they are earlier constructions with the same function as the later ones. This seems to be just an interpretation though without strong evidence[17].

The *polis* of Onchestos is mentioned in Pausanias IX 26.5 as well as in Strabo IX 410-412. In the C period it was probably only a habitation area associated to the sanctuary, which later on became a small town site, mentioned in the R texts (Diodorus XVII 10.4) and replacing C-H Haliartos destroyed by the Romans (see above - HALIARTOS).

16. Tsumbitses-Kazarma: *Component HA_36*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_36	gr-rom	? Fort	Tsumbitses-Kazarma	Travellers	certain

On the Tsumbitses hilltop, by Kazarma deserted village, remains of an ancient tower were noticed by travellers: Ross 1851 Vol. I: 25; Vischer 1875: 561; Leake 1835: 215, and reported by Lauffer (Kopais I: 19).

[15] A system of porches with a Greek P form [AE1450] was brought to light, and interpreted as *agora* surrounded by *stoai* with shops (on both sides of the road, at the 92nd km of the road Thebes-Levadeia, dated to the end of the 4th and middle 3rdC BC. A nice picture of one of the excavated rooms opening from the porch is shown in Christopoulou (1995: 422).
[16] The chronology of the later phase goes also in accordance with the end of the Theban leadership on the *koinon* and the need of a new meeting place for it that had to be chosen in a neutral place. Onchestos' sanctuary of Poseidon, with its central position, would be suitable for the task (Christopoulou 1995).
[17] In the excavated layers of the C period [AE1449] architectural fragments and remains of structures were found, as well as movable finds of two phases and small finds (two copper voting tokens from the C period; C black glazed tiles).

17. Steni North - Tsumbitses East: ***Components HA_37 and HA_38***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_37	EH	settlement	Steni North - Tsumbitses East	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
HA_38	MH	settlement	Steni North - Tsumbitses East	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

On the SE slopes of Tsumbitses (at Steni pass), Lauffer (Kopais I: 20) saw traces of prehistoric occupation (EH and MH) as well as obsidian flints [AE1374]. Lauffer could recognize MH material and only one EH sherd with certainty, though this is probably due to the fact that MH potsherds (especially the well known Minyan and brown glaze ware) are more easily recognizable than EH. The site is reported in Hope Simpson 1965 as Kazarma.
The place corresponds to the Onchestos prehistoric site surveyed during intensive and systematic artefact surface surveys (Boeotia Survey Project) and listed as 'Onchestos' in table 1 -*Survey sites*- below. The site showed not only presence of EH and MH material, but also Neolithic and less strong LH. The EH and MH activity focuses became 'settlement/habitation' in character, as recognized as such during intensive survey.

18/19. Tsumbitses Ag.Panagia: ***Components HA_39, HA_40 and HA_76*** **(18)*; HA_41*** **(19)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_39	MH	activity focus	Tsumbitses Ag.Panagia	Personal or group interest	certain
HA_40	gr-rom	? activity focus	Tsumbitses Ag.Panagia	Int. topographical surveys	certain
HA_41	gr-rom	? burial place	Tsumbitses Ag.Panagia	Int. topographical surveys	certain
HA_76	LH	activity focus	Tsumbitses Ag.Panagia	Personal or group interest	certain

On the SE spur of Tsumbitses/Vounalakia hill, a 50m large small plateau ca 15m above the plain juts S from low hills which form a saddle between Copais and the Theban plain, ca. 1km N of Thebes-Levadeia road (HS&D 1979: G31). On it lies the Ag. Panagia chapel, by the ruins of an older one. As Lauffer (Kopais I: 17) notes, Tsumbitses/Vounalakia is a calcareous hill, apparently with no water[18]. The small plateau overlooks the Teneric plain, which lies 8m under the level of the Copais basin,

[18] This is what Lauffer states, though two water springs are marked at the Steni pass on the IGME geological map, but they could be not permanent.

and easily turns into a swamp (see appendix II; Philippson 1951). Therefore, the saddle by the plateau, in use today by the railway and called Northern Pass (through Kiapha, see Philippson 1951: 17f), was preferred in antiquity to the Southern Pass by Steni. According to Lauffer (Kopais I: 17), the path was running nearby the Ag. Panagia location. The site corresponds to the MP B3 survey site (see below, table 1 - *Survey sites*), where an EH activity focus, as well as G-A traces of activity and a C to LR rural site have been recognized by means of intensive systematic surveys (Boeotia Survey Project).

Components HA_39 and HA_76: Prehistoric gazetteers reports MH sherds from the site (French 1972: fig. 19; Syriopoulos 1968; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 30-1; HS&D 1979: G31). Fossey (1988: 310) reports only MH material, but in French and HS&D 1979 LH is also listed. EH has been recognized by means of intensive systematic survey (see see below, table 1 - *Survey sites* – MP B3).

Components HA_40 and HA_41: The chapel marks the site of a medieval settlement and probably of an older hamlet site. Lauffer (Kopais I: 17) reports ancient sherds on the surface, noticed also later during the intensive artefact surface survey (Boeotia Survey project) that recognized G-A traces of activity and a C to LR rural site (see see below, table 1 - *Survey sites* – MP B3)[19]. Lauffer also reports remains of tile graves at the foot of the spur (*component HA_41*).

20. Megalo Kastraki: *Components HA_44 to HA_49* and *HA_83*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_44	EH	activity focus	Megalo Kastraki	Int. topographical surveys	precise
HA_45	MH	settlement	Megalo Kastraki	Int. topographical surveys	precise
HA_46	LH	? activity focus	Megalo Kastraki	Int. topographical surveys	precise
HA_47	A	activity focus	Megalo Kastraki	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HA_48	C	activity focus	Megalo Kastraki	Other	certain
HA_49	H	activity focus	Megalo Kastraki	Other	certain
HA_83	MH	burial place	Megalo Kastraki	Personal or group interest	precise

To the NW of the Sphingion mountain, between the railway and the higher Prophitis Ilias, lies a promontory overlooking the basin and is linked to the mountain through a small pass, with two hilltops. The higher one is named Megalo Kastraki after the remains lying on its top, while S of it is the lower one, called Mikro Kastraki (Lauffer Kopais I: 21ff).

[19] Lauffer (Kopais I: 17) reports also of an ancient large block rebuilt in the chapel (which could be from Onchestos nearby).

Megalo Kastraki's hilltop is 10x30m large with a NW terrace which is also quite wide and fortified (Lauffer Kopais I: 23 - sketch 12). Several surface house walls and terrace walls (apparently not noticed earlier by any traveller), as well as remains of fortification and surface sherds (from prehistoric to C period), were known (on the hilltop, on the NW terrace and on the S gentle slope[20]) before the systematic excavation carried out by the local Ephorate on the hilltop in 1995-97 (AD 1995: 299-301; AD 1996: 270-2; Sarri 2000). Lauffer (AM 1938/9: 177-185, pll. 71-2) gave the first very good and detailed account on the site. A detailed account is also from the same author in Kopais I: 21ff. While prehistoric materials lie especially on the W slopes, the later historical material is to be found on the SE slopes mainly (Lauffer Kopais I: 31; Sarri 2000).
The site is known also as *Medeon*, mentioned in Homeric Ilias, although the identification is just a possibility, as Fossey 1988: 314 and Lauffer Kopais I: 34 remark. The place is also known as *Davlosis*, after the name of the area below, with a small hamlet.
The place in the MH period was a fortified hilltop settlement, probably with a low settlement area on the S slopes (*component HA_45*). Three MH cist tombs (child graves – *component HA_83*) have been excavated within the settlement site, as it is often the case in MH habitation site (AD50 1995: 299-301). The site was already occupied in the EH period (*component HA_44*), probably as a quite important settlement at that time already, though EH layers were not excavated during the recent excavations by the local Ephorate (1995-1997). A wall around the hilltop is visible but uncertain is the date. It seems not to be Mycenaean, though accounts on the site (earlier than the systematic excavations) talk about a fortified hilltop of the MH and LH period as well (Lauffer, AM 1938/9; Lauffer Kopais I: 21ff), and LH sherds are reported from the site in various prehistoric gazetteers (HS&D 1979: G14; Hope Simpson 1965). A component for the LH period has been recorded and left as possible activity focus, since we cannot be sure on the location and quantity of the surface sherds reported.
As mentioned earlier, material from historical times has been noticed in a lower area, on the SE hill slope. It would probably represent a site with rural character, according to Lauffer nothing more than a small hamlet, since there is no fresh water very close (the first one being at ca 1km to the NE), as he notes[21]. We would suggest though a possible interpretation as a sheep-fold, as there is one even today there, and the hill slopes as well as the surrounding area are suitable for pasturage. A systematic collection of material at the site would probably clarify its function.

21. Kastraki area: *Component HA_50*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_50	unknown	activity focus	Kastraki area	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

[20] Respectively the acropolis and the lower settlement according to Lauffer (Kopais I: 31).
[21] Lauffer compares this site with the Onchestos one, which was a much more important site. A small town/large village grew up next to the Poseidon sanctuary (see above in the text – *components HA_33, HA_34 and HA_85*).

Between Megalo and Mikro Kastraki, in a lower area, traces of a single building foundation were noticed on the surface (Lauffer Kopais I: 22, who does not mention any associated material nor chronology). Associated material might be R in date (personal visit and pers.comm. from the excavator at the site for the local Ephorate, K.Sarri).

22. Mikro Kastraki: *Component HA_51*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_51	Preh	? activity focus	Mikro Kastraki	Int. topographical surveys	certain

Mikro Kastraki is a lower hilltop, to the NW of the Sphingion mountain (see above -Megalo Kastraki- for location details). Lauffer (AM 1938/9: 177-185, pll. 71-2 and Kopais I: 22) reports a small fortified site (a small prehistoric fort?) which could be part of the main fortification on Megalo Kastraki, on the basis of house foundations on the surface on top of the hill [AE1380] and scattered sherds on the ground [AE1381], both of which only he noticed. On the other hand, my personal visit at the site, recently, as well as personal communication from the excavator at the site for the local Ephorate, K.Sarri, did not report anything.

23/24. Sphingion W: *Component HA_52* (23) and Davlosis: *Component HA_53* (24)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_52	LH	burial place	Sphingion W	Personal or group interest	approximate
HA_53	LH	burial place	Davlosis	Personal or group interest	approximate

Prehistoric gazetteers mention a LH cemetery on the W slope of Sphingion (*component HA_52*) as well as by Davlosis[22] (*component HA_53*), where locals report idols and rings found above the hamlet (see also Lauffer Kopais I: 35). At the Kalimbaki locality, at the W foot of the Sphingion mountain, two LH chamber tombs [AE1736] were excavated by the local Ephorate in 1995 (AD51 1996: 270-2); the evidence has been associated to *component HA_52*.
As Lauffer points out (Kopais I: 35), this reminds one of the typical situation which occurs in the Copais area, of prehistoric cemeteries in relation to the settlements they were attached to. Burial areas were usually at the foothills or on the slopes of the 'mainland' opposite the fortified settlement by the lake (on a spur, promontory, or 'islet'). In this case, the settlement site would be Megalo Kastraki. On the other hand, considering the apparent absence of LH layers on Megalo Kastraki, archaeologists from the local Ephorate, before the excavation of the chamber tombs, had hypothesized a location for the Mycenaean acropolis on the Kalimbaki hill (AD 50B

[22] In the small hamlet at Davlosis, at the foothills of the Sphingion mountain, is a perennial fresh water spring.

1995 (2000): 299-301). This is on the basis of a strong retaining wall that was found facing the stream at the foot of Mt. Sphingion [AE1734 - infrustructure] and possibly connected with prehistoric drainage works in the gulf of Davlosis (AD51 1996: 270-2).

25. Kokkoretsa South: *Components HA_54 to HA_59*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_54	gr-rom	? Fort	Kokkoretsa South	Personal or group interest	approximate
HA_55	LH	? Fort	Kokkoretsa South	Personal or group interest	approximate
HA_56	Preh	activity focus	Kokkoretsa South	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
HA_57	EH	? activity focus	Kokkoretsa South	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
HA_58	C	activity focus	Kokkoretsa South	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
HA_59	LR	human presence	Kokkoretsa South	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

At the NE corner of the Davlosis bay, S of the Kokkoretsa/Samaroi promontory, lies a 15m high hill, 50 m wide, which is probably the site of a fort overlooking the passage from Copais to Lake Yliki area. The place was visited by Lauffer (Kopais I: 36) who dates the remains to the LH period (*Components HA_55*), while HS&D (1979: G15) would prefer to date the fort to the H period[23] (*Component HA_54*), though they report some probable LH sherds from the site[24]. Fossey (1988: 313) describes it as a square tower of rough polygonal masonry, around which are remains of a few other buildings. The date is still uncertain. Evidence AE672, AE684 and AE1383 would refer to the same remains of fortification.
Additionally, sherds have been noticed at the site including EH (Fossey 1988: 313 only, apparently), obsidian and red flints, as well as C (Fossey 1988: 313 only seems to report C black glaze, which could be associated with the fort, if gr-rom) and LR material (Fossey 1988: 313 only. Material could also be off-site). Only obsidian and "early sherds" are recorded in the field report, as pointed out by HS&D (1979: G15).

26. Kokkoretsa - Proph.Ilias: *Component HA_60*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position

[23] They say: "*polygonal walls appear to indicate a H fort*". Being the fort close to Medeon-Kastraki site (*component HA_49*; HS&D 1979: G14), it is possibly subsidiary to it (HS&D 1979: G15).
[24] HS&D 1979: G15 have LH? with question mark. LH is claimed in AM 63-4 (1938-9): 183 and by Ålin 1962.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_60	unknown	activity focus	Kokkoretsa - Proph.Ilias	Int. topographical surveys	certain

On a hill W of Kokkoretsa, by the Proph.Ilias chapel, traces of a tower [AE1384 - AE1385] are reported by Lauffer (Kopais I: 37), though they constitute slighter signs compared to Kokkoretsa South (see above). I preferred not to mark the site as a certain fort, and I left the component as a generic activity focus.
Kokkoretsa Southern and Western forts would mark the N border of the SW Copais bay, which belonged to Haliartos.

27/28. Listi: *Components HA_77 and HA_78* (27) and Listi nearby: *Component HA_79* (28)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_77	EH	activity focus	Listi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HA_78	LH	? activity focus	Listi	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
HA_79	N	? activity focus	Listi nearby	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

Listi is named a hill 1.5km ca N of Mavromati village. At the W foot of the hill EH material is reported; LH material is also reported[25], though the accounts on the site are very vague (Fossey 1988: 146). Buck (1972) is apparently the only account of Listi before an intensive survey, as he mentions the site in an attempt to identify it with ancient *Keressos* (Plutarch *Camillus* 19; Pausanias IX 1-4), though probably Listi was not even in Thespian lands (according to the borders of the *chorai* as we have defined them, it lays in Haliartos *chora*). Buck also mentions a Neo site nearby (*Component HA_79*).
The Boeotia Survey project's preliminary results attest for the Listi site a gr-rom presence (A-C-Early hellenistic undetermined activity focus – see below, table 1 - *Survey Sites* – 'Listi').

29/30. Kariopoula: *Components HA_61* (29) *and HA_62* (30)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_61	gr-rom	fort	Kariopoula	Travellers	certain
HA_62	gr-rom	burial place	Kariopoula	Int. topographical surveys	certain

[25] Few sherds now at Thebes museum (Buck 1972).

Component HA_61: On the slopes NW of Mazi village, by the road Mazi-Petra, remains of a large gr-rom fortification are visible, as well as surface walls probably belonging to the fortification on a quite vast area, at least 100m wide (Lauffer Kopais I: 50ff – sketch 52-53-54). The fort overlooks the way out from the upland valley.
Component HA_62: Tiles and bones were found there by the small hilltop in the N area of the large fortification (see Lauffer Kopais I – sketch 54), but sherds are also all over the slopes and graves were found on the E and W slopes. The site had already been noticed by Vischer 1875: 558, who identified it with Lisandros' military camps before the attack to Haliartos, mentioned by Plutarch (*Lysander* 29.11) as on a hill named *Orchalides*. If one follows this interpretation, the fortification probably did not belong to the Haliartos *polis*, but was built for an 'independent' military meaning.

31/32. Stokthi Keramidissa: *Components HA_63* (31) *and HA_64* (32)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_63	gr-rom	activity focus	Stokthi Keramidissa	Int. topographical surveys	certain
HA_64	N	? activity focus	Stokthi Keramidissa	Int. topographical surveys	certain

1.5km ca E of Petra are three terraces, with a water spring (Keramidissa/Keramida).

Component HA_63: On the ancient blocks probably *in situ* have been noticed, unless they have been regularly arranged in more recent times (Lauffer Kopais I: 53ff – sketch 58 and 56), as well as surface walls (very long, probably terracing walls) and a large quantity of ancient sherds. According to Lauffer, on the upper terrace was probably a large building, and building material and sherds in lower terraces come probably from the upper one. Among the architectural fragments is also a pillar, probably inscribed once. According to Lauffer (Kopais I: 54) the ensemble of remains may lead to the interpretation of the site as a cult place site (sanctuary?). He suggests an identification with the ancient sanctuary of Kekrops of Haliartos (whose distance from the site is 1.5km ca), mentioned by Pausanias IX 33.1. I would not go further into identification problems, because this is not the purpose of the present research, and furthermore we cannot even be sure as to the interpretation of the site as a cult place. Evidence, as they are reported in the bibliography, could also be associated to a rural site. A visit to the place and appropriate intensive and systematic artefact surface surveys might help in the interpretation of site typology and function.

Component HA_64: A stone tool (axe) dated to the Neolithic period has been found at the site 50m S of the water source. Once again, states Lauffer (Kopais I: 55), we could be facing an open and not naturally defended site occupied in earlier periods. Could a single stone tool found be indication of a settlement at the site? In my opinion, a discovery like this, in the location of a later period activity focus, could mean: first, that the discovery occurred because of the interest in other evidences at the site (more visible, if not more interesting for the archaeologist); second, that some kind of activities was going on at a time in the Neolithic period in that landscape,

comprehensive of this place, but we should take into account that it is a movable object and hence is not a sure indication of activity; third, that the axe tool could be used for different purposes, and does not immediately mean a habitation site; fourth, slope erosion may have brought to the surface a single sign of a much intensive prehistoric (Neolithic?) activity which still lies buried.

33. Petra: *Component HA_65*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_65	gr-rom	? activity focus	Petra	Int. topographical surveys	imprecise

Petra is the name of the village mountain (Petra/Siacho) to the W of Haliartos, just above the road Thebes-Levadeia.
Ancient blocks and architectural fragments are built in two chapels immediately to the SW of Petra village (Ag. Taxiarchoi and Ag. Panagia). In front of the Ag. Panagia chapel lie marble blocks, probably dug up during renovation work of the chapel in 1926. According to Lauffer (Kopais I: 56), who reports of the remains, they could mark the site of a gr-rom cult place site or a village site. Lauffer seems to prefer the latter hypothesis and attempts to identify the village with ancient *Okalea*, mentioned by Strabo IX 410[26].
In the vicinity of the Ag. Panagia chapel a *miliarium* (BCH 29 (1905) was also found: 98ff - AE1410), dated in Hadrian times, marking a mile distance from the *polis* of Alalkomenai (text reported by Lauffer Kopais I: 56). It could mark the passage of a road, but the evidence is too movable to be reliable and, moreover, the distance of the finding spot from the Alalkomenai site is longer than a mile.

34. Vigla: *Component HA_66*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_66	gr-rom	fort	Vigla	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

1km W from Petra, on a small terrace, remains of a fortification in the form of a tower and remains of a round wall are visible around the hilltop. Tile fragments have also been noticed at the site, as well as mortar remains, which probably indicate a reuse of the fortification in Roman or later periods (Lauffer Kopais I: 62 - sketch 62).

35/36. Linopyrgo: *Components HA_67* (35) *and HA_68* (36)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_67	gr-rom	fort	Linopyrgo	Historical geography	approximate
HA_68	gr-rom	activity focus	Linopyrgo	Int. topographical	approximate

[26] See chapter II.3.8 -VILLAGE LEVEL, for the various attempts of identification of ancient *Okalea*.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				surveys	

NW of Goulas mountain, and SE of Kouphospithari, NE of Evangelistria, on the Eastern side of a small hollow, facing the Evangelistria monastery to its E side (700m far away on map), and immediately off the road (to the N of it) from Haliartos to the village Zagora/Evangelistria, were found remains of a square shaped tower (*component HA_67*, known also as an Evangelistria tower), dated to the 4thC by Lauffer (Kopais I: 60) because of the walling technique (squared blocks). Few surface walls have been noticed in the vicinity (Fossey 1988 - plan 43). No pottery has yet come to light at this site, and only one inscription, IG VII 2851 [AE712], in honour of the emperor Hadrian, comes from the area (Fossey 1988: 314). Lauffer (Kopais I: 60) notes that tile fragments can be seen on some lower terraces at quite a distant (*component HA_68*).
The fort is in a very good position, by the communication routes from the upland to Petra and Haliartos and to Evangelistria and Koroneia (fig.1). It also controls the ancient path which led from Thespiae –through Askra and the valley of the Muses- to Evangelistria and then Koroneia. Attempts have been made to identify the site with ancient *Okalea* (see chapter II.3.8 -VILLAGE LEVEL).

37. Lykophio: *Component HA_84*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_84	C	fort	Lykophio	Personal or group interest	approximate

On the Lykophio hill, on a small plateau at the SW corner, is a small fort of the C or H period. From it is visible the location of the Linopyrgo/Evangelistria tower (*component HA_67*). Built probably during the Sacred War (353-346), it would belong to the system of forts controlled by Thebes. The small fort linked the tower and the city of Haliartos (BCH 115 (1991): 883-884 - see Kallet-Marx 1989).

38. Mavri: *Components HA_69 and HA_70*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_69	gr-rom	burial place	Mavri	Int. topographical surveys	certain
HA_70	gr-rom	? activity focus	Mavri	Int. topographical surveys	certain

On the North side of the Kalamaki/Ksirorrema river, to the NW of the Evangelistria village, on a river terrace, there is a place that was noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 61 - sketch 69). Remains from tile graves and bones, along with ancient and Byzantine sherds and a ring with '*gemma*' [AE1414], as well as a squared block [AE1415] have been found.

Certainly there is evidence for a burial place (*Component HA_69*). In addition, one could hypothesize some other kind of activity focus in connection with it (*Component HA_70*).
Lauffer (Kopais I: 61) suggests an identification of the place with ancient *Hippotai* (not yet localized), on the basis of Plutarch (*Amat. Narr.* 4). I would rather suggest an interpretation of the place as a burial site, which could even be associated to a villa site on the river terrace, since it seems rich, if one considers the ring that was found (for which though no date is given, and we can only suppose a Roman origin). The place seems ideal for an upland site with an agro-pastoral vocation, though we cannot totally exclude the presence of a cult place (with associated burials).

39/40. Vrastamites/Ypsilantis: *Component HA_71* (39) and Ypsilantis Pyrgos: *Component HA_72* (40)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_71	gr-rom	? activity focus	Vrastamites/Ypsilantis	Int. topographical surveys	certain
HA_72	gr-rom	activity focus	Ypsilantis Pyrgos	Travellers	certain

On the E slope of the Palaiothiva-Petra/Tilphousion ridge, the modern village of Vrastamites/Ypsilantis lies at the bottom of a small valley running down the Palaiothiva ridge from the church of Ag. Nikolaos. A medieval tower very well preserved lies mid-slope in the valley, ca 1km S of the village.
Component HA_71: Ancient blocks rebuilt in the Ag. Panagia chapel E of the village [AE1416] and lying below the tower to its NE [AE1417], as well as surface walls and ancient foundations [AE1418] noticed under the chapel itself (Lauffer Kopais I: 63), seem to testify the presence of an ancient site by the modern village, though its date cannot be clarified through the available information[27].
Component HA_72: By the tower Lauffer reports (Kopais I: 64) C sherds and tile fragments as well as a surface wall visible on the surface. Ross (1851: 31) had already noticed surface walls (probably disappeared today), as well as Stephani (1843: 73), who describes here on the road large stone foundations and surface walls. Personal visits of the Boeotia Survey team (J.L. Bintliff - personal comm.) revealed below the tower the presence of potsherd concentrations, which could imply remains of a possible gr-rom village.

Lauffer (Kopais I: 64) suggests an identification with ancient *Okalea*. Among the many possibilities of identification advanced (see chapter II.3.8 -VILLAGE LEVEL), he sees as the most probable one the Vrastamites-Ypsilantis site, since it is 6km distance to Haliartos and Alalkomenai, in line with Strabo IX 240. The identification had already been suggested by Ross (1851: 31). This interpretation is accepted also by Philippson (1951: 474).

[27] The structures could even relate to the large Frankish feudal village that goes on and flourishes in the early Ottoman period, whose remains have been noticed above the modern village (J.L. Bintliff –pers. comm.- and Bintliff-Kiel in preparation).

41. Ypsilantis Ag. Nikolaos: *Component HA_73*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_73	gr-rom	activity focus	Ypsilantis Ag. Nikolaos	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

On a 200m wide terrace 400m below the chapel of Ag. Nikolaos, on the E slope of Palaiothiva ridge, ca 1.8km SW of Vrastamites-Ypsilantis. The place is marked, according to Lauffer (Kopais I: 65) by a *platanus* tree and a fresh water spring.
A large quantity of glaze sherds [AE1423] and remains of terracing wall [AE1424] mark the presence of a gr-rom activity focus. Lauffer (Kopais I: 66) notes how the area available for a hamlet here is probably too small, therefore he interprets the evidence as representing a fort or a cult place site (for the latter, he suggests the identification with the sanctuary of Praxidike, after Pausanias IX 33.4 'πρός the Tilphosion mountain'). Probably here it used to run, as it still does today (see fig.1), the passage from the small valley of Vrastamites/Ypsilantis (and Haliartos *chora*) to Solinari (and Koroneia *chora*)[28], and from the terrace can be seen not only the whole Vrastamites-Ypsilantis valley, but also the whole Copais until its Northern border (from Pyrgos to Sphingion Mt.). It could easily be a cult place site on an open position in an upland terrace, as can usually be found in the Copais area, as often remarked by Lauffer. On the other hand, the place could also have a different character, and only a closer look to the material found at the site could probably give a more reliable answer.

42. Petra/Tilphousion: *Components HA_74 and HA_75*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
HA_74	gr-rom	fort	Petra/Tilphousion	Travellers	certain
HA_75	LH	? Fort	Petra/Tilphousion	Int. topographical surveys	certain

The Petra mountain, the rocky ridge between Vrastamites-Ypsilantis and Solinari village, that juts into the Copais basin, has been identified with the ancient *Tilphousion*[29], mentioned by Pausanias (IX 33.2) as lying ca 50 stadia from Haliartos.

On top of the Petra-Tilphousion spur, on a plateau ca. 80m EW and 100m NS. On the plateau, Ross (1851: 31) had already noticed a section of polygonal walling. Lauffer describes the site to be interpreted as a large fort (Lauffer Kopais I: 68ff – sketch 76). As he notices (Kopais I: 73) there is nowhere in Copais a place where one can have a better look over the entire basin.

[28] see Lauffer Kopais I – sketch 73.
[29] There are several variant spellings for the name. For reference on ancient sources see Fossey 1972 and Hansen 1996: 76. In particular, Demostenes XIX 141-148. See also in this work Solinari Agios Ioannis (*Tilphousion*) in Koroneia area (appendix I.1), especially for the Tilphousia spring.

Component HA_74: Glaze sherds and tile fragments [AE1428], as well as walling technique, lead to the interpretation of the site as a gr-rom fort probably of the Late Classical period (4thC BC?). Strabo (IX, 413) refers to the *Tilphousion* as a fort pure and simple, without an associated settlement.
Component HA_75: Traces of an older, probably Mycenaean fortification [AE1429], have also been noticed by Lauffer (Kopais I: 71 - sketch 80) at some places, especially to the E side. Lauffer suggests a probable Mycenaean fortified site, as many others in the Copais. I would rather locate here a simple fort (without associated settlement). See Fossey 1972, 1990d and 1992: 112-114.

Fortification walls are visible on the E side of the top, while the W side is naturally fortified. Three phases of walling can probably be distinguished: Mycenaean (LH), gr-rom, modern[30]. It is an important fort which played a role in Boeotian history and legend (Strabo IX 2,36; Leake 1835: 205, with references).
The spur of Petra played an important role during the so-called 'last' battle of the independence war from the Turks in September 1829 (Papachatzis 1981: 209). Between the rocky hill and the lake, to the E, there was a tiny passage that in 1829 was controlled by the Greek forces and stopped Turkish troops leading to Lamia. In ancient times, the same passage would have been used as the passage for the road Haliartos-Koroneia, followed by Pausanias as well.
There is discussion on which of the two forts (the higher Paliothiva[31], or the lower Petra, described here) was actually named *Tilphousion*, since ancient texts could refer to both (Lauffer Kopais I: 86; Fossey 1972 and 1992). Only the name of the source *Tilphousia*[32] at the foot of Petra proffers something, but nothing else can provides further help.

A cult place is also known at the foot of the ridge (see chapter II.3.1 for details).

What follows is a preliminary version of the list of sites discovered and recorded during the Systematic Intensive Surface Survey carried out in the area (area surveyed mapped in fig.2) in the 1980s by J.L. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass and their équipe (Bintliff-Snodgrass AR 1986-87: 23ff.).

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
HAL 0	A	?activity focus
HAL 0	G	?activity focus
HAL 0	Preh	activity focus
HAL B1	A	rural site
HAL B1	C	rural site
HAL B1	C-Ehl	rural site
HAL B1	EH	settlement

[30] see Fossey 1992: 112-114; Papachatzis 1981: pl. 252.
[31] See *component KO_80* in Koroneia *chora* (appendix I.1).
[32] On the water source see chapter II.3.1.

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
HAL B1	G	rural site
HAL B1	N	settlement
HAL B2	A	activity focus
HAL B2	C	activity focus
HAL B2	EH	?settlement
HAL B2	G	activity focus
HAL B3	A	rural site
HAL B3	EH	?settlement
HAL B3	G	rural site
HAL B4	A	activity focus
HAL B4	C	activity focus
HAL B4	C-Ehl	activity focus
HAL B4	G	activity focus
HAL B4	LH	?activity focus
HAL B4	Preh	activity focus
Kahrstedt site	LR	rural site
HAL B5	A	?activity focus
HAL B5	C-Ehl	rural site
HAL B5	G	?activity focus
HAL B6	G	?activity focus
HAL B7	A	rural site
HAL B7	C	activity focus
HAL B7	C-Ehl	?activity focus
HAL B7	EH	settlement
HAL B7	G	rural site
HAL B7	LH	?activity focus
HAL B7	N	settlement
Listi	A	activity focus
Listi	C	activity focus
Listi	C-Ehl	activity focus
ME1	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
MN1	C-Ehl	rural site
MN1	Lhl-ER	rural site
MN1	LR	rural site
MP A3	LR	rural site
MP A4	A	rural site
MP A4	C	rural site
MP A5	C-Ehl	activity focus
MP A5	EH	activity focus
MP A5	LH	activity focus
MP A5	Lhl-ER	activity focus
MP A5	LR	activity focus
MP A5	MH	activity focus
MP A6	C-Ehl	rural site

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
MP A6	Lhl-ER	activity focus
MP A6	Preh	?activity focus
MP B1	C-Ehl	rural site
MP B2	A	?activity focus
MP B2	C	?activity focus
MP B2	C-Ehl	rural site
MP B3	A	activity focus
MP B3	C-Ehl	rural site
MP B3	EH	settlement
MP B3	G	activity focus
MP B3	LH	settlement
MP B3	Lhl-ER	rural site
MP B3	LR	rural site
MP B3	MH	settlement
MP B4	EH	settlement
MP B4	LH	settlement
MP B4	MH	?settlement
MP B5	A	?activity focus
MP B5	G	?activity focus
MP B5	LH	activity focus
MW1	LR	rural site
MW2	C	activity focus
MW3	C-Ehl	?activity focus
MW4	C	?rural site
MW4	C-Ehl	rural site
MW5	C	?activity focus
MW5	H	?activity focus
MW5	R	?activity focus
Onchestos	EH	settlement
Onchestos	LH	activity focus
Onchestos	MH	settlement
Onchestos	N	Settlement
Palaiomazi	A	?activity focus
Palaiomazi	C-Ehl	activity focus
Palaiomazi	H	activity focus
Palaiomazi	R	activity focus
Palaiomazi	LR	activity focus

Table 1. *List of intensive survey sites discovered during intensive and systematic survey work* (Bintliff-Snodgrass AR 1986-87: 23ff.) – *mapped in fig.2.*

Appendix I.9
Eastern Helikon: Thespike

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

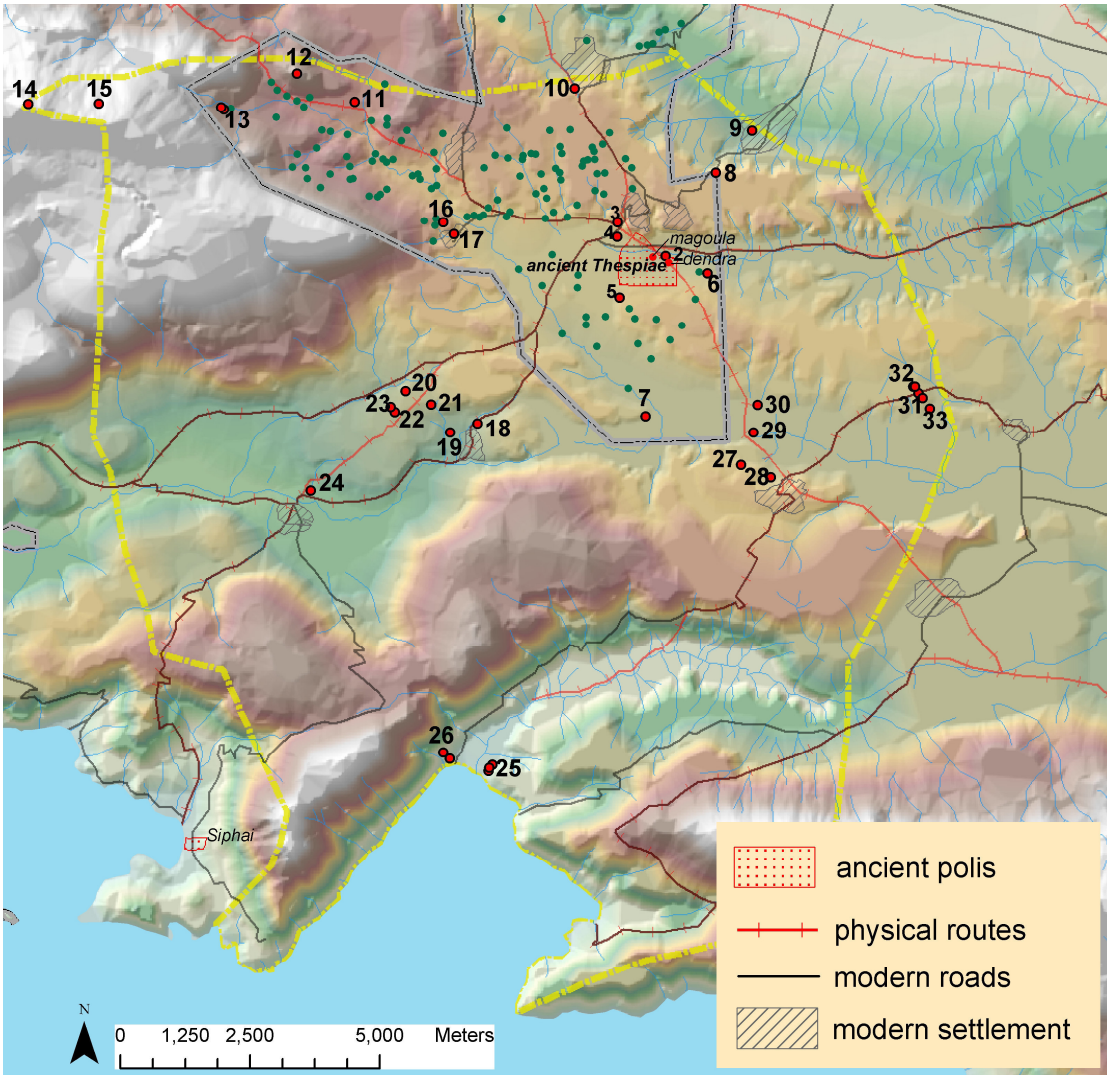


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of Thespiae chora.*

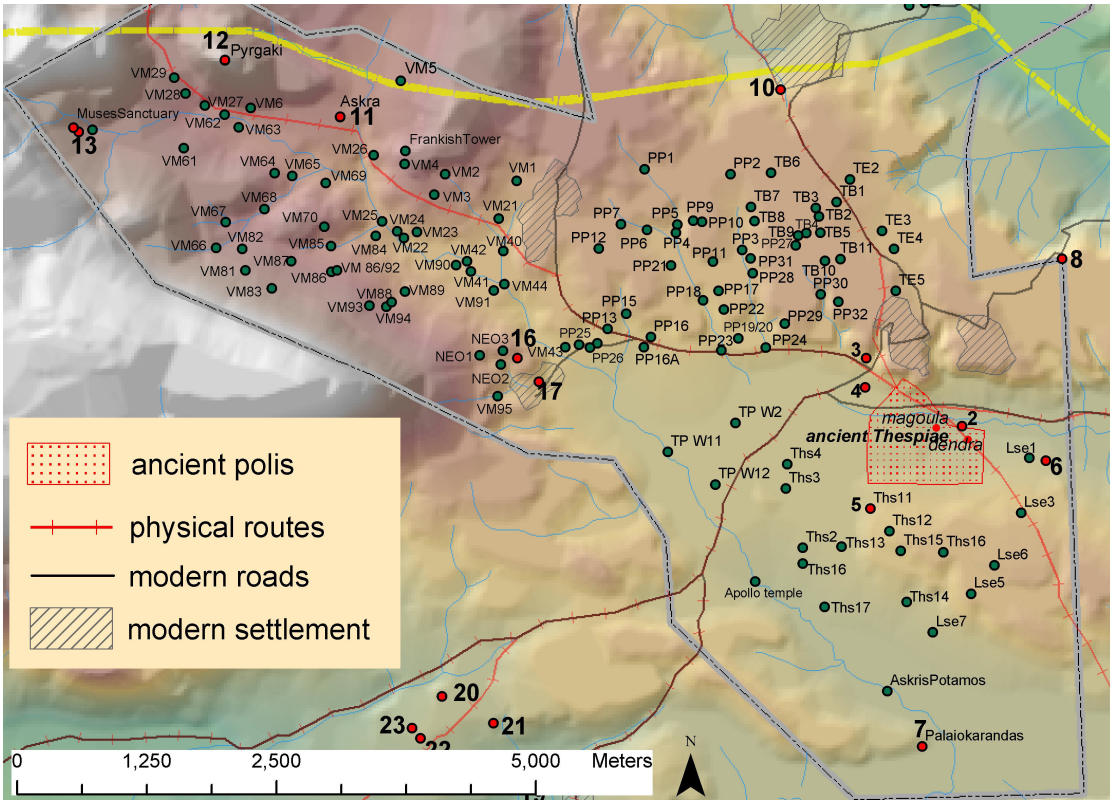


Fig.2. *Same as fig.1, but limited to the area intensively surveyed, with discovered sites (listed in table 1 -Survey sites-) marked.*

1. THESPIAE: *Components TH_1 to TH_12*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_1	G	settlement	Thespiae	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_2	A	settlement	Thespiae	Travellers	certain
TH_3	C	settlement	Thespiae	Travellers	certain
TH_4	H	settlement	Thespiae	Travellers	certain
TH_5	R	settlement	Thespiae	Travellers	certain
TH_7	LR	settlement	Thespiae	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_8	LR	fort	Thespiae	Travellers	certain
TH_9	N	settlement	Thespiae magoula	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_10	EH	settlement	Thespiae magoula	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_11	MH	activity focus	Thespiae magoula	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_12	LH	? activity focus	Thespiae magoula	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_16	Preh	human presence	Thespiae Dendra	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

To the S of modern Thespies and Leondari villages, across the Kanavaris river, on a low ridge, is still visible today, to an expert eye, the site of the ancient *polis* of Thespiae, on a heavily-cultivated area.
The area once occupied by the ancient city is marked by a dense scatter of potsherds and architectural fragments as well as building material [AE1044] scattered all over the area[1]. Heavy agricultural cultivation activities, in a known but not strictly protected site, have slowly destroyed the archaeological deposits. The city limit, which at some point exceeds the hypothesized city wall line, has been traced and drawn for the different periods of occupation by J.L.Bintliff and A.M.Snodgrass as a result of their intensive survey at the site (see Bintliff-Howard-Snodgrass 2007).
The area was already known as the site of ancient Thespiae by travellers (Lolling 1889, Frazer 1913 who quotes earlier travellers). Early excavations were also carried out at the site (by de Ridder) in a very small area (AD 1967: 241 and BCH 1953: 219).
A protopolis in G periods, the site was a *polis* from A to LR period[2]. Traces of the LR fort (*component TH_8*, dismantled by Jamot in 1888-1891 'excavations' – AE1547 – see Fossey 1988: 136) are to be noticed in the middle of the ceramic city (*component TH_7*), on the highest part of the ridge, and its extension has been mapped by the Boeotia Survey project through intensive survey work in the 1980s. For more recent reports see AD 36 (1981): 186-188, AD 51 (1996): 286 and AReports 1986-87: 23-24 (Boeotia Survey Project report). A full account of the intensive survey work is in preparation.

Prehistoric is also known from the site.
Components TH_9 to TH_12: The so-called *magoula* site lies at the edge of the gr-rom *polis*, as a low mound above and on the S bank of the Kanavaris stream, which creates a swamp in the lower area at that point. The site, already known to Blegen (1920), was investigated by the Americans (Caskey 1951: 289-290 and 1960: 159-160) and by the Boeotia Survey Project in 1985 and 1986.
N to EH occupation is attested, as well as MH and LH. As for the Neolithic, the major period of occupation at the site, plenty of MN and LN, and several E-MN, including figurines have been found (Boeotia survey project). Caskey (Hesperia 1960: 159-160) compared pottery to the ones found at Eutresis site, and suggested that probably at Thespiae we have got Middle and Late Neolithic. As for EH, Hope Simpson 1965 and French have EH I?, EH II-II. The Boeotia survey project attests EH but sub-periods remain unclear (I and II?). As for MH occupation, Hope Simpson 1965 and French report MH, including Grey and Yellow Minyan and Matt-painted. Hope Simpson 1965 and French report LH III A-B from the site, while the Boeotia survey project has few sherds dated to the LH period on the *magoula* site.
Another Prehistoric focus was found by the Boeotia Survey Project higher up to the S, in the middle of the later historical city area.

[1] Sculptured pieces ranging from Archaic to Roman times are very frequent (detailed bibliography in Fossey 1988: 138 - note 7; see also recent work on architectural pieces from the site conducted by M.Bonanno and a team from Tor Vergata University - Rome).
[2] A lot of epigraphical evidence is known from and for the site and from the Thespiae area. See Fossey 1988: 138 and more recent reports, for instance: AD 50B (1995): 310; AReports 1988-89: 45-46; BCH 114 (1990): 763; BCH 112 (1988) : 642.

Component TH_16: at Dendra locality, another location in the Thespiae city area, located approximately to the E of the site, stone artefacts were found (BCH 1963: 219). As they were found isolated, they may represent only a certain human presence in the area in the Prehistoric period.

2. Thespiae NE: ***Component TH_6***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_6	R	burial place	Thespiae	Rescue excavation	approximate

Component TH_6: by the magoula along the Kanavaris river (opposite Thespies and Leondari modern villages) the evidence AE1045 (excavated peribolos and a statue - BCH 1953: 219) could refer either to the R city settlement site (*component TH_5*) or, most probably, to a burial area (a probable urban high class cemetery) nearby, with statue and funeral peribolos (BCH 1953: 219).

3. Erimokastro W: ***Component TH_13***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_13	LH	burial place	Erimokastro W	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

In the rock at the foot of the hill W of Erimokastro/Thespies modern village, an opened chamber tomb is visible (Fossey 1988: 137).

4. Thespiae vicinity: ***Component TH_15***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_15	LR	burial place	Thespiae vicinity	accidental	imprecise

In an unspecified location in the vicinity of Thespiae, probably approximately to the NW of the city site (G.Selianiti plot), a LR (5^{th}-6^{th} C AD) tomb was found during ploughing (AD 1970: 228).

5. Thespiae S: ***Components TH_17 to TH_19***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_17	H	burial place	Thespiae S	Personal or group interest	approximate
TH_18	A	burial place	Thespiae S	Personal or group interest	approximate
TH_19	C	burial place	Thespiae S	Personal or group interest	approximate

1600m to the S of the modern Thespies village, Andreiomenou (AD 36 1981: 186-7) excavated a number of H tombs, from the end of the 4th C BC. Among H graves an A and a C tomb were excavated. The area could also have been a cemetery in an earlier period, but regardless, it has always certainly been linked to Thespiae city. It corresponds to the intensive survey site THS11 (see table 1 –*Survey sites*- below).

6. Thespiae E (*poliandrion*): *Component TH_14*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_14	C	burial place	Thespiae E	Travellers	approximate

E of ancient Thespiae, a small rectangular base on which stood the statue of a lion marks the site of a *poliandrion* (probably for the Thespians killed in battle of Delion – Fossey 1988: 137), a C monumental burial place. Excavations were carried out (Stamatakis, Praktika 1882: 67-72; Keramopoulos, Praktika 1911: 153-163).

7. Palaiokarandas: *Components TH_ 29 to TH_32*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_29	H	? cult place	Palaiokarandas	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_30	C	burial place	Palaiokarandas	accidental	certain
TH_31	H	burial place	Palaiokarandas	accidental	certain
TH_32	R	? burial place	Palaiokarandas	accidental	certain

The Palaiokarandas ridge is 4km S of modern Thespies village. Around it Askris river makes a turn before leading SW towards the Domvraina *polje*.
As stated by Fossey (1988: 147), the inscriptions and sculpted blocks found there [AE1027 -AE1536] could be from ancient Thespiae, but he suggested that the site could also be a candidate for a missing village such as *Leontarne* or *Ellopia*. On the other hand, a cemetery could certainly fit some of the inscriptions listed in Fossey (1988: 147), such as the tombstones AE1028-AE1029-AE1030.
Only epigraphical evidence, and some sculpted blocks found on the surface, marked this area as a possible site. Fossey (1988) does not report any pottery evidence. In the 1980s, the Boeotia Survey Project surveyed the site intensively and recognised it as a Classical-Early Hellenistic burial place (cemetery) with probably a shrine or cult activities associated (see *Palaeokarandas* site in table 1 –*Survey sites*- below). As for the R period, only epigraphical evidence would attest the continuity of use of the burial area, with apparently no surface pottery associated. We know though that R cemeteries are much less recognisable on the surface than earlier (C-H) ones.

Despite the fact that at Palaiokarandas site Philippson (1951: 459 and 504) reports "*der* (mittelalterlichen?) *Ruine Palaiokarantas*" and the deserted village of Pyrgos on top of the ridge, intensive survey research at the site (Bintliff-Howard-Snodgrass 2007 – Palaiokarandas) did not discover traces of any medieval settlement, whilst recording

one of the major Prehistoric settlements of the area (*Palaeokarandas* site in table 1 – *Survey sites*- below).

8. Leondari NE: *Component TH_20*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_20	gr-rom	burial place	Leondari NE	accidental	approximate

Along the road running NE from Kaskaveli-Leondari to Vagia, tombs lining the road are reported in Fossey 1988: 137, without exact mention of his source of information.

9. Vagia: *Components TH_21 and TH_22*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_21	H	burial place	Vagia	accidental	imprecise
TH_22	R	burial place	Vagia	accidental	imprecise

In the area of modern Vagia village, epigraphical evidence[3] seems to attest the presence of a village and a cemetery area, although, as known, inscriptions are a very movable trace. The fact that there is only inscriptional evidence available makes uncertain the existence of a village here. Both Bintliff (pers.comm.) and Fossey (1988: 145) seem to hypothesize the existence of a very small (insignificant, as defined by Fossey) village here. As for the cemetery, we could be more certain that there were burials somewhere in the area. The Boeotia Survey project did not cover the area intensively.

10. Mavromati: *Components TH_26 to TH_28*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_26	C	? burial place	Mavromati	accidental	imprecise
TH_27	H	? burial place	Mavromati	accidental	imprecise
TH_28	R	? burial place	Mavromati	accidental	imprecise

The same as for the Vagia case (above) can be considered for the Mavromati case, where a 4th C sculpture of a woman's head and gr-rom inscriptions were found. More than in the case of Vagia, the materials here seem to come from ancient Thespiae. On the other hand, since the inscriptional evidence is constituted by tombstones mainly (and a 4th C woman's head – AD 1964: 201), a cemetery could have also been in this area, probably along a road from Thespiae city. Inscriptions are listed in Fossey 1988: 146.
The Boeotia Survey project covered the area intensively, and found a site at the immediate N outskirts of Mavromati modern village. On the surface, material was

[3] Inscriptions are listed in Fossey 1988: 146.

found from C to Medieval periods, with picks in C and LR period, as well as an ER quite strong occupation (see site MN1 in table 1 - *Survey sites*- below).

11. Askra Episkopi (ancient ASKRA): ***Components TH_ 33 to TH_39***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_33	PG	settlement	Askra Episkopi	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_34	G	settlement	Askra Episkopi	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_35	A	settlement	Askra Episkopi	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_36	C	settlement	Askra Episkopi	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_37	H	settlement	Askra Episkopi	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_38	R	settlement	Askra Episkopi	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_39	LR	settlement	Askra Episkopi	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain

At the SE and E feet of the Pyrgaki hill, by the river[4].
A thick scatter of surface potsherds mainly (with some upright stone features – AE926) testifies the presence of an extensive settlement, a large village site in this location, with evidence from PG to LR period. As for LR period, remains of a LR/Early Christian church, marking the settlement site, are to be seen at the site (Bintliff - Snodgrass 1985).
The final identification of the site with the ancient *kome* of Askra has been made by the intensive and systematic artefact surface survey work carried out in the framework of the Boeotia Survey Project.

12. Askra Pyrgaki: ***Components TH_ 40 to TH_44***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_40	LH	activity focus	Askra Pyrgaki	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TH_41	G	fort	Askra Pyrgaki	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TH_42	A	fort	Askra	Ext. topographical	certain

[4] A description of the site (SE and E feet of the Pyrgaki hill) is in Bintliff and Snodgrass' publications (Bintliff - Snodgrass 1985b: 49-70; Snodgrass 1985: 87-95).

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
			Pyrgaki	surveys	
TH_43	C	fort	Askra Pyrgaki	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TH_44	H	fort	Askra Pyrgaki	Travellers	certain

To the W of the site of ancient Askra rises a high peak marking the landscape of the valley. The hilltop is called Pyrgaki because of the presence of an ancient fortification.
A watchtower of the typical S Boeotian style (mid-late 4th C BC – Fossey 1988: 142-3) and a surrounding circuit probably earlier in date (possibly in existence since G period) are to be noticed on the top.
LH material has also been found on the hill (Fossey 1988: 143 from earlier accounts, supported by Boeotia Survey project data – Bintliff 1996b). The hilltop could have been in use as a fort (or fortified settlement) since that period, though the position is quite elevated and steep compared to the usual location of known LH forts in the region.
Pyrgaki site could be identified with ancient Keressos, mentioned in Plutarch (*Camillus* 19) and Pausanias IX 1-4.

13. Askra - Sanctuary of the Muses: ***Components TH_ 45 to TH_49 and TH_23***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_23	LR	activity focus	Askra - Sanctuary of the Muses	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
TH_45	A	cult place	Askra - Sanctuary of the Muses	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_46	C	cult place	Askra - Sanctuary of the Muses	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_47	H	cult place	Askra - Sanctuary of the Muses	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_48	R	cult place	Askra - Sanctuary of the Muses	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_49	EH	? activity focus	Askra - Sanctuary of the Muses	Other	approximate

On the slopes of Helicon, high up and in an inner position in the Valley of the Muses, lay the so-called sanctuary of the Muses.
Activities are attested since A period. A probable cult place seems to be represented by votive material from 6th C BC (BCH 1922: 288-9 nos. 145-149), though no A layers are mentioned in the later excavation reports from Roux, who reported on Jamot's earlier excavations. In C, H and R period is certain the use of the place as a sanctuary and main known structures dated to these periods. See Roux (BCH 1954:

22-45) for a detailed description of the site. The Boeotia Survey Project visited and surveyed the site (*MusesSanctuary* site in table 1 –*Survey Sites*- below; Bintliff 1996b). LR material is also present.

Component TH_49: Earlier use of the place seems to be attested by surface sherds of EH found in the area by Fossey together with some obsidian flakes (Fossey 1988: 141). There is no mention of EH in the preliminary data available from the Boeotia Survey Project.

14. Askra Helicon: *Custers TH_50 and TH_51*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_50	A	activity focus	Askra Helicon	Travellers	approximate
TH_51	C	activity focus	Askra Helicon	Travellers	approximate

N of the topographical point (1530m) N of Hippocrene (summit of Diakopi - or Motsara or Zagara. Kryo Pigadi locality). Today the site is marked by the chapel of Proph.Ilias.
The place was already known to travellers (Frazer, Vischer, Ulrichs, Bursian, Hitzig-Blumner and Welcke), that were looking for the altar of Zeus Helikonios mentioned by Hesiod, and noticed ancient structures underneath the chapel (Wallace 1974). They thought it could be the Altar of Zeus Elikonios mentioned by Hesiod, but it is most probably a watch tower controlling the Gulf of Corinth. Recent topographical work carried out by the local ephorate showed that the component in the A period could be interpreted as cult building -pottery bearing graffiti dedications to Zeus-, then reused as a watch-tower in the C period (AD 1994: 263-4 – appeared in 1999). On the other hand, Aravantinos (1996) reports it as a fort built sometime in the A period (graffiti pots and Lesbian masonry dated it to the A period) and then in use also in C times (A and C tiles found at the site).

15. Askra Hippokrene: *Component TH_52*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_52	gr-rom	activity focus	Askra Hippokrene	Personal or group interest	certain

At the spot where the water spring, identified with the Hippokrene mentioned by Hesiod, springs out, recent work of the local ephorate (Aravantinos 1996) noticed that the stone blocks that today form the mouth of the well are ancient and the tracing of the wall is of elaborate masonry of polygonal or Lesbian style. He suggests a date for the A period, because of a similarity with the masonry style of the building at the summit (*component TH_50*). Aravantinos also suggests a cultual use for the spring, since its monumentality could not be justified by the use of water by soldiers and sheperds. Today the spring and a ruined chapel mark the site on the ridge of Diakopi (or Motsara or Zagara).

16/17. Neochori: *Components TH_96* (16) *and TH_97* (17)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_96	gr-rom	? activity focus	Neochori	Travellers	certain
TH_97	C	? burial place	Neochori	accidental	certain

At the SE end of the Valley of the Muses lays the modern village of Neochori.
Component TH_96: Wheler (1862: 471) found remains (surface walls? - AE1776- and pieces reused -AE1531-) above Neochori village including the inscription IG VII 1862 [AE1777].
Component TH_97: in *Antike Plastik* 12: 18-22 a 5th C stele from Neochori is reported. The very movable and single evidence has been associated with a possible burial place for the period.
Neochori area has been surveyed intensively and systematically, and Prehistoric, gr-rom and medieval settlement and occupation have been located in the area of modern Neochori village (see table 1 – *Survey sites*-).

18/19. Ellopia – Koraki: *Component TH_94* (18) and Ellopia – Agia Kyriaki: *Component TH_95* (19)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_94	C	? burial place	Ellopia - Koraki	accidental	imprecise
TH_95	C	activity focus	Ellopia – Agia Kyriaki	accidental	imprecise

To the N bank of Askris river, after its turning by Palaiokarandas, lays the modern village of Ellopia. In the area traces of ancient activities have been found: inscriptional evidence (Classical stelai) from Koraki (near Ellopia) - AD 19 B: 201- and Classical sherds[5] from Agia Kyriaki (near Ellopia) - AD 27 B: 323 are reported.

20 - 24. Tatiza: *Components TH_53* (20), *TH_54* (21), TH_55 to TH_57 (22), *TH_58* (23) and Xironomi: *Components TH_59 and TH_60* (24)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_53	EH	activity focus	Tatiza	Personal or group interest	approximate
TH_54	LH	burial place	Tatiza	accidental	imprecise
TH_55	C	? burial place	Tatiza	accidental	approximate
TH_56	H	? burial place	Tatiza	accidental	approximate
TH_57	R	burial place	Tatiza	Rescue excavation	approximate
TH_58	LR	rural site/activity	Tatiza	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

[5] Black glazed kantharoi sherds and floral-ware kylix (2nd half 4th C BC) – AD 27 B: 323.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_59	H	? burial place	Xironomi	accidental	imprecise
TH_60	R	? burial place	Xironomi	accidental	imprecise

The deserted village of Tatiza lies NW of Karandas and NE of Xironomi. House walls and the church of Agia Triada are the visible remains of the village. A number of water sources spring out to the S of the site.

Components TH_55 to TH_60: Artefact concentrations are visible on the surface, to the E of the village, and to the S of the river (Fossey (1988: 147), confirmed by intensive survey work (Boeotia Survey Project). Surface walls and building material, as well as well known architectural pieces (including a Doric frieze) were noticed in the area.
The gr-rom site was probably on a lower terrace of a river (tributary of the Askris). A LR artefact concentration was found, probably marking a large rural establishment or a hamlet, occupied until Turkish and Early Modern period (Vroom 2003 no.21; Boeotia Survey project- preliminary results[6]). The low-lying setting of the LR site (*component TH_58*) is a quite ordinary location in the Boeotian landscape (see the results of the Tanagra survey project in appendix I.14).
Probably to the N of the old road, excavations in the 1960s and 1970s (Spyropoulos AD 1971: 221), albeit of limited extent, did not bring to the light any structural remains, but many human bones and Roman pottery - sure traces of a cemetery area here, at least in the R period. As for the C and H period, mainly epigraphical evidence (very movable) are known, while the cemetery in the R period is better attested. It could also have been a burial place in earlier periods.
Epigraphical evidence (leading to burial areas) comes from the area, both from Tatiza and Xironomi. Actually the hypothesis (suggested also by Fossey 1988: 148) that Xironomi ancient blocks were merely taken from Tatiza by villagers, that move from one village to the other when Tatiza got deserted (and the latter area is farmed by inhabitants of Xironomi), is less likely (Bintliff pers.comm.) as now funerary inscriptions (4th C, H and R mainly, from both Tatiza and Xironomi) and relief tomb stelai (from Xironomi) are reported. Probably there is enough evidence for two cemetery areas, one by Tatiza and the other one closer to Xironomi. A revisit of the real/actual findspots would be needed.
According to the evidence, one or two settlement sites could be hypothesized for this area for H and R period, albeit the slight evidences (see chapter II.3.9). Identifications have been suggested (*Donakon*, *Leontarne*) and they are reported in Fossey (1988: 149). In AD 21 (1966): 202 a small village within the area of Thespiae is hypothesised for Tatiza area, as a sort of satellite settlement of Thespiae, like Askra.

Components TH_53 and TH_54: On the lower ridge to the N (of Tatiza), traces of an EH activity focus have been found (Fossey 1988: 148) as well as rich Mycenaean tombs found looted nearby Tatiza (Threpsiadis, AE 1973: 82-3, who locates them between Koryni –Domvraina- and Ksironomi) [7].

[6] Intensive survey work was aimed to the Medieval and Early Modern hamlet of Tatiza, and discovered presence of earlier periods as well.
[7] Mycenaean bronze spear point and dagger had been found in the tombs (given to the local ephorate by the plot owner). From the field above few Mycenaean sherds [AE1770] were collected, probably coming from the destroyed tombs (Threpsiadis AE 1973: 82-3).

25/26. Livadostro E – Kastro: *Components TH_61 to TH_69 and TH_24* (25) and Livadostro W: *Components TH_70 to TH_74* (26)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_24	C	? burial place	Livadostro E – Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_61	EH	activity focus	Livadostro E - Kastro	Personal or group interest	approximate
TH_62	MH	activity focus	Livadostro E - Kastro	Personal or group interest	approximate
TH_63	LH	activity focus	Livadostro E - Kastro	Personal or group interest	approximate
TH_64	Preh	burial place	Livadostro E - Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_65	A	activity focus	Livadostro E - Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_66	C	activity focus	Livadostro E - Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_67	H	activity focus	Livadostro E - Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_68	R	activity focus	Livadostro E - Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_69	unknown	burial place	Livadostro E	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_70	A	? Fort	Livadostro W	Personal or group interest	approximate
TH_71	C	fort	Livadostro W	Travellers	approximate
TH_72	H	fort	Livadostro W	Travellers	approximate
TH_73	LR	? Fort	Livadostro W	Personal or group interest	approximate
TH_74	gr-rom	special activity	Livadostro W	Personal or group interest	certain

The Livadostro bay is the Easternmost bay on Boeotia's southern coast. Livadostro "*is also the name of the torrent which flows from the Thespian plains, down a narrow gorge between ridges of Mount Korombili to the West and Mount Kithairon to the East; these same mountains' masses provide the steep slopes enclosing the plain and the triangular bay*" (Fossey 1988: 157).
As Fossey (1988: 157) notes, no real settlement is in the bay today, while summer houses have been built all over the area.

Ancient activity focuses are located at the two ends of the shore (Fossey 1988: 157). At the W end is a large ancient fortress, while at the E end a site which shows occupation from EH to R is marked by the location of a Frankish tower[8].
A 'mole' from antiquity is visible (Philippson 1951: 505), testifying the use of the bay as a port of a considerable importance (mainly linked to the history of Thespiae city).

Livadostro East site (by Frankish tower).
On a low hill by the Frankish tower (named Kastro), to the East side of Livadostro bay, traces of activities from different periods have been found.

Components TH_61 to TH_64: In Prehistoric time the site at the E end of the bay was in a strategic position, probably controlling the access from the sea to inland. It is not surprising, therefore, the finding of Prehistoric material in this high up position (in the area of the Frankish tower). See also the traces of the LH road noticed by Heurtley 1923-25. EH, MH and LH activity focuses found at the site are mentioned in Prehistoric gazetteers and were visited during extensive surveying (AD 1969 B: 185-6; Fossey 1988: 161). Two cist graves on the hilltop (*component TH_64*), probably from MH, would attest the existence of a MH habitation site here.

Components TH_65 to TH_68: A material from the site is reported only in Bintliff-Snodgrass (pers.comm.), while C material is well reported (AD 1972: 324; Fossey 1988: 161). Some of the material found (AD 1972: 324; Fossey 1988: 161) could refer to C burials (*component TH_24* – see also *component TH_69*). H and R traces of occupation have also been found (Fossey 1988: 161 from Spyropoulos AD 1969: 185-6). Apart from the Medieval tower on the summit, possible traces of an ancient circuit wall are reported on the E and the W side (Fossey 1988: 158).

Component TH_69: To the N of the hill with the Frankish tower (Livadostro E – Kastro site), along the feet of the Citaeron slopes, Fossey (1988: 158) reports many (undated) tombs robbed.

Livadostro West site (ancient fortress).
In the Livadostro bay, at the Western end of the shore is a large ancient fortress.
Components TH_70 to TH_74: A, C, and H material have been found on the site (Fossey 1988: 161 from his own detailed survey - see Fossey-Gauvin 1985: 77-85). A plan of the fortress is in Fossey 1988: 158 fig.19. The fortress was probably in use also in the LR period (fortified settlement?).

Ancient sources lead to the identification of Livadostro with ancient *Kreusis*, and all agree Kreusis belonged to Thespiae and was its harbour (according to Paus IX 32.1). There is no mention of it in the Homeric Catalogue except as a variant of *Isos*. The site was known to ancient travellers (Leake 1835[9] among others – see Fossey 1988:

[8] A sketch plan of plain and sites is in Roesch 1965: 218, map 4. In the Frankish middle ages there was here a port named Rivadostia, which served the communication between Athens and the West. In the 14th C it was a base of Catalan pirates (Philippson 1951: 505).
[9] Leake (1835) described it as "a bad harbour in a large bay". The British Admiralty Handbook 1944/45 has it as a port too exposed. Is a coastal change possible, which would have changed probably the character of the harbour?

158), and is mentioned in Heurtley's work on Boeotian harbours (BSA 1923/5: 38ff)[10].
The area played an important role in the preliminaries to the Battle of Leuktra in 371 BC (Xenophon *Hell.* V 4.16f).

27 - 30. Parapoungia/Leuktra: *Components TH_75* (27)*, TH_76* (28)*, TH_77* (29) *and TH_25* (30)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_25	C	special activity	Parapoungia/Leuktra	Travellers	approximate
TH_75	R	activity focus	Parapoungia/Leuktra - Grammatikes	accidental	imprecise
TH_76	H	activity focus	Parapoungia/Leuktra - Tzachanani	accidental	imprecise
TH_77	gr-rom	? activity focus	Parapoungia/Leuktra	accidental	imprecise

The modern Parapoungia/Leuktra village lies, as Fossey (1988: 145) notes, at a "curious watershed zone" between Askris[11] and the small river Oeroe which rises by Plataea and runs to Livadostro. Further North the two water systems are separated by rolling country overlooked by the village of Parapoungia/Leuktra.
As Fossey reports, some scholars have sought to place in the area the ancient settlement of Leuktra (see Pritchett 1965: 49-52, with previous references), if it ever existed. Pritchett suggests that the ancient settlement could be either under the modern village or covered by recent alluvium, and this would be the reason why the remains of it cannot be traced today.

Although Pausanias presents it as an inhabited town in 371 BC, and Strabo seems to regard it as a *polis*, it is highly doubtful if it is a real place rather than only a battlefield, or perhaps the name of a plain. Some 3rd century finds and R figurines in the area (localities Grammatikes, Tzachanani, Megali Goritza /Antonakia), however, as well as the famous *Tropaion – component TH_25*[12] could revive the belief in a site here (AD 1972: 323).
The question of identification is reported in Fossey 1988: 155, as well as the list of inscriptions from the villages of the area (Parapoungia/Leuktra, Baltza, Caparelli)[13]. Fossey (1988: 155) suggests that the fact that many of the inscriptions can be found in Parapoungia village may result simply from its greater proximity to Eutresis, only 2.5km to the NW. Also Goldman (1931: 5) attests Eutresis site as a quarry of building stones for villages in the area, described as a pool of stones. The epigraphical evidences AE1534-AE1535-AE1537, therefore, have not been included in any component, because of the uncertainty of their provenance.

[10] Heurtley notes remains of a road running inland from the bay, which he dates to the Prehistoric period. The date is though questioned by Pritchett 1965: 52-6.
[11] The Askris river, which probably constituted once the upper course of Asopos (see chapter II.3.9 – TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING).
[12] The monument has been excavated and restored (PAE 1924: 38-40; 1958: 43-4; AD 25 B: 229).
[13] To the list should be added inscriptions of unknown provenence within Leuktra area reported and brought to the Thebes museum (AD 1982: 173).

Fossey (1988: 154) reports several scatters of potsherds (4th C – R period) from AD 1972: 323. In AD 1972: 323, only special finds or fine/decorated wares are reported from H and R period. We can only hypothesize the existence of larger artefact concentrations (including coarse wares also) in the area, usually not reported by extensive survey or accidental findings.

31/32/33. Arkopodi – Eutresis: ***Components TH_ 78 to TH_86, TH_84 and TH_89*** **(31)*****; TH_87, TH_88 TH_90 to TH_92*** **(32); *TH_93* (33)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TH_78	N	settlement	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_79	EH	settlement	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_80	MH	settlement	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_81	LH	settlement	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_82	A	cult place	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Other	certain
TH_83	A	activity focus	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_84	C	cult place	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Other	certain
TH_85	C	? Settlement	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TH_86	G	human presence	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Other	approximate
TH_87	H	rural site/activity	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_88	R	rural site/activity	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_89	H	? cult place	Arkopodi - Eutresis	Personal or group interest	certain
TH_90	C	burial place	Arkopodi - Eutresis NW	accidental	certain
TH_91	H	? burial place	Arkopodi - Eutresis	accidental	approximate
TH_92	R	? burial place	Arkopodi - Eutresis	accidental	approximate
TH_93	C	? burial place	Arkopodi - Eutresis SE	accidental	certain

The ridge of Arkopodi (named after the spring of Arkopodi -marked on 1:50,000 geological maps) is the site of ancient Eutresis, which extends also to the N of the road from Leuktra to Melissochori, running initially N-E and then bending to the E by the spring (Goldman 1931 fig.1, reproduced by Papachatzis 1981: 96).

The site was extensively excavated at the beginning of the 20th century (Goldman 1931). Excavations concerning Prehistoric levels especially were carried out also by Caskey (Caskey AJA 1959: 187; Caskey, in Hesperia 1960: 126-167).

The site is well known as a large Prehistoric settlement, with traces of occupation since Neo period, and reaching its occupation peak probably in EH, MH periods (MH levels were more extensively excavated). In LH period (LH III), the site was surrounded by a fortification wall enclosing a larger area than that actually occupied (Goldman 1931; Caskey, Hesperia 1960: 126-167)[14].

Fossey (1988: 152) notes how occupation at the site after the Prehistoric period (known mainly because of the interest in the main Prehistoric settlement) was never extensive, or at least little remains of it. However, we must remember that parts of the hill have been considerably denuded by erosion. We cannot be sure, therefore, that Eutresis was a settlement site in historic periods.
Inscriptions from the site are also known (listed in Fossey 1988: 153): a H boundary stone, a H dedication (to Apollo), tombstones (4th C, H and R[15]), which represent though, as always, a very movable evidence. A cemetery area (that the tombstones would represent - *components TH_90 to TH_93*) could have been nearby, considering also the presence of cult buildings on the hill.
The A[16] and C[17] cult places (*components TH_82 –on the hill summit- and TH_84 –on the SE slope-*) could be linked to the settlement (*components TH_83 and TH_85*). Especially as for *component TH_82*, its position on the hill summit can lead to the conclusion that it was a temple within the probable village site.
Cult activities attested for the A and C period (*components TH_82 and TH_84*) and were probably present also in H period. A H dedication to Apollo was found at the site, as well as H ceramic material, though position -or association with the cult place excavated structures- is not specified in Fossey (1988: 151). Fossey (1988: 153) suggests an identification of the site in the gr-rom period with a sanctuary of Apollo (because of the dedication from the H period found). If one considers its position on the route Thespiae-Plataea, says Fossey, an Apollo Sanctuary could fit.
Generally speaking, habitation traces are evident, though they could be interpreted also as associated with the sanctuary site only. On the other hand, they may represent a real village site, filling in the gap between Thespiae and Plataea village (see chapter II.3.9 for a discussion). For H and R period, a courtyard building has been excavated, leading to the assumption either of a wealthy rural site here or a settlement. Since chronology does not seem to fit the dating of the cult place, *components TH_87 and TH_88* are listed as rural sites.

Component TH_86: Traces of G material have been found [AE959], attesting at least a human presence in that period. The place could have been somehow in use since that period, but two G sherds cannot constitute as evidence which one can rely on. We cannot say whether there was a gap of occupation in the Dark Age at the site.

As Fossey reports (1988: 152), traces of walling were found [AE954] to the NE of the hill. The first excavators thought they could be part of a circuit walling, in considering

[14] For a summary see Fossey 1988: 151.
[15] See also AD 49 (1994): 291.
[16] No structures remained, but offerings were found in a pit dug down into Mycenaean levels.
[17] Terrace walls and foundation remains, with pot material associated.

its similarity to circuit walls in East Locris, and they assumed that the settlement in C times lay in this NE area and was surrounded by fortification (having as a *terminus post quem* the early 5th C BC from pottery found in association with the wall). However, Fossey notes how the costruction of the wall found may rather suggest a mid 4th C BC date, and the fortification perhaps could be another part of the ashlar defense system of the South coast – see Fossey 1988: appendix 2 and 1992.

What follows is a preliminary version[18] of the list of sites discovered and recorded during the Systematic Intensive Surface Survey carried out in the area (area surveyed mapped in fig.2) in the 1980s by J.L.Bintliff and A.M.Snodgrass and their équipe (Bintliff-Snodgrass 1985a and Bintliff 1996b; Bintliff-Howard-Snodgrass 2007).

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
ApolloTemple	C-Ehl	cult place
AskrisPotamos	A	settlement
AskrisPotamos	C-Ehl	settlement
AskrisPotamos	G	activity focus
AskrisPotamos	H	rural site
AskrisPotamos	Lhl-ER	rural site
AskrisPotamos	LR	settlement
AskrisPotamos	MR	settlement
Magoula	N	settlement
Magoula	Preh	activity focus
Lse1	A	rural site
Lse1	C-Ehl	rural site
Lse1	ER	rural site
Lse1	G	activity focus
Lse1	H	rural site
Lse1	Lhl-ER	rural site
Lse1	LR	rural site
Lse1	MR	rural site
Lse1	Preh	settlement
Lse3	A	?rural site
Lse3	C-Ehl	hamlet
Lse3	G	activity focus
Lse3	H	rural site
Lse3	Preh	settlement
Lse4	C-Ehl	burial place
Lse5	A	rural site
Lse5	C-Ehl	hamlet
Lse5	G	activity focus
Lse5	H	hamlet

[18] Final are the information concerning the sites discovered in the S sector of the survey, at the immediate S outskirt of the city site (published in Bintliff-Howard-Snodgrass 2007).

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
Lse5	Preh	activity focus
Lse6	A	?rural site
Lse6	C-Ehl	settlement
Lse6	ER	rural site
Lse6	G	activity focus
Lse6	H	settlement
Lse6	Lhl-ER	rural site
Lse6	LR	activity focus
Lse6	MR	rural site
Lse6	Preh	settlement
Lse7	C-Ehl	rural site
Lse7	ER	rural site
Lse7	LR	rural site/villa-hamlet
Lse7	MR	rural site/villa
Lse7	Preh	activity focus
MEL2	C-Ehl	rural site
MEL4	C-Ehl	rural site
MN1	C-Ehl	rural site
MN1	Lhl-ER	rural site
MN1	LR	rural site
Palaeokarandas	C-Ehl	burial place
Palaekorandas	Preh	settlement
PP1	C	activity focus
PP2	gr-rom	activity focus
PP3	gr-rom	activity focus
PP4	gr-rom	activity focus
PP5	gr-rom	activity focus
PP6	LR	activity focus
PP7	gr-rom	?activity focus
PP9	C	rural site
PP10	A	activity focus
PP10	C	activity focus
PP11	A	burial place
PP11	C	burial place
PP12	C-Ehl	?activity focus
PP12	Lhl-ER	activity focus
PP13	C-Ehl	activity focus
PP13	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
PP15	C-Ehl	rural site
PP15	LR	rural site
PP16	LR	?activity focus
PP17	H	rural site
PP17	Lhl-ER	rural site
PP18	C	?activity focus
PP18	C-Ehl	rural site

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
PP18	H	rural site
PP18	Lhl-ER	rural site
PP18	LR	rural site
PP19/20	EH	activity focus
PP19/20	MH	activity focus
PP19/20	N	activity focus
PP21	C-Ehl	rural site
PP21	Lhl-ER	activity focus
PP21	LR	?activity focus
PP22	H	?rural site
PP22	Lhl-ER	rural site
PP22	LR	rural site
PP23	C-Ehl	rural site
PP23	Lhl-ER	activity focus
PP23	LR	activity focus
PP23	Preh	?human presence
PP24	C-Ehl	?rural site
PP24	Lhl-ER	rural site
PP24	LR	?rural site
PP25	C-Ehl	rural site
PP25	EH	settlement
PP25	Lhl-ER	activity focus
PP25	MH	settlement
PP26	C-Ehl	rural site
PP26	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
PP26	LR	activity focus
PP27	C-Ehl	?activity focus
PP27	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
PP27	LR	rural site
PP28	C-Ehl	rural site
PP28	Lhl-ER	rural site
PP28	LR	rural site
PP29	C-Ehl	activity focus
PP29	Lhl-ER	activity focus
PP29	LR	activity focus
PP30	C-Ehl	burial place
PP31	C-Ehl	activity focus
PP31	Lhl-ER	activity focus
PP31	LR	activity focus
PP32	C-Ehl	rural site
PP32	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
Ths2	ER	rural site
Ths2	LR	rural site/villa
Ths2	MR	rural site
Ths3	C-Ehl	?burial place

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
Ths3	ER	activity focus
Ths3	LR	hamlet
Ths3	MR	activity focus
Ths3	Preh	activity focus
Ths3	R	settlement
Ths4	ER	rural site
Ths4	Lhl-ER	rural site
Ths4	LR	hamlet
Ths4	MR	rural site
Ths4	Preh	activity focus
Ths11	A	?burial place
Ths11	C-Ehl	burial place
Ths11	G	activity focus
Ths11	Preh	activity focus
Ths12	A	rural site
Ths12	C-Ehl	rural site
Ths12	ER	rural site
Ths12	G	activity focus
Ths12	H	rural site
Ths12	Lhl-ER	rural site
Ths12	LR	rural site/villa
Ths12	MR	rural site/villa
Ths12	Preh	activity focus
Ths13	ER	rural site
Ths13	LR	rural site/villa
Ths13	MR	rural site
Ths13	Preh	settlement
Ths14	LR	rural site/villa-hamlet
Ths14	Preh	activity focus
Ths15	A	?burial place
Ths15	C-Ehl	burial place
Ths15	G	?burial place
Ths16	A	?rural site
Ths16	C-Ehl	hamlet
Ths16	ER	settlement
Ths16	G	activity focus
Ths16	H	hamlet
Ths16	Lhl-ER	rural site
Ths16	MR	settlement
Ths16	Preh	activity focus
Ths17	A	activity focus
Ths17	C-Ehl	rural site
Ths17	G	activity focus
Ths17	H	activity focus
T B1	C-Ehl	rural site

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
T B1	Lhl-ER	rural site
T B1	LR	?rural site
T B2	C-Ehl	rural site
T B2	Lhl-ER	?rural site
T B2	LR	rural site
T B3	C-Ehl	?rural site
T B3	Lhl-ER	rural site
T B3	LR	rural site
T B4	A	?activity focus
T B4	C-Ehl	rural site
T B4	G	?activity focus
T B4	Lhl-ER	?rural site
T B5	C-Ehl	rural site
T B6	C-Ehl	rural site
T B6	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
T B6	LR	?activity focus
T B7	A	?activity focus
T B7	C-Ehl	rural site
T B7	G	?activity focus
T B7	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
T B7	LR	rural site
T B8	C-Ehl	rural site
T B8	LR	rural site
T B9	C-Ehl	rural site
T B10	C-Ehl	rural site
T B11	C-Ehl	activity focus
T B11	LR	activity focus
T E2	C-Ehl	activity focus
T E2	LR	activity focus
T E3	C	burial place
T E4	A	rural site
T E4	C	rural site
T E5	C	activity focus
T E5	C-Ehl	activity focus
T E5	Lhl-ER	activity focus
T E5	LR	activity focus
TP W2	LR	activity focus
TP W2	R	activity focus
TP W11	R	activity focus
TP W12	A	?activity focus
TP W12	C	?activity focus
VM 86/92	A	?activity focus
VM 86/92	C-Ehl	rural site
VM 86/92	Lhl-ER	?rural site
VM 86/92	LR	rural site

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
VM1	A	?activity focus
VM1	C-Ehl	rural site
VM1	Lhl-ER	rural site
VM1	LR	rural site
VM1	Preh	?activity focus
VM2	A	rural site
VM2	C-Ehl	rural site
VM2	LH	activity focus
VM2	Lhl-ER	?rural site
VM2	LR	?rural site
VM21	A	rural site
VM21	C-Ehl	rural site
VM21	LH	?settlement
VM21	Lhl-ER	rural site
VM21	LR	rural site
VM21	MH	?settlement
VM22	A	activity focus
VM22	C-Ehl	activity focus
VM22	G	activity focus
VM22	LH	activity focus
VM22	Lhl-ER	activity focus
VM22	LR	activity focus
VM23	A	?activity focus
VM23	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM23	G	?activity focus
VM23	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM23	LR	rural site
VM24	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM24	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM24	LR	?activity focus
VM25	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM26	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM26	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM27	C-Ehl	rural site
VM27	LR	rural site
VM28	A	?burial place
VM28	C-Ehl	?burial place
VM29	C-Ehl	activity focus
VM29	Lhl-ER	rural site
VM29	LR	rural site
VM3	C-Ehl	rural site
VM3	Lhl-ER	rural site
VM3	LR	rural site
VM4	A	?activity focus
VM4	C-Ehl	?activity focus

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
VM4	EH	activity focus
VM4	G	activity focus
VM4	LH	activity focus
VM4	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM4	LR	?activity focus
VM4	MH	activity focus
VM4	N	activity focus
VM40	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM40	Preh	activity focus
VM41	C-Ehl	rural site
VM42	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM42	LR	activity focus
VM43	LR	activity focus
VM44	LR	rural site
VM5	A?	?burial place
VM5	C	?burial place
VM6	A	?activity focus
VM6	C-Ehl	rural site
VM6	Lhl-ER	?rural site
VM6	LR	rural site
VM6	Preh	activity focus
VM61	A	activity focus
VM61	C-Ehl	activity focus
VM61	G	?activity focus
VM61	Lhl-ER	rural site
VM61	LR	rural site
VM63	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM63	Lhl-ER	rural site
VM63	LR	rural site
VM64	LR	rural site
VM64	R	rural site
VM65	A	rural site
VM65	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM65	EH	activity focus
VM65	G	rural site
VM65	LH	activity focus
VM65	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM65	LR	rural site
VM65	MH	activity focus
VM66	C-Ehl	?rural site
VM66	Lhl-ER	?rural site
VM66	LR	rural site
VM67	unknown	
VM68	A	?activity focus

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
VM68	C-Ehl	rural site
VM68	LR	activity focus
VM69	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM69	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM69	LR	rural site
VM70	A	?activity focus
VM70	C	rural site
VM70	G	?activity focus
VM70	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM70	LR	?activity focus
VM81	C-Ehl	rural site
VM81	LR	?activity focus
VM82	C-Ehl	rural site
VM82	LR	rural site
VM83	C-Ehl	rural site
VM84	C-Ehl	?rural site
VM84	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM85	C-Ehl	activity focus
VM85	Lhl-ER	activity focus
VM85	LR	rural site
VM86	C-Ehl	?rural site
VM86	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM86	LR	rural site
VM87	C-Ehl	activity focus
VM87	LR	activity focus
VM88	Lhl-ER	?rural site
VM88	LR	?activity focus
VM89	C-Ehl	rural site
VM89	Lhl-ER	rural site
VM89	LR	rural site
VM90	unknown	
VM91	A	activity focus
VM91	C-Ehl	?activity focus
VM91	G	activity focus
VM91	Lhl-ER	?activity focus
VM91	LR	activity focus
VM93	C-Ehl	rural site
VM94	C-Ehl	rural site
VM94	Lhl-ER	rural site
VM94	LR	rural site
VM95	C-Ehl	rural site
VM96	C-Ehl	rural site
MusesSanctuary	A	?cult place
MusesSanctuary	C-Ehl	cult place

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
MusesSanctuary	Lhl-ER	cult place
MusesSanctuary	LR	activity focus
MW1	LR	rural site
MW2	C	activity focus
MW3	C-Ehl	?activity focus
MW4	C	?rural site
MW4	C-Ehl	rural site
MW5	C	?activity focus
MW5	H	?activity focus
MW5	R	?activity focus
Neo1	A	?activity focus
Neo1	C-Ehl	activity focus
Neo1	LR	activity focus
Neo1	MH	settlement
Neo1	Preh	settlement
Neo2	C-Ehl	rural site
Neo2	LR	?activity focus
Neo3	C-Ehl	rural site
Neo3	EH	settlement
Neo3	LR	?activity focus
Neo3	MH	?settlement

Table 1. *List of intensive survey sites discovered during intensive and systematic survey work (Bintliff-Snodgrass 1985a and Bintliff 1996b; Bintliff-Howard-Snodgrass 2007) – mapped in fig.2.*

Appendix I.10
Three small *chorai* to the Gulf of Corinth: Siphai, Thisbe, Chorseiai

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

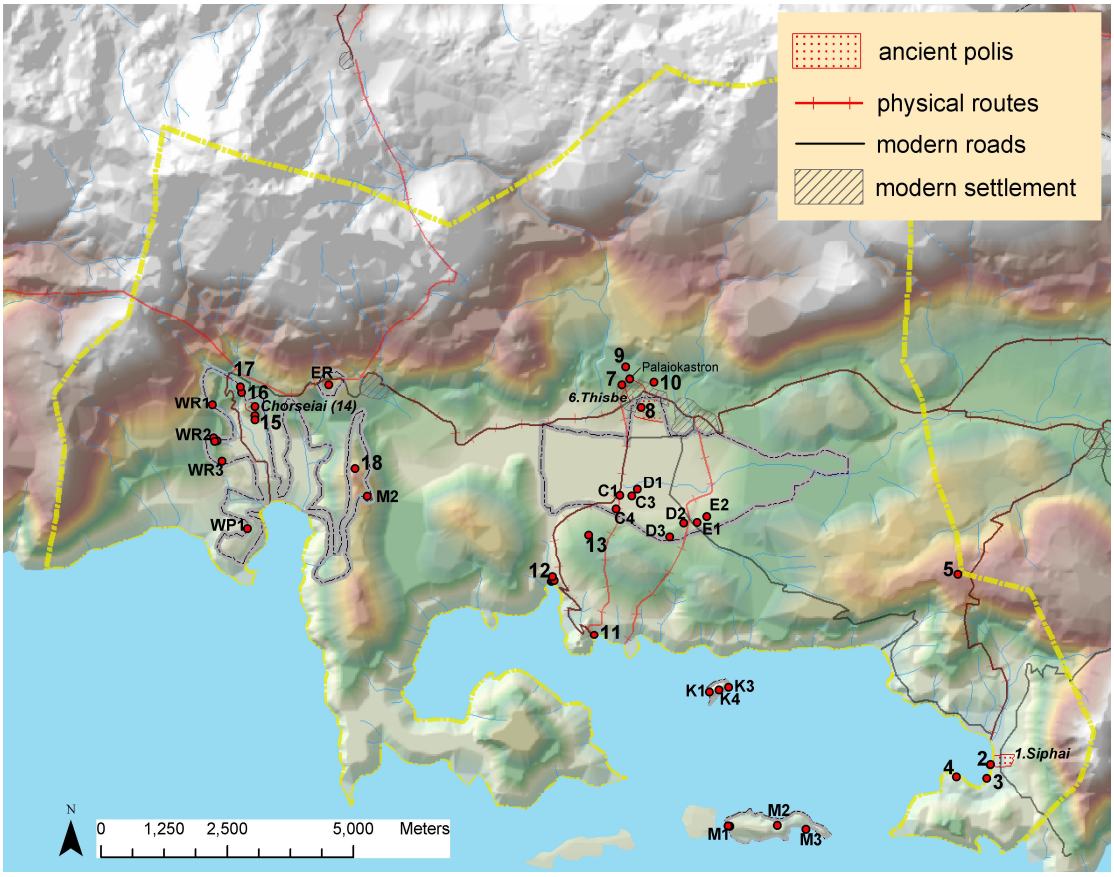


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of Gulf of Corinth area*

1. Aliki (ancient SIPHAI): *Components GC_1 to GC_8*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_1	EH	activity focus	Aliki	Other	certain
GC_2	MH	activity focus	Aliki	Other	certain
GC_3	LH	activity focus	Aliki	Travellers	certain
GC_4	A	settlement	Aliki	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_5	C	settlement	Aliki	Travellers	certain
GC_6	H	settlement	Aliki	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_7	R	settlement	Aliki	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_8	LR	settlement	Aliki	Personal or group interest	certain

The small bay of Aliki and the surrrounding mountains has been identified with the settlement chamber of historical **Siphai**[1], whose acropolis lay on top of the W peak of a rocky hill that reaches the very sea in the middle of Aliki bay, just above the modern settlement, and cuts the sandy beach into two sections, the larger being to the N (Fossey 1988: 168).

The site was already known to travellers (Leake 1835: 503; Frazer 1913: 164; Forchhammer 1857: 17-20, 30-32; Lebègue 1875: 89-97). Schwandner (AA 1977: 513-551) constitutes a very detailed and useful study of the visible remains, quoted by Fossey 1988: 168. Fossey also visited the site[2], and surface sherds information comes mainly from Fossey's visit to the site (1988: 171).
The site shows continuity of occupation, from the EH to the LR period[3]. On the acropolis site also Prehistoric material is known: EH, MH, LH[4]. Archaeological remains, also from the lower site [AE828], give the impression of a flourishing city in the Roman Imperial period, as already stated by Tomlinson and Fossey (BSA 1970: 243-263). Fossey (1988: 170) reports, for instance, that local inhabitants have spoken of the finding of building remains with tessellated floors (dated to the Imperial period) in the plain N of the acropolis. Also a small temple dating to the Imperial period has been noticed at the S end of Aliki beach (see *component GC_11* below).

Component GC_8: Evidence for the LR period does not seem to be so clear from the available information. Fossey (1988: 171) mentions Late Roman ripple ware seen during his own visit to the site. LR evidence from the area by the harbour, already in use in earlier periods, suggests a development of activities there (see below – *components GC_9 and GC_10*).

Fossey (1988: 171) notes how no tombs are reported as having been found in the area of Aliki, although several tombstones seem to come from the area (listed by Fossey 1988: 171 – C/H/R).

2. Aliki SW: *Components GC_9 and GC_10*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_9	LR	infrastructure	Aliki SW	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
GC_10	gr-rom	infrastructure	Aliki SW	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

[1] Siphai (or Tipha). *Siphai* is attested in Thucydides IV 76.2 and IG VII 207, *Tipha* in Pausanias (IX 32.4). The acropolis was walled in 424 (Thucydides IV 76.3).
[2] Fossey gives a short mention of the site in Tomlinson-Fossey 1970 and an account in Fossey-Giroux, *Teiresias Archaeologica* 1979: 3.
[3] Geyer (RE 1929: 262-3 s.v. *Siphai*) collects ancient sources on Siphai.
[4] Fossey (1988: 171) reports LH II, IIIA-B; HS&D 1979: G37 report LH I/II? – LH IIIA-B. MH and LH sherds were found on the S slopes. Heurtley noticed remains of a wall in large blocks just below the summit; he suggested that it might be Mycenaean (Heurtley BSA 1923/4, 1924/5), but Fossey has not been able to find these remains.

LR evidence from the area by the harbour (*component GC_9*), already in use in earlier periods (*component GC_10*)[5], suggest a development of activities (probably also habitation) there (see AE833, AE834)[6].

3. Aliki S: *Component GC_11*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_11	R	cult place	Aliki S end	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Badly preserved remains of a small temple in the Corinthian order (extramural) and probably dating to the Imperial period (opinion of R.A. Tomlinson - from Fossey 1988: 171) have been noticed at the S end of Aliki beach.

4. Alonnisi Alikis: *Component GC_12*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_12	EH	settlement	Alonnisi Alikis	Personal or group interest	approximate

On the small promontory which dominates the entrance of a small sea lake (*limnothalassa*) on the Aliki shore on the Corinthian gulf, A. Sampson (AD 36 1981 (1987?): 194) reports on the identification of an EH II settlement (on the basis of an EH artefact concentration - AE1479) on the NE side of the small promontory.

5. Mavrovouni Kastron: *Components GC_13 to GC_18 and GC_79*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_13	G	cult place	Mavrovouni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
GC_14	A	cult place	Mavrovouni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
GC_15	C	cult place	Mavrovouni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
GC_16	H	cult place	Mavrovouni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
GC_17	C	fort	Mavrovouni Kastron	Travellers	approximate

[5] Harbour structures noticed underwater, remains of a small harbour in the gr-rom period, as well as a lot of debris and surface material of Roman date and mostly LR – 5th C AD or later, constitute the archaeological evidence available (Fossey 1988: 171).

[6] For the harbours in the Beotian area facing the gulf of Corinth (as well as for communication routes) see Heurtley's work in BSA 1923/4 - 1924/5: 40-1 and 44.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_18	LR	fort	Mavrovouni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
GC_79	H	fort	Mavrovouni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

On a hill on the W slopes of Mavrovouni ridge (named *Kastron* on 1:50,000 GYS map), NW of Aliki, on the left side of the road Aliki-Ksironomi.
The site was known already to the travellers (Lolling). Tomlinson and Fossey (BSA 1970: 243-263) visited the site during their topographical research in the area. Schwandner (AA 1977: 516-9) gives a preliminary account of the excavation of two buildings at the site, known also as *Ano Siphai*.
As noted by Fossey (1988: 173), we are dealing with a place with two different characters during its history of occupation: a cult place from G to H times, and a fort in C and Late C periods, and probably again in LR times. Schematically:
- G to H small sanctuary (*components GC_13 to GC_16*)
- C spartan military base (*component GC_17*)
- 4th C BC watch tower (*component GC_79*)
- LR small fortlet with tiny Christian chapel (*component GC_18*)
Fossey (1988: 173) also notes that unlike in other sanctuary sites (Onchestos - Haliartos *chora*- or Ptoion - Akraiphiai *chora*- for instance), there is no indication that the Mavrovouni site was ever a settlement (cf. Lebègue 1875: 88), and he remarks how its history was purely religious with military intervals. Fossey (1988: 167) includes, rather arbitrarily as he admits, the Mavrovouni sanctuary in the area of ancient Siphai, but it would lie actually on the border between Thespiae and Siphai and we do not know which city it belonged to.

6. Kakosi-Thisvi (ancient THISBE): *Components GC_19 to GC_25, GC_77 and GC_78*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_19	EH	? activity focus	Kakosi/Thisvi Palaiokastron	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_20	MH	activity focus	Kakosi/Thisvi Palaiokastron	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_21	LH	settlement	Kakosi/Thisvi Palaiokastron	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_22	A	settlement	Kakosi/Thisvi	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_23	C	settlement	Kakosi/Thisvi	Travellers	certain
GC_24	H	settlement	Kakosi/Thisvi	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_25	R	settlement	Kakosi/Thisvi	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_29	R	burial place	Kakosi/Thisvi area	accidental	imprecise
GC_77	G	? Settlement	Kakosi/Thisvi	Int. and sys.	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				artefact surface survey	
$GC_78	LR	? Settlement	Kakosi/Thisvi	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain

The modern village of Kakosi/Thisvi, W of Domvraina village, lies in a hollow between a flat plateau to the S and a roughly conical projection of Helicon to the NW. The inland basin, occupied in modern times by the two villages of Domvraina and Kakosi/Thisvi, has been identified with the settlement chamber of historical **Thisbe**.

The site was known to travellers (Dodwell 1819: 257-259; Leake 1835: 501-513; Frazer 1913: 160-164). It was known, apart from the fortification remains, also because of a series of rock-cut tombs and inscriptions (Gregory 1992 and Fossey 1988: 179).

The small *polis* of Thisbe was independent at least from the Hellenistic period, at the beginning of the Third Boeotian Federation (IG VII 2724b.6, ca 280-270 BC – Hansen 1996), while earlier was probably a dependent *polis* dominated by Thespiae[7].

Both heights to the S (known as Neokastro or Pyrgos) and the NW (called Palaiokastro) of the modern village of Kakosi/Thisbe are fortified, but the proper acropolis was, according to Fossey (1988: 179), on the hill to the NW, not very high but quite steep-sided, except to the NW side[8]. From there one can have a good view over the whole inland plain (Fossey 1988: 179). The city wall was probably built in the Hellenistic period (Gregory 1992: 19 – AE1516). On the other hand, Fossey gives also an A, Late C (4th C) and R date to the city walling [AE853, AE851, AE852].
The lower area of the city was lying in the saddle between the two fortified heights. It extended though also outside the city wall, apparently, until 160m E from the NE corner of the fortification, and to the S heavy artefact density continued to the edge of the survey area (ca. 1500m from the S tower of the city circuit), though the actual limit of the city has not been defined (Gregory 1992: fig. 3.3). These assumptions are based on the artefact density measured by Gregory (1992: 22) during his intensive systematic survey in the area (in 1979 and following years), though we know that intensive extra-mural, periurban area characterized several Mediterranean *poleis*, and Boeotian city sites as well (see Tanagra, for instance – appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY). Gregory (1992: 25) himself remarks that 'outside the fortification it seems possible to suggest an inverse relationship between the distance from the fortifications and artefact density'. Ancient artefacts had been reported before Gregory's survey from the far extremities of both Kakosi/Thisvi and Domvraina village. Sherds from the site[9] (only 2% of collected material could be dated with confidence, says Gregory 1992: 26) show occupation from the Mycenaean period onwards, with no significant historical period unrepresented. Mycenaean, through Archaic, were found especially

[7] See Fiehn, RE 1936: 287-291 s.v. Thisbe for reference to Thisbe in ancient texts. For a preliminary investigation in the city area see Rolfe-Tarbell 1890: 112.
[8] see plan in Fossey 1988 fig.23, based on Maier, AM 1958 pl.19.1, and the plan in Gregory 1992: 20 fig. 3.2.
[9] From the acropolis and from a plateau to the S (see HS&D 1979: G35 'Paleokastro and 'Neokastro').

on the Paliokastro hill[10]. EH (only Fossey 1988: 180 EH I-II as well as obsidian [AE1483]) and MH (Heurtley 1923/25: 41; Syriopoulos 1968; HS&D 1979: G35, from the acropolis) are also reported from the site, though not by the recent intensive work of Gregory.
A Frankish tower was built at the SE corner of the gr-rom fortification. On the plateau surface walls built with blocks reused from the fortification may date the buildings to a later period of occupation at the site, after the fortification had gone out of use (Gregory 1992: 26).

7/8/9. Kakosi-Thisvi: *Components GC_26* (7), *GC_27* (8) *and GC_28* (9)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_26	LH	burial place	Kakosi/Thisvi Palaiokastro W	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_27	LH	burial place	Kakosi/Thisvi Plateau	accidental	certain
GC_28	LH	burial place	Kakosi/Thisvi NW	Personal or group interest	approximate

Components GC_26 and GC_27: At the W foot of Kakosi-Thisvi Palaiokastro hill, and on the S and W side of the Pyrgos plateau S of Kakosi-Thisvi, rock-cut tombs cemeteries were already known to local inhabitants and to Frazer (1913: 162) – *component GC_27*, before archaeological researches were carried out on the site (Heurtley 1923/25: 41; Hope-Simpson 1965; AD 1970: 233). At least one of them is known as having produced Mycenaean material (Heurtley 1923/5: 41 - *component GC_26*).

Component GC_28: about half a mile NW of Kakosi-Thisvi village, near Palaiokastro hill, (HS&D 1979) other tombs (apart from the rock-cut ones reported by Heurtley 1923/25 and others) have been noticed. Perhaps from here came the genuine elements of the so-called 'Thisbe Treasure' (Evans JHS 1925: 1-42) [11].

10. Kakosi-Thisvi area: *Component GC_29*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_29	R	burial place	Kakosi/Thisvi area	accidental	imprecise

Accidental findings probably belonging to R burials (BCH 1920: 387-8), and as well as R tombs, Roman tombs have been found around the village (Fossey 1988: 181, though their exact location is not specified - BCH 1955: 257).

[10] No explicit mention in previous accounts nor in Fossey 1988 nor in Gregory's survey account (1992) of G or LR surface finds at the city site (*components GC_77 and GC_78*).
[11] The so-called 'Thisbe Treasure' is a royal treasure of gold rings and bead seals in the same metal found in 1915 in a Mycenaean rock tomb by the site of Thisbe, by the village of Domvraina, when war conditions diverted the course of discovery from official channels (Evans JHS 1925: 1-42).

11. Ormos Ag. Ioannis: ***Component GC_30***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_30	gr-rom	infrastructure	Ormos Ag. Ioannis	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

The small harbour of Agios Ioannis, in Domvraina bay, to the SE of Vathy harbour, must have been the secondary harbour of ancient Thisbe. The main one was Vathy (Heurtley 1923/25; Gregory 1992). Surface walls, evidence of ancient use, have been found (Gregory 1992: 26), as well as traces of a road running S of the modern village of Kakosi/Thisvi to the small harbour of Agios Ioannis (Fossey 1988: 180).
An ancient road has been noticed, leading from ancient Thisbe to the small harbour of Agios Ioannis (Fossey 1988: 180).

12. Vathy (gulf of Domvraina): ***Components GC_31 to GC_36***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_31	gr-rom	infrastructure	Vathy	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
GC_32	C	infrastructure	Vathy	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_33	LR	infrastructure	Vathy	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_34	LR	? Settlement	Vathy	Personal or group interest	certain
GC_35	gr-rom	fort	Vathy	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_36	gr-rom	fort	Vathy	Personal or group interest	approximate

Vathy location consists in a tiny but safe and drinking-water-provided beach, as described by Heurtley in his work on the Boeotian ports on the Gulf of Corinth (1923/25: 41). Vathy has been identified with the main harbour of ancient Thisbe (see above).
The plain is ca 72m N-S and 55 E-W; on three sides it is surrounded by steep cliffs and on the S it is open to the sea (Gregory 1992: 28). According to Gregory most traces of ancient occupation have been obscured by heavy alluviation. A powerful fresh-water spring has been noticed by Gregory (1992: 29) on the E side of the harbour.
An ancient road has been noticed [AE1488], leading from ancient Thisbe to the port of Vathy, through a saddle at the SW corner of the basin (Gregory 1992: 28). The road was following a narrow stream-bed cut (see fig.1).

A fortified gate[12] to control the access between the sea at Vathy and the Thisbe basin above is reported (Gregory 1992: 28, and already Heurtley 1923/25: 41) at the N end of the Vathy beach (*component GC_36*).

Component GC_35: Above Vathy harbour on the perpendicular cliff to the E, a gr-rom tower, described by Heurtley (1923/25: 41), commanded a view of both harbours (Vathy and also A.Ioannes to the E) and the whole bay of Domvraina, including its entrance from the Gulf of Corinth (when preserved to its original height, as Gregory remarks). The tower is described also in Gregory (1992: 28), who notes how probably it was in visual communication with Thisbe through the gr-rom tower seen by some travellers on Mt. Kivadio (see *component GC_37*).

Some structures can be linked to the gr-rom occupation and use of the harbour site, in addition to the fortifications (mainly from Gregory 1992 and Heurtley 1923/25): a cistern [AE875] to the SW corner of the beach; along the waterfront a series of walls with associated LR material [AE1492 + AE1493]; building foundations along both sides of the harbour [AE1494], which constitute *component GC_31*.
C sherds testify the presence of harbour installation here in C period (Gregory 1992) - *component GC_32*. Along the waterfront a series of walls with associated LR material [AE1492 + AE1493] - *component GC_33* (Gregory 1992), as well as a LR artefact concentration, could testify the presence of a habitation site by the harbour installation (*component GC_34*) – see above the development in the LR period at Aliki harbour site.

13. Kivadio: *Component GC_37*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_37	gr-rom	fort	Kivadio	Travellers	approximate

Gr-rom tower seen by the travellers (Leake 1835: 507, who reported it as 'Hellenic') on Mt. Kivadio, but apparently no more visible today (reported in Gregory 1992: 28)[13]. Its position could not be located with precision, but probably it was on the ridge looking down upon the port of Thisbe (Vathy), ridge which separates the plain of Thisbe from the coast (marked as Kimadio in the map reported in Fossey and Gauvin 1985, fig.4 and as Megali Rachi in the 1:50,000 GYS map). The tower was overlooking the road from Thisbe to the port, similar in function to that upon the ridge above Aliki (see above).

THISBE BASIN survey sites: *Components GC_38 to GC_54*

What follows is a list of sites located by the intensive and systematic survey work carried out by T.E. Gregory in the area of ancient Thisbe and its harbour(s), in 1979 and following years, and published in 1992. Several discrete artefact concentrations were noticed during surveying in the plain (Gregory 1992: 32-3, map in fig. 3.5).

[12] A gr-rom wall noticed just before the roadway reaches the Vathy plain (Gregory 1992: 28, and already Heurtley 1923/25: 41).

[13] Leake does not mention the name of the ridge, which has been identified though with Mt.Kivadio.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_38	C	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin D-3	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_39	C	settlement	Thisbe basin C-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_40	H	settlement	Thisbe basin C-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_41	LR	settlement	Thisbe basin C-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_42	C	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin C-3	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_43	H	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin C-3	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_44	gr-rom	activity focus	Thisbe basin C-4	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_45	C	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin D-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_46	H	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin D-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_47	R	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin D-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_48	LR	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin D-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_49	C	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin D-2	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_50	H	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin D-2	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_51	LR	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin E-2	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_52	C	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin E-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_53	H	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin E-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain
GC_54	LR	rural site/activity	Thisbe basin E-1	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	certain

Thisbe basin D-3: *component GC_38*
In the SE corner of the plain, on a pocket of good land extending into a cleft in the S ridge at an elevation of up to 200m, a concentration of C potsherds [AE1495] was found. In the same area remains of one or two structures [AE1496] that are probably to be dated to the C period (Gregory 1992: 33).

Thisbe basin C-1: *components GC_39 to GC_41*
A large rural agglomeration, ca 3ha in extension, which could have been a hamlet or a small village of recognized C, H and LR date (Gregory 1992: 33).

Thisbe basin C-3, D-1, D-2, E-2, E-1: *components GC_42 and GC_43*, *GC_45 to GC_54*
Rural sites/activities have been recognized during survey work (Gregory 1992: 33). Site E-2 (*component GC_51*) shows occupation only in LR times (836sqm in extension and with a quite high average artifact density – 6.97 sherds per sqm).

Thisbe basin C-4: *component GC_44*
Only gr-rom architectural fragments were found on the surface. They can represent an activity focus by themselves or they would probably be in connection with C-1, according to the director of the survey project (Gregory 1992: 33)

Except one site (*component GC_51*: LR site), the totality of rural sites found in the survey show C (namely Late C - Early H) occupation, confirming the pattern of the Boeotian rural landscape given by the results of the Stanford-Cambridge and Leiden-Ljubljana Boeotia survey project, which sees a progressive infill of the landscape in C-Early Hellenistic period in other areas of Boeotia. The establishment of *component GC_51*, jointly with continuity of occupation of earlier sites in the LR period, give also a picture of flourishing in late antiquity, which has to do with the usual settlement pattern recurrent in the Boeotian countryside, but also with the increased importance of the port of Thisbe at Vathy influencing all the area of the ancient city.

Kouveli island: ***Components GC_55, GC_56 and GC_86***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_55	LR	rural site/activity	Kouveli island K-1	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_56	LR	settlement	Kouveli island K-3	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_86	LR	? Settlement	Kouveli island K-4	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain

Kouveli is a small island which lies in the Domvraina bay, 2.5km ca to the SE of the small harbour of Ag. Ioannis. It is roughly triangular in shape, less than 1km in length, low-lying in its southern extremity, but rising to a height of 60m near the

centre of the island. It is absolutely barren and desolate, with steep rocky sides rising sharply from the sea and only scrub vegetation (Gregory 1986: 18).
A preliminary note (Gregory 1980: 39) mentions surface pottery showing continuous occupation from the 3rd to the 12th C AD, as well as extensive architectural remains. Activities in the area are therefore attested from LR period onwards. Fossey (1988: 184) suggests it may have served as a refuge for people from Thisbe and nearby sites. On the other hand, in 1981 the Ohio State University and Kenyon College, led by T.E. Gregory, carried out intensive and systematic fieldwork, during which all the island, apart from the steepest slopes, was walked by individuals spaced at five-meter intervals (Gregory 1986). The project discovered four sizable 'sites', which turned out to be something different than simple refuge sites (in the period of Slavic invasion), as attested also by the settlement presence on the Makronisos island (see below) and by their early occupation in LR period. All sites show occupation between the later years of the Roman Empire and the early years of Byzantium, roughly from the 3rd to the 7th C AD.
The larger site is K-3 (*component GC_56*), where 21 buildings or part of buildings were recognized, some large of common use, some others smaller, presumably houses (Gregory 1986: 19).

Makronisos: ***Components GC_87 to GC_90***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_87	LR	settlement	Makronisos M-1 (Diporto)	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_88	LR	? Settlement	Makronisos M-3	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_89	LR	rural site/activity	Makronisos M-2	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	precise
GC_90	LR	infrastructure	Makronisos M-1 (Diporto)	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain

Makronisos (Long Island) is the easternmost of the three islands which block the entrance to the Gulf of Domvraina. It is about 1km long and half a kilometre wide, dominated by a ridge as much as 120m high. Its landscape is similar to that of Kouveli island, though pine trees are considerably present (Gregory 1986: 18).
In 1982 and 1984 the Ohio State University and Kenyon College (led by T.E.Gregory) carried out intensive and systematic fieldwork, in which all the island, apart from the steepest slopes, was walked by individuals spaced at five-meter intervals (Gregory 1986: 20-21). The survey work discovered a considerable settlement, showing urban planning and economic differentiation, by a landing place (at Diporto, site M-1), as well as ten other sites, among which a small harbour

settlement (M-3), a hamlet or villa site –M-2[14] and a number of isolated farms for agricultural and mainly pasturage and bee-keeping activities-, most of them dating from Late Antiquity and the Early Bizantine period (4th through 7th C AD)[15].
The most impressive site is M-1 (Diporto – *component GC_90*): on the W end of Makronisos, at a spot called Diporto, with high ridges shutting it on three sides and a harbour on the W. Surface walls, pottery, glass, and coins are reported. 57 buildings or part of buildings, most of them apparently houses, but also dock facilities and a church (4th to 7th C AD) - Gregory 1986: 20.
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14. Prodromos Kastron (ancient CHORSEIAI): ***Components GC_57 to GC_66***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_57	N	? activity focus	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_58	EH	human presence	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_59	MH	activity focus	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_60	LH	activity focus	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_61	G	settlement	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_62	A	settlement	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_63	C	settlement	Prodromos Kastron	Travellers	approximate
GC_64	H	settlement	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_65	R	settlement	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_66	LR	settlement	Prodromos Kastron	Personal or group interest	approximate

According to Fossey's description (1988: 187), 2.4km from the sea terminates a rocky spur of Helicon, between two valleys (the larger ones to the W) descending into the Sarandi bay. The spur is very steep on all sides except the N where it connects with the main massif. The area has been identified with the settlement chamber of ancient **Chorseiai**, and it is occupied by the modern village of Prodromos/Chostia, to the E of the ancient site.

[14] M-2: villa site, with four phases (two of which at the end of antiquity). In latest periods used for seasonal herding, while in the earlier periods (LR-Early Byz) houses and outbuildings testify the presence of a settlement contemporary to that at Diporto (4th to 7th C AD), devoted at least partly to farming (Gregory 1986: 20-21).
[15] Some of them are occupied in later periods only (more Byzantine than LR), such as site M-4 (mapped on map in Gregory 1986: 18), a cave site Early Byzantine occupied in the period of Slavic invasions or Arab incursions to Greece during the 7th to 8th C AD.

The site was known to travellers (Leake 1835: 514-6; Forchhammer 1857: 24-27; Lebègue 1875: 107-112). Heurtley (1923/25) gives an account on the site in his work on Boeotian ports.
Fossey carried out at the site intensive fieldwork and excavation, published in Fossey Khostia I. Information recorded in the database is mainly from his work at the site, which added new information and confirmed older visits (for Prehistory Heurtley 1923/25: 42; for gr-rom period Austin in February 1926 and de Ridder). A good plan of the site is available in Fossey 1988: 189, as well as a good description of the walling phases (190-1).

Occupation in Prehistoric periods is attested at the site, although the entity of the remains (surface scattered sherds mainly) do not allow us to give a character of the occupation. Heurtley had apparently picked up only a few Mycenaean sherds at the site, as well as did Burn (1949)[16]. We do not know more, though, not even through the excavations carried out at the site focusing on historical periods.
The gr-rom fortress of Chorseiai was guarding the frontier between Boeotia and Phokis (Heurtley 1923/25: 42). In 347/7 Chorseiai got captured by the Phokians (Diodoros XVI 58 and 60). Life at the city site though continued for the whole H period. Excavation work reports (Fossey 1988: 191) the abandonment of the site (after a destruction) in the 2nd or 1st C BC and a reoccupation from the 2nd to at least the 5th C AD. Construction of the imperial (2nd to 5th C AD) period seems to have been removed all but traces of earlier buildings. The most noticeable feature of this Roman work is the series of buildings backed onto the E and W circuit walls (Fossey 1988: 192).

15. Prodromos Kastron S: *Components GC_67 and GC_68*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_67	H	special activity	Prodromos Kastron - South	Personal or group interest	approximate
GC_68	R	burial place	Prodromos Kastron - South	Personal or group interest	approximate

Traces of an ancient aqueduct [AE1521] have been noticed, carrying water probably from the water source at Ag.Taxiarchoi nearby to the N, already noticed by Leake (1835: 514-6), as well as extramural industrial activity (*component GC_67*), on the W side of an ancient road descending from the S gate of Prodromos Kastron fortification (Fossey 1988: 192).
At various points near the ancient roadway descending from the S gate are at least three rock-cut sarcophagi dated after the 2nd C AD (Fossey 1988: 192 – *component GC_68*).

16. Prodromos Kastron N: *Component GC_69*

[16] Burn 1949 mentions 'Chostia', but probably meaning the ancient historical site (*Chorseiai*).

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_69	gr-rom	cult place	Prodromos Kastron - West	Personal or group interest	approximate

Remains of an elongated, aperipteral temple, partly concealed by a modern threshing floor, have been noticed on the W side of the ridge on a flat, exposed rock face (Fossey 1988: 192 and plan fig. 24). To its NE side runs the aqueduct [AE1521]. A mention of the temple is also in AA 1972: 85 and Roesch (*Princeton Encyclopedia* 912) identifies it as the temple of Hera, without positive evidence[17].

17. Prodromos Kastron NW: *Component GC_70*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_70	gr-rom	special activity	Prodromos Kastron - NW	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

Along the easterly side of the Prodromos Kastron ridge, to the side of the aqueduct [AE1521], is a large rock outcrop on which can be seen extensive traces of ancient quarrying (noticed by Fossey 1988: 192).

18. Mali: *Components GC_71 to GC_74*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_71	LH	activity focus	Mali	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
GC_72	PG	settlement	Mali	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
GC_73	G	activity focus	Mali	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
GC_74	A	activity focus	Mali	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

To the S of the modern road between Chostia and Sarandi valley rises the ridge of Malia Senga, the first peak of which is known as Mali (Fossey 1988: 194). In 1980 the Canadian Chostia excavation team first noticed here extensive remains of an ancient fortified site, during intensive survey in the area of ancient Chorseiai (Fossey-Gauvin 1985a: 71-76). Apart from surface walls constituting buildings [AE899], small quantities of surface sherds have been recorded as belonging to PG, G and A periods. Also LH material does not seem to be quantitatively considerable.
Fossey (1988: 194-5) notes how "*it is tempting to suppose that it was the settlement for the area at precisely a period when the* Kastron *does not appear to have been inhabited, namely the 'Dark Ages'* ". Since the site shows traces of fortification

[17] At Paralia Sarandi, below ancient Chorseiai, an inscription dated to the 2nd C BC, mentioning the construction of a temple, is reported in AD35 1980 (1986): 224-5 [AE1826, no component].

[AE898], it might be a suitable explanation, though there are not enough elements to attest it.

Chorseiai Countryside survey: ***Components GC_80 to GC_85, GC_75 and GC_76***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
GC_80	C	rural site/activity	Chostia WR-1	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_81	LR	rural site/activity	Chostia WR-2	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_82	C	rural site/activity	Chostia WR-2A	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_83	C	rural site/activity	Chostia WR-2C	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_84	C	rural site/activity	Chostia WR-3	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_85	C	rural site/activity	Chostia M-2	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain
GC_75	C	rural site/activity	Chostia WP-1 (Sarandi Peninsula)	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
GC_76	R	? rural site/activity	Chostia ER (Eastern Ridge)	Int. and sys. topographical surveys	certain

Various remains (structural remains mainly) of rural sites/activities, mainly of C/H date, were noticed during survey work by the Canadian team in 1983, over an extended area on a ridge to the W of the main *Kastron* site and facing the latter across the Phikeza valley (Gauvin 1986: 51-81; Fossey 1988: 195 – WR sites[18]), as well as on the so-called Western peninsula (overlooking Sarandi bay from W – WP site) and in the area of Mali site (M site) and on the so-called Eastern ridge. In Gauvin (1986) descriptions are given for each single site.

Chostia WR-1: *Component GC_80*
On the W ridge in ancient Chorseiai area. 800m W/NW of Kastron site. In a narrow valley of a stream, marked by a modern route, below an escarp (260m ca asl), surface walls and sherds (coarse ware + glaze tiles) were noticed (Gauvin 1986: site WR-1; plan fig. 5.2).

Chostia WR-2: *Components GC_81, GC_82 and GC_83*

[18] In Fossey 1988: 195 they are not listed separately but in a single 'site' named 'The Western ridge'.

On the W ridge in ancient Chorseiai area. 300m S of the stream running by site WR-1 (*component GC_80*), at the forming of another small stream (200m asl ca). Building foundations, terracing walls and potsherds ('Late') were noticed (Gauvin 1986: site WR-2) – *component GC_81*.
At the forming of the small stream (200m asl ca), where a steep slope starts, the structure identified as site WR-2A was found, with surface walls marking an enclosure and few glaze tiles and few coarse ware sherds (Gauvin 1986: site WR-2A; plan fig. 5.3) – *component GC_82*.
On the opposite bank of the stream compared to WR-2A (ca 100m W-NW of it), the small building identified as site WR-2C was found, along with few glaze tiles and few coarse ware sherds (Gauvin 1986: site WR-2C; plan fig. 5.4) – *component GC_83*.

Chostia WR-3: *Component GC_84*
On the W ridge in ancient Chorseiai area. On the slopes above the last hill before the descent towards the Sarandi bay, to the W of the small plateau which constitutes the summit of the Western ridge, surface walls marking buildings (with two round shape towers), terrace walls along with glaze tiles and few coarse ware sherds were found (Gauvin 1986: site WR-3; plan fig. 5.5).

Chostia M-2: *Component GC_85*
750m SE of Mali, on the highest slopes, in an area marked by small terraces (marked by small walls), overlooking the Thisbe basin, only a wall clearly visible on the surface and a large quantity of glaze tiles were noticed (Gauvin 1986: site M-2; plan fig. 5.7).

Chostia WP-1 (Sarandi Peninsula): *Component GC_75*
As Fossey (1988: 195) describes, the W side of the Sarandi bay is enclosed by a small, essentially oval-shaped, peninsula and hill whose summit (Rachi Tsourgias on the 1:50,000 GYS map) rises a little over 100m above sea level[19].
The Canadian team in 1983, during survey work in the area, noted on the peninsula ancient remains (Gauvin 1986: 70-71 – site WP-1). They represent a large farm site, marked by surface Late C- Early H tiles and remains of an extensive enclosure[20].

Chostia Eastern Ridge: *Component GC_76*
In the Northern part of the so-called Eastern ridge, above the modern village of Chostia/Prodromos, a small Roman site has been discovered during survey work by the Canadian team in 1980-81 (Fossey and Gauvin 1983: 237, map fig.1).

As seen above, LR scattered sherds have been noticed at the site named Chostia WR-2 (*component GC_81*). Gauvin (1986: 81), in concordance with Fossey (1988: 195), notes how "*surface sherds are rare but some are reminiscent of those found in the latest occupation deposits at the* Kastron *and suggest the possibility that after the destruction there in Late Roman times the population, or its remnants, may have moved to this Western Ridge*" (Fossey 1988: 195). This interpretation should be verified, since the picture given by the results of the survey seem very much close to

[19] W of this lies another, much more open bay approached from Sarandi by a track over the saddle which separates the peninsula hill from the rest of the ridge to the N (Fossey 1988: 195).
[20] For a possible parallel, see farm sites found by Lohmann in Attica – Athene survey (Lohmann 1985).

the usual pattern in Boeotian countryside given by intensive and systematic surface survey in the framework of the Boeotia Survey project as well as in the Thisbe basin survey project presented earlier (C-H rural infill, then again a strong occupation of the countryside in LR times), which usually has little to do with the abandonment of the main places in the area.

Appendix I.11
The upper Asopos basin: Parasopia and Plataea

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

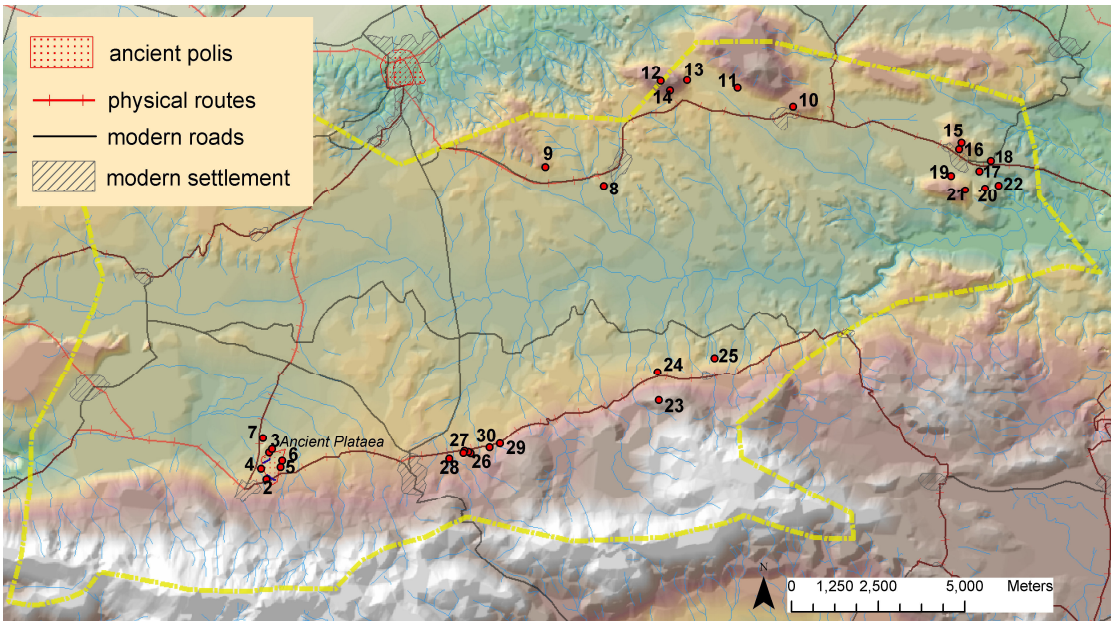


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of Parasopia and Plataea region.*

1. PLATAEA: *Components PP_1 to PP_10; PP_76 and PP_77*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_1	N	human presence	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain
PP_2	EH	? activity focus	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain
PP_3	MH	? activity focus	Plataea	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_4	LH	activity focus	Plataea	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_5	G	settlement	Plataea	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_6	A	settlement	Plataea	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_7	C	settlement	Plataea	Travellers	certain
PP_8	H	settlement	Plataea	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	approximate
PP_9	R	settlement	Plataea	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_10	LR	settlement	Plataea	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_11	LR	burial place	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain
PP_76	LH	activity focus	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain
PP_77	MH	? activity focus	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain

The ancient city of Plataea lay in the area of the modern village of Koukkla/Plataea, to the NE of it, on a large plateau which projects Northward from the steep slopes of Kithairon (Fossey 1988: 102). The modern village lies on the W flank of this plateau. Below, at the SW fringes, a large permanent spring blows out, and several other water sources are present in the area (Philippson 1951: 504 and IGME geological map).
The localization of the ancient Plataea site, already known to travellers (Leake and others, listed in Fossey 1988: 102), was based on Strabo (IX 412), with the epigraphic testimonial as decisive evidence (Fossey 1988: 112).
Afterwards, the site was of interest to different extensive research and excavations, which are reported in the archaeological reports (a summary in Fossey 1988: 109). In the last decade on the site have been carried out intensive surveys and excavations[1] by an Austrian team (Konečny – Austrian Archaeological Institute) in collaboration with the local ephorate (Aravantinos)[2].
The so-called 'acropolis' in the NW part of the site was the area of the earlier settlement at Plataea, since G period (Konečny AReports 1997-98: 60)[3]. Different phases of walling have been recognized in the city wall surrounding the city in different periods (Fossey 1988: 102-108 and fig.14). The first phase of fortification has been recognized as Archaic (Konečny AReports 1988-1999: 56-7), surrounding the NW area, while the largest circuit wall dates to C period[4].
A Classical temple [AE1553], with an earlier (A) temple underneath [AE1552], was excavated by the Americans in 1891 (AJA 1891: 390-399 - reported in Fossey 1988: 108). The *katagogion* for the temple, partially excavated, became later the Roman *agora* (Praktika 1889: 42-56) [AE217].
The settlement probably reduced in size and life after the destruction of Plataea by the Thebans in 426 BC[5] (Late Classical – Hellenistic period), and flourished again in R times[6]. A LR settlement is also known at the site (Kirsten 1956: 2316; AJA 1890: 459; Fossey 1988: 103-4 and note n.11), probably concentrated in the NW area[7]. Within the city area, outside the NW 'acropolis', LR tombs are reported (*component*

[1] Excavations have been carried out at the W gate and at the SW frindges of acropolis, by the great spring.
[2] In addition to the AD and AReports on the project (from 1997 onwards), see reports on Austrian journals: *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts* (*OJH*) in Wien 68 and 69.
[3] In contrast with earlier excavators who argued that the oldest area was the S part of site while the N part was a later expansion. On the other hand, Pritchett (1965: 119) already showed that the N area has focus for all periods, from Bronze Age to Byzantine.
[4] Leake (1835) already noted the contrast between the vast walled area and Thucydides description (II 2.1-2) of it as 'a small city'.
[5] Pritchett 1980: 293. Sketch map of the battle of Plataea (Skolos site, etc).
[6] The circuit wall is smaller in R times but occupation was found also outside the city wall.
[7] Nevertheless, buildings and Byzantine churches are spread all over the site (see AJA 1890 plan XXIII and 1889: 439-442; Fossey 1988: 103).

PP_11 - Spyropoulos AAA 1973: 375-9; Fossey 1988: 104), testifying of the probable shrinking of the city at that time.

Prehistoric occupation is also present at the site. In the NW part of the city area MH and LH[8] sherds were noticed earlier (HS&D 1979: G39; Fossey 1988: 103 – *components PP_3 and PP_4*), while the new Greek-Austrian intensive research excavated LH layers at the SW fringes of acropolis, just above the great spring (*Megali Vrisi*), with MH pottery, EH pottery, and few Neolithic sherds found in the excavation though not within stratigraphic layers (AD 50 (1995): 310[9]) – *components PP_1, PP_2, PP_76 and PP_77* (listed below).

2. Plataea SW frindges: ***Components PP_1, PP_2, PP_76 and PP_77***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_1	N	human presence	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain
PP_2	EH	? activity focus	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain
PP_76	LH	activity focus	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain
PP_77	MH	? activity focus	Plataea	Personal or group interest	certain

The new Greek-Austrian intensive research excavated LH layers at the SW fringes of acropolis, just above the great spring (*Megali Vrisi*), with MH pottery, EH pottery, and few Neo sherds found in the excavation though not within stratigraphic layers (AD 50 (1955): 310).
A Neolithic or EH site is reported on a low hill in the plain to the N of the ancient city (see below, Plataea N - Kotronaki).

3 - 6. Plataea burial places: ***Components PP_12 and PP_13, PP_14*** **(3);** ***PP_17*** **(4),** ***PP_18*** **(5)** ***and PP_19*** **(6)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_12	H	burial place	Plataea	accidental	imprecise
PP_13	R	burial place	Plataea	accidental	imprecise
PP_14	gr-rom	burial place	Plataea N	Personal or group interest	approximate
PP_17	gr-rom	burial place	Plataea W	Travellers	certain
PP_18	gr-rom	burial place	Plataea E	accidental	approximate
PP_19	LR	burial place	Plataea E	Personal or	approximate

[8] LH layers were also excavated there.

[9] By the spring were found also H-R-LR, as well as Byzantine water conducts and few Byzantine walls (Konečny pers.comm.) [AE1549, AE1550, AE1551]. Architectural remains of the spring itself were also found during excavation. Yet by *Megali Vrisi*, to the W of the 'rampart', fragments "*d'entablements et de stèles d'époque romaine*" were accidentally discovered (AD49 (1994): 290) [AE1788].

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				group interest	

Fossey (1988: 109) reports cemeteries to N, E and W of Plataea city walls (*components PP_14; PP_17 to PP_19*), mainly located by the Americans (AJA 1891, 390-1)[10]. Later (LR) tombs are known within the wall circuit, especially to the E (*component PP_11* – see above), as well as Early Christian tombs in the E extramural area with buildings of the same date (*component PP_19* - AJA 1889, 442; 1890, 451; Syriopoulos Teiresias 73.1.1 and AAA 1973, 375-9; Fossey 1988: 104 and plan fig. 13).
Epigraphical evidence also attests the presence of cemetery areas (*components PP_12 and PP_13*).

7. Plataea N – Kotronaki: *Components PP_15 and PP_16*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_15	N	activity focus	Plataea N - Kotronaki	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_16	EH	activity focus	Plataea N - Kotronaki	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

On a low hill, steep on three sides, in the plain to the N of the ancient city, a Prehistoric site was reported, likely Neolithic or EH (AD 1969: 186 – HS&D 1979: G39). A more recent report in AD 36 (1981): 194 lists Late Neo and EH I/II in locality Kotronaki and refers to the same location.

NEOCHORAKI - KALLITHEA - SOROS

8/9. Neochoraki: *Components PP_20 to PP_22* (8)*; PP_33 and PP_75* (9)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_20	G	burial place	Neochoraki	Historical geography	approximate
PP_21	A	burial place	Neochoraki	Historical geography	approximate
PP_22	C	burial place	Neochoraki	Historical geography	approximate
PP_33	A	burial place	Neochoraki W	Rescue excavation	approximate
PP_75	C	burial place	Neochoraki W	Rescue excavation	approximate

[10] To the W of the ancient city were found stone carved sarcophagi still seen by Fossey (1988: 109) - photographs in Papachatzis 1981: 11.

Pritchett (1965: 107-108) mentions a G-A-C cemetery in locality Neochoraki. He (108) remarks on the depth at which the C sherds occurred in the cemetery area (from Fossey 1988: 122 note 84). In 1994, two A-C tombs[11] were found 2km W of the modern village (AD 49 (1994): 284 – *component PP_33*). A pythos-burial of A period and a cremation burial of C period (*components PP_33 and PP_*75) were found 2km W of the modern village (AD 49 (1994): 284; AD 51 (1996): 284) during rescue excavation (DEPA gas pipeline work for pipeline Asopos-Oinophyta).

Fossey argues (1988: 122) that a settlement[12] should lie near Neochoraki in addition to the Soros site, considering the different tomb areas reported in the area, from Neochoraki and in general from Soros. The area is though interesting due to heavy alluvium deposits, and Fossey would argue that probably settlement traces disappeared. It seems that Fossey deliberately confuses here finds from an area too vast (modern Neochoraki and Kallithea and Soros areas) to be a single site. One should probably suppose the existence of two villages in the area, and more intensive and systematic research could probably be able to locate it. As for the present knowledge, the likely local material would probably be C, H, R, LR (Soros – see below) and G, A, C (as for Neochoraki burial area), but probably the corresponding settlement is not as close to the village as argued by Fossey (see chapter II.3.11 – LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS- for a discussion).

10. Moustaphades/Kallithea - Pyrgaki: *Components PP_23 and PP_ 24*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_23	LH	burial place	Moustaphades/Kallithea - Pyrgaki	Rescue excavation	approximate
PP_24	LR	? burial place	Moustaphades/Kallithea - Pyrgaki	Other	approximate

The village of Moustaphades/Kallithea (Thivon) is isolated in a great swathe of country, with some good land. Kallithea's physical landscape is constituted by mostly excellent land in Neogen, and the village has abundant freshwater too (see water sources mapped in the 1:50,000 geological map – Thiva sheet).

Three LH tombs (*component PP_23*) cut in the rock and excavated[13] in 1963, 1966 and 1970 are reported by Syriopoulos 1968 and then by HS&D 1979 at the S foothill of the ridge Pyrgaki (locality Koros) to the N of modern Moustaphades/Kallithea village, but could not be found by Snodgrass. In 1983, three new tombs with *dromos* were found (AD 38 (1983): 134) in locality Rizo, 500m ca W of the water-reservoir of Kallithea village where the previous tombs where found. In the Early Byzantine period the tombs were reused (*component PP_24*), but it is not clear whether for the same use (burial). LH finds in Thebes museum are reported from the area, without clear provenience though [AE420]. They have been included as likely in the LH burial component (*component PP_23*), since they could be from these tombs. On the

[11] Between the 2 tombs sporadic offerings of pots and figurines were found (AD 49 (1994): 284).
[12] In Fossey 1988: 123-126 is a long discussion about identification issues, with an attempt to identify the supposed settlement with *Therapnai/Skolos*.
[13] Found during the excavation of a cistern for the village (AD 19: 1964: 199).

other hand, Fossey, as noted before, confuses Kallithea with Neochoraki area, and therefore the provenience remains unclear, and the LH finds could also be from Soros tombs (*component PP_74*).

As Fossey (1988: 119) notes, rough and dominant mountains dominated the area, and he would recognize the hilltop 548m asl (mapped as Soros in the 1:50,000 GYS map) as a clearly important acropolis. In considering the LH tombs on the S slopes of Pyrgaki hill, and the name itself of the ridge, one could look for the LH settlement on that hilltop or in the vicinity (see below - Soros). On the other hand, signs of a LH site on the Soros top have not been found yet, and also no later (C) site is yet known in the area of Kallithea, though the settlement site in later Prehistory and historical period could be nearby. On the other hand, the later occupation, the historical settlement of the area, could also have been somewhere else within the wider area, and the fortification on the Soros Easterly higher peak (*components PP_26 to PP_28*) is probably to be considered only a fort (and not the acropolis of a settlement) in historical periods (for a discussion on villages in the area see chapter II.3.11– LONG TERM SETTLEMENT TRENDS).

11. Kallithea Metochi: *Components PP_71 to PP_73*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_71	H	rural site/activity	Kallithea Metochi	accidental	approximate
PP_72	R	rural site/activity	Kallithea Metochi	accidental	approximate
PP_73	LR	rural site/activity	Kallithea Metochi	accidental	approximate

Nearby Kallithea village, in locality Metochi, HL/R surface walls are reported (AD 36 1981 (1987): 194) over a large area. The remains include Early Christian / Byzantine structures as well as H/R structures (including a well [AE1781]). The site, is said, may have a connection with drainage channels on the neighbouring hill.

12. Soros: *Components PP_25 to PP_28*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_25	Preh	? Fort	Soros	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_26	A	fort	Soros	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_27	C	fort	Soros	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_28	H	fort	Soros	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

On Soros Eastern higher peak -geodetic point 548m asl-, to the NW of modern Kallithea village.

On the hilltop traces of at least three wall circuits have been noticed (Fossey 1988: 20f – plan fig.16)[14], with associated material (A to H). On the S slopes, below the fortification, large quantities of C and H potsherds [AE423 and AE424] have been noticed (Fossey 1988: 122). They could have easily come from the fortified top (the evidence has been associated to the components with a question mark).
Components have been created as listed above. Probably the fortification, with associated material, has to be considered a fort only as for historical periods (A to H). We could not completely exclude, though, the existence here of a sort of refuge settlement in some of the periods. There is no apparent need though, to consider the site as a fortified acropolis of a settlement nearby, as Fossey seems to suggest.
In Prehistoric times, Fossey (1988: 120f) would locate the LH fortified settlement site here, though he himself notes that "little or no" Prehistoric was found, and he seems to use walling style only to date the structural remains and to assign a Prehistoric use to the site.
The fortified place probably also marks the border between the *chorai* of Plataea and Thebes, and could have belonged to the Plataeans before the destruction of the city by the Thebans (426 BC), and afterwards could have been taken by the Thebans and used as a watch place.

13. Soros: *Components PP_32 and PP_74*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_32	H	burial place	Soros	accidental	imprecise
PP_74	LH	burial place	Soros	accidental	approximate

On the hill Soros excavation of destroyed LH Mycenaean tombs and eight robbed H tombs was carried out in 1965 (AD 1965: 242).

14. Soros SE: *Components PP_29 to PP_31*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_29	gr-rom	? cult place	Soros SE	Travellers	approximate
PP_30	H	activity focus	Soros SE	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_31	LR	activity focus	Soros SE	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

At the SE foot of East Soros peak, below the fortification (*components PP_26 to PP_28*), H [AE425] and LR [AE426] potsherds are reported in connection with the large building [AE190[15]] found here (Fossey 1988: 122). A R dedication [AE428] has also been found in the vicinity and could be connected with the abovementioned building [AE190] interpreted by scholars as a sanctuary (of the *Mater Theon*). The structures had already been seen by the travellers, in association with sculptures from C to R era (listed in Fossey 1988: 123).

[14] Fossey 1988: 20f dates the three circuits as: Phase I Cyclopaean Prehistoric walling; Phase II Polygonal A - early C; Phase III polygonal H date (see also Fossey BICS 1971: 106-9).
[15] The building is 24x18m and is made of large worked limestone blocks.

I created a general gr-rom component as probable cult place (including the R dedication [AE428]), and two period-specific (H and LR) components since, even if the interpretation as cult place is not correct, we do have here a certain activity focus in those two periods, due to the presence of surface material [AE425 and AE426], which I left also in apparent association with the large building remains.
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15 – 19. Asopia: ***Components PP_56 and PP_57*** **(15);** ***PP_58 to PP_64*** **(16);** ***PP_65 and PP_66*** **(17);** ***PP_67 to PP_69*** **(18);** ***PP_70*** **(19)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_56	gr-rom	fort	Asopia - Prophitis Ilias	Travellers	certain
PP_57	C	fort	Asopia - Prophitis Ilias	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_58	A	activity focus	Asopia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_59	C	activity focus	Asopia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_60	H	activity focus	Asopia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_61	EH	? activity focus	Asopia	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_62	MH	? activity focus	Asopia	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_63	LH	? activity focus	Asopia	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_64	G	? activity focus	Asopia	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_65	gr-rom	burial place	Asopia vicinity	accidental	imprecise
PP_66	C	burial place	Asopia vicinity	accidental	imprecise
PP_67	gr-rom	burial place	Asopia E	accidental	approximate
PP_68	C	burial place	Asopia E	accidental	approximate
PP_69	H	burial place	Asopia E	accidental	approximate
PP_70	gr-rom	burial place	Asopia S	accidental	approximate

The modern village of Klembotsari/Asopia lays at the E end of the Asopos middle valley, and it is rather enclosed by hills and mountains which surround the Parasopia and face W into it. The village lies very close to the Asopos ravine through which the

river enters the East Tanagra Plain. A road to Bratsi/Tanagra runs from it, but otherwise, as Fossey (1988: 127) notes, the area is cut off in most directions by the mountains which surround the Parasopia. Asopia's communications are, thus, mostly with the rest of the Asopos' upper basin to the W. Above the village to the N is the hill of Prophitis Ilias (422m asl), where traces of presence in antiquity have been noticed.
The place was visited by travellers (quoted in Fossey 1988: 127), who noticed the fortified hilltop of Prophitis Ilias (a small flat top, 120m E-W and 50 N-S –plan in Fossey 1988 fig. 17). Fossey (1988: 127) defines it as the 'acropolis' of an ancient settlement, and he suggests that the settlement would probably lay in the area of the modern village - on the S slopes of Prophitis Ilias (Fossey 1988: 128). On the other hand, as a lot of tile fragments but no potsherds were found, probably Prophitis Ilias hilltop was just a fort, either isolated or serving the settlement below (apparently unfortified), whenever it actually existed.
Many burial areas are reported (especially by locals) in the village or in the vicinity (*components PP_65 to PP_70; PP_79 and PP_80*), which would support the hypothesis of a settlement site nearby. The ancient tombs noticed by Lolling at the S foot of the hill could be visible cisterns.

Attempts of identification have been made (see Fossey 1988: 130), in particular with *Eilesion*[16], while Wallace (1979) would suggest *Eteonos*.

Components PP_61 to PP_63: Also Prehistoric occupation is attested, since Prehistoric potsherds were found on the slopes. They could have rolled down from the top, though a revisit would be needed to clarify it. The site apparently is not listed in Prehistoric gazetteers and therefore the note for Prehistoric pottery is probably only from Fossey (1988: 128). No trace of LH fortification on the top.

20/21/22. Asopia S: *Components PP_78* (20)*; PP_79* (21)*; PP_80* (22)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_78	gr-rom	rural site/activity	Asopia S	Rescue excavation	approximate
PP_79	C	burial place	Asopia S	Rescue excavation	approximate
PP_80	C	burial place	Asopia S	Rescue excavation	approximate

Few discoveries have been made S of the village due to rescue excavations carried out when the gas pipe-line work was carried out.
Component PP_78: S of Klembotsari/Asopia village, to the S of the road Asopia-Kleidi, along the gas pipe-line, by the church of Ag.Stilianos, stone buildings associated with coarse ware sherds have been found (AD 52 (1977): 376 – *thesi* B). They have been interpreted as sheds for pastoral or agricultural activities, also because of their position close to fresh water springs.

[16] In fact Philippson-Kirsten 1951 would place *Eilesion* at Bratsi/modern Tanagra. Eilesion is mentioned in the 'Catalogue of Ships' with Harma and Herythrai, while later sources are only etymological. Proof of attribution would be the continuity of the name, as fields at the E edge of village are given the name Eilesion in modern times.

Component PP_79 and 80: S of Klembotsari/Asopia village, to the S of the road Asopia-Kleidi, to the left and the right of *component PP_78* along the pipeline, C graves have been found (AD 52 (1977): 376 - *thesi* A and *thesi* Γ).

23. Daphni Kastron: *Components PP_47 to PP_ 49*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_47	gr-rom	fort	Daphni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_48	C	? human presence	Daphni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_49	LR	? human presence	Daphni Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

To the SW of the modern village of Daphni is the Kastron hilltop (656m asl), reachable from a path that rises from the village to the S. On it remains of a circuit wall [AE408] have been noticed (Fossey 1988: 116 - plan in fig.15).
The site could be interpreted as a simple military fort, in considering also the almost total lack of surface material - probably sign of a period of occupation reduced in time. Only two datable sherds (one C –AE1569- and one LR –AE1570-) have been recovered (Fossey 1988: 118). If they cannot date with certainty the fortification, they would attest a probable human presence in that period.
On the other hand, Fossey (1988: 116) would suggest that the site was the acropolis of an ancient settlement which would have lain on the plateau at the mountain's N foot (see below – Daphni plateau).

24. Daphni plateau (ancient ERYTHRAI?): *Components PP_50 to PP_54*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_50	LH	activity focus	Daphni plateau	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_51	gr-rom	? burial place	Daphni plateau	accidental	approximate
PP_52	C	activity focus	Daphni plateau	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_53	H	activity focus	Daphni plateau	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_54	LR	? activity focus	Daphni plateau	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

On the plateau at the N foot of Kastron hill (see Daphni Kastron above), ca. 800m to the W of Daphni village, used to lie the *metochion* of the monastery of Osios Metetios (to the S of the Pastra ridge). All that remains of it today are the walls of the church of

Agios Athanasios. The road from Kriekouki-Erythrai to Darimari-Daphni crosses the S side of the plateau.
An ancient site on the plateau was known to the travellers already (Leake 1835: 330 and 369, and Ulrichs (1863: 74) quoted in Fossey 1988: 116). They noticed building blocks [AE413 – they could be later also] and traces of a fortification around the plateau (Leake 1835: 369) which could not be traced by Fossey during his visit (apart from the ruined church of Agios Athanasios)[17]. Fossey noticed the presence of tiles everywhere and no frequent potsherds. All these factors suggested a post-Medieval scenario, very similar to the case of site CN4 for instance (Hyettos survey in the framework of the Boeotia Survey project - Bintliff pers. comm.). The evidences [AE413 – AE1571 – AE1572] have therefore been recorded as ?gr-rom (with a question mark as they could be later, and even in possible connection with the *metochion*). I have associated them to C, H and LR activity focuses (*components PP_52, PP_53, PP_54*) in a possible association only, as they could even not correspond, as discussed, to anything from gr-rom period.
The plateau could have been occupied by a cemetery site in a certain period of history (unknown), since local people talk about tombs with pots and bones found on the plateau and especially at its edge (Fossey 1988: 118). I therefore created a component gr-rom 'cemetery?' (with a question mark which relates to chronology, as surely existed a cemetery there but it could also be in association with the later *metochion*), and other components as C and H 'activity focus', in case there was another kind of activity going on there not linked to the burials and testified by the presence of surface potsherds, albeit few (probably fine wares, since easily recognized, but not enough to represent a settlement site). A component LR 'activity focus?' has also been created, mainly to keep track of the info which reports LR potsherds (Fossey 1988: 118), though it is most probable that the remains of mortared building should be linked to the later occupation at the site[18].
A Diocletian's Price Tariff (AE 1931: 163-4 no.5) was found at the site, but it could also be possible that it moved here later from the site of ancient Plataea (Fossey 1988: 118).
Component PP_50: few LH (III?) sherds are also reported from the site (HS&D 1979; Fossey 1988: 118).

An identification with ancient *Erythrai* has been suggested (see Fossey 1988: 119, who agrees with Pritchett's identification – AJA 1957: 15). The series of settlements, reported in ancient texts, which position *Erythrai* after *Hysiai* from Plataea would seem to confirm it. Wallace tries to identify this site with *Skolos*. On the other hand, we should keep in mind that we cannot even be sure that the settlement was here, rather than somewhere nearby.

25. Daphni*: Component PP_ 55*

[17] On the plateau below the Kastron, where the *metochion* was, are traces of a large subterranean building near the road from Kriekouki-Erythrai to Darimari-Daphni, which crosses the S side of the plateau (maybe earlier than the monastic buiding - but not earlier than Roman because of the mortar) – Fossey 1988: 118.
[18] It is not clear either whether the LR pottery listed in Fossey 1988: 118, and certainly corresponding at least to the single sherd found on the Kastron hilltop (AE1570 - *component PP_49*), can be connected to the plateau also.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_55	gr-rom	burial place	Daphni	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

NE of the modern village of Daphni (Fossey 1988: 118) a tomb area is reported by Kirsten (RE 1950 s.v. *Plataiai*). Terracotta figurines are reported from the tombs.

26. Erythrai - Pantanassa: ***Components PP_34 to PP_38***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_34	LH	activity focus	Erythrai - Pantanassa	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_35	A	activity focus	Erythrai - Pantanassa	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_36	C	activity focus	Erythrai - Pantanassa	Travellers	certain
PP_37	H	activity focus	Erythrai - Pantanassa	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
PP_38	R	? activity focus	Erythrai - Pantanassa	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

On a ridge jutting out into the Asopos valley to the E of modern Kriekouki/Erythrai village, in the area around the Pantanassa chapel.
Early travellers visited the site and noted remains of ancient structures and traces of a circuit of walling (no more visible). The main bibliographical reference for the site is Pritchett's article on AJA 1957: 12-15 that presents the result of his own fieldwork and reports on previous accounts and travellers.
For the site has been suggested an identification with ancient *Erythrai*, but more probably it has to be identified with ancient *Hysiai*[19] (see Fossey 1988: 114-115 for a discussion on identification).

LH potsherds are reported from the site (Pritchett AJA 1957: 12-15; Syriopoulos 1968; HS&D 1979 G40).
In historical periods, evidence is too limited (surface sherds and no more visible traces of fortification) to create 'settlement' components, and created components are of 'activity focus' type (from A to R period). It looks like a site which could never have been very defensible or impressive. If this was its actual location, *Hysiai* would have benefited from the fertility of Parasopia. This site would seem 'poor' (or the bit we know), but we only see the possible 'acropolis' (see *component PP_39* also).
As for R period, R material from the site seems to be mentioned only in Fossey (1988: 114) from Pritchett, while not in other gazetteers (HS&D 1979 G40 for instance). The

[19] Modern Erythrai is a misnomer as the next settlement to Plataea, according to ancient sources, ought to be *Hysiai* - and therefore Pantanassa site likely. Hysiae was a dispute settlement between Thebes and Plataea. Ancient sources give three settlements on foot of Cithaeron, from E to W Erythrai, Hysiai and Plataea.

material could also come from the Erythrai-Pyrgos site (see *component PP_43*), since usually in his work Fossey lists all the material together from the wider site area.
No remains have been noted at Kriekouki-Erythrai village itself (Pritchett AJA 1957: 15; Fossey 1988: 114)[20].

27. Erythrai - Pantanassa foothill: *Components PP_ 39 to PP_40*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_39	gr-rom	activity focus	Erythrai - Pantanassa foothill	Travellers	certain
PP_40	C	? cult place	Erythrai - Pantanassa foothill	Travellers	certain

At the foothill of Pantanassa ridge, E of modern Erythrai, surface walls along with architectural fragments mark certainly an activity focus in the gr-rom period. Probably some of the A to R potsherds mentioned in the bibliography as generally referring to Erythrai site [AE227 - AE228 - AE407 - AE229] are to be found in this foothill area (lower settlement area?), though we cannot be more precise since location of pottery is not specified in the available accounts.

Component PP_40: At the W foot of the ridge, near to a well containing ancient material noted by Leake (1835: 327), two buildings and associated potsherds and material suggest a sanctuary area of at least 5th C BC date (Pritchett AJA 1957: 12-15). The evidence could match the description given by Pauanias (IX 2. 1-3) of a half-finished Apollo temple, with the φρέαρ ιερόν which Pausanias recorded at *Hysiai* (from Fossey 1988: 115).

Component PP_39: The evidence available for the area are probably not only the remains of the building interpreted as a temple (recorded as *component PP_40*), or could not be interpreted as such, but could be linked to other activities. I therefore created also a generic gr-rom 'activity focus' component. There is no need to identify the structures and potsherds found with the remains of a cult place. They could even represent habitation structures if not a lower settlement area.

28. Erythrai - Pantanassa area: *Components PP_41 and PP_42*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_41	C	? burial place	Erythrai - Pantanassa area	accidental	imprecise
PP_42	H	? burial place	Erythrai - Pantanassa area	accidental	imprecise

Only two tombstones from the period could attest the presence of a C-H burial place in the area of Erythrai-Pantanassa, a Hellenistic one (AE 1936: 45 and AJA 1957: 15) and another one dated to the 4th C BC (AJA 1957: 15).

[20] Apart from a note that Pritchett makes on 'possible prehistoric from town (?)'.

29. Erythrai – Pyrgos: *Component PP_43*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_43	R	? Fort	Erythrai - Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	imprecise

Pritchett (AJA 1957: 12-15) reports of remains of a tower (gr-rom or medieval?) 1km ca NE of the Pantanassa church on Pyrgos hill. Only few R sherds and a possible gr-rom tower (seen both by Pritchett AJA 1957: 11 and Fossey 1988: 113) mark this activity focus.

30. Erythrai - Pantanassa NE: *Components PP_44 to PP_46*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
PP_44	C	rural site/activity	Erythrai - Pantanassa NE	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_45	H	rural site/activity	Erythrai Pantanassa NE	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
PP_46	R	rural site/activity	Erythrai Pantanassa NE	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

Half way between Erythrai-Pantanassa and Erythrai-Pyrgos, probably on the lower slopes, by the road, traces of activity focus (artefact concentration) have been noticed (Fossey 1988: 113). It could be interpreted as a probable rural site, living from the C to the R period (traces of walling with mortar were also found).

Appendix I.12
The Theban plain and the area of the lakes: Thebaïs

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

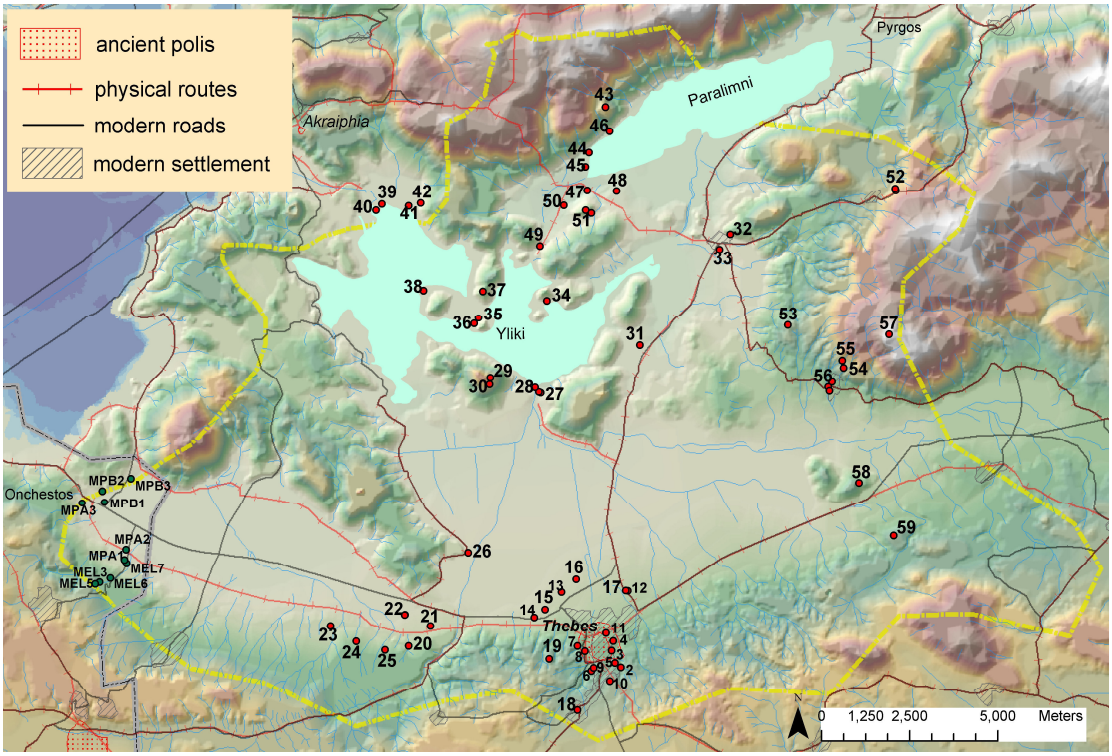


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of Thebais chora. In the SW corner of the map the area intensively and systematically surveyed is marked* (The extension of the lower town of Thebes is hard to determine with certainty and may vary considerably throughout the periods. What is suggested in the map is just a possibility to give an idea to the reader of the city's considerable extension. Within it, the Kadmeia is marked).

1. THEBES: *Components T_1 to T_14*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_1	N	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_2	EH	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_3	MH	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_4	LH	settlement	Thebes	Personal or group interest	certain
T_5	SubM	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_6	PG	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_7	G	settlement	Thebes	Rescue	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				excavation	
T_8	A	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_9	C	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_10	H	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_11	R	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_12	LR	settlement	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain
T_13	EH	burial place	Thebes Ampheion	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_14	MH	burial place	Thebes	Rescue excavation	certain

The ancient *polis* of Thebes[1] is located to the S of its wide plain, on the slopes of the elevated areas of the so-called Tertiary *tafel* (see chapter II.3.12 – TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING). The focus of the ancient settlement is on the Kadmeia hill. The toponym is probably to be included in the series of orographical names (mainly related to ridges and mountains whose slope or foothills host a settlement or city site) derived from the military equipment, for instance Aspis at Argo, Kerykion at Tanagra, Akontion at Orchomenos, yet in Boeotia[2].

Continuity of settlement is known at Thebes since Neolithic times until the LR period (and onwards). N[3], EH[4], MH[5], LH[6], SubM, PG and G settlement is known on the Kadmeia, while A to LR on and around Kadmeia hill (*components T_1 to T_12*)[7]. In this work, the settlement of Thebes in different periods will not be examined in detail, since a separate work would be needed for it. For the purpose of our research, only the principal characters of the occupation have been listed in the database and considered

[1] The ancient name of *Thebai* has never been lost, being preserved in the demotic form Φήβα during Turkish times and probably also in a Frankish form 'Estives' (see Fossey 1988: 208).
[2] Esichius, s.v. *Kadmos*, has "spear, helmet, shield, in Cretan". The name, according to Schachter 1985 would have been initially the name of the Theban citadel, and would have later become the name of its mytical founder (Kadmos).
[3] N excavated layers.
[4] EH excavated layers and buildings, especially to the S of the Kadmeia. Probably also a fortification [AE1582]. Recent excavations beyond the museum (for the construction of a new museum building) have thrown light to the EH settlement on the Kadmeia (Aravantinos 2004b). An EH burial (known as the tomb of Zethus and Amphion mentioned also by Pausanias) is a small mound of earth still recognizable today on the N slopes of the Kadmeia (*component T_13*).
[5] MH: excavated layers and buildings (all over the Kadmeia). MH burial places within the settlement area (*component T_14*).
[6] LH: excavated layers and buildings are all over the Kadmeia, where there are also palace(s) with linear B tablet archive, and workshops. The ruins of the so-called 'Palace of Kadmos' have been excavated below the modern town on the Kadmeia. Mycenaean fortification have also been excavated (recently behind the museum for the construction of the new museum building). To the LH III B2 / beginning of LH III C is dated the final destruction of the Kadmeia citadel (AD38 (1983): 131).
[7] The Kadmeia is actually formed by three hills. At times they would correspond to the whole site, other times to the acropolis of the larger town (Fossey 1988: 199).

in the analysis. The archaeological record from Thebes is rich and articulated and exploring in detail the particular urban site falls outside the purpose of the present research. In the database I collected the more meaningful information (in terms of time and space) in order to get an idea of the kind of occupation at the site in the different periods under study, remaining, that way, in a framework coherent with the rest of the work.
Unlike other sites known for Boeotia, in Thebes almost all the available archaeological information comes from excavations (mainly rescue excavations, like in the case of Levadeia for instance). The Kadmeia is today completely covered by the modern town, and therefore the archaeology of the ancient settlement can be considered in the category of 'urban archaeology' with all implications[8] and disadvantages (see chapter II.2; Aravantinos 1996 and 2000).
As for Prehistoric periods, archaeological reports as well as monographic works are available[9]. Generally speaking, Bronze Age periods are certainly the most examined and investigated at the site, due to the personal research interest of scholars and the availability of a rich archaeological record.
As for historical period, a good topographical work is Symeonoglou 1985, which gives an account of the monuments excavated within the city site but obviously does not include the more recent discoveries. A list of inscriptions found in the city up to the 1980s can be found in Fossey 1988: 206ff.

The city of Thebes flourished in C/H times, especially at the end of the 4th C BC, when its power reached its peak and the city controlled a wide area of the region. After the defeat by Macedonian hands is a period of decline, testified by archaeological remains (the city shrank on the Kadmeia) and also by historical sources. Strabo (IX 2.10) describes it as a mere village. In Pausanias' time its citadel alone was inhabited. Pausanias (IX 5.6ff) records a 'myth' according to which Kadmeia began as a settlement but later it became an acropolis with the growth of the town. He reports on a story about Sylla giving half Theban land 'to gods' as looted treasures. The *Periegetis* describes the lower city of Thebes as deserted in his time (with the exception of the sanctuaries and the gymnasium) and the population living on the citadel, which they call Thebes and not Kadmeia.

2 – 7. LH burials: *Components T_15* (2), *T_16* (3), *T_17* (4), *T_35* (5), *T_45* (6), *T_46* (7)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_15	LH	burial place	Thebes S and SE	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_16	LH	burial place	Thebes E	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_17	LH	burial place	Thebes - Megalo	Personal or group interest	approximate

[8] An advantage could be the fact that through excavations we may know information about periods otherwise difficult to recognize (SubM or PG for instance).
[9] Among others, a special reference can be made to the book of Konsola 1981, on Pre-mycenaean Thebes.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
			Kastelli		
T_35	LH	burial place	Thebes Ismenion	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_45	LH	burial place	Thebes Kolonaki	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_46	LH	burial place	Thebes Kalogeros	Personal or group interest	approximate

LH cemeteries (mainly Mycenaean chamber tombs) are known especially on the hills surrounding the Kadmeia (S, SE, at Megalo Kastelli, by the temple of Apollo Ismenios, in the Kolonaki suburb and in Kalogeros area)[10].

5. *Ismenion*: *Components T_30 to T_34 and T_36 and T_37*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_30	G	cult place	Thebes Ismenion	Travellers	certain
T_31	A	cult place	Thebes Ismenion	Travellers	certain
T_32	C	cult place	Thebes Ismenion	Travellers	certain
T_33	H	cult place	Thebes Ismenion	Travellers	certain
T_34	R	? cult place	Thebes Ismenion	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
T_36	LR	burial place	Thebes Ismenion	Other	certain
T_37	LR	? Settlement	Thebes Ismenion	Other	certain

On the hill by the modern cemetery to the SE of the Kadmeia lie the remains of the extramural sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios, for which use is attested from Late Geometric to H or R times (with a possible break in the 7th C BC – Fossey 1988: 204). Near the Temple of Apollo Ismenios, on the hill by the modern cemetery to the SE of the Kadmeia (AD 1969: 177), there are a probable habitation focus in LR times, as well as traces of tombs from the same period (*component T_36*).

8 - 14. Historical period burials: *Components T_18* (8), *T_142* (9), *T_143* (10), *T_28 and T_29* (11), *T_36* (LR tombs at Ismenion - 5), *T_24 to T_27 and T_47* (12), *T_141* (13), *T_20 to T_23* at Pyri (14)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_18	C	burial place	Thebes	accidental	approximate

[10] For bibliography see: AD 1967B: 227; AD 1967B: 240; AD 1968 B: 232; JHS Reports 1969: 17-19; BCH 1970: 1031-1037; AD 1970: 211-220; BCH 1972: 694-699.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_20	G	burial place	Thebes Pyri	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_21	A	burial place	Thebes Pyri	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_22	C	burial place	Thebes Pyri	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_23	H	? burial place	Thebes Pyri	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_24	G	burial place	Thebes Railway	Rescue excavation	certain
T_25	A	burial place	Thebes Railway	Rescue excavation	certain
T_26	C	burial place	Thebes Railway	Travellers	certain
T_27	H	burial place	Thebes Railway	Rescue excavation	certain
T_28	A	burial place	Thebes Ampheion E	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_29	H	burial place	Thebes Ampheion E	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_36	LR	burial place	Thebes Ismenion	Other	approximate
T_47	R	burial place	Thebes Railway	Rescue excavation	certain
T_141	gr-rom	burial place	Thebes NW	Rescue excavation	certain
T_142	gr-rom	burial place	Thebes - Kolonaki	Rescue excavation	certain
T_143	gr-rom	burial place	Thebes - Kolonaki SE	Rescue excavation	certain

As far as the cemetery areas, information can be found also in more recent accounts on the recent rescue excavation work carried out by the *ephoreia* in several areas around Thebes, but especially in the N area by the Railway station, where tombs from the 8th C BC until the 3rd C AD have been excavated in 2000-2001, in the occasion of the construction of the underground passage Thebes-Mouriki and mainly Thebes-National Road (Aravantinos 2004a – *components T_24 to T_27 and T_47*)[11]. An Archaic tomb and more Hellenistic ones have been located E of the Ampheion hill

[11] Aravantinos 2004a refers to an extended cemetery area, probably the largest one belonging to ancient Thebes (p.89ff – see fig. p.235), known from locals since the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Excavated in small areas during the 60s, later it was interested by small rescue excavations in private plots, and in 1996-7 by digging activities for the sewage-pipe (*Apoxeteutikos Agogos*) of Thebes (AD51 1996: 267-269 and AD52 1997: 364-368) excavated in its Northern edge.
The cemetery was crossed by a road S-N, running from Thebes to the Chalkis area (mentioned in Pausanias IX 18.1). The main road to Chalkis runs ca 200m to the E of the ancient one. From the ancient road would detach roads to Tanagra, Dilion, Oropos, Avlidas, passing by the in between centres of Mikalessos, Eleon, Arma. The road seems to have existed yet before the A graves. Graves are along the road and extended far beyond it (the extension of the cemetery is indicated in the figure on p.235 in Aravantinos 2004a). Graves from Late Geometric to Early Roman period are also reported (from 8th BC until 3rd AD).

(BCH 1953: 218; BCH 1954: 132; JHS 1954: 39, reported in Fossey 1988: 204 – *components T_28 and T_29*).
For the cemetery at Pyri locality, currently occupied by a suburb NW of Thebes[12], (*components T_20 to T_23*) see summary of excavation finds in Andreiomenou 1995. The majority of the tombs belong to the last quarter of the 7th C – first half of the 6th C BC (AD 31: 119-20).

15. Pyri: *Component T_19*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_19	N	activity focus	Thebes Pyri	Other	approximate

A Neolithic activity focus has been noticed through surface sherds in the area of Pyri, to the NW of Kadmeia (known for the large gr-rom cemetery *–components T_20 to T_23* see above) - AD 1969: 176-7; JHS 1970-1: 15; BCH 1971: 921-8; Konsola 1981: 41.

16. Kapanitsa*: Component T_139*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_139	H	burial place	Kapanitsa	accidental	imprecise

A poorly built and without grave goods Macedonian-type tomb was excavated in the Kapanitsa area (Mazonaki-Faraklas AE 1967: 15-19 quoted in JHS 89 1969: 20; AD 19B: 200 and AD 21A: 145-6), between Pyri and *Dio Litharia* locality, to the N of Pyri and to the N of the national Road Athens-Lamia, along an agricultural track which starts at the E edge of Pyri suburb and leads straight into the plain. Because of the presence of the tomb the path of the agricultural road is believed to follow an ancient route.

17. Thebes Railway*: Components T_153 to T_154*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_153	N	settlement	Thebes Railway	Rescue excavation	certain
T_154	EH	settlement	Thebes Railway	Rescue excavation	certain

At the N outskirt of Thebes, underneath the cemetery of historical periods (*components T_24 to T_27 and T_*47) remains of Final Neo and the beginning of the Early Helladic settlement were excavated (3000-2000 BC), during the rescue excavations carried out at the occasion of the construction of the underground passage

[12] Near the small church of Agia Eleousa - Pyri/Thebes, to the right of the Old National Road Athens-Lamia and ca 1.2km to the NW of the town centre. The location is marked in Aravantinos 2004a fig. p.235.

Thebes-Mouriki and mainly Thebes-National Road (Aravantinos 2004a – see also above: *historical period burials*).

18. Tachi: *Components T_38 to T_43; T_148 and T_149*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_38	PG	? burial place	Tachi	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_39	G	burial place	Tachi	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_40	A	burial place	Tachi	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_41	C	activity focus	Tachi	Travellers	approximate
T_42	C	burial place	Tachi	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_43	R	? burial place	Tachi vicinity	accidental	imprecise
T_148	H	burial place	Tachi	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_149	LH	burial place	Tachi	Rescue excavation	approximate

In a S suburb of modern Thebes, called Tachi[13], excavations have been carried out by the local ephorate since 1973 (Andreiomenou, AE 1976: 12-17). Beforehand, a number of ancient worked blocks were known from the area as mentioned by many travellers (among others Ulrichs 1863: 12-13 [AE1756]). Gr-rom potsherds also lie on the surface, mainly fine wares apparently (Fossey 1988: 209 from AE 1976: 12-17).
An excavation in 1973 found C sherds in association with building remains badly preserved (*component T_41*). Andreiomenou, the excavator (AE 1976: 12-17), had interpreted them initially as remains of a sanctuary, later on as a cemetery. Fossey (1988: 209) agrees with the latter interpretation because of other tombs found in the area [AE1589] which are probably along the ancient road from Thebes to Eutresis and the port of Livadostro[14].
As Papadaki (2000) points out, excavations, since 1973, found (in Lalioti plot) a grave *peribolos* in use since the Early Geometric period (attested by an early Geometric amphora with burial function) up to the Early Hellenistic. The interpretation is confirmed by more recent rescue excavations, directed since 1993 by V. Aravantinos at the site (mainly on the site of new 'council flats' - *Organismos Ergatikis Katoikias Thiva II*), which found more graves from the LG to the A period (AD 48 1993 (1998): 167-173; AD 49 (1994) : 269-271; AD 50 (1995): 295-296; AD 52 (1997): 370 (*components T_38 to T_40; T_42 and T_148*)[15]. The majority of graves date from the LG period up to the 7th C BC, while rich graves are dated to the 6th to the 4th C BC.
A R tombstone [IG vii 2693 – AE1591] is also reported from the area. According to Fossey (1988: 209) it could easily have travelled from a Theban cemetery. On the

[13] In Aravantinos 2004a fig. p.235 the location of the Tachi cemetery is marked.
[14] It can be supposed that this area is crossed for the whole C period by the main way from the city to its *chora* towards S.
[15] Already in AD 1970: 233 4th C BC tombs in the area of Tachi village are reported [AE1589].

other hand, since we do have evidence from C-H and most probably also earlier cemeteries in the area, there could have been also a R burial area (*component T_43*).
A small group of Mycenaean graves (dated to the LH III A1 period) are also known from the area (*component T_149*) and have been excavated (AD 48 1993 (1998): 167-173; AD 49 1994 (1999) : 269-271).
Part of an aqueduct [AE1759] was also found, as well as a well [AE1760 and AE1761] which contained sherds from LG and early A period (AD 49 (1994) : 269-271; AD 50 (1995): 295-296). The aqueduct, excavated in the bedrock, cuts the necropolis in a N-S direction (a 100m long section has been uncovered) and carried water to the N (in use from C to post-Byzantine times). The well is dated to the LG and Early Archaic period on the base of the infill, and was probably connected with the burial rituals in the LG period.
Those evidences could lead to the assumption of the presence of a settlement nearby, probably flourishing in the 8th C BC, if one accepts the arguments and conclusions of Papadaki 2000. The presence of water installations may lead to the explanation of Pausanias (IX 8.1-2) who refers to the presence of cult in the Theban periphery (AD 49 (1994) : 269-271), if one accepts the original interpretation of the excavator as a cult place (sanctuary) site in the C period (AE 1976: 12-17; Fossey 1988: 209-210); a possible identification with ancient *Potniai* has been suggested (Papadaki 2000[16]).

19. Thebes W*: Component T_44*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_44	C	rural site/activity	Thebes W	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

About 1.5Km W of Thebes, in the range of hills which separate the Parasopia from the Theban plain, on the upper North slopes of a low peak (height 266m - marked on the GYS 1:50,000 map), Fossey (1988: 211) observed, in 1965, a thick spread of sherds (Classical black glaze and probably also tile fragments), without structural remains.
We should consider the possibility that coarse ware (less easily datable) is also present at the site, which could be interpreted, as Fossey himself notes, as a rural site/activity, "*a small homestead of essentially agricultural nature*" in his words.

[16] Papadaki, in her paper presented at the 3th Boeotian Conference in 1996 (published in 2000), concludes that:
A. In Mycenaean times there was probably a settlement in the area called Potnia after the divinity, whose existence could be proved by the graves. Here was probably also the sanctuary of the Potnia goddess, present since Mycenaean times (see tablets from the palace on the Kadmeia, the latest published by Aravantinos-Godart-Sacconi in 2001).
B. The Early Geometric amphora with burial function may testify the hypothesis that in the Dark Ages population live outside the city wall of the Kadmeia not only to the N, as Simeonoglou suggests, but also to the S.
C. LG burials are numerous and quite rich and probably belonged to a prosperous settlement of the 8th C with commercial relationships with Corinth, Euboea, Attica and Boeotian pottery workshops. The city at that time extended probably until there, and included the surrounding rural communities. The site is between the city (again inhabited by that period) and its *chora*.

20. Kabeirion*: Components T_49 to T_54*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_49	N	activity focus	Kabeirion	Other	certain
T_50	G	activity focus	Kabeirion	Personal or group interest	certain
T_51	A	cult place	Kabeirion	Travellers	certain
T_52	C	cult place	Kabeirion	Travellers	certain
T_53	H	cult place	Kabeirion	Travellers	certain
T_54	R	cult place	Kabeirion	Travellers	certain

The Kabeirion sanctuary lays W of Thebes, "*among the range of hills bordering the South side of the Theban or Teneric plain, in a valley just to the West of the valley of the Kanavaris, which flows from Thespies through these hills into the Theban plain*" (Fossey 1988: 211).
Excavations have been carried out at the site during the 20th century (Judeich 1988), while cleaning up operations have been carried out recently by the ephorate in the sanctuary area[17].
Components T_50 to T_54: According to the structural remains, the life of the site as a cult place begins in the 6th C BC and continues up to the Roman Imperial period[18]. On the other hand, also Middle Geometric pottery finds are attested at the site.

Component T_49: Neolithic material is also reported from the site. Looking at the landscape of the area, one could easily notice similarities with the Tanagra Asopos tributaries area (see appendix I.14 – THE TANAGRA SURVEY). The site is in a slightly inner position compared to the modern course of the Kanavaris river, by the confluence of a small stream with a tributary of Kanavaris. This area could constitute, therefore, a very probable ideal 'geomorphological window' for a Prehistoric landscape.

21. Kabeirion - Agios Nikolaos: *Component T_48*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_48	gr-rom	? activity focus	Kabeirion - Agios Nikolaos	Personal or group interest	approximate

Judeich (1988: 84) locates the sanctuary of Demetra Kabeiria (positioned in Judeich map, p.83) mentioned by Pausanias on the basis of limestone worked blocks and gipsum fragments reused in the small chapel (*ikonostasio*) of Agios Nikolaos.
The location of the place is along the probable route which along the foothills crossed the Teneric plain to the E of Thebes towards Onchestos and the Copais.

[17] For the German excavations, see Wolters - Bruns 1940 and other reports: AM 13: 81-99, 412-28; AM 15: 355-419; AA 1893: 63-4, 129-31; AD 18 B: 115-21; AD 21 B: 207-9; AD 23 B: 224-5; AA 1964: 231-65; AA 1967: 228-63, 456.
[18] For a summary of the history of the site see Béquignon, *Princeton Enciclopedia* 429; for a plan see Papachatzis (1981: 153-157). For a recent reworking of the site see Schachter 2003.

22. Vagia-Provatari: ***Components T_144 to T_147***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_144	A	burial place	Vagia - Provatari	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_145	C	burial place	Vagia - Provatari	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_146	R	rural site/activity	Vagia - Provatari	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_147	R	rural site/activity	Vagia - Provatari	Rescue excavation	approximate

Components T_144 and T_145: In occasion of the gas-pipe installation (*Agogos Physikou Aeriou*, which runs from NW Boeotia to the area of Thebes), at the 68.4-68.8 km, in the area N of the Kabirion valley, in Provatari locality, 8km W of the modern town of Thebes, part of a cemetery of the Late A and C periods was investigated, including a total of 50 tombs. They are probably to be related to a settlement site in the vicinity, among the hills between Helicon and Thebes (AD 49 (1994): 284-286), considering the considerable distance from the ancient town of Thebes (see also BCH 123 (1999): 734). From the same locality AD 21 (1966): 202 reports architectural fragments (funerary *stelae*) delivered to the museum, found during ploughing [AE1753].

Components T_146 and T_147: Two *villae rusticae* were also partly uncovered by the cemetery site described above (AD 49 (1994): 284-286). They reused building material from the cemetery (*components T_144 and T_145*), especially LA and C inscribed funerary *stelae* (one of them reused as an oil-press [AE1751 and AE1752]).

23 - 25. Vagia-Mavrokampos, Vagia-Kritsola and Vagia-Darani: ***Components T_55* (23),** ***T_56* (24),** ***T_57* (25)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_55	C	activity focus	Vagia-Mavrokampos	Int. topographical surveys	certain
T_56	C	activity focus	Vagia-Kritsola	Int. topographical surveys	approximate
T_57	C	activity focus	Vagia-Darani	Int. topographical surveys	approximate

Nearby the modern village of Vagia, to its NE, are three ridges jutting out into the plain: from W to E, Mavrokampos (Mourokambos) – Kritsola – Darani. On all three Lauffer (Kopais I: 15-16) observed scattered C sherds (black glaze) and tile fragments (and also some Corinthian wares), especially on the N slopes of Mavrokampos hill, nearby which is also a deserted village/hamlet carrying the same name and was

reported by travellers in the 19th century. Architectural fragments have also been noticed on Mavrokampos hill [AE1369].

As for *component T_55* (Vagia-Mavrokampos), Lauffer identifies it as the cult place dedicated to Herakles Hyppodetes, mentioned by Pausanias (IX 26.1) as a large sanctuary situated in the Teneric plain, right-hand of the Kabeirion[19]. The sanctuary would have marked the W border of Thebes area.
Vroom (2003) suggests that the name Mourokambos/Mavrokambos is probably related to *mouries* trees which were at the site until recently, according to locals. Intensive survey work in the area, in the 1980s, in the framework of the Boeotia Survey project, found C-H artefact concentration as well as LR (continuing into Mid-byzantine and probably until Turkish period).

Though the three locations are quite close to each other and the archaeological evidence noticed are reported together by Lauffer, we cannot be sure that the three activity focuses recognized are to be linked together. Probably the largest focus was at Mavrokampos (even if not accepted as a cult place), while the other two could also be recognised as rural sites (farmsteads?). Unfortunately, we cannot get any clue from Lauffer's text about the actual extension on space of the evidence. On site intensive and systematic survey would give information on the extension of the sites and possibly on their function. The three components are by the road that was probably running along the foothills.

26. Toumpi*: Component T_58*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_58	N	settlement	Toumpi	Personal or group interest	approximate

Toumpi is a low hill at the SE edge of Sphiggion mountain jutting into the E part of the Teneric plain, W of the channelled Kanavaris brook, near a modern quarry. The mound (8km NW of Thebes) preserves several strata, and constitutes an important Neolithic site identified by D. French (1972: fig.19) and is reported in detail by A.Sampson (AD 36 (1981): 194; Fossey 1988: 212). Sampson reports pottery from LNeo I and MNeo. Obsidian flakes, stone tools and a head of Neo figurine (*eidolio*) were also found. As Sampson notes, the site seems to be the Southern site in Greece known up to then which shows influence from Thessaly[20].

27/28. Lithares*: Components T_60 to T_68* (27)*, and T_69* (28)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_60	N	? activity focus	Lithares	Other	approximate

[19] See Pappadakis AD 2 (1916): 217ff for a list of cults of Herakles in the Copais. For the myth of Herakles Hyppodetes and the destruction of the Orchomenian power by the Thebans lead by Herakles, see among others Schachter 1986.
[20] The pottery found was similar to the one found at Toumba Balomenou site (Chaironeiake *chora* – appendix I.3).

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_61	EH	settlement	Lithares	Travellers	approximate
T_62	MH	activity focus	Lithares	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_63	LH	activity focus	Lithares	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_64	H	activity focus	Lithares	Other	approximate
T_65	R	? activity focus	Lithares	Other	approximate
T_66	EH	burial place	Lithares N&W	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_67	MH	burial place	Lithares N&W	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_68	LH	? burial place	Lithares N&W	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_69	A	burial place	Lithares shore	Personal or group interest	approximate

Otherwise called Likeri (by Syriopoulos 1968: 70ΠΕ28, for instance), the site of Lithares lay on a small hill projecting as peninsula into the Lake Yliki-Likeri from the S, E of the common outlet of the rivers Thespios and Ismenios into the lake.
Fossey (1988: 244) describes the landscape as characterized by a number of rivers and torrents that culminates in the Theban plain to flow together into the SE corner of Lake Yliki at a spot known as Anakoli. Those water courses are the Kanavaris (from the Erimokastro/Thespies area), the Kalamitis (from the feet of Mt. Sagmatas) and the two streams which flow to each side of Thebes (ancient Dirkis and Ismene-Knopos). "*The whole area around the mouth of this combined stream and along the lake's margin is liberally covered with large stones, whence the name Lithares. Many of these are building stones from the extensive ancient settlement which lay here*" (Fossey 1988: 244).

As Fossey notes (198: 245), Prehistoric surface finds were originally noticed (Papadimitriou PAE 1931: 274-6) on the small hill/peninsula to the E of the stream outlet. Known were also cist and chamber tombs at the N and W foot of this hill. Afterwards, the site was seen (Spyropoulos and Tzavella-Evjen's excavation reported in AAA 1973: 371-5 and summarised in Tzavella-Evjen's book *Lithares* 1985) as extending on both sides of the outlet, especially as far as the EH I and II (and also EH III, probably on a smaller area) periods are concerned (41,400 sqm the total extension of the site). Widely known from the site is 'The sanctuary of the Bull', an EH III large room containing terracotta figurines of bulls without parallels from the period. More than 37 rooms were dug with some 'houses' identified.
Hope Simpson and Dickinson (HS&D 1979: G29 and G30) report EH to LH from the site, known from earlier reports also (AD 24 (1969) a: 28-46). Prehistoric burial places are also known (*component T_66*: EH cist and circular graves visible on the surface - Syriopoulos 1968 from PAE 1931: 274-6- one of which is MH; *component T_67*). LH tombs are reported by one of the earliest visitors of the site (Papadimitriou PAE 1931), but apparently without mention in later accounts.
Neolithic from the site is also briefly mentioned by Marinatos only (AAA 1968), as Neolithic and Chalcolithic material.

The main publication on the site, especially concerning the EH layers, is Tzavella-Evjen's book *Lithares* 1985. See also Tzavella-Evjen 1987.

Evidence from historical periods are also known at the site. During excavations of EH settlement, also H buildings were discovered. They could correspond to a rural site (*component T_64*). Not clear is the character of the R presence (*component T_65*). By the Yliki-Likeri lake shore to the W of the Lithares peninsula A burials were excavated partially by Spyropulos in 1968 (*component T_69*).
A G cemetery on the Stroulongo hill to the W of Lithares (see *component T_151*), as well as the A cemetery here (*component T_69*), could lead to assume the presence of a settlement (or sort of, such a large rural site) in the area. As Fossey (1988: 246) notes, though, the suggested identification of the site with ancient *Trapheia*[21] does not make much sense since there is no real evidence of a long-life settlement here in historical periods.

29/30. Lithares Stroulongo: *Components T_70 to T_72* (29) *and T_151* (30)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_70	EH	activity focus	Lithares Stroulongo	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_71	LH	activity focus	Lithares Stroulongo	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_72	H	activity focus	Lithares Stroulongo	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_151	G	burial place	Lithares Stroulongo	Personal or group interest	approximate

On Stroulongo/Serlongos hill, W of Lithares peninsula site (Fossey 1988: 245) EH, LH and Hellenistic deposits were excavated (probably not published – Syriopoulos 1983-4: EH 226, MH 173, LH III 138 – *components T_70 to T_72*). Syriopoulos (1983-4) mentions also a Geometric cemetery (G160) at Stroulongo locality (*component T_151*).

31. Vouliagma*: Component T_59*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_59	LH	burial place	Vouliagma	accidental	approximate

In locality Vouliagma, along the road towards Mouriki village from Thebes, and N of the National Road Athens-Lamia, half way between the road and the village, left to the incoming, LH chamber tombs - totally looted - and a possible *tholos* tomb are reported (AD 1967: 242; HS&D 1979). The tombs create a depression on the ground, after which the area was named.

[21] On the basis of a Nikandos passage – *Theriaka* 887-889 (Fossey 1988: 246).

32/33. Mouriki and Mouriki S*: Components T_75 to T_76* (32) *and T_78* (33)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_75	A	settlement	Mouriki	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
T_76	C	settlement	Mouriki	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
T_77	H	settlement	Mouriki	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
T_78	gr-rom	burial place	Mouriki S	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

On the North edge of the seasonally marshy Tymbanokambos plain, to the NE of the Yliki lake, lies the modern village of Mouriki, exploiting the land of the bay. Above the village to its NE rises the mountain of Sengouna. A lower peak, today marked by the presence of the Prophitis Ilias chapel, was probably the site of the ancient acropolis (Fossey 1988: 229).
Surface potsherds and walls alignment, as well as traces of a fortification (Fossey 1988: 229-232 with earlier accounts), mark the site of an ancient settlement, from the A to the H period, on the lower S slopes by the modern village (*components T_75 to T_77*). The same chronological range can probably be assigned to the gr-rom cemetery area linked to the settlement, to its S (*component T_78*). The extensive cemetery area was noticed by Symeonoglou in 1965. The settlement had a fortified 'acropolis' in the C period [AE156] and the fortification was probably still in use in the H period.
A possible identification has been suggested with ancient *Skoinos*, to which refer ancient texts listed in Fossey 1988: 232, among which Strabo IX 408 and Nonnus *D.* XIII 63.

34. Yliki E peninsula*: Components T_73 to T_74*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_73	Preh	activity focus	Yliki E peninsula	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
T_74	H	rural site/activity	Yliki E peninsula	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

A peninsula juts into the Yliki lake at its N side, opposite Lithares, to the E of the larger peninsula of Klimataria. As Fossey (1988: 243) notes, the hook-like shape of the small peninsula forms a bay. On the shore are traces of ancient activities.

Component T_74: In 1966, a year of exceptional low water level since the drainage of the Copais, Fossey (1988: 243) saw the remains of a single L-shaped building with its longer axis running N/NE-S/SW [AE170], dated by Hellenistic potsherds found there

[AE171]. Fossey interprets it as a small homestead, whose main occupation would have been in the Hellenistic period[22].
Component T_73: Fossey (1988: 243) observed also obsidian flakes at the site - a sign of a Prehistoric activity there.

35/36/37. Klimataria: *Components T_ 109, T_110 and T_140* (35); Klimataria slopes: *Component T_111* (36) and Klimataria N*: Component T_112* (37)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_109	H	activity focus	Klimataria	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
T_110	R	settlement	Klimataria	Travellers	certain
T_111	R	burial place	Klimataria slopes	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_112	gr-rom	? Fort	Klimataria N	Travellers	certain
T_140	LR	activity focus	Klimataria	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	approximate

Klimataria is named the L-shape Western peninsula which juts into the Yliki lake from Mt. Ptoion.
Settlement remains at the angle formed by the L-shape peninsula were already known to travellers (Bolte RE (1916) s.v. *Hyle*: 117-9 gives a list of previous accounts). A Frankish tower had been noted on Klimataria peninsula by Philippson, in the 19th century. Lock (1986: 113ff) remarks that today the tower is under water, as the Yliki level rose by 25m after Copais drainage, but the top of the tower is visible in very dry summers just off the western tip of the Klimataria peninsula.
Fossey (1988: 239) mentions a fortification on the hill N of settlement site, which would correspond to the tower mentioned by Spyropoulos (AAA 1973: 206-9), and thought to be Medieval (Frankish?), as well as remains of various buildings and a cemetery area (Fossey 1988: 239 and fig.27).
In the framework of the Boeotia Survey project, and in a period when the lake water level had fallen down 10m (in 1989), an extensive R imperial settlement associated with the cemetery (*component T_111* - previously thought to be Medieval) was uncovered (AReports 1990-91: 34). Hellenistic and Roman (Imperial), and later on medieval (Frankish) occupation is known until now. LR occupation is mentioned by Vroom 2003 (from Boeotia survey project 1989 results).
The identification of the Klimataria site with ancient *Hyle* is discussed in Fossey (1988: 240-243).

38. Klimataria W*: Components T_ 113 and T_114*

[22] Fossey (1988: 243) notes how it may be part of the settlement organization in the area of the lakes which took place after the abandonment of the Oungra site.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_113	EH	activity focus	Klimataria W	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
T_114	MH	? Settlement	Klimataria W	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

Fossey (1988: 247) describes the site as on a small flat area at the very W end of Klimataria peninsula, completely separated by a rocky mountain from the Klimataria site.
EH surface sherds have been noticed at the site (Fossey 1988: 247 and intensive work at the site in the framework of the Boeotia Survey project), as well as MH material which, together with a cist grave, probably MH, may represent a MH settlement site.
Fossey (1988: 247) notes how the site had not been noticed previously, and he notes how the single ruined house on the site was until recently a shepherd's shelter belonging to people of Akraiphnio. He comments how it is a very small site. He is tempted to consider it simply as an offshoot of the Yliki Sengaina site (in the EH period at least), and linked to it by the water of the lake. It could have been simply a small separated activity focus of some sort, even a small rural site exploiting that small flat area, but it could easily have been larger and gravitating towards the lake and lake-linked activities. The intensive work carried out in the framework of the Boeotia Survey project on the site showed a quite important Bronze Age phase.

39/40. Yliki Sengaina*: Components T_104 and 105* (39)*, T_106* (40)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_104	EH	activity focus	Yliki Sengaina	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_105	C	rural site/activity	Yliki Sengaina	accidental	approximate
T_106	H	rural site/activity	Yliki Sengaina	accidental	approximate

In the NW bay of lake Yliki-Likeri, on the edge of the lake, Fossey (1988: 246) noticed a large number of EH sherds (EH I and II) on the surface, in Sengaina locality, which are traces of an activity focus (*component T_104*). He notes how the site had not apparently been noticed previously.
In AD 36 (1981): 194 remains (probably surface potsherds) of an extensive C and H settlement are reported, again in locality Sengaina, "*until recently covered by water*" (*components T_105 and T_106*).
We cannot establish a spatial relationship between the two, the Prehistoric and the Historical site, since no exact location in space is given. On the other hand, we know that they both were 'on the edge of the lake' and probably visible only when the water level is low. As noted in AD 36 (1981): 194, the Historical settlement (probably a hamlet) was agricultural in function, exploiting the valley which became a lake after the drainage of lake Copais in the last century (and it is now a reservoir for Athens)

and the subsequent increase of the water level of Yliki lake. The same may be true for the EH activity focus as well.

41/42. Yliki Boubali*: Components T_ 107* (41) *and T_108* (42)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_107	H	rural site/activity	Yliki Boubali	accidental	imprecise
T_108	R	burial place	Yliki Boubali	accidental	imprecise

On the N shore of Yliki-Likeri, in Boubali locality. The place is mentioned in AD 36 (1981): 194, together with Yliki Sengaina (see above).
In this locality R tombs by the shore and, on a nearby low hill, traces (remains of structures and associated pottery) of a Hellenistic settlement site, as well as an oil press, worned by the lake fluctuations, are reported as having appeared in 1981, until recently covered by the water. Location is not more precisely given, and therefore the position assigned on the map (fig.1) is only guessed. The component represents probably a hamlet with agricultural functions, as Yliki Sengaina – see above.

Paralimni Oungra

A small plain at the SW extremity of lake Paralimni, formed by lake deposits and bordered by the same ridges that enclose the lake itself and by the lake, whose fluctuations the NE area of the plain is very much dependent on. In the middle of the plain used to lay the small family hamlet of Yliki (formerly Oungra). On the N side of the bay is the steep Chelonokastro hill, a spur of Mt. Ptoion fortified in some periods of history.

The site was already known to Noack, who reports it in his study on Prehistoric fortifications in the area (Noack 1894: 458-460 – *see* chapter II.3.7 and appendix I.7, Akraiphia area). Remains of the settlement site by the lake shore were visible in 1966 after the first recorded drop of the level of the lake since the drainage of the Copais (AD 1966: 198-202). Surface explorations and excavations were carried out on the area then and afterwards (AD 1966: 198-202; AAA 1971: 319-328; AAA 1973: 207-8 figs. 11 and 13). HS&D (1979: G41 and G42) confuse material from the Paralimni - Pyrgos site at the NE end of Lake (included in Anthedon *chora* in the present work – *components AN_26 to AN_35*, appendix I.13) with material from the Paralimni - Oungra site at the SW end of Lake (included here in the present *chora*: Thebais).

43. Oungra Chelonokastro: *Components T_85 and T_86*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_85	LH	fort	Oungra Chelonokastro	Travellers	certain
T_86	gr-rom	fort	Oungra Chelonokastro	Travellers	certain

Chelonokastro hill is a steep and rocky spur of Mt. Ptoion, on the N side of the Paralimni Oungra bay.
The site was already known to Noack, who reports it in his study on Prehistoric fortifications in the area (AM 1894: 458-460). Fossey (1988: 236) mentions LH as well as A sherds found in the wall fabric. Both could work as *terminus post quem* for different phases of walling.

44/45. Paralimni Oungra (lake shore site): *Components T_ 87 to T_91* (44)*; T_92 to T_95* (45)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_87	N	? activity focus	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_88	EH	activity focus	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_89	MH	activity focus	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_90	LH	activity focus	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_91	SubM	activity focus	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_92	PG	activity focus	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	certain
T_93	G	settlement	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	certain
T_94	A	settlement	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	certain
T_95	C	settlement	Paralimni Oungra	Personal or group interest	certain

The large settlement site in the small plain at the SW extremity of lake Paralimni, by the shore, is mainly from PG/G to A/C period[23]. Fossey (1988: 239) notes how the settlement life lasted until the 4th C BC (then, according to him, it would have moved to Klimataria). The settlement seems to have been swallowed up by the lake at the end of the C period (on the basis of the absence of more recent material – AD 1967: 243).
The bay was probably occupied also in Prehistoric period (since EH). Material is reported by Fossey (1988: 235-8) from Paralimni Oungra site, from surface explorations and excavations carried out in the area (AD 1966: 198-202; AD 1967: 243; AAA 1971: 319-328; AAA 1973: 207-8).
The area was occupied also in Byzantine period: a church lies few meters N of the stream that runs from Yliki to Paralimni lake.

46. Paralimni Oungra N: *Components T_96 to T_98*

[23] Remains of a temple dated to the A period and part of the city wall were also found (AD 1967: 243).

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_96	MH	burial place	Paralimni Oungra N	Personal or group interest	certain
T_97	LH	burial place	Paralimni Oungra N	Personal or group interest	certain
T_98	PG	burial place	Paralimni Oungra N	Personal or group interest	certain

Along the Paralimni lake shore, at the SW extremity of lake, below Chelonokastro hill, to the immediate N of Paralimni Oungra settlement site, a large cemetery area has been excavated (AD 1966: 198-202; AAA 1971: 319-328; AAA 1973: 207-8), mainly along a road running in a NE direction (AD 1967 B: 243), probably towards Mouriki area (Fossey 1988: 238). As mentioned in AD 1973: 265-6, grave enclosures are mainly in the elongated strip defined to the S by the coast of the lake. Below G graves, also some MH and Mycenaean cist graves have been found (*components T_96 and T_97*).

47. Paralimni Oungra area: *Component T_99*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_99	C	burial place	Paralimni Oungra area	Other	approximate

Illegal clearing of Prehistoric and C tombs revealed by the receding water level is reported in the area of Oungra (*Epikairoteta* 31.7.90 from AReports 1990-91: 34). It is not clear whether they have to be linked to the Prehistoric and PG cemetery to the N of the settlement 'city wall' (*components T_96 to T_98*). Already in AD 1973: 265-6 there was a mention of Classical graves, spoiled by water or other causes, found at points between lakes Paralimni and Yliki (position no better indicated) – see *component T_116*.

48/49/50. Paralimni S hills: *Components T_100 to T_102* (48) and Paralimni Yliki: *Components T_116* (49) *and T_117* (50)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_100	G	burial place	Paralimni S hills	Other	certain
T_101	A	burial place	Paralimni S hills	Other	certain
T_102	C	burial place	Paralimni S hills	Other	certain
T_116	C	burial place	Paralimni Yliki	accidental	approximate
T_117	R	? burial place	Paralimni Yliki	accidental	imprecise

Components T_100 to T_102: Cemetery area at the foot and on the slopes of the hills S of Paralimni lake, overlooking the Oungra settlement by the lake shore from the SE.

Tombs were discovered through illicit plundering, after which the local ephorate conducted excavation in 1965 (Fossey 1988: 236, fig.27).
Components T_116 and T_117: Classical graves have been found at points between lakes Paralimni and Yliki (AD 1973: 266) – see above *component T_99*, while a single R(?) tomb has been found near the modern hamlet of Yliki /Oungra (AD 1970: 233).

51. Mouriki – Kamelovrisi: ***Components T_103 and T_152***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_103	LH	burial place	Mouriki - Kamelovrisi	Personal or group interest	certain
T_152	MH	? activity focus	Mouriki - Kamelovrisi	Personal or group interest	certain

On a low hill on S shore of Lake Paralimni, ca. 5km NW of Mouriki, HS&D 1979 report on a possible MH settlement on the hill and LH chamber tombs in E slope.

52. Platanaki: ***Components T_80 to T_84*** **and** ***T_79***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_79	gr-rom	burial place	Platanaki road	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_80	EH	activity focus	Platanaki	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_81	MH	activity focus	Platanaki	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_82	A	? activity focus	Platanaki	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_83	gr-rom	activity focus	Platanaki	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
T_84	R	? activity focus	Platanaki	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

To Platanaki modern village (founded around 1922 by Turkish-Greek refugees[24]) is available a small plain trapped, as Fossey (1988: 233) describes it, between Mts. Kakousi and Kandili and the W slopes of Ktipas. A low hill ca 600m marks the

[24] In Platanaki village, Byzantine architectural fragments have been found reused in a church (AD 1967: 226-245).

landscape NE of the modern village of Platanaki, NE of Mouriki, by the left side of the road to Loukisia.
The provenience of material within the area, either by the road below or on the hilltop or slopes, is very confused, therefore we cannot rely much on clustering. A list of archaeological evidence known from the site is much more meaningful and less biased. I created components for the gr-rom (probably C) cemetery area (*component T_79* – AD 1968: 223). Then, for each archaeological evidence (reported by Fossey 1988: 233), I created a corresponding component, as generic probable 'activity focus'. AE163 (LR or later surface walls) has not been included in any component because of uncertainty in chronology (it probably falls out of the chronological range under the present study).
As we see from the components listed above, also Prehistoric material (EH and MH) has been noticed on the surface by Fossey (1988: 233).
Less easily we can get a clue for the exact chronology and the character of occupation of the site in gr-rom periods. As noted, for historical periods the only sure evidence is the cemetery site (probably mainly Classical). Archaic surface sherds reported [AE168] may also come from the cemetery area, if in use since earlier periods.
We could infer the existence of a settlement site on the hilltop only by considering the cemetery area found below, by the road. Sherds (with no chronology strictly specified, except for some Archaic Corinthian wares and some generally R) have been found though on all sides of the hill, and lead to the possible existence of an activity focus of some sorts on the top. Chronology of potsherds found is not strictly specified, and it is not clear where the mentioned Archaic Corinthian wares and some generally R sherds have been found. We cannot either infer from Fossey's account whether sherds observed on the hill are fine wares or coarse wares. They could be coarse wares, since Fossey does not directly specify chronology for them and coarse wares are namely less easily datable.
Identification has been attempted with ancient *Peteon*, to which refers Strabo IX 410 (see Kirsten, RE 1937: 1128 s.v. *Peteon* – from Fossey 1988: 233-4). There is no need though to hypothesize the existence here of a large settlement. It could have been also a large rural site with associated cemetery. The site would need a systematic revisit to clarify extension, chronology and function.

53. Sambali*: Component T_115*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_115	gr-rom	fort	Sambali	Personal or group interest	approximate

On Mt. Sambali (S of Mouriki) Fossey (1988: 234 and *Teiresias* suppl. ii 1979: 9-13) mentions "*another rubble fortification of the type common in the environs of Skroponeri*", commonly dated to the 4th C BC.

54/55/56. Ypaton Tourleza: *Components T_118* (54) *and T_129* (55) and Ypaton: *Components T_119 to T_129* (56)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_118	gr-rom	fort	Ypaton Tourleza	Travellers	certain
T_119	N	activity focus	Ypaton	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_120	EH	settlement	Ypaton	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_121	EH	burial place	Ypaton	accidental	approximate
T_122	MH	activity focus	Ypaton	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_123	LH	activity focus	Ypaton	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_124	G	burial place	Ypaton	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_125	C	? Settlement	Ypaton	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_126	gr-rom	? Settlement	Ypaton	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_127	C	burial place	Ypaton	Rescue excavation	approximate
T_128	R	? activity focus	Ypaton	Personal or group interest	approximate
T_129	C	burial place	Ypaton Tourleza N slope	accidental	approximate

Component T_118: At the SW foot of Mt. Sagmatas, above the modern village of Syrtzi/Ypaton, on the small, flat-topped hill called Tourleza (alb. Turle = tower, as Fossey notes), a gr-rom fortification is visible on the hilltop, datable to the C/H period from potsherds (a circuit wall of polygonal masonry - plan in Fossey 1988 fig.26). As Fossey notes, in 1838, Ulrichs (1863: 27) could still see remains of the wall surrounding the lower settlement, on the S and SW slopes; apparently this was built with large blocks in a rough polygonal style. For earlier accounts see Frazer (1913: 60-61).

Components T_124 and T_127 and T_129: Some hundreds of meters S of the village are reported G (Late Geometric) and C cemetery in the area (AD 1970: 224-6, as well as BCH 1972: 704; JHS Arch 1971/2: 12). Furthermore, some tombs of the Classical or Archaic period had been plundered on the N slope of Tourleza in 1965 and 1966 (personal observation of Fossey 1988: 220).

Components T_125, T_126 and T_128: A possible lower settlement in association with the fortified hilltop (*component T_118*) and with the cemetery (*component T_127*) could be represented by surface potsherds. C and H dates are given by HS&D 1979 G28 from earlier accounts also (AD 25 (1970): 224), but only for the hill summit. We do not have precise information on the material found in the lower area if not the one directly in association with the cemeteries. I created a C and a generic gr-rom component of activity focus with question mark, but also G and A might be present. LG material, though, seems to have come only from burial areas (Syriopoulos

1983-84: G90), as well as Archaic (Fossey 1988: 220, without indication of provenance). An attempt at identification has been made with ancient *Glisas* (see Fossey 1988: 221-3, HS&D 1979 G28 from AD 25 (1970): 224).
As far as the R period is concerned, R sherds are reported in the list of material from the site only by Fossey (1988: 220). Though, it could be that the settlement life stops in the C period and from LC/H (4^{th} C) onwards only a fort remains at this place. In R period one can suggest that not even the fort is in use, but another sort of activity would exist in the lower area. In order to be more precise, one should check where exactly Fossey noticed R potsherds, and in general a systematic revisit of the place would be needed, although nowadays the area is mostly occupied by modern buildings.

Components T_119 to T_123: Prehistoric material has been noticed on the SW slopes of Tourleza hill, in the area of the modern village, besides the new cemetery. Neo, EH and MH surface sherds as well as EH rock-cut tombs (in the area of the village school) are reported (AD 25 (1970): 224). HS&D 1979 have a EH settlement here. Syriopoulos 1968 (reported by HS&D 1979) mentions also LH surface sherds and obsidian from the SW slopes.

57. Moni Sagmata*: Component T_130*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_130	gr-rom	? cult place	Moni Sagmata	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

The large, flat top of Mt. Sagmatas is half rocky covered with holm-oak, and half (the SW) covered with a slight stratum of soil and covered with some deciduous trees. On the SW half is the large Byzantine monastery of Moni Sagmata reachable by a track from Ypaton village (Fossey 1988: 223).
No ancient sherds have been noticed at the site, but some architectural fragments and carved blocks lying in the monastery yard, as well as many gr-rom blocks reused and remains of an ancient wall visible on the surface, can be an indication of a H/R cult place here. Chronological indication is given only through the presence of a bench support in the yard, datable to the H/R period.
The site was already known to travellers (Frazer 1913: 61-2), mainly because of the possible identification (Fossey 1988: 224-5) with the sanctuary of Zeus at Mt.Ypato,s mentioned by Pausanias (IX 19.3) and probably linked with *Glisas* (see above – Ypaton Tourleza). The period of occupation seems though to differ, although no potsherds are available here.

58. Mesovouni*: Components T_131 to T_135*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_131	EH	activity focus	Mesovouni	Other	certain
T_132	Preh	? activity focus	Mesovouni	Other	certain
T_133	C	settlement	Mesovouni	Travellers	certain
T_134	R	? Settlement	Mesovouni	Travellers	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_135	LR	settlement	Mesovouni	Travellers	certain

Situated at the entrance to the Theban plain from the NE, i.e. from either Khalkis or the Tanagran plain, Mesovouni is a double hill in the middle of the small plain between two mountain blocks: Mt. Soros to the S and Mt. Sagmatas to the N. The Western half is rocky and steep, and today mostly cut by rock mining, while the Eastern one has a flat top and gentle slopes on its E side (Fossey 1988: 212).
Ancient remains (building foundations and marble chips – AD 31: 128) are to be seen especially on the E part. The site on the Easterly hill was already known to travellers (Ulrichs for instance), all listed in Frazer (1913: 60) apart from Gell 1819: 129 (quoted by Fossey 1988: 213), who probably saw more extensive remains also in the plain, today destroyed by intensive cultivation. An area near the S side of the hill is known as '*archaio patima*'- possibly a reference to the presence in the past of ancient building remains here (Fossey 1988: 213) or rather to the passage of a road[25]. There is a water source nearby, to the N of the hill in the direction of the highway (marked on 1:50,000 IGME geological map).
The site has been identified, probably correctly, with ancient *Teumessos* (see Fossey 1988: 213-6), associated with the cult of Athena Telchinia (AD 31: 128)[26].

Component T_131: Beside the gr-rom occupation, also EH traces of activities have been noticed at the site (EH sherds on the flat top and on the E slopes and on the saddle between the two peaks – Fossey 1988: 213) which could probably have been a focus of activity also in other less recognisable Prehistoric periods (flakes of obsidian and chert are reported in Fossey 1988: 213).

59. Stroma*: Components T_155 and T_136 to T_138*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
T_155	N	activity focus	Stroma	Personal or group interest	certain
T_136	LH	activity focus	Stroma	Personal or group interest	certain
T_137	C	settlement	Stroma	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
T_138	H	settlement	Stroma	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

On a low hill at the S end of the valley formed by the Vlachorrema stream between Soros range and Mesovouni, on the S side of the Theban plain. It is probably the Stroma hill on the 1:50,000 GYS map, although Fossey (1988: 216) says that the valley is called Stroma and the hill Soules.
Neolithic and LH occupation is known at the site (HS&D 1979: G24), as well as C and H (HS&D 1979: G24 and Fossey 1988: 217).

[25] The site is on or near the ancient road between Thebes and Chalkis (AD 31: 128)
[26] For another hypothesis see also below (Stroma) in the text.

This site has been identified with ancient *Teumessos* (Pappadakis BCH 1921: 523, for instance)[27], though others prefer to identify it with the Mesovouni site (see above). Fossey (1988: 217), as well as Wallace (1979: 96-8), sees in the two sites complementary periods of occupation, and therefore suggests a shifting of settlement in time between the two locations (see above - Mesovouni).

What follows is a preliminary version of the list of sites discovered and recorded during the Systematic Intensive Surface Survey carried out in the 1980s by J.L. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass and their équipe (Bintliff-Snodgrass 1985a), albeit it covered, as for the Thebais *chora*, only the SW edge of the region (limits of the surveyed area mapped in fig.1).

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
MP A1	C-Ehl	rural site
MP A1	Lhl-ER	rural site
MP A1	LR	rural site
MP A2	H	rural site
MP A3	LR	rural site
MP B1	C-Ehl	rural site
MP B2	A	?activity focus
MP B2	C	?activity focus
MP B2	C-Ehl	rural site
MP B3	A	activity focus
MP B3	C-Ehl	rural site
MP B3	EH	settlement
MP B3	G	activity focus
MP B3	LH	settlement
MP B3	Lhl-ER	rural site
MP B3	LR	rural site
MP B3	MH	settlement
MEL3	C-Ehl	rural site
MEL5	C-Ehl	rural site
MEL6	C-Ehl	rural site
MEL7	C-Ehl	?rural site
MEL7	LR	?rural site

Table 1. *List of intensive survey sites discovered during intensive and systematic survey work* (Bintliff-Snodgrass 1985a) – *mapped in fig.1.*

[27] The site would seem compatible with Antimachos' description of Teumessos (quoted if not accepted by Strabo IX 2.24) as a 'windy little hill'. Teumessos is also mentioned with the epithet 'grassy' in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 228, and Euripides *Ph.* 1106 seems to imply that it was in sight of Thebes. Pausanias (IX 19.1) tells a story on a fox about Teumessos, and all this leads some scholars to the identification of the place with this ancient settlement.

Appendix I.13
The Boeotian coastal area facing the Euboean sea N of Chalkis: ANTHEDONIA and SKROPONERI bay

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

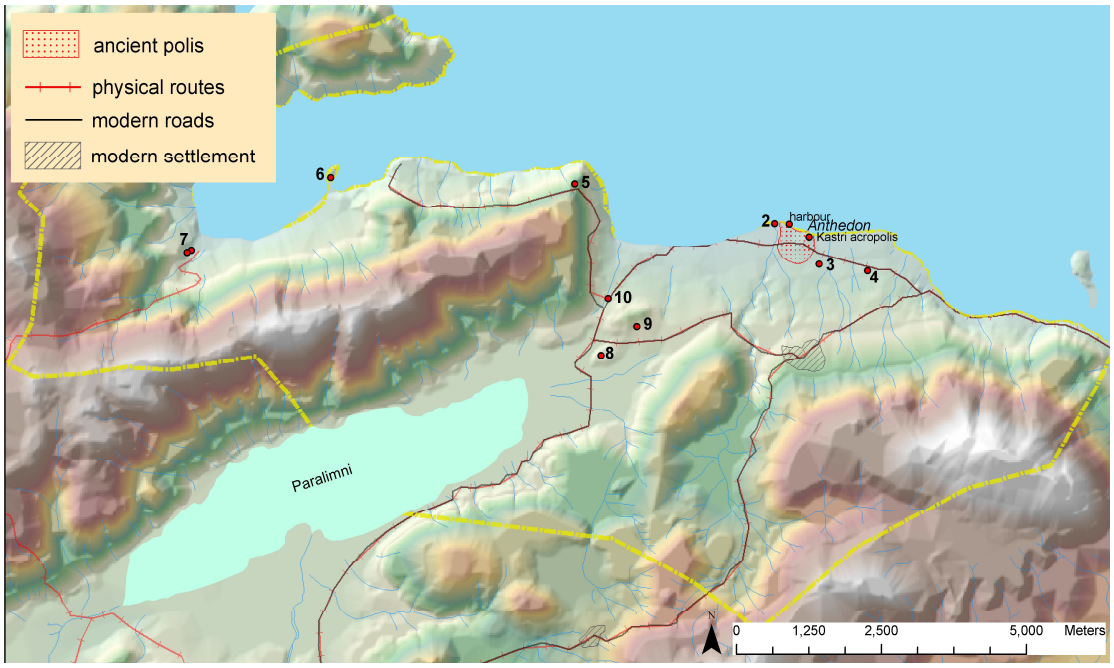


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of Anthedon chora.*

1. ANTHEDON Mandraki - Kastri: *Components AN_1 to AN_11*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_1	EH	activity focus	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_2	MH	activity focus	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_3	LH	activity focus	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_4	G	settlement	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_5	A	settlement	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_6	C	settlement	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_7	H	settlement	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_8	R	settlement	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_9	LR	settlement	Anthedon/Mandraki	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_10	gr-rom	infrastructure	Mandraki harbour	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_11	LR	infrastructure	Mandraki harbour	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_12	gr-rom	cult place	Anthedon/Mandraki SE	Personal or group interest	approximate
AN_41	R	burial place	Anthedon - Kastri	accidental	certain

About 2 km below Loukisia/Anthedon village[1], "*at the coast, a low ridge running out from Ktipas ends in a small hill just over 20m high, right above the shore, recognized as the acropolis of ancient Anthedon*" (Fossey 1988: 252). The area is sometimes called Mandraki, properly the name of the harbour (Schlager et al. AA 1968: 21-102; plan 1 and pl.1 from Fossey 1988: 252), and the acropolis ridge is known as Kastri, to the S.
The wall circuit of town [AE559] encloses roughly a square area of ca. 36ha, and the acropolis is in the NE corner. For a plan of circuit wall see Fossey (1988: 253 - fig. 32).
Fresh water springs out to the S of the site (mapped on 1:50,000 IGME geological map).

Anthedon showed Prehistoric (see for a summary HS&D 1979 G43: EH to LH[2]) and historic (gr-rom) in great abundance. Traces of Neolithic occupation have also been found outside the circuit wall to the W/NW, on a small hill by the shore (*component AN_13* – Buck 1889).

It is included in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships and the *polis* is mentioned also in historical sources. There is as yet no indication of settlement in the early part of the DarkAge (HS&D 1979: G43). In historical times the *polis* settlement was associated with the harbour (*component AN_10*), and knew probably a great splendour as naval base for Thebes in 4th C BC (after its importance as a harbor in Homeric period, with a mention in the Ships Catalogue). The artificial port was protected by two strong stone-dumps (Philippson 1951: 496). An extra-mural cult place has been found to the SE of the town (*component AN_12*).

[1] Loukisia village overlooks the coastal plain from the NW slopes of Mount Ktipas (Fossey 1988: 252).
[2] Philippson (1951: 496) mentions it as a port already in the Minyan period.

A LR settlement (*component AN_9*) is known at the site (with a basilica – AE563), associated with the harbour, whose remains, still visibile today, are said to be of LR date[3] (*component AN_11*).

The site has been extensively excavated by anglo-american-german équipes, since Rolfe (1890 and AJA 1889: 443-460). The small harbour was especially the subject of the Anglo-German investigations, particularly in 1966. A full report is published in Schlager et all. (AA 1968: 21-102). The excavation turned out to be disappointing for Prehistoric periods, and BA is known only from surface sherds (AA1968: 25 n.25), with the exception of a Mycenaean hoard of bronze tools and other objects, while historical periods are well represented.
Reused material in Loukisia village [AE582] probably comes from ancient Anthedon, despite the fact that it is 2km away. Leake though had found by Loukisia village some building blocks and inscriptions – some of which are of Late Hellenistic – Roman date (Fossey 1974) which, if they do not come from Anthedon site, could even represent a satellite settlement there (A.M. Snodgrass pers.comm.), whose 'ceramic' traces would have been cancelled by the modern settlement.

Component AN_41: A R grave was ploughed up in a private plot (AD 48 (1993): 197) on Kastri area, within the city circuit. It could be an indication of a shrinking of the town site in the R period.

2. Anthedon Mandraki W: *Component AN_13*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_13	N	settlement	Anthedon/Mandraki W	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

Traces of Neolithic occupation have been found (Rolfe AJA 1889: 443-460; AD 1973-74: 447; Syriopoulos 1983: Neo246) outside the Anthedon circuit wall to the W/NW, on a small hill by the shore.

3. Anthedon Mandraki SE: *Component AN_12*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_12	gr-rom	cult place	Anthedon/Mandraki SE	Personal or group interest	approximate

Outside the Anthedon city circuit, to the SE, on a small knoll, an extramural sanctuary site was excavated, and interpreted as a sanctuary of Dionysos by the excavator (Rolfe AJA 1889, pl.XIV).

[3] Justinian period.

4. Anthedon Paliambela: ***Components AN_40***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_40	R	? burial place	Anthedon - Paliambela	accidental	approximate

Component AN_40: R tombstones plough up from a field in Anthedon - Paliabela locality. They constitute only an epigraphical evidence, very movable and not *in situ*. We can only suppose the existence of a cemetery in the area (AD 43 (1988): 202-3).

5. Tourlo: ***Components AN_14 to AN_16 and AN_39***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_14	LH	? activity focus	Tourlo	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_15	EH	? activity focus	Tourlo	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_16	C	? Fort	Tourlo	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
AN_39	N	activity focus	Tourlo	Personal or group interest	certain

A small conical hill to the N of the coastal road from Loukisia into Skroponeri bay, at the NE end of the bay, by the outlet of a small stream. This hill is separated from the Ptoion ridge by a small depression/saddle on which runs the road.
On the S slopes of the hill towards the modern road are traces of ancient activities, as Fossey notes (1988: 261). Several traces of walling have lead Fossey to interprete the evidence as one of the 4th century watch posts protecting the Skroponeri naval base (Fossey 1988: 26). It has been argued that the bay could have been a base -perhaps the main one- for 4th C Boeotian fleets (see Skroponeri Kastro site – *component AN_24*).
Prehistoric (EH and LH) surface materials are reported by Fossey at the site, while Sampson (AD 1973: 447) seems to mention only obsidian and coarseware sherds (Neo).

6. Skroponeri Peninsula: ***Component AN_17 to AN_23***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_17	N	activity focus	Skroponeri Peninsula	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
AN_18	EH	activity focus	Skroponeri Peninsula	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
AN_19	MH	activity focus	Skroponeri Peninsula	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
AN_20	LH	activity focus	Skroponeri Peninsula	Ext. topographical	approximate

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				surveys	
AN_21	C	activity focus	Skroponeri Peninsula	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
AN_22	H	activity focus	Skroponeri Peninsula	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
AN_23	LR	activity focus	Skroponeri Peninsula	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

On a small peninsula (100m ca N-S) on the S side of the Skroponeri bay, in some parts quite rocky while in others with soil cover (Fossey 1988: 262), with a very narrow and low bit of land that connects it to the shore, only Fossey (1988: 262) seems to report archaeological evidence. Late Classical – Early Hellenistic and LR occupation at the site (Fossey 1988: 262), as well as Prehistoric material (Neo, EH, MH, LH), have been noticed only by Fossey and not by Prehistoric gazetteers, which seem not to know the site.
It has been suggested (Fossey, *Teiresias* suppl. II 1979: 10) a possible identification of the site with ancient *Phokai* (*Ptolemais*), a gr-rom village/*kome*, arguing that the Skroponeri bay was the main base of the 4th C Boeotian fleet (see the Skroponeri Kastro site – *component AN_24*, that Fossey mentions together with this peninsula site).
Traces of a possible circuit wall on the E side [AE570] may be an indication of a fortified settlement, but masonry is not recognisable and therefore dating is impossible, as Fossey notes.

7. Skroponeri Kastro: ***Component AN_24 to AN_25***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_24	gr-rom	fort	Skroponeri Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
AN_25	LR	activity focus	Skroponeri Kastro	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

On the hill of Kastro, at the head of the bay of Skroponeri and in the middle of the long beach, Fossey (1988: 262) only seems to report archaeological evidence. He reports remains of a fortification which encircles the summit itself, as well as extensive remains of surface walls [AE580], on the SW slopes of the hill, which according to Fossey might be dated through the artifact concentration (LR material – ripple ware – AE581) found in connection with them (*component AN_25*). That the fortification which encircles the summit itself might be in association with the other surface walls remains just a hypothesis.

PARALIMNI area

Communication along the Paralimni lake was not easy. It is a lake of tectonic formation, and therefore with bordering slopes that are steep and rocky (see chapter II.1). There are openings only at the two ends, with very fertile zones formed by lacustrine deposits. The NE end can be interpreted as belonging to the area controlled by the *polis* of Anthedon (and this becomes valid especially when considering the difficulties in land communication between the two ends of the lake). On the other hand, the SW end has been included in the Thebais *chora* (chapter II.3.12), since it is much more easily approachable from there (and it was probably under the direct control of Thebes in the gr-rom period).

8. Paralimni Pyrgos: ***Components AN_26 to AN_35***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_26	N	activity focus	Paralimni Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_27	EH	activity focus	Paralimni Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_28	MH	activity focus	Paralimni Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_29	LH	settlement	Paralimni Pyrgos	Travellers	certain
AN_30	G	activity focus	Paralimni Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
AN_31	A	activity focus	Paralimni Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_32	C	settlement	Paralimni Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_33	H	settlement	Paralimni Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
AN_34	R	? activity focus	Paralimni Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
AN_35	LR	? activity focus	Paralimni Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain

Known also as *Palaiometochi*, the place is marked by a Frankish tower crowning a hill at the NE end of Paralimni lake, in a small plain formed by lacustrine deposits.
According to Fossey (1988: 257), the hill was probably the acropolis of an ancient settlement extending around the feet of the hill. The site was already known to travellers (Ross 1851: 132). It is marked by a continuity of occupation, from Final Neolithic to Medieval times, though it is quite sure a gap after the Hellenistic period, until LR/Early Christian times (see below).
Noack 1894: 457-8 (on acropolis), Lauffer RE 1959: 1575 s.v. *Ptoion* and Pharaklas AAA 1968: 139-140 (on the lower settlement) are the main accounts for the archaeological evidence at the site.

Prehistoric (EH and LH) surface materials are reported by Sampson (AD 1973-4: 448). His account is useful to check data against Hope-Simpson and Dickinson's gazetteer (HS&D 1979: G42) that confuses material from the Paralimni - Pyrgos site at the E end of Lake (Anthedon *chora* in the present work) with material from the Paralimni - Oungra site at the W end of Lake (Thebais *chora* in the present work). The lower part of both sites had disappeared after the drainage of the Copais lake, and the subsequent rise in level of Paralimni. As Fossey (1988: 257) says, they were revealed by the considerable drop of the lake in 1966.
At Paralimni Pyrgos, the lower settlement presents surface walls marking buildings to the SE and SW, the SW ones built on terraces, clearly visible because they were washed clean by the lake's waters (Fossey 1988: 258). They were investigated by the local ephorate (AAA 1968: 139-140), and in particular by Pharaklas, who notes how the lower area seems to have been inhabited from Mycenaean to Hellenistic times (and probably also in Early Christian period), withouth giving though indication on surface material.
According to that information, there might have been a gap in occupation between H and LR times. Anyhow, as we cannot be confident on this, I have created a component as possible R (*component AN_35*).

Pharaklas (AAA 1968: 139-140) identified the site with ancient *Isos* on the basis of Strabo IX 2.14, who says it was near Anthedon and abandoned (only traces of a *polis* had remained) in his times. Its name would have been an emendation for *Nisa* in the Catalogue of Ships. Fossey (1988: 257) agrees with the identification, while Snodgrass (pers.comm.) seems skeptical. Wallace (1979: 62-64) needlessly sees continuity throughout the R era (not proved though!) as disproving an identification with ancient *Isos*.

9. Paralimni Pyrgos E: *Component AN_38*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_38	EH	burial place	Paralimni Pyrgos E	Personal or group interest	approximate

Half a kilometer to the E/NE of Paralimni Pyrgos site, against the foothills of Kandeli height, Early Bronze Age tombs of Cycladic type (known in Euboea and at Lithares in Boeotia) are reported in AD 24 (1969): 174-5. They would have been connected to a settlement site nearby, but it is not certain that this was the EH site (*component AN_27*) at Paralimni Pyrgos (see tombs and settlement at Lithares – chapter II.3.12).

10. Paralimni Pyrgos NE: *Components AN_36 and AN_37*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
AN_36	unknown	activity focus	Paralimni Pyrgos NE	Personal or group interest	approximate
AN_37	LH	burial place	Paralimni Pyrgos NE	Personal or group interest	approximate

NE of Paralimni Pyrgos site, at the foot of Ptoion mountain, at the N foothills of promontory called Botsikoula ca 500-700m to NE of Paralimni Pyrgos E site, a large area with *poros* quarries [AE1464] has been noticed during research work by the local ephorate (Pharaklas AAA 1968: 139-140).
In the same area, *poros* foundations of buildings were noticed, as well as a LH chamber tombs cemetery area, with more than 30 chamber tombs with *dromos*. No information about surface material is given by Pharaklas. LH tombs were most probably in connection with *component AN_29* – LH settlement site.

Appendix I.14
The Tanagra plain and Eastern Boeotia

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

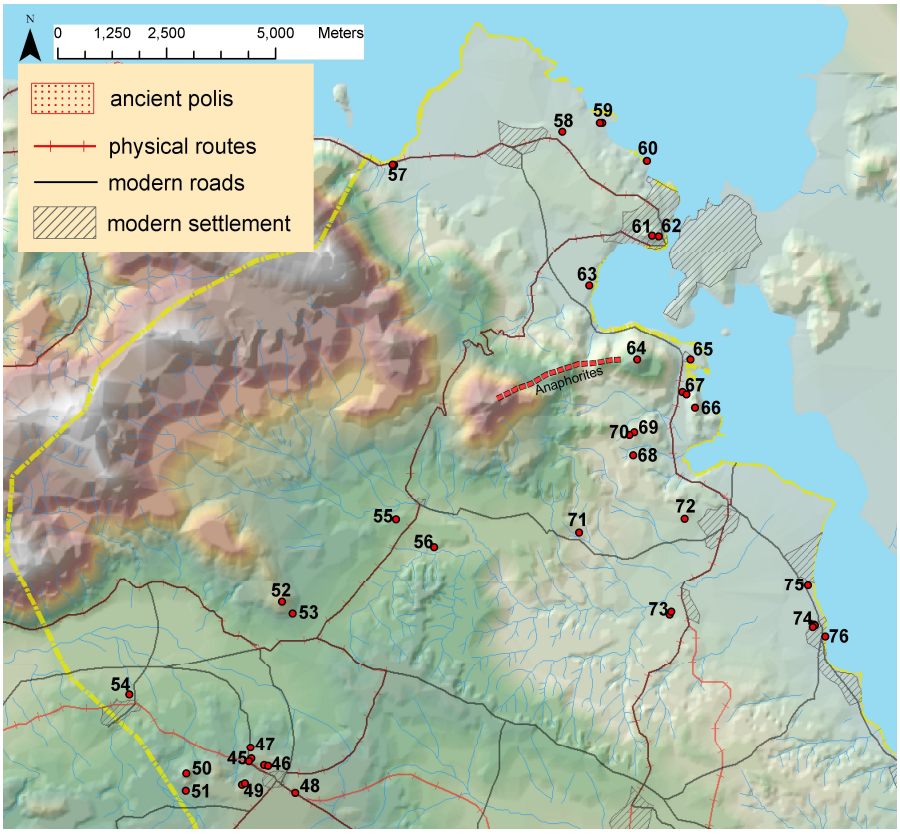


Fig.1. *Archaeological map of the Tanagrike chora (N part).*

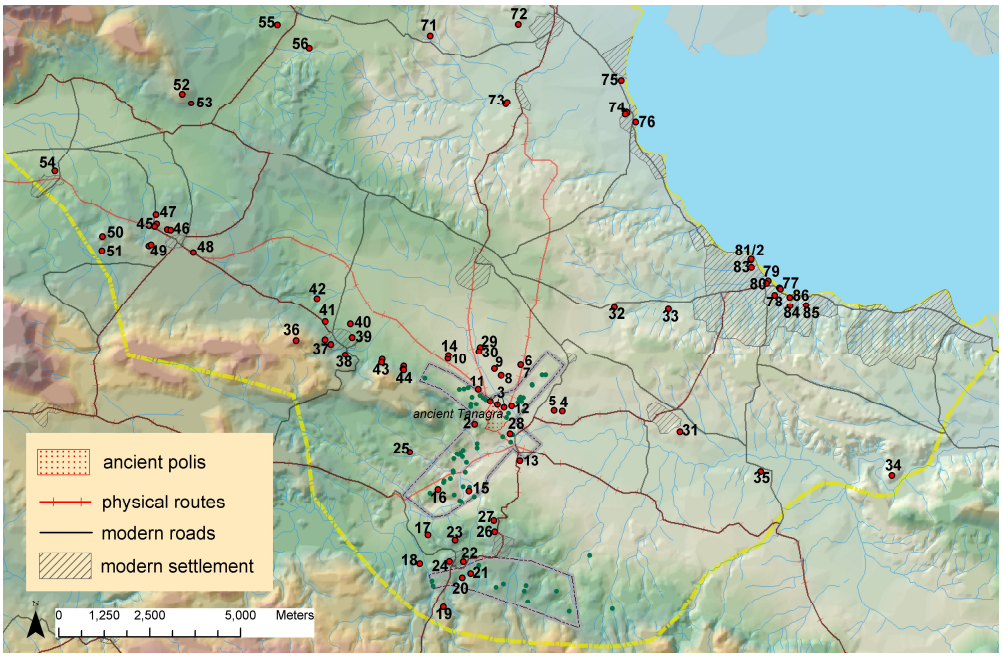


Fig.2. *Archaeological map of the Tanagrike chora (S part).*

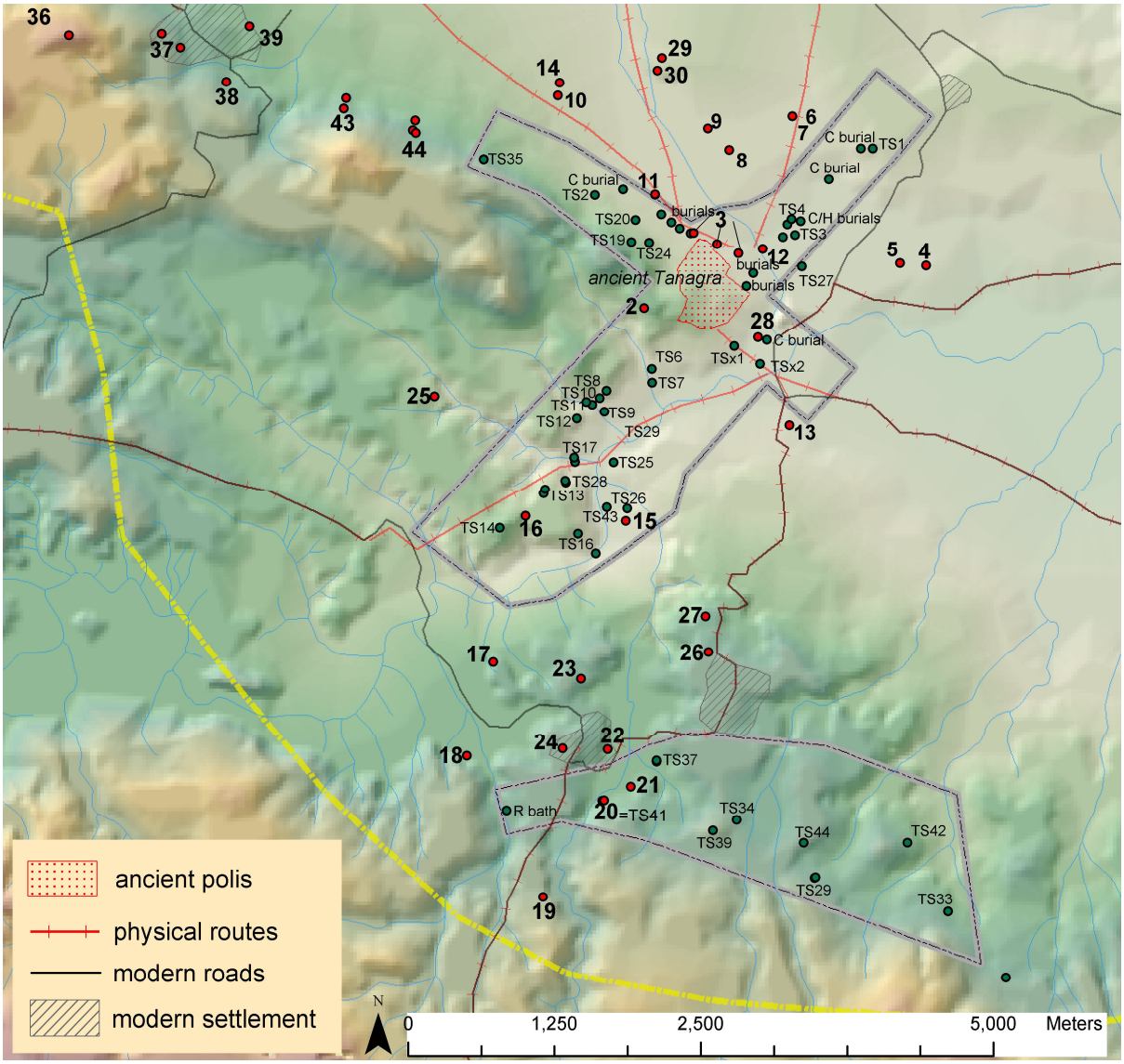


Fig.3. *Same as fig.3, but limited to the area area intensively and systematically surveyed, with discovered sites (listed in table 2) marked.*

1. TANAGRA Grimada: *Components TA_1 to TA_8*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_1	N	activity focus	Tanagra Grimada	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	precise
TA_2	EH	activity focus	Tanagra Grimada	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	precise
TA_3	MH	activity focus	Tanagra Grimada	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	precise
TA_4	LH	human presence	Tanagra Grimada	Int. and sys. artefact surface survey	precise
TA_5	C	settlement	Tanagra Grimada	Travellers	precise

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_6	H	settlement	Tanagra Grimada	Travellers	precise
TA_7	R	settlement	Tanagra Grimada	Travellers	precise
TA_8	LR	settlement	Tanagra Grimada	Travellers	precise

At the spot where the 'corridor' formation (see chapter II.3.14 – TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING and Philippson 1951: 512) opens up into the lower valley of Asopos, in the corner between Asopos river and Lari, between two wide valleys (Philippson 1951: 514), is Tanagra ancient city site[1], built on the very end slopes of Soros[2], in Grimada locality. The highest point of the city wall is 189m asl and then the area occupied by the city descends down the slope towards NE with terraces, until the edge of Lari banks. The urban area is crossed (NW-SE) by a ridge, which constitutes the acropolis of the ancient city site (see fig.5a).
The ancient city of Tanagra was therefore located at the intersection of two rivers, in a well defended spot and central for the eastern part of Boeotia of which it was the most important city. It controls two fertile valleys, those of Laris and Asopos, and also has available different topographic zones, plains, valleys and the hilly country of Tetartogene, mainly SW of the city.

The Homeric Catalogue of Ships omits Tanagra, although it does include other sites from the vicinity. It was not until late in the sixth century that the name of the *polis* was even alluded to (earliest inscription from Olympia – Schachter 2004: 63). Two stamped roof tiles have been dated as belonging to the first half of the 7th C BC (Schachter 2004: 63). Among the many graves both looted and excavated around the city, the earliest seem to be dated ca. 625-600 BC (Higgings 1986). The Tanagrans were involved in at least two serious battles near the end of the 6th C BC (bronze shields dedicated at Olympia – see Schachter 2004 Appendix 1). After the Persian War Tanagra was under the control of Thebes. In 458, during the Peloponnesian war, took place the Tanagra battle (Thucidides I 108.1)[3], just before the Oinophyta battle, after which the walls of Tanagra which the Athenians tore down were later rebuilt. In the Boeotian confederacy of the time (end of 5th C – beginning of 4th C) Tanagra had the rights to provide one of the eleven boiotarchs. In later times (H and R) the city controlled all the coastal area and the area of the *Tetrakomia*.
Intensive and systematic artifact surface survey work was carried out in 2000-2003, in the framework of the Tanagra Survey project, on the city site. It monitored the actual presence of gr-rom material and the extension of the site in the different periods, and discovered a Prehistoric occupation on the later city site (for details see below - THE TANAGRA SURVEY). As for LH, only few sherds have been collected even during intensive and systematic artifact surface survey at the site, which cannot probably state more than a human presence or a small focus of activity.

[1] On the identification of Tanagra through ancient sources see Fossey 1988: 53-4.

[2] The limestone Soros mountain rises from the Tetartogene deposits E of Thebes and with an EW direction runs along 16km to the E where it meets the Tanagra basin. In the last eastern foothills of the limestone mountain and before this disappears below the deposits of the Tetartogene which occupy the wider Tanagra basin is built the ancient city (Philippson 1951: 512-3).

[3] For inscriptions dealing with the battle of Tanagra, see Schachter 2004: 69f.

2. Grimada: ***Component TA_220***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_220	gr-rom	special activity	Tanagra Grimada	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

A quarry of ancient Tanagra, with gray-blue limestone, was identified by Roller (AReports 32 (1985/86): 39-41) SW of Tanagra ancient city.

3. Extramural buildings by ancient Tanagra: ***Components TA_224 to TA_226***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_224	H	activity focus	Tanagra N	Rescue excavation	certain
TA_225	H	activity focus	Tanagra N	Rescue excavation	certain
TA_226	H	activity focus	Tanagra N	Rescue excavation	certain

Excavated structures and layers probably belonging to extramural buildings of ancient Tanagra have been excavated in the occasion of works for the gas pipe-line in 1997 (AD 52 (1997): 371 - map fig.8). Mainly storage vessels have been found during excavations, which could probably testify a storage use of those buildings (mapped separately).

4/5. Kokkali: ***Components TA_9 to TA_11*** **(4);** ***TA_12, TA_13*** **and** ***TA_198*** **(5)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_9	N	? activity focus	Kokkali	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_10	EH	activity focus	Kokkali	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_11	LH	activity focus	Kokkali	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_12	A	burial place	Kokkali	accidental	approximate
TA_13	C	burial place	Kokkali	accidental	approximate
TA_198	H	burial place	Kokkali	accidental	certain

A low hill to the NE of ancient Tanagra site, (to the opposite site of Lari river compared to Tanagra location) to the N side of the road from Oinoi to Agios Thomas and to the N of Asopos river (ca 750m N-NW of Ag.Thomas church –TS5 in table 2 *Survey sites* below- and 3.5km from village).
The hill is widely known though because of the presence of cemeteries from historical periods (A to H) excavated legally and illegally, where the famous Tanagrines (terracotta figures) were found (see mainly Higgings 1986).

Traces of Prehistoric activity focus were found on top of the low hill, though they are not visible anymore today, probably due to the intensive illegal robbing activity taking place on the hill because of the presence of the graves with the Tanagrines.
Neolithic occupation (reported by HS&D 1979) seems still in doubt, while more certain are traces of activity focus in EH and LH period (LH reported also in AD 69: 187).

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)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_14	A	burial place	Tanagra N	Rescue excavation	approximate
TA_15	C	burial place	Tanagra N	Rescue excavation	approximate
TA_16	H	burial place	Tanagra N	Rescue excavation	
TA_17	C	burial place	Tanagra - Sewer Plantage	Rescue excavation	approximate
TA_18	H	burial place	Tanagra - Sewer Plantage	Rescue excavation	approximate
TA_199	A	burial place	Tanagra Airport	Rescue excavation	certain
TA_200	C	burial place	Tanagra Airport	Rescue excavation	certain
TA_201	H	burial place	Tanagra Airport	Rescue excavation	certain
TA_202	gr-rom	burial place	Tanagra area	accidental	certain
TA_203	gr-rom	burial place	Tanagra - Agios Polykarpos	accidental	certain
TA_204	gr-rom	burial place	Tanagra - Bali	accidental	certain
TA_205	A	burial place	Tanagra - Ghelezi	accidental	certain
TA_206	C	burial place	Tanagra - Ghelezi	accidental	certain
TA_207	H	burial place	Tanagra - Ghelezi	accidental	certain
TA_221	H	burial place	Tanagra N	Rescue excavation	certain
TA_222	A	burial place	Tanagra - Bali	Rescue excavation	certain

An excavated cemetery area is known to the N of the ancient city (BCH 1970: 699 - *components TA_14 to TA_16* and AD 52 (1997): 371, map fig.8 – *component TA_221*), as well as by the National Aircraft Factory (AReports 1977-78 : 36 and 1984-85: 30), where 170 tombs belonging to an A to H cemetery were excavated by Andreiomenou (AD 31 : 120-121 – *components TA_199 to TA_201*). A small cult place dedicated to Herakles is also mentioned by Andreiomenou within the burial area by the Military Airport (AReports 1985-86 32: 39-41). Another burial area

(*components TA_17 and TA_18*), closer to the city site, has been recently excavated by the local ephorate (AD 49 (1994): 286; AD 50 (1995): 305-6; AD 52 (1997): 377) 300m ca far from the city wall to the N, inside the sewer-plantage (*viologikos katharismos Schimatariou*).
In Praktika 1911: 132ff digs are mentioned around the ancient city in five places (burial areas – *components TA_202 to TA_207*). The majority of them are mapped in Higgings 1986 (Makrovouni[4], Agios Polycarpos, Bali, Kokkali –see above- and Gkeliazi/Ghelezi)[5]. In the last area (*components TA_205 to TA_207*), across the Asopos, tombs run from 6th C BC on (A-C-H). As this is further from the city compared to the other burial areas, it could be related to the rural occupation of the landscape (with burials along the main roads – see map in fig.2). Few burials of the A period found during works for the gas pipe-line (AD 52 (1997): 371 - map fig.9 – *component TA_222*) belong probably to the gr-rom necropolis already known (Bali - *component TA_204*) and positioned in Higgings 1986.

14. Tanagra N: *Component TA_227*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_227	LR	rural site/activity	Tanagra - Bali	Rescue excavation	approximate

A quite large rural site of LR times (with oil presses, storage rooms and clay aqueduct) has been excavated during works for the gas pipe-line in 1997 (AD 52 (1997): 371 - map fig.9) at Bali locality (NW of Tanagra), to the N of the known cemetery area (see above - *components TA_204 and TA_222*).

15. Agios Konstantinos: *Components TA_19 to TA_29*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_19	N	activity focus	Agios Konstantinos	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_20	EH	activity focus	Agios Konstantinos	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_21	MH	settlement	Agios Konstantinos	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_22	LH	settlement	Agios Konstantinos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_23	PG	activity focus	Agios Konstantinos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_24	G	activity focus	Agios Konstantinos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_25	A	activity focus	Agios Konstantinos	Other	certain

[4] S of Mavrovouni (C necropolis between Schimatari and Kokkali) - AD 1969: 187.
[5] Some bibliographical reference for the cemeteries, until the 1980s, is also in Fossey 1988: 47 note 14.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_26	C	activity focus	Agios Konstantinos	Other	certain
TA_27	H	activity focus	Agios Konstantinos	Other	certain
TA_28	R	activity focus	Agios Konstantinos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_29	LR	settlement	Agios Konstantinos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

2 km. N of the villages of Kleidi and Ag.Thomas, at the N end of a low ridge projecting from S and only 2.5-3km from ancient Tanagra, is a low peak (with a small chapel of Prophitis Ilias) and an adjacent lower plateau with the church of Ag.Konstantinos. Near the church of Agios Konstantinos a new monastery of Theotokos (*Iera Mither Theou*) and on the hilltop a small chapel of Prophitis Ilias have been recently built. The Asopos flows below.
On the site is available an account of Fossey (1988: 53) who reports C and H sherds but no structural remains on the terrace of the church, and an absence of sherds on the hill top, due to thick soil cover and heavy cultivation. The situation, though, has considerably changed with the construction of the new monastery, after which the Tanagra Survey project conducted a systematic survey on the site. According to Fossey's remark on the thick soil cover, finds on the top did not seem to have been known before the construction of the monastery, when the hilltop was cleaned up in order to build the chapel dedicated to Proph.Ilias. Potsherds from different periods are now visible in large quantity all over the hill top and the higher slopes. On the other hand, C and H sherds reported on the church plateau below (and apparently missing from Tanagra survey collection in summer 2003) could have disappeared during construction work and probable levelling activities.

Fortifications were not noticed by Fossey but were already reported in the visit of Bintliff and Snodgrass (Journal 1978: 64-5) and then seen during the Tanagra survey project in 2003 (Bintliff, J.L. et al. 2004).

After the intensive research carried out by the Tanagra survey team, the site turned out to be, as preliminary accounts state, an extended prehistoric site covering the period from the Neolithic to the end of the Late Bronze Age, where among a large collection of fine wares typical boetian prehistoric wares were found, such as EH Urfirnis and Agia Marina Ware, fine minyan and matt-painted MH wares, fine plain and decorated LH pottery (Bintliff, J.L. et al. 2004). As K. Sarri reports (pers.comm.), the *general view of the prehistoric material from Agios Konstantinos indicates that on the top and higher terraces of the hill dominate the examples of the Bronze Age pottery, while on the lower terraces - close to the river - the same repertory coexists with an increasing number of Neolithic coarse wares, a phenomenon, which can be compared with a similar situation around the city region*.
As for the graeco-roman period, PG and G material is reported (probably representing a cult place rather than a settlement, though still difficult to tell), as well as C (only probably) and H, which might represent a settlement site, as material does not seem to be distinctive enough for a sanctuary (V. Stissi, pers.comm.). Agios Konstantinos might therefore represent a hilltop site / a refuge site rather then a rural village/*kome*.

Fossey (1988: 56) indicates the Agios Konstantinos site as a possible candidate for the ancient kome of *Schedia*.

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)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_30	LR	burial place	Agios Konstantinos	accidental	imprecise
TA_31	LH	burial place	Kleidi	accidental	approximate
TA_32	A	burial place	Kleidi	accidental	approximate
TA_33	C	burial place	Kleidi	accidental	approximate
TA_34	C	burial place	Kleidi	accidental	approximate
TA_35	C	burial place	Kleidi	accidental	approximate
TA_36	R	burial place	Kleidi	accidental	approximate
TA_37	LH	burial place	Kleidi	accidental	imprecise
TA_38	H	burial place	Kleidi	accidental	imprecise
TA_208	A	? cult place	Kleidi	accidental	approximate
TA_228	gr-rom	special activity	Asopia - Kleidi	Rescue excavation	approximate

Several finds are available to local people in the village coming from tomb robbing/illegal excavations mainly in the surrounding of Kleidi as well as Agios Thomas (formerly Liatani) village[6]. Local information suggests several A-C-H burial focuses[7], and probably R also as well as Mycenaean, in addition to the ones already located and excavated (AD 1964: 199-200). Some of them are mapped in Fossey (1988: 53 and map fig.6), who suggests they may be related to the Ag.Konstantinos site[8]. Some of them, though, are probably too far away. The burials seem to create a circle round Kleidi village.

24/25. Kleidi: *Components TA_208* (24) *and TA_228* (25)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_208	A	? cult place	Kleidi	accidental	approximate
TA_228	gr-rom	special activity	Asopia - Kleidi	Rescue excavation	approximate

Component TA_208: During intensive survey work in the area (Tanagra survey project), building remains (which could represent an Archaic (?) contruction – a sanctuary?) were reported to the survey team by local people, who showed us pictures

[6] *Component TA_40* is closer to Agios Thomas village (see below in text)

[7] The Archaic burial place near Kleidi, reported by Fossey, was found also during intensive survey work in 2004.

[8] Fossey (1988: 53) merges discussion of A.Konstantinos site 2km to N with cemeteries around these villages.

of a structure found during the excavation for the construction of the water reservoir for the village (at the highest point of the village). A probable date to the Archaic period is based on the picture and some sherds shown and reported as coming from the site.
It could probably prove (along with the cemetery making a circle around the village) the existence of a settlement just below the modern Kleidi village. There was with more certainty the site of a Turkish/Early modern settlement, judging from the material collected during survey at the W edge of the village.

Component TA_228: in the wider area of Kleidi, S of the Soros ridge, during works for the gas pipe-line ancient quarry installations have been found (AD 52 (1997): 376).

26/27. Agios Thomas: *Components TA_40* (26); *TA_41 and TA_42* (27)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_40	LH	burial place	Agios Thomas	accidental	approximate
TA_41	EH	? activity focus	Agios Thomas	Personal or group interest	imprecise
TA_42	N	? activity focus	Agios Thomas	Personal or group interest	imprecise

Component TA_40: LH burial reported by locals (Fossey 1988: 57). They are probably to be linked to the other Mycenaean burials known from the Kleidi area (see above).
Components TA_41 and TA_42: EH is reported from the area of Liatani/Agios Thomas village, where probably has to be located an EH focus, different from the Ag.Konstantinos site (Fossey 1988: 57 from HS&D 1979: F60; AD 1967, 242-3; French: figs.9-11). Also Neolithic is reported (only by HS&D 1979: F60).

28. Lari: *Component TA_39*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_39	gr-rom	? activity focus	Agios Thomas - Lari	accidental	approximate

In locality Lari Ag.Thomas, mechanical agricultural activities destroyed two sides of a large building made of large squared blocks [AE72]. Clay tubes/condutture-fistulae were also found. C sherds were noticed around [AE74] (AD 1967: 226-245 - Fossey 1988: 57). A probable rural farmstead. It could be located by Lari stream, below ancient Tanagra, though further details on position are not available, and correspond to some of the Tanagra survey rural and/or burial sites.

29/30. Kesseri : *Components TA_43 and TA_44* (29) and *TA_223* (30)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_43	EH	burial place	Kesseri	accidental	imprecise
TA_44	C	activity focus	Kesseri	Ext. topographical surveys	imprecise
TA_223	gr-rom	? burial place	Tanagra N	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

In Kesseri locality, probably in Schimatari area[9], though position is not sure.
EH rock cut tombs[10], found robbed, are reported from the site, from the S slope (Fossey 1988: 57; HS&D 1979: F60 from AD 1969: 187), as well as a small focus of A/C potsherds (noticed by Bintliff and Snodgrass in 1978, as a small and curiously-sited place, found while looking for Proph.Ilias site, near to the NW – pers.comm.). C-HL sherds S of a tomb area, reported in AD 1967: 226-245 along the road between Schimatari and Kokkali hill - see AE1854/*component TA_223*- could probably be linked to this gr-rom activity focus, since location could correspond.

31. Oinophyta: *Components TA_45 to TA_49*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_45	N	human presence	Oinophyta	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_46	EH	? human presence	Oinophyta	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_47	A	human presence	Oinophyta	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_48	C	human presence	Oinophyta	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_49	H	human presence	Oinophyta	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

As Fossey (1088: 58) describes, the modern village of Oinophyta lies at the NW foot of the small conical hill of *Dichalotos Pyrgos*[11]. The Asopos river flows 0,5km to the S.
On the hill, a cistern has been excavated to provide most of the village's drinking water. There is no available information on the excavation, at which point antiquities might have been found, as Fossey comments. On the other hand, potsherds and material have been found on the hill's E slope in slit trenches (Fossey 1988: 59, probably from his own visit). In the church of Ag.Paraskevi (Oinophyta cemetery) a part of a frieze of R period was found reused (AE 36 (1981): 195); the evidence [AE1803] has not been assigned to any component due to its mobility.
Oinophyta is known from ancient sources as a place where a battle took place in 457 BC, won by the Athenians (Thucydides I 108, 2-3; Diodoros XI 81-83, 3)[12]. For a summary of the identification question see Fossey 1988: 59-60.

[9] In an area belonging to Schimatari and bordering (ορώσα) the S Euboean gulf, in a thick pine-trees area (AD 1969: 187). Fossey (1988: 57) seems to have misplaced the site nearby Agios Thomas village, but he also mentiones it under Dilesi (62-6).
[10] Similar and probably almost contemporary to the ones found at Lithares.
[11] A tower, apparently Medieval in date, once crowned the hill (locals say it got destroyed in WWII, 1944 by German troops) - Fossey 1988: 58. There are caves marked on the 1:50,000 GYS map.

There is not, very probably, enough evidence for a settlement there.

32/33. Prophitis Ilias: ***Components TA_50 to TA_54*** **(32)** ***and TA_55*** **(33)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_50	N	activity focus	Prophitis Ilias	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_51	EH	activity focus	Prophitis Ilias	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_52	MH	activity focus	Prophitis Ilias	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_53	LH	settlement	Prophitis Ilias	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_54	A	? burial place	Prophitis Ilias	Other	approximate
TA_55	MH	burial place	Prophitis Ilias E	accidental	approximate

The site of Prophitis Ilias has been given different locations in different gazetteers and reports on the site:
- a hill 2km to NE of Schimatari according to Prehistoric gazetteers.
- a hill SE of Schimatari (4km!) overlooking the valley leading to Dilesi by the chapel of Ag.Paraskevi (mentioned by Brown – the excavator) according to Fossey (1988: 57)
- A hill 2km from A.Dimitrios, at Schimatari station, to the right of the direct road to Dilesi, much nearer to the sea (to the NE of the shrine of A.Paraskevi on hill) according to Brown (Brown BSA 1905/6: 93ff).

The Brown location is probably the right one. He excavated a LH house (BSA 1905/6: 94-5). At the site material from other Prehistoric periods (Late Neo, EH, MH) has also been found (Prehistoric gazetteers: HS&D 1979; Syriopoulos 1968; French 1972).
Fossey (1988: 57) remarks how the Prehistoric site may have always been no more than a farmstead.
1.5km to the E of the Prophitis Ilias site tombs of MH date are reported by locals (*component TA_55*) – Fossey 1988: 58.

34. Bathiza: ***Components TA_195 to TA_197***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_195	EH	activity focus	Bathiza	Personal or group interest	approximate

[12] See Kirsten RE (1937): 2257-8 s.v. Oinophyta. The locality where the battle took place could have been around the village of Staniates/Oinophyta that, according to last decades' policy of *Hellenizing* place-names, was recently renamed Oinophyta. In the area around the village the local toponym Oineia (that could be survival of Oinophyta) seems quite frequently in use (as noted by travellers – ex: Leake and Ulrichs quoted by Fossey 1988: 59 note 58). The attribution is not based on any certain basis and could easily be applied to almost any place in Eastern Tanagrike (for a summary of the identification question see Fossey 1988: 59-60). For inscriptions dealing with the battle of Oinophyta, see Schachter 2004: 70f.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_196	MH	activity focus	Bathiza	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_197	H	rural site/activity	Bathiza	Other	approximate

French (1972) describes the site as "*on high isolated rock (visible at least 10 km. Away on West side); ca3km N of the Ethniki Odos and ca.6km N of Kakosalesi the river Asopos runs around the base of the rock (sheer on S and E sides) on the S side; ridge on the West, leading to pine forests and low hills*". Fossey (1988: 62) notes how the top of the hill is fairly flat, surrounded by steep slopes. The hill lies on the orographic left side of the Asopos river.
EH II and MH (Grey Minian) potsherds [AE64 and AE65] and obsidian parallel-sided blade [AE1668] were found (HS&D 1979: F58; Fossey 1988: 62), marking a small Prehistoric site.
Fossey (1988: 62) reports also on H or R tiles at the site, probably to be associated to a rural activity.

35. Asopos S: ***Component TA_219***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_219	H	burial place	Asopos S	accidental	imprecise

On a hill, S of Asopos river, to the right of old National Road Lamia-Athens (200th km), a rescue excavation after robbery discovered eight chamber tombs open in the rock of H period (4^{th} C BC) (AD35 (1980) : 232).

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)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_56	gr-rom	fort	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Travellers	certain
TA_57	gr-rom	? activity focus	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Travellers	approximate
TA_58	EH	activity focus	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_59	A	activity focus	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_60	C	activity focus	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_61	LH	? burial place	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_62	LH	burial place	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	accidental	approximate

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_63	LH	burial place	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra - church	accidental	approximate
TA_64	LH	burial place	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra - Elies	accidental	approximate
TA_65	C	burial place	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	accidental	approximate
TA_66	A	burial place	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	accidental	approximate
TA_67	H	burial place	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	accidental	approximate
TA_68	C	? activity focus	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Ext. topographical surveys	imprecise
TA_69	A	? activity focus	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Ext. topographical surveys	imprecise
TA_70	R	? activity focus	Bratsi/Modern Tanagra	Ext. topographical surveys	

To the W side of the modern Tanagra village (formerly Bratsi and recently renamed Tanagra), 4.5km SW of Schimatari, rises a peak, in the eastern section of the Soros range, marked as *Kastron* on the 1:50000 GYS map. The modern village lies at the E foot of it.

Component TA_56: Fossey (1988: 50 plan fig.5) describes and shows a plan of the fortification on the hilltop [AE395]. The area enclosed by the circuit is only 0.16ha. Fossey himself speaks about a refuge and not a real settlement. The total absence of surface sherds and of inner surface remains may lead to this conclusion. Masonry is rough polygonal, as described by Fossey, and a tower is visible by the entrance. It could have been a simple fort, as many others in Boeotia. The similarity with the long walls at Orchomenos, suggested by Fossey 1988: 50, could lead to assigning a H date. An attempt has been made to identify Bratsi site with ancient *Stephon*=summit (discussion in Fossey 1988: 56, who admits this identification is just a guess but there is no other suitable site).

Component TA_57: At the foot of the hill near the modern village Ulrichs (1863: 76-7 – reported in Fossey 1988: 50) describes traces of buildings (not visible at all in 1966, as Fossey comments) and of a possible ancient road.

Components TA_58 to TA_60: To the NW of the modern village on a low hill are visible the remains of a Frankish tower (tower marked on 1:50,000 GYS map), ca 750m NW of end of village (by the Harma road fork). By the tower potsherds were noticed by J.L. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass during their visit (pers.comm.).

Components TA_61 to TA_64 (LH burial places): In the area of the modern Tanagra village have been found several focuses of LH tombs with LH III painted *larnakes* (most of them now in the Thebes museum) – some of them at the E foot of the *Kastron* hill (*component TA_62*). Spyropoulos, very much interested in the *larnakes*, have been investigating for years the area looking for other tombs and the Mycenaean

settlement. Recent survey work (see below – TANAGRA SURVEY) in the area of ancient Tanagra cleared out that the main Mycenaean settlement, to which the rich tombs with the *larnakes* related to, was not at the site of the historical *polis* of Tanagra. Since the majority of LH *larnakes* cemetery areas seem to have been found in the surroundings of modern Tanagra (Bratsi), probably the main Mycenaean settlement in the area may have to be looked for in this area. A detailed and precise mapping of all the LH tombs excavations (legal and illegal) would help in the localising of the ancient settlement. Unfortunately illegal excavations or accidental findings detailing positions are not available, and furthermore, the legal excavations accounts on locations are not always very precise or easily locatable on maps from bibliographical records only. In Praktika 1971, Spyropoulos reports on cemetery excavations, with a list of the previous bibliography. To Spyropoulos' list may be added the various brief accounts: AD 1970: 221-2; BCH 1970: 1037-1040; 1971: 929-932; 1972: 699-704; JHS Arch 1969/70: 16-17; 1970/1: 15; 1971/2: 12 Teiresias 71.1.1; AD 1971: 214-5 (from Fossey 1988). The latest reports on cemetery excavations are in Spyropoulos, Ergon 1973: 11-14; 1975: 17-26; 1976: 8-14; 1977: 14-19; 1979: 5-6; 1980: 21-22.

Components TA_65 to TA_70 (gr-rom burial places and activities): Cemetery areas of historical period are also reported. Sherds (from A, C[13] and R) period listed in gazetteers and reports could be simply related to burial area (but they could also represent other kinds of activities in the ladscape). Related units of Archaeological Evidence have been included in cemetery components (with question mark) and they also form 'activity focus?' components by themselves. They could also be in association with the surface walls and the traces of a road seen by Ulrichs by the village [AE364 – AE365].

43/44. Gephyra/Ledeza and Dendron/Grava: *Components TA_71 and TA_72* (43)*; TA_73, TA_74, TA_209 and TA_210* (44)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_71	LH	burial place	Gephyra/Ledeza	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_72	LH	settlement	Gephyra/Ledeza	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_73	LH	burial place	Dendron/Grava	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_74	LH	settlement	Dendron/Grava	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_209	A	activity focus	Dendron/Grava	Other	approximate
TA_210	R	rural site/activity	Dendron/Grava	Other	approximate

To the E/SE of Bratsi/modern Tanagra village, two large Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries, with graves cut into limestone, are reported: the first 400m ca. E of Bratsi (Gephyra/Ledeza), and the other one 700m SE of that cemetery (Dendron/Grava),

[13] Remains from tombs (vases and inscriptions 5th C BC) accidentally discovered by locals looking for tiles - from Higgings 1986: 140, as well as a well, probably ancient.

both along with habitation focuses[14] that go with the chamber tombs (HS&D 1979: F63 which summarize previous accounts – mainly Praktika 1969: 6; Ergon 1974: 10-16; 1975: 17-26; 1976: 8-14; AD 1973: 266-7). Later excavations of graves also by Spyropoulos at Dendron in the large cemetery on the W side of the slope (AReports 1976-77; 1978-79: 23; 1982-3: 31; 1983-4: 33-34; 1984-5: 30; Ergon 1984 (1985): 49-53).
Remains of Mycenaean occupation (jncluding one megaron-like building) date from advanced Mycenaean times (LH III A2-B), while the first use of the cemeteries may be as early as LH II (Fossey 1988: 52)[15].

Components TA_209 and TA_210: Later habitation structures (A period, but mainly R period) at the site of the Mycenaean settlement at Dendron/Grava destroyed the earlier layer (Ergon 1974: 10ff).

45 - 48. Dritsa – 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)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_75	N	? activity focus	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Other	certain
TA_76	EH	activity focus	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_77	MH	settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_78	LH	settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_79	PG	? Settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_80	G	settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_81	A	settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Travellers	certain
TA_82	C	settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Travellers	certain
TA_83	H	settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Travellers	certain
TA_84	R	settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_85	LR	settlement	Dritsa - Pyrgos	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_86	H	burial place	Dritsa village	accidental	approximate
TA_87	gr-rom	burial place	Dritsa village	accidental	approximate

[14] One settlement is located 100-150m E of the Gephyra cemetery (Ergon 1975: 12-26). A small section of the settlement site was excavated by the cemetery (Ergon 1974: 10ff). The other settlement, by the Dendron cemetery, extends on a slope covered by thick olive wood of a low hill, rising along the S border of the fertile valley where now the airport is. Two rooms were excavated, part of a building complex of Mycenaean period

[15] Ledeza cemetery is slightly later than Dendron cemetery (Praktika 1971: 7ff; Ergon 1974: 10ff)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_88	gr-rom	? activity focus	Dritsa - Pyrgos SW	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_89	gr-rom	burial place	Dritsa - Pyrgos N	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_90	A	burial place	Dritsa - Pyrgos N	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_211	gr-rom	burial place	Dritsa	accidental	approximate

W of the village of modern Harma (formerly Andritsa/Dritsa), on a small ridge (ca. 200m. length from NW to SE - 120 m width), overlooking the E part of the Theban plain. The W part of the ridge is called Pyrgos after the medieval tower at its highest Western point (Papachatzis 1981: 126, pl.144; Fossey 1988: 88 and fig.10).
Fresh water springs out to the SW of Pyrgos hill in front of the chapel [AE1653].

The site was known to travellers already (Frazer 1913: 63-6 - with earlier accounts: Leake 1835: 466-9; Ulrichs 1863: 78-9; Ross 1851: 107-9) and it has been identified with ancient *Eleon* (Strabo IX 404; Pausanias I 29. 6 – see Fossey 1988: 94-5), a member of the τετρακωμία with Mykalessos, Harma (both known as having been deserted by Roman times) and Pharai. The name Eleon now, after the 'hellenization' of village names, is attached to a village to the NW, formerly called Sphaides, and this causes confusion between sites in some accounts (ex: HS&D 1979 and Syriopoulos 1968).
The etymology of Eleon is claimed 'marshes' by Strabo but apparently there were no swampy areas there in his time, as Fossey (1988: 97-9) notes. Eleon is mentioned as still inhabited in R times by Plutarch (ref.). The settlement has a natural fertile bloc available in the undulating plain to the S and SW.

The site shows surface walls and a rich variety of painted wares as well as a remarkable Lesbian wall, of debated date, probably symbolic rather than defensive *stricto sensu*. Prehistoric occupation is also known at the site, especially MH and LH (represented by abundant sherds of excellent quality - Syriopoulos 1968). It was an important LH settlement (I/IIIC), probably second only to Thebes in the Theban plain, as remarked by HS&D 1979 G25[16].

Component TA_88 represents traces of a foundation of big, squared blocks, which could be ancient, below a small chapel, now rebuilt, at the SW foot of Pyrgos hill, noticed by Fossey (1988: 90) during a personal visit in 1996 (foundation of big, squared blocks below a small chapel).

Components TA_86; TA_ 87; TA_89; TA_90 ; TA_211 (burials): several burial locations are known within and by the modern village, probably to be related to the Pyrgos site (as well as for the burials at Proph.Ilias site) – Fossey 1988: 92. By the

[16] The LH settlement occupied the flat top and the N slopes of the steep-sided hill to the NW of Dritsa/Harma village (HS&D 1979 G25).

modern village of Dritsa/Harma, along the railway, 20 minutes away from the ancient city wall seven tombs were excavated[17] (Higgings 1986: 140 - *component TA_211*).

49. Dritsa – Proph.Ilias: ***Components TA_91 to TA_95***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_91	A	burial place	Dritsa – Proph.Ilias	accidental	certain
TA_92	C	burial place	Dritsa – Proph.Ilias	accidental	certain
TA_93	R	burial place	Dritsa – Proph.Ilias	accidental	certain
TA_94	LH	? activity focus	Dritsa – Proph.Ilias	accidental	approximate
TA_95	EH	? activity focus	Dritsa – Proph.Ilias	Other	approximate

On Prophitis Ilias hill (named after the church on its summit), to the S of the site of the ancient settlement on Pyrgos hill, and especially on its N and W slopes (Fossey 1988: 92 - plan fig.10), are tombs cut into the rock and mostly robbed (A-C and R period), to be related with the settlement site at Dritsa-Pyrgos location (see above).
On the same hill are reported also scattered sherds from the EH and LH periods (Hope Simpson n.427 repeated by HS&D 1979: G25). The evidence for the EH period probably represent an activity focus in EH times (settl/habitation?) and not a burial area (this is not clear in Fossey, and could not be checked out against HS&D 1979: G25, who do not mention the site separately from Dritsa-Pyrgos though). The LH evidence could represent halo activities of the settlement at Dritsa-Pyrgos site.

50/51. Meg. Kastron: ***Components TA_96*** **(50);** ***TA_97 and TA_98*** **(51)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_96	EH	activity focus	Meg. Kastron	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_97	gr-rom	burial place	Meg. Kastron S	accidental	approximate
TA_98	LR	activity focus	Meg. Kastron S	Other	approximate

Component TA_96: Half-way between modern Harma (formerly Dritsa) and Eleon (formerly Sphaides) villages is the hill Kastron (marked as Meg.Kastron on 1:50,000 GYS map).
Fossey (1988: 96) notes how to the N the site overlooks the watershed between the Theban and Tanagran plains. The site is naturally defended (very steep slopes from all sides). Few EH sherds are reported from the surface.

[17] Vases, same as the more recent type of Ritsona, were found in the graves.

Components TA_97 and TA_98: In the fields to the S of the Meg.Kastron hill many stones and bones are said to be ploughed up by locals. Sherds in this low area are Late Roman and mainly Byzantine (Fossey 1988: 96). A gr-rom burial place component has been created (*component TA_97*, formed by AE47 + ?AE48), in addition to a LR activity focus (*component TA_98* from AE48), which could be either the cemetery recorded in *component TA_97* or some other kind of activity (even a rural site /villa to which the burial area could be associated).

52/53. Kastron Lykovouni (ancient HARMA?): *Components TA_ 99 to TA_104* (52)*; TA_105 and TA_106* (53)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_99	EH	activity focus	Kastron Lykovouni	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_100	LH	settlement	Kastron Lykovouni	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_101	G	activity focus	Kastron Lykovouni	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_102	A	? Fort	Kastron Lykovouni	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_103	C	fort	Kastron Lykovouni	Travellers	certain
TA_104	H	? Fort	Kastron Lykovouni	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_105	gr-rom	burial place	Kastron Lykovouni slopes	accidental	approximate
TA_106	gr-rom	activity focus	Kastron Lykovouni slopes	Travellers	approximate

Kastron is the SE spur (288m) of Lykovouni ridge (Lykovouni is called the main peak - 451m). Fossey (1988: 85) notes how the ridge provides the N boundary to the small plain which connects the main Theban plain to the E. The location can be described as a high barren scrub-covered hill to the N of Thebes-Chalkis road, where the road begins to ascend towards the Anaphorites pass (HS&D 1979: G27).

Remains of a fortification on the hilltop (Fossey 1988 - plan fig.9) were known already to travellers (Ulrichs, Leake and Frazer – listed in Fossey 1988: 86). Less than 1ha is included in the enclosure. The extensive summit (ca 300m NS and 200m EW) is covered with wall foundations.

A lower settlement is reported on the S and E feet of the hill (Fossey 1988: 86-88). An identification has been suggested with ancient *Harma* (Fossey 1988: 89). Sources[18] mentioned Harma as in this area and abandoned in R times (and archaeological evidence seems to confirm it), while a possible inscription confirms the name attribution (IG 97). If the settlement site is really one of the *poleis* of the τετρακωμία (together with Mykalessos, Eleon and Pharai), it could have had its own resource zone in the flat plain below to the SE, S and SW, though it constituted of poor soils, limestone and older fill clays.
The name *Harma* now, after the 'hellenization' of village names, is attached to the village formerly called Dritsa (see above), and this causes confusion between sites in some accounts (ex: HS&D 1979 and Syriopoulos 1968).

The fact that the fort on the hilltop is so small (less than 1 ha enclose) can lead to the interpretation of the evidence as a military fort, rather than a settlement. In this case, the remains below (on S and W hill slopes – *components TA_105 and TA_106*), interpreted as the lower settlement, could also belong to other kinds of activities in the landscape such as a cult place (see surface walls seen by Ulrichs – AE1658) or a A-C rural site [potsherds AE307 and AE309] jointly with a burial areas (see tombstones [AE1659]) Only more intensive and systematic research, as well as functional analysis on surface remains, could probably give a more appropriate answer.
Snodgrass (pers.comm.) sees it as a poor place and better as a military place controlling the major road junctions of Chalkis and Oropus routes. On the other hand, the location of the settlement of Kapandriti, exploiting the same area (not very fertile, as seen above), should cause reflection[19]. Today the area is quite waterless, but formerly the situation could have been different, as Leake (1835) mentions a fountain at the foot of the hill.

Components TA_99 and TA_100: Prehistoric material is also reported from the site, mainly from the S end of the hill. Near the top some LH III sherds and obsidian chips were noticed [AE308]. Probably the LH site was small, at the higher S end of the hill (HS&D 1979: G27).

54. Sphaides/modern Eleon: *Component TA_212*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_212	H	burial place	Sphaides/modern Eleon	accidental	imprecise

By Sphaides/moden Eleon village H robbed tombs were indagated (AD 20: 242). They can be linked to a rural settlement, probably lining a route leading from ancient Eleon (modern Dritsa/Harma) site towards the Theban plain.

55. Ritsona: *Components TA_107 to TA_114 and TA_213*

[18] Strabo IX 405 mentions it as a *kome,* already *'erimos'* (IX 404), which was 'Tanagraean', a deserted village near Mykalessos; Paus. IX 19.4 mentions the ruins of the city of Harma (=chariot). Pausanias (I 34.2) notes how men of Tanagra use Harma (in addition to other places, i.e. Mykalessos basin) for grazing.
[19] In the Turkish era the village of Kapandriti used to be a short distance to the E and may have used the fountain mentioned by Leake at the fooot of the hill.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_107	EH	activity focus	Ritsona	Personal or group interest	precise
TA_108	MH	activity focus	Ritsona	Personal or group interest	precise
TA_109	LH	activity focus	Ritsona	Personal or group interest	precise
TA_110	G	? Settlement	Ritsona	Personal or group interest	precise
TA_111	A	settlement	Ritsona	Travellers	precise
TA_112	C	settlement	Ritsona	Travellers	precise
TA_113	H	settlement	Ritsona	Travellers	precise
TA_114	LR	? Settlement	Ritsona	Ext. topographical surveys	precise
TA_213	R	? Settlement	Ritsona	Personal or group interest	precise

In the centre of a fertile basin, on the road from Thebes to Chalkis, at the point where the road to Aulis/Vathy forks off Eastwards (more direct than via Tanagra plain), is the hamlet of Ritsona. Fossey (1988: 80) notes how the hamlet is constituted of but a few houses, and currently the place is just a crossroad with a small simple taverna (named 'Ritsona' – the only way to find the place nowadays) and a couple of rural houses opposite. The deserted village lies on top of a small height to the NE of the crossroad, above the taverna.
The Ritsona basin (a quite easily recognisable settlement chamber – see chapter II.3.14) is surrounded by mountains and ridges (Fossey 1988: 80)[20]: to the W and NW Mount Ktipas, an outlyeer of which, the Lykovouni ridge, closes it on the SW; to the N Galatsideza ridge, one of the largest ridges radiating from Mt. Ktipas, to the S and E the lower hills of that ridge which runs eastwards separating the Tanagran plain from the coastal plain of Vathy to the N. The basin is constituted by the Attic poorer lowland limestone and conglomerates.

On a knoll (lower Eastern hill/peak of Kazarma ridge) to the SW (400m ca) of the Ritsona hamlet, to the W side of the road from Thebes to Chalkis, archaeological traces of activities are visible and were already known to travellers (Ulrichs 1863: 30) - mainly surface sherds and traces of circuit walls and other ancient foundations, including C houses (AD20 1965: 243). The evidence represent a settlement site from the A to the H period (with an apparent gap in R periods due to lack of surface material and a different character (probably as a rural nucleation) of occupation in the LR period. Probably, as in the case of other Boeotian *poleis*, a shrink of settlement occurred. As far as the G (Late G) period is concerned, a settlement at the site is in doubt. No G material is reported on the town ridge (Fossey 1988: 82), and probably Syriopoulos (1983-84: G85 (=LG)) and HS&D (1979: G45] refers to the cemetery area. On the other hand though, they might not have noticed G (LG)[21] or G (LG) might not be visible on the town ridge. A settlement could have been there related to the rich cemetery found nearby (Ritsona Kamileza – see below).

[20] A view of the basin is in BSA 1907-8: 233, fig.4.

[21] G material at the site, less diagnostic than the one from the cemetery, could be less easily noticed than later wares.

The excavations in the nearby G and later cemetery (BSA 14 1907-8: 216 – Ritsona Kamileza), as stated by HS&D (1979: G45), provide support for the identification as ancient *Mykalessos*. Ancient sources are listed and examined in Fossey (1988: 83-5). Mykalessos is mentioned as a member of the τετρακωμία (together with Harma, Eleon and Pharai). Despite the large basin available (see above), poor limestone and conglomerates lowland which characterize it would never support anything larger than a *komopolis,* dependent from Tanagra since H times[22].
Before the Persian War, Mykalessos was one of several Boeotian *poleis* to mint a full range of coins (Head 1911: 346)[23], as well as Tanagra in the same period (Head 1911: 348). This suggests, as stated by Schachter (2004: 52), that Tanagra and Mykalessos were more or less equal in status at that time.
The town flourished in mid 6th C BC (rich necropolis) and declined in 5th C BC. Destroyed during the Peloponnesian war, it was still in life in the 4th C, although under the control of Tanagra.

Prehistoric material is also known at the site (EH, MH and LH surface material are reported by Fossey 1988: 82 – personal visit in the 60s). HS & D (1979: G45) refer to Fossey's visit account and suggest how the LH site would presumably have been confined to the knoll, whereas the historic site was certainly more extensive.

56. Ritsona Kamileza: ***Components TA_115 to TA_118***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_115	G	burial place	Ritsona Kamileza	accidental	approximate
TA_116	A	burial place	Ritsona Kamileza	accidental	approximate
TA_117	C	burial place	Ritsona Kamileza	accidental	approximate
TA_118	H	burial place	Ritsona Kamileza	accidental	approximate

Along the Southern side of Kamileza ridge (a lower part of the Kazarma ridge to the E side of the road) lining the old path to Vathy remains of an extensive necropolis were found.
Sparkes (JHS 1967: 128-180) published a catalogue of ca 90 published graves from Rhitsona, from Late G to Hellenistic (late 3rd C BC), but especially late 6th and early 5th C BC, mainly excavated by Ure and his wife (BSA 14 1907-8: 216 and other accounts, listed in Fiehn, RE 1933: 1005-1015 s.v. *Mykalessos*; Ure, RE Suppl. VII 1939: 495-510 s.v. *Mykalessos*).
Recently (in 1992) rescue excavations were carried out on the C necropolis (AD 47 (1992): 172-4).

[22] Pausanias (I 34.2) notes how men of Tanagra use the land of the Ritsona basin (in addition to other places, i.e. ancient Harma area) for grazing.
[23] Mykalessos minted coins from late in the 5th C until some time in the 4th C (Head 1911: 346-347), but this is not necessarily an argument for autonomy, as Hansen points out.

57. Lithosoros: ***Components TA_119 to TA_125***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_119	N	? activity focus	Lithosoros	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_120	EH	settlement	Lithosoros	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_121	MH	settlement	Lithosoros	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_122	LH	settlement	Lithosoros	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_123	LH	burial place	Lithosoros	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_124	Preh	burial place	Lithosoros	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_125	C	activity focus	Lithosoros	Other	certain

At the very NW corner of the coastal plain of Chaleia and, as Fossey (1988: 78) describes it, "jammed between Mt.Ktipas and the sea" is the Lithosoros natural hill, a landmark in the flat area, even if only 24m heigh. The flat top is ca 160x140m, and it is separated from the beach only by a road's width. A spring is on the shore nearby. The site is also known as 'tomb of Salganeus' / '*tymvos tou Salganea*'.
Earlier travellers had noticed remains of walling including a 'circuit' (see Bakhuizen 1970) but, as Fossey (1988: 79) notes, it appears rather to be the line to which stones have been moved during cultivation of the flat top.
The Prehistoric occupation on the site is well known, and excavation activities have been carried out at the site earlier by Pappadakis in 1912 (AA 1914: 122-123; AD 1915 n.55-6), and later by Spyropoulos (AD 1970: 222) and Touloupa (AD 33 1978 (1985): 117; AD 39 1984: 125-126)[24] – see also Sapouna-Sakellaraki (AAA 21 1988 (1993): 77-90[25]). Neolithic is mentioned apparently only by Pappadakis.
Pappadakis excavation accounts (AA 1914 and AD 1915) report also tombs from the site, probably contemporary to the site (possibly MH rather than LH, see also Touloupa's excavation in 1978) - *component TA_124*.
The Lithosoros site, together with Glypha, constitutes one of the most important Prehistoric sites of the Boeotian coast (Bakhuizen 1970). It is a coastal site along the physical route ancient Anthedon-Chalkis, in a fertile plain closed up to the W by the Messapion oros (Ktypas).

[24] In 1970 was carried out a small stratigraphical excavation in the northern slope, while in 1978 on the NE side were found by the ephoreia remains of a MH absidal house (Minyan gray and red as well as polychromi matt-painted) – AD 33 (1978): 119). The 1978 test excavation (E.Touloupa) uncovered a building plot on the NE slope of the PR mound known as the 'tomb of Salganeus', where parts of MH building (included in AE324) were found and a MH child's cist tomb [AE1820] without offerings (AD 33 (1978): 117). Few meters higher on the W side of the hill, in 1983-84 were noted remains of a circuit wall of Mycenaean period and few earlier remains (AD39 1984: 125-126), that enforced the idea that the hill and its surroundings were inhabited both in MH and Mycenaean periods. A destruction phase (fire) was noticed, which dates back to the LH IIIB, fact that constitutes a parallel with the same situation attested at Glypha site.

[25] In a small excavation on B.Kontogianni plot, two parallel walls were found. Mainly LH and few sherds of MH pottery were collected. Important EH, MH and LH remains on the hilltop as well as in the surroundings, on a hill which is linked to many myths (Bakhuizen 1970) – AD 1988: 203.

Occupation in historical periods is also known, probably in C period on the flat top[26], and could be characterized as a rural site (probably with associated burials which seem to be attested by some black glaze found at the site – AE17 - Fossey 1988: 80).
The mound has been identified (first by Leake 1835 - Wallace AJA 1969) with the town of *Salganeus*, mentioned by Strabo (I 1.17; IX 2.9) (Buck 1979: 21; Bakhuizen 1970: 6-12; Wallace 1979: 94-6; Fossey 1988: 99f).

58. Drosia area: ***Components TA_126 and TA_127***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_126	H	? burial place	Drosia area	accidental	imprecise
TA_127	R	? burial place	Drosia area	accidental	imprecise

Burial places of gr-rom date are known from the area or surroundings of modern Drosia (formerly Chalia) village. H and R tombstones are reported, though only attested by epigraphical evidence (very movable!).

59. Drosia – Ag.Minas: ***Components TA_128 to TA_131***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_128	EH	settlement	Drosia – Ag.Minas	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_129	G	activity focus	Drosia – Ag.Minas	Other	certain
TA_130	A	activity focus	Drosia – Ag.Minas	Other	certain
TA_131	C	activity focus	Drosia – Ag.Minas	Other	certain

Evidence from historical periods is reported by the headland of Ag.Minas, a rocky promontory that dominated from the N a small bay (NE of Drosia village). No characteristics of the pottery found there is unfortunately specified, therefore we cannot infer the character of occupation (the components have been left as 'activity focus' – *components TA_129 to TA_131*). The historical material from the site (to the W of the church) is reported only by the latest account (Sampson, AE 1974: 14)[27].
Interest in the area is due mainly to the EH I settlement (*component TA_128*) reported at the site already by Theokares (AEM - *Archeion Eyboikon Meleton* - 1959: 308-9), contemporary with Lithosoros site (see above). The site is on the Boeotian coast, in front of peninsula Manika and Kaki Kephali (Euboea), and his location is quite suitable for a Prehistoric settlement, with a small harbour to the S side.

[26] Sherds [AE17] and tiles, building blocks and pieces of marble columns reused [AE14] in chapels nearby (noticed by travellers, reported by Bakhuizen 1970: 6-12). Those evidence might though correspond to different activities in the landscape (AE14 was attached to the C activity focus with a question mark).
[27] At cape Gaidaros are reported EH II potsherds, probably referring to a Prehistoric installation (AD 38 (1983): 154).

60. Rodia: ***Components TA_132 and TA_133***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_132	Preh	? activity focus	Rodia	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_133	gr-rom	? activity focus	Rodia	Other	approximate

Sampson (AE 1974: 14 n.18) reports to the SE of Drosia - Ag.Minas site along the coast, NW of Chalkis, at Rodia (marked on 1:50,000 GYS map), another possible Prehistoric site (*component TA_132*), as well as probable traces of occupation from later (gr-rom) periods (*component TA_133*). No diagnostic material was noticed, and this is mainly the reason of the uncertain date, but of a sure presence of some kind.

61/62. Karababa: ***Components TA_142*** **(61)** ***and TA_143*** **(62)**

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_142	R	activity focus	Karababa	Historical geography	certain
TA_143	gr-rom	? burial place	Karababa	Historical geography	certain

Karababa is namely a hill occupied by a Venetian castle, on the Boeotian side, directly across the Euripos from Chalkis.
Karababa has R surface finds [AE124] and gr-rom reused [AE383] (Wallace AJA 1969: 246ff. and Wallace 1979: 41), as well as probable gr-rom rock-cut tombs (*component TA_143*). An identification with historical *Salganeus* has been attempted (see also above –Lithosoros site).

63. Glypha: ***Components TA_134 to TA_141***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_134	N	activity focus	Glypha	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_135	EH	settlement	Glypha	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_136	MH	settlement	Glypha	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_137	LH	settlement	Glypha	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_138	G	? activity focus	Glypha	Other	certain
TA_139	C	activity focus	Glypha	Other	certain
TA_140	R	? activity focus	Glypha	Other	certain
TA_141	LR	rural site/activity	Glypha	Other	certain

On the low hill of Tseloneri, also known as Glypha or Vlicha (marked as Glypha on 1:50,000 GYS map), on the Boeotian side of the S harbour of Chalkis and about 2 km S of the potteries, by the road Chalkis-Aulis (in the centre of the Western side of

Vourko Bay facing Chalkis). On the N and W slopes especially (Fossey 1988: 75) Prehistoric[28] and Historical evidence of occupation were noticed. Historical occupation is probably known because of the presence of the large Prehistoric focus at the site.
The first mention is from Theokares (AEM - *Archeion Eyboikon Meleton* – 1959; AEM 1966: 57) interested in Euboean Prehistoric settlements. Excavations were carried out in 1977 (AD32 1977: 98) at the occasion of the installation of gas from the owner (rescue excavation)[29]. In 1988 22 trenches were excavated in different spots on the hill, and the continuation of the circuit wall previously discovered was found. The wall dates back to the Mycenaean period while were found also house walls of at least two phases of the same period (LH II-III A-B) - AD 43 (1988): 203; Demakopoulou 1988. Important is the MH pottery that was found below the LH strata (Red Minyan and *polychromi* matt-painted), which constitutes a parallel with the one at Salganea and Dramesi along the Boeotian coast and with the one at Magoulas and Amarinthos in Euboea (AD 43 (1988): 203). Also four MH cist tombs, perhaps for child burials made within MH houses, were found (AD 32: 98-100; AReports 1986-86: 39-41) [AE1819]. Few are sherds from the EH period, collected in 1987 (similar to pottery from Manika, Magoula and Lefkanti in Euboea (AAA 1987: 191-210).
Reference is made to a neighbouring LH cemetery, near the Artemis sanctuary (AReports 1988-89 from *Akropolis* 20.I.89 – see below *component TA_145*), which could be connected with this settlement site.

An identification has been suggested with ancient *Hyria* (Fossey 1988: 76)[30]. I would prefer to see it as a rural site, and a rural site/ activity component has been created for the LR period (probably a villa?), while components from other historical periods represented have been left as generic 'activity focus'. A systematic survey at the site would be preferable to check evidence.

64. Mikro Vathy - Meg. Vouno: *Components TA_144; TA_146 and TA_147*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_144	gr-rom	fort	Mikro Vathy - Meg. Vouno	Travellers	approximate
TA_146	H	activity focus	Mikro Vathy - Meg. Vouno	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_147	R	activity focus	Mikro Vathy - Meg. Vouno	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

On the Meg. Vouno ridge, to the W of Mikro Vathy bay, remains of a gr-rom fortification are mapped in Fossey (1988 plan fig.7), who also reports on H and R potsherds on Meg. Vouno, and traces of activities seen by Blegen 1949 (*components*

[28] Neolithic (reported in BSA 1966: 66 n.94) has been confirmed by Sampson's surface observation (AE 1974: 14 no.16), though not noticed by Fossey (1988: 75), French (Britisch School collection) nor Vermeule (BSA 1966: 66 n.94).
[29] Excavations continued in 1986-87 with a small amount of money from the local ephorate and mainly paid by the owner (AD 43 (1988): 203).
[30] Chalia and Hyria are coupled by Theopompus (FGrH 115 F211, 212) as Boeotian towns close to one another.

TA_146 and TA_147). If they are in connection with *component TA_144* (fort) they could attest a H and R use of the fort.

ANAPHORITES fortified line: A component has not been created since the fortification is probably in connection with Meg. Vouno fort (*component TA_144*), and also because the fortifications which are not in connection with settlement sites are treated separetely within the GIS, and registered only as evidence [AE96]. The Anaphorites fortified line is located E of Aulis and above Chaleia, on the mountain ridge, and continues till it reaches the enclosure of Meg. Vouno (Scranton 1941: 146-7). The remains of the fortification wall (noticed by travellers – Frazer, Leake, Gell) oddly are not mentioned in Fossey 1988 though they were reported in Fossey 1970. As pointed out by Philippson (1951: 498) through the Anaphorites pass (400m) would have run the road from Chalkis to Thebes. The long wall could have constituted a historically defined border for Theban territory, but presumably this line of constructions marks the boundary between Boeotia and Chalkis when the latter had control of the plain of Chaleia below, and the Meg.Vouno would constitute the key fort.

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65. Mikro Vathy N: ***Component TA_145***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_145	LH	burial place	Mikro Vathy N	Personal or group interest	certain

On the small peninsula N of Mikro Vathy bay, Mycenaean tombs were found (Fossey 1988: 70 and map fig.7 from Ergon 1956: 37).

66. Vathy Nisi: ***Components TA_149 to TA_150***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_149	gr-rom	fort	Vathy Nisi	Travellers	certain
TA_150	LH	? Fort	Vathy Nisi	Personal or group interest	certain

On the rocky promontory of Vesalas, also known as Nisi (on this name see Fossey 1988: 68 n.92) or Geladovouni, between the main Aulis Bay (Megalo Vathy) to the S and a smaller bay (Mikro Vathy) to the N (plan in Fossey 1988: figs.7 and 8, from Bakhuizen 1970: 96-100), have been noticed the remains of an ancient fortress or acropolis. No sherds or small finds have been located on the acropolis[31].
Component TA_150: Low on the Western slopes of Vesalas was found a wall of large stones, apparently Mycenaean in date (Praktika 1959: 32 and pl. 32), because of associated material (HS&D 1979; Fossey 1988: 70).

[31] HS&D 1979 (NISI: LH, G, A, C, H) seem to misplace the entries which are recorded here under Ag.Nikolaos, or what it was thought to be the site of the Aulis sanctuary.

67. Mikro Vathy (Artemis sanctuary): *Components TA_151 to TA_155*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_151	C	cult place	Mikro Vathy	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_152	H	cult place	Mikro Vathy	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_153	R	cult place	Mikro Vathy	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_154	LR	special activity	Mikro Vathy	Personal or group interest	certain
TA_155	gr-rom	settlement	Mikro Vathy	Personal or group interest	approximate

In a small valley connecting the heads of the two Vathy bays, to the West of Nisi rocky promontory. Until recently the northern part of this valley was in fact a southern arm of the bay of Mykro Vathy (Wallace 1979: 31).
Threpsiadis (Ergon 1960) excavated at this site, which turned out to be the site of the Aulis sanctuary of Artemis (Fossey 1988: 73-4), in use from C to R times. In LR times, excavated baths (*component TA_154*) turned out to have taken over the sanctuary, and were probably in association with a small settlement/villa site nearby. Settlement (*component TA_155*) and associated activities are probably to be considered also for the previous period, around the sanctuary. The H workshop [AE291] could be one of those, as well as the excavated R building [AE1 and AE2]. Activities of people living there were strictly associated with the sanctuary but also fishing activities and a small harbour seem to be attested (the surrounding area seems too poor to provide subsistence).
Remains of ancient habitation were excavated in the bottom of the valley (Fossey 1988: 72). Buildings have been partly uncovered (Threpsiadis Ergon 1960) in an area between the two gulfs of Mikro and Megalo Vathy.

68/69/70. Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos: *Components TA_156* (68); TA_157 to TA_163 (69); *TA_164* (70)

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_156	LR	rural site/activity	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_157	SubM	activity focus	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_158	G	activity focus	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_159	A	activity focus	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_160	C	activity focus	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical	certain

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
				surveys	
TA_161	H	activity focus	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain
TA_162	LR	? activity focus	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_163	LH	activity focus	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_164	gr-rom	burial place	Vathy - Ag. Nikolaos	Ext. topographical surveys	certain

A low ridge (named Vessalas – 100m asl) to the N of the convent of Ag.Nikolaos (now Ag.Stephanos), which reaches the Euboic sea[32] and separates the Megalo Vathy gulf area from the Mykro Vathy and the valley where the Aulis sanctuary is. On the ridge between Agios Nikolaos convent and Schoinousa, a valley to the S of Meg. Vouno, marked as Skina on 1:50,000 GYS map (cfr. Fossey 1988 map fig.7).
At Ag.Nikolaos was placed, before Threpsiadis excavation at Mikro Vathy, the sanctuary of Artemis (Ergon 1958/Ergon1959 - Ancient Aulis. Aulis sanctuary G on).
Potsherds from Ag.Nikolaos are mixed up in Fossey's account, listed all together under 'Agios Nikolaos' both from potsherd scatters and from the burial area mentioned in the text (1988: 73). I created a component 'activity focus' for each of the periods mentioned, joining the information with the account of what was thought to be the site of the Aulis sanctuary. As for the LR period, it cannot be sure either that the LR material listed refers not only to the LR *component TA_156* by the convent itself but also to another component at this location.

Component TA_164: On the same ridge, tombs from several periods are reported as cut by the road (mapped in Fossey 1988 fig.7).
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71. Vathy - Proph.Ilias: *Component TA_148*

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_148	EH	activity focus	Vathy - Proph.Ilias	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate

On a small rounded hill to the N of the remains of the chapel of Proph.Ilias, to the N side of the Ritsona-Vathy road and ca.3km from Vathy, Fossey (1988: 67-8 – the only mention of the site) found a small number of Prehistoric (EH I/II) potsherds on the top, which he interpreted as a possible small farm.
The evidence does not seem to have been noticed before Fossey's visit in 1965.

[32] The coastal road at this point runs inner and not along the seacoast.

72. Vathy - Kouloureza: ***Component TA_214***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_214	H	burial place	Vathy - Kouloureza	accidental	imprecise

From locality Kouloureza (of Vathy Avlidos), one tomb is reported as robbed dated to the H period or the beginning of Roman imperial period, probably belonging to a necropolis (AD 38 (1983): 153).

73. Agios Panteleimon (ancient PHARAI?): ***Components TA_165 to TA_168***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_165	A	activity focus	Agios Panteleimon	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_166	C	activity focus	Agios Panteleimon	Ext. topographical surveys	approximate
TA_167	A	burial place	Agios Panteleimon	accidental	approximate
TA_168	C	burial place	Agios Panteleimon	accidental	approximate

Ca.5km NE of Schimatari, on Ag.Panteleimon ridge on the hills bordering the S side of Vathy Plain, hills are full of tombs, the majority of which were illegally dug.
The burial site is mentioned only by Fossey (1988: 96-7), which reports on a concentration of such tombs especially around the ridge at the N end of which is the chapel of Ag.Pandeleimon. The tombs have contained so far only Archaic and Classical (black glaze) material according to local information.

On the ridge of Agios Panteleimon itself traces of A-C occupation were revealed (a good spread of A-C surface material - Fossey 1988: 97), which, jointly with the recovery, through local tomb-robbing, of A-C tombs (see above) could lead to the interpetaton of the site as an habitation site of unspecified kind and size. The surrounding area could constitute a natural agricultural block for a village.

A possible interpretation of the site as a settlement and an identification with ancient *Pharai* is discussed in Fossey (1988: 97-8). Pharai was one of the members of the τετρακωμία (Strabo IX 405) along with Mykalessos, Harma and Eleon. This suggested identification would allow Pharai to explit the surrounding area but also the coastal Vathy plain, and would allow for a coherent grouping from a geographical point of view: ancient Tanagra, ancient Eleon at modern Harma to the W, hen ancient Harma (at Lykovouni site?) to the NW, followed by ancient Mykalessos by modern Ritsona to the N-NW and then would come Pharai in this suggested location at Ag.Panteleimon.

74. Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos: ***Components TA_169 to TA_176***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_169	N	activity focus	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_170	EH	settlement	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_171	MH	settlement	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_172	LH	settlement	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_173	LH	burial place	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos	accidental	approximate
TA_174	MH	burial place	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_175	LH	burial place	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_176	C	activity focus	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos	Other	approximate

On a hill NW of modern Paralia Avlidos (formerly Dramesi) village, ca 500m from the shore (AA 1914). The hill is called Magoula in Prehistoric gazetteers (a prominent 'high mound' site – HS&D 1979: F64), while Fossey notes how the hill is called Ag.Paraskevi after the chapel at its SE foot (Fossey 1970). The hill measures 300x90m ca, 15m heigh.

A small trial excavation on the hill of Agia Paraskevi showed a stratigraphic sequence which runs from Neolithic times right to the end of the Bronze Age (Pappadakis, Praktika 1911: 142 and AD 1915: 55, who reports a Mycenaean site, but badly destroyed). The top yields sherds of all periods from NEO to LH IIIC (AR 1939-45: 24).
Also crouched graves are reported (AA 1914), probably of MH date (cfr. Chaleia-Lithosoros), and evidence for LH burials (*components TA_173* and *TA_175*).
Traces of a probable fortification have been identified, and a four-sided stone stele, decorated with incised representations of ships, was recovered from illicit excavations; its significance is obscure (HS&D 1979: F64).

Component TA_176: small quantities of black glaze were noticed on the hill (Fossey 1988: 67). The evidence could represent a rural cemetery with a farm associated.

The LH site has been identified with Homeric *Graia* (see Fossey Euphrosyne 1970: 3-22 for a discussion). 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).

75. Pharos Avlidos: ***Component TA_177 to TA_179***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_177	LH	burial place	Pharos Avlidos	accidental	approximate
TA_178	EH	activity focus	Pharos Avlidos	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_179	LH	activity focus	Pharos Avlidos	Personal or group interest	approximate

On a small hill by the coast, ca 1km NW of Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos site, reported in the bibliography as Pharos Avlidos or Yerali as it was formerly called. LH burials were found, constituting a cemetery of chamber tombs, whose goods include much jewellery (Spyropoulos AD 26 (1971): 218; HS&D F64A), as well as an EH and LH IIIB settlement (represented by surface sherds)[33].

76. Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos shore: ***Component TA_180***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_180	C	burial place	Dramesi/Paralia Avlidos shore	Rescue excavation	approximate

On the coast near the Paralia Avlidos modern village, a C isolated tomb (of probably 4th C BC date) was found (AD 1973-4: 446).

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)***

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_181	LR	infrastructure	Dilesi	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_182	gr-rom	infrastructure	Dilesi	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_183	gr-rom	activity focus	Dilesi Palaiochori	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_184	C	activity focus	Dilesi Palaiochori	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_185	R	burial place	Dilesi Palaiochori	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_186	R	burial place	Dilesi E	accidental	approximate
TA_187	gr-rom	activity focus	Dilesi - Ag.Paraskevi	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_188	gr-rom	activity focus	Dilesi - Palaio Pigadi	Personal or group interest	approximate

[33] The LH tombs are reported in Fossey (1988: 66-7 and Euphrosyne 1970: 3-22) but EH is not mentioned by Fossey, nor is the LH occupation as an habitation site.

Component_ID	Period_ID	Component_Type	Toponym	Discovery	Position
TA_189	C	burial place	Dilesi Agrilesa	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_190	LR	burial place	Dilesi Agrilesa	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_191	gr-rom	activity focus	Dilesi S	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_192	LR	? activity focus	Dilesi S	Personal or group interest	approximate
TA_193	R	? activity focus	Dilesi	Rescue excavation	imprecise
TA_194	LH	? burial place	Plaka Dilesi	accidental	approximate
TA_215	gr-rom	burial place	Dilesi Agrilesa	Rescue excavation	approximate
TA_216	R	special activity	Dilesi	Rescue excavation	approximate
TA_217	R	settlement	Plaka Dilesi	accidental	approximate
TA_218	LR	settlement	Plaka Dilesi	accidental	approximate

Along the shore, where the modern village of Dilesi and the attached Plaka Dilesi are, at the end of a small valley separated by low hills to the S from the head of the Asopos and its coastal plain and to the N from the plain of Vathy.
As Fossey (1988: 62) notes, in previous centuries the village seems to have been larger and to have spread inland (cfr. Frazer 1913: 74; Pritchett 1969: 29). Nowadays, since all the small plain is built over, the old hamlet disappeared as well as the landmarks visible in the 60s-70s, which showed a small harbour swallowed up since the 60s-70s.
A-systematic excavations (trial soundings) were carried out in different locations around the modern village by Brown (BSA 1905/6: 93ff), while looking for a suitable site for the Apollo sanctuary of ancient Delion[34]. Mainly prominent locations for the sanctuary and shore locations for the harbour were examined (11 in total). A detailed map is published in Pritchett (1969: 27-30).
The site has been identified with ancient *Delion* (Pritchett, 1969: 27-30), the locality after which the battle of 424 BC was named. Trial excavations at the site (reported in BSA 1905/6: 93ff) showed that the identification was not supported by archaeological evidence. Many architectural fragments have been noticed around Dilesi (Fossey 1988: 64) but they could have been transported locally or even from Eretria (Brown - BSA 1905/6: 93ff)[35].
Strabo (IX 2.7 (403) describes Delion as a 'small town', while Pausanias (IX 20.1) seems to imply it was just a sanctuary. The site was anyway a harbour, probably used by people from Tanagra. The main pick of Delion, like Anthedon, is attested to the H and R times (AD 1981: 193).
The archaeological record available allows for the 'construction' of different components, mainly representing the harbour installations as well as several activities

[34] Fossey (1988: 66 n.85) notes how the dedication to Apollo [AE1667] found in the church of Agios Dimitrios (near Schimatari Station), 3-5km W-SW of Dilesi (BSA 1901/5: 153-172) is interesting but proves nothing, though it has been used as the basis of the identification with temple of Apollo at Delium. The identification is based also on Herodotus (VI 118), who describes the Delion sanctuary as '*Kalkidos katenantion*'.
[35] See AE1665 + AE110 + AE274 + AE1663 + AE275 (inscriptional evidence)

focuses in different location of the area, found during the quest of the Apollo sanctuary.

On the shore of Dilesi (below Palaiochori ridge – below Zoodochos Pygi location) considerable traces of an ancient mole were still visible in Brown's time, and some of them still are (Brown - BSA 1905/6: 97) – *components TA_181 and TA_182*. It appears that the coastline changed considerably and the sea level rose since ancient times, due to earthquakes doubtless, to which this region is particularly subject.
Rescue excavations discovered a Roman building (large) and anphorae sherds (3rd – 6th C AD) by the shore, by the terrace wall supporting the long sea road of village (AD 1983: 135-6). They could be related to the harbour activities (the harbour was probably to the S of it - AD36 1961: 193) – *component TA_193*. Also in the centre of Dilesi, during the construction of a hotel, a sandy layer full of sherds, mainly from commercial vases (4th C BC until Early Byzantine period), as well as wood remains were found (AD 1981: 193) [AE1815][36].
Again in Dilesi village, at the OTE plot, architectural remains of commercial and workshop character were excavated, dating from the R period (AD 50 (1995): 305) – *component TA_216*.

At Paralia Dilesi, apart from the column known from BSA 12 (1905-6): 96-97. architectural pieces were found, probably from large '*naiko ktirio*' (probably connected with the sanctuary of Apollo Dilion - AD 1982: 172 [AE1812]). Remains of a Hellenistic stoa were recently discovered by the shore, and identified as part of the Apollo sanctuary (Piteros 2000).

On Palaiochori ridge[37] / Zoodochos Pygi location (500m S of Dilesi), large architectural blocks are reported (Brown BSA 1905/6: 93ff), as well as traces of walling (terrace walling?) (Fossey 1988: 63) and some potsherds reported as C. The site is candidate for the Apolline sanctuary (Pritchett 1969: 27-30) – *components TA_183 and TA_184*.

One R tomb was found S of the village by Brown (BSA 1905/6: 99; Fossey 1988: 64) at Palaiochori, 1.2 km S of Dilesi – *component TA_185*, and two other R tombs were found to the E of the village during the construction of a road (AD 1972: 32) – *component TA_186*. Furthermore, on Agrilesa hill, 3-400m E of Dilesi, a C (?) tomb was found by Brown (BSA 1905/6: 93ff) – *component TA_189*, as well as LR lamps nearby - *component TA_190*. On the same hill, later ca 50 tombs or more were excavated by the local ephorate (pers. comm.) – *component TA_215*.

On the hill above the church of Ag. Paraskevi, on a dominant position on the shore, few Hellenic tiles were found on the surface (Brown - BSA 1905/6: 93ff) – *component TA_187*.

S of Dilesi and ca 1/2km from the sea (Palaio Pigadi location - where an ancient well is) sherds and tiles, as well as a surface wall, were noticed and interpreted as a pottery workshop, with the wall as part of a furnace (Brown - BSA 1905/6: 93ff, mentioned in Fossey 1988: 64) – *component TA_188*.

[36] Probably the sherds belong to a waste area (and not to a shipwreak, as initially thought).

[37] A ridge formed by a group of hills, appropriately called Palaiochori, dominates the coast at the point where are also preserved remains of an ancient quarry [AE125] – Fossey 1988: 63.

100m S of village (precisely S of Dimitriou house), walls constructed of mortar, terracotta, Hellenic pot fragments, vase probably post-Hellenic, lots of late tiles and pots, were noticed by Brown (BSA 1905/6: 93ff s.v. 'Middle field'). I created a gr-rom component and a LR one with a question mark (it could be LR or Byzantine but we cannot guess from the available information) – *components TA_191 and TA_192*. At Paralia Dilesi, also remains of houses of the R and LR period (AD 1982: 172) are reported (*components TA_217 and TA_218*), indicating a settlement linked to the harbour installation.

At the sea end of the ridge 'Plaka Dilesi' W of the village (ca 720m W of Dilesi, 25m heigh), Fossey (1988: 64) reports on reliable sources that informed him of the finding of 4 Mycenaean tombs. This ridge had previously yelded nothing to Brown's investigations (BSA 1905/6: 93ff) – *component TA_194*.

The SKOURTA PLAIN survey

The Skourta plain, an upland valley within the mountain massif Kithaironas-Parnithas, and 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, as pointed out by Schachter 2004: 56 after the examination of historical sources. Today the area belongs administratively to Boeotia. Zangger notes the remarkable stability, since the last Ice Age, of much of the landscape of the Skourta plain (reported by Munn AD43: 192).
The shortest route between Thebes and Athens crosses this plain, and it was taken by many early travellers.

A survey project (namely the Stanford Skourta plain survey) has been conducted in the area from 1985 to 1989 (fieldwork in 1985 and 1987), and discovered a number of sites of different characters in and in the surroundings of the plain. The sites listed in table 1 and marked on the map in fig.4 come from the (preliminary) survey reports[38].

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
A1	N	activity focus
A1	EH	activity focus
A1	MH	settl/habitation
A1	LH	settl/habitation
A1	PG	settl/habitation

[38] Munn – Zimmerman Munn 1987-9 (AD reports); Munn – Zimmerman Munn 1989; Munn - Zimmerman Munn 1990. Intensive and systematic artefact surface survey was conducted in some areas (3 areas intensively surveyed are marked on fig. 5.2 of Munn – Zimmerman Munn 1989 paper, though the map refers only to the 1985 season: an area around Panakton; an area NE of Stephani; an area to the NE of the latter, further away from Stephani). Otherwise, intensive and systematic topographical survey (see chapter II.2 for a definition) was conducted, and in 1985 covered 25% of the whole area, with special attention to the areas of Pyli, Skourta and Stephani.
Prof. Munn kindly provided me of a final version of the map with sites discovered during survey (after which is based the map in fig.4). The chronology of sites is mainly taken from Munn-Zimmerman Munn 's article in AD 44 (1989): 154-6.

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
A1	C	settlement
A1	C-Ehl	settlement
A10	EH?	settl/habitation?
A10	MH	settl/habitation
A10	N	settl/habitation
A11	EH?	settl/habitation?
A11	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
A11	N	settl/habitation
A14	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
A14	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
A15	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
A18	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
A2	PG	settl/habitation
A25	EH?	settl/habitation?
A25	N	settl/habitation
A28	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
A33	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
A36	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
A50	C	settl/habitation
A50	EH	settl/habitation
A50	LH	settl/habitation
A50	N	settl/habitation
A8	N	settl/habitation
B10	LR	hamlet
B10	N	settl/habitation
B10	PG	settl/habitation
B10	R	hamlet
B11	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B11	LH	settl/habitation
B11	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B14	N	settl/habitation
B18	C	settlement
B18	C-Ehl	settlement
B18	LH	settl/habitation
B18	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B19	EH?	settl/habitation?
B19	N	settl/habitation
B2	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B20	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B20	EH?	settl/habitation?
B20	LR	hamlet
B20	N	settl/habitation
B20	R	hamlet
B21	LH	settl/habitation
B21	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B22	C-Ehl	Isolated farm

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
B24	LR	cemetery
B25	EH?	settl/habitation?
B25	LR	hamlet
B25	N	settl/habitation
B25	R	hamlet
B26	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B3	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B30	LR	hamlet
B30	R	hamlet
B32	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B33	EH?	settl/habitation?
B33	LH	settl/habitation
B33	N	settl/habitation
B33	PG	settl/habitation
B34	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B36	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B37	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B38	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B38	LR	hamlet
B38	R	hamlet
B39	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B4	C	settl/habitation
B4	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B4	LH	settl/habitation
B40	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B41	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B42	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B43	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B44	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B46	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B47	EH?	settl/habitation?
B47	N	settl/habitation
B49	LR	hamlet
B49	R	hamlet
B50	EH?	settl/habitation?
B50	N	settl/habitation
B51	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B53	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
B54	EH?	settl/habitation?
B54	N	settl/habitation
B57	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B58	LR	Isolated farm
B6	EH?	settl/habitation?
B6	N	settl/habitation
B60	LR	hamlet
B60	N	settl/habitation

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
B60	R	hamlet
B62	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B63	EH?	settl/habitation?
B63	N	settl/habitation
B7	C	settl/habitation
B7	LH	settl/habitation
B7	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
B9	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
C1	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
C1	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
C11	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
C11	N	settl/habitation
C14	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
C15	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
C17	C	settlement
C17	C-Ehl	settlement
C17	LH	settl/habitation
C17	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
C18	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
C25	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
C26	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
C3	A	settl/habitation
C3	C	settl/habitation
C3	G	settl/habitation
C3	LH	settl/habitation
C3	LR	isolated farm or hamlet
C7	C-Ehl	Isolated farm
J1	MH	fortif. Settlement
J2	LH	fortif. Settlement
J6	EH?	settl/habitation?
J6	N	settl/habitation
Megalovouno	C-Ehl	Fort

Table 1. *Skourta plain survey sites.*

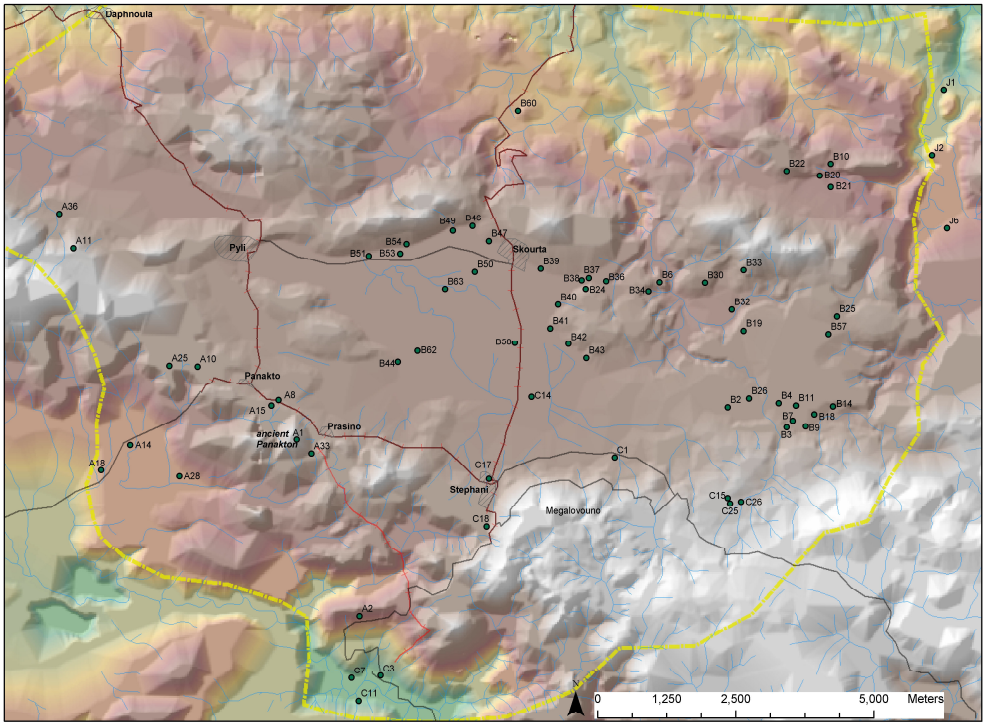


Fig.4. *Map with sites discovered in the framework of the Skourta plain survey.*

As Munn points out (Munn 1989: 231-244), the history of the area is very much related to and dependent on its bordering position between Boeotia and Attica[39]. In AD 44 1989 (1995): 154-6 as well as in Munn-Zimmerman Munn 1990 a history of the landscape is briefly traced, according to the survey results. I summarise here the main points.

NEOLITHIC period. In the Early Neolithic period dispersed settlements can be noted in all the areas above *magoulas* in the plain and on the hills around the plain (A10, B6, B10, B14, B33, B50, B60, B63, C11), while for the Middle Neolithic period only one site shows sure occupation (A8)[40]. In the Late and Final Neolithic, several of the early neo sites and yet the hilltops of the surrounding hills were settled (A10, A11, A25, A50, B6, B19, B20, B25, B33, B47, B50, B54, B63, J6).

EARLY HELLADIC period. EH I material was noticed in several of the aforementioned sites, while absence of EH II-III can be noted in all survey sites. Only at Daphnoula site (A50), at the bench of Asopos, far to the N and below the Skourta plain (see chapter II.3.11 of the present work), EH II has been found (saucepan and Urfirnis ware). This absence finds parallel in other 'crucial development' periods (in the nearby plain areas), such as the G and A periods. The absence has to do with political reasons rather than with environmental factors. In EH II period people were concentrated in political and economical centres, both in Boeotia and in Attica.

[39] The ancients likewise thought of this mountainous region as a barrier between the lands of the Athenians and the lands of the Boiotians: Herodotus VII 141.3; Xenophon *mem*. III 5.25; Strabo IX 1.3 (Munn Boiotika 1989: 231)

[40] This could be explained with the difficulty in dating the material of that period, and in general with the discovery of the hidden landscapes of some Prehistoric periods.

MIDDLE HELLADIC period. MH settlement sites have been found on two hilltops overlooking the plain (A1 – Panakton, and A10). A fortified MH settlement on a hilltop (J1 – Kastro-Malli Mesi) is also known at the back of the NE side of the plain (on an area difficult to access) between Mazareika and Voudima valleys.

LATE HELLADIC period. The biggest site of the area in LH period has to be located at Panakton (A1), while in Mazareika and Voudima valleys several sites have been discovered: B21 – Mazareika valley (LH II and IIIB), J2 – Agia Marina (LH IIIC acropolis)[41], B33 – Tsoukrati valley. The last three sites were abandoned either in LH IIIC or PG period. In other more reachable locations of the plain new sites were settled, the majority of which mark important locations also later on in C period (A1, B4, B7, B11 – Panagia, B18 – Agios Dimitrios, C17, A50?, C3[42]).

PROTO-GEOMETRIC period. Panakton (A1) seems to have been an important centre in that period, while occupation is also known at A2, B10 and B33 sites. The plain knew abandonment for four centuries. Only in the Kokkino valley, to the S, continous occupation is attested from G to A period (C3), while Boeotian *poleis* and Athens were forming. The absence seems once again to be related, as in EH II period, with political reasons rather than with environmental factors (Munn – Zimmerman Munn AD 44 1989 (1995): 155). In the area were common pasturage zones (shared between Boeotian and Attic communities), especially in the area around Panakton. In LH and in PG period Panakton plays the role of the central place. No sherds from the G or A period have been identified, and therefore one might suppose that Panakton lay inhabited for at least four centuries (Munn AReports 1991-92: 29-31).

A/Early C period. The area was inhabited again at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th C BC. The area probably belonged to the Athenians in that period. The Panakton fortress was destroyed during the Peloponnesian war and then rebuilt as an outpost regularly used by military guards formed by young men before mid 4th C BC, as inscriptional evidence found at the site attests. Sites which show occupation in this period are Panakton (A1), C17 – Stefani, B18 – Agios Dimitrios.

LC/EHL period. Isolated farms around and outside the plain show up and the pick in the number of sites is registered (A14, A15, A28 – Polonia, A33, B2, B3, B4, B9, B11, B20, B22, B26, B32, B34, B36, B38-43, B51, B53, C1, C7, C11, C14 – Ag. Giorgios, C15 – Pyrgari, C18, C25, C26) by the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd C BC, when the power of Thebes had receded and Athens was leaving its period of strength also on this inner land. Around 300BC a fort (a mountain top rubble enclosure) was built on Megalovouno, in the SE part of the ridge.

HELLENISTIC period. We assist at changes in the landscape and settlement. The small rural sites mentioned above stopped existing during the 3rd C BC, and even Panakton was abandoned at the end of the 3rd C [43], probably due to the decreasing of Athenian economic advantages from this area.

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[41] The site is located nearby the MH fortified settlement (J1?). The presence of a fortified settlement here in LH period could mean that they were economically independent probably from the Mycenaeans that controlled the plains (Munn – Zimmerman Munn AD 44 1989 (1995): 155).

[42] C3 seems to be the only site with continuity of occupation LH-G-A-C.

[43] At Panakton (A1), a fortified hilltop above Prasino village (formerly Kavasala), at the SW corner of the plain, excavations (1991 – extensive Greek-American excavation at the fortress) show extensive deposits preserved from the destruction and abandonment of Panakton in the spring of 420 BC.

ROMAN period. On the contrary, from the 2nd C BC until the R imperial period, a number of small settlement along the N side of the plain can be noticed (B10, B20, B25, B30, B38, B49, B60). By this time, probably Tanagra was controlling this area after the Athenians, and the Skourta plain would administratively belong to Boeotia.

LATE ROMAN period. From 4th to 6th C AD new interest in the area would be reflected in the fact that settlements inhabited since Late Hellenistic period continue to be occupied, while new sites (isolated rural sites or hamlet/small villages) fill in the rest of the area (A11, A14, A18, A36, B7, B11, B18, B21, B24 – Koutsomiti - Late Roman cemetery, B37, B44, B46, B57, B62, C1, C3, C17).

As for later periods, the site of Panakton is known as reoccupied in the Frankish period, as would attest a Medieval cemetery around the E end of the church (Munn AD 46B1 1991 (1996): 182-3).

Today, five modern settlements are in the area: Panakton, Prasino, Stephani, Pyli, and Skourta, belonging to three *koinotites*, namely Pyli, Skourta and Stephani, which all belong to the *nomos* (province) of Boeotia. While in the past the shortest and mostly used route joining Thebes and Athens crossed the area, today the basin constitutes a remote area with almost no modern development (see Philippson 1951: 522, 531).

The TANAGRA survey project

Intensive and systematic artefact surface survey work was carried out in 2000-2006 on the ancient Tanagra city site and the surrounding areas (surveyed areas mapped in fig.3), in the framework of the Leiden-Ljubljana Boeotian cities Survey project, directed by J.L.Bintliff (and codirected by B.Slapšac – Ljubljana University as for research on the city site)[44].

The Tanagra intensive window (see chapter II.2) is marked by a high degree of intensity at two levels of research.

The first one concerns the intra-mural area of the ancient city, where intensive fieldwalking was carried out on the base of a regular grid[45]. Fig.5 shows the GIS plot of the overall density of surface ceramic material corrected by visibility. Besides, the project a careful digital recording of all the architectural features visible on the surface was undertaken, as was an intensive mapping of the morphology of the city surface (fig.5a – Farinetti-Sigalos 2002). Furthermore, geophysical prospections were

(Thucydides V 39.3). Levels of the 4th and 3rd C BC are common. Amidst collapsed building debris that represent the abandonment of the site probably not far from 200 BC. The site was then reoccupied in the Frankish period, as would attest a Medieval cemetery around the E end of the church (Munn AReports 1991-92: 29-31; AD 46B1 1991 (1996): 182-3; see also BCH 116 (1992): 882-5 and a summary in AJA 97 (1993) 364).

[44] Bintliff et al.2000; Bintliff et al.2001; Bintliff et al.2004; Bintliff 2006; Bintliff – Slapšak 2007; Bintliff et al. 2008. The writer is personally involved in the project as responsible for the GIS and database management.

[45] Fieldwork was directed by J.L.Bintliff and K.Sbonias.

carried out (jointly with a team from the University of Ljubljana, led by B. Slapšak and including the gephysicist B. Musič), deploying a range of geophysical devices to capture information about subsurface architectural and sedimentary structures across the intramural area as well as the city extention in different periods of history (fig.5b).

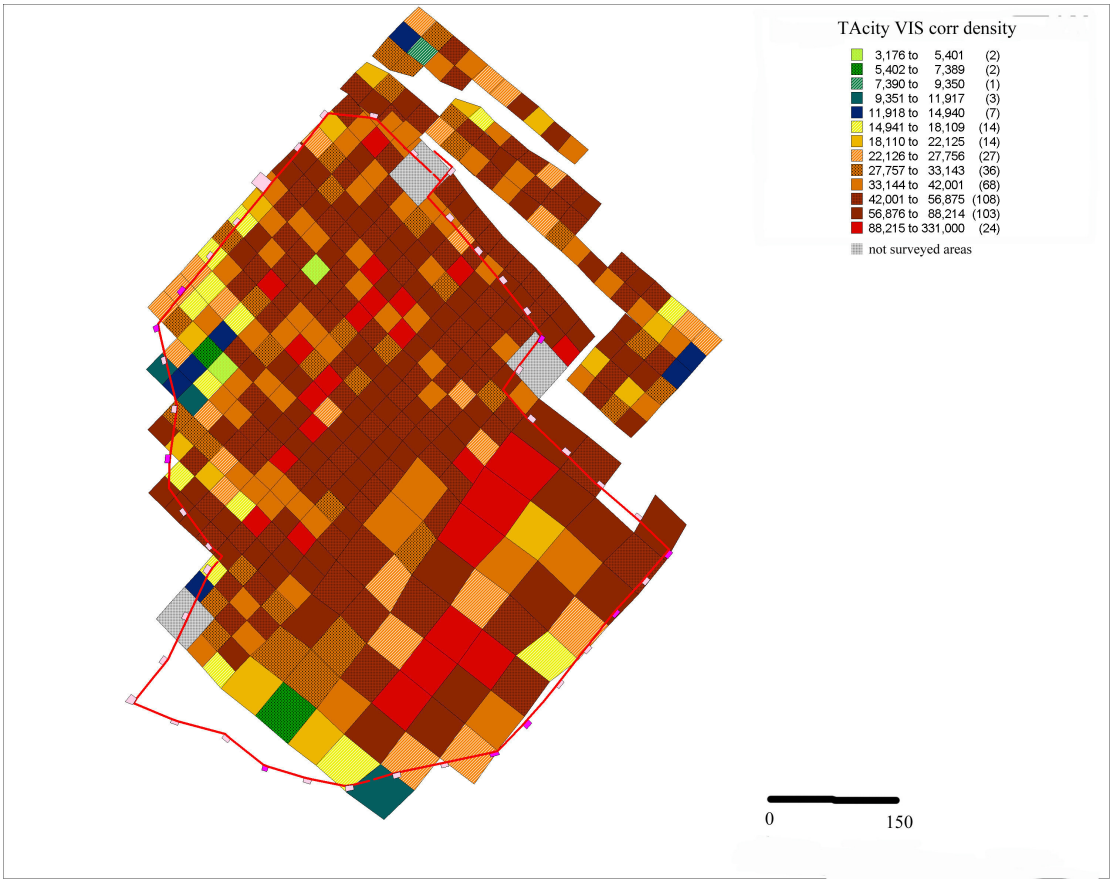


Fig.5. *A GIS plot of the overall density of surface ceramic material corrected by visibility*

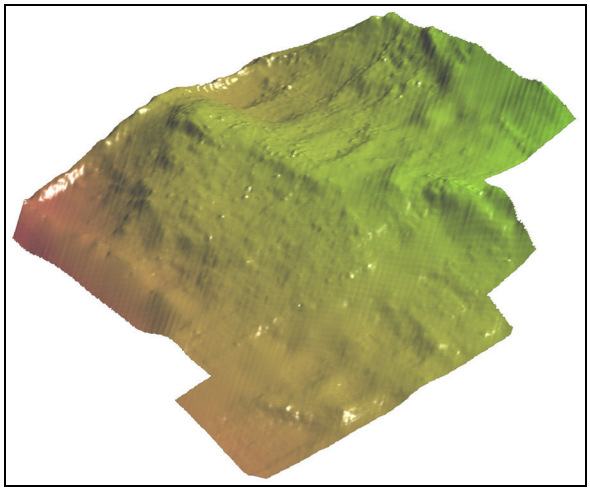


Fig.5a. *Digital Terrain Model of the surface morphology of the ancient city.*

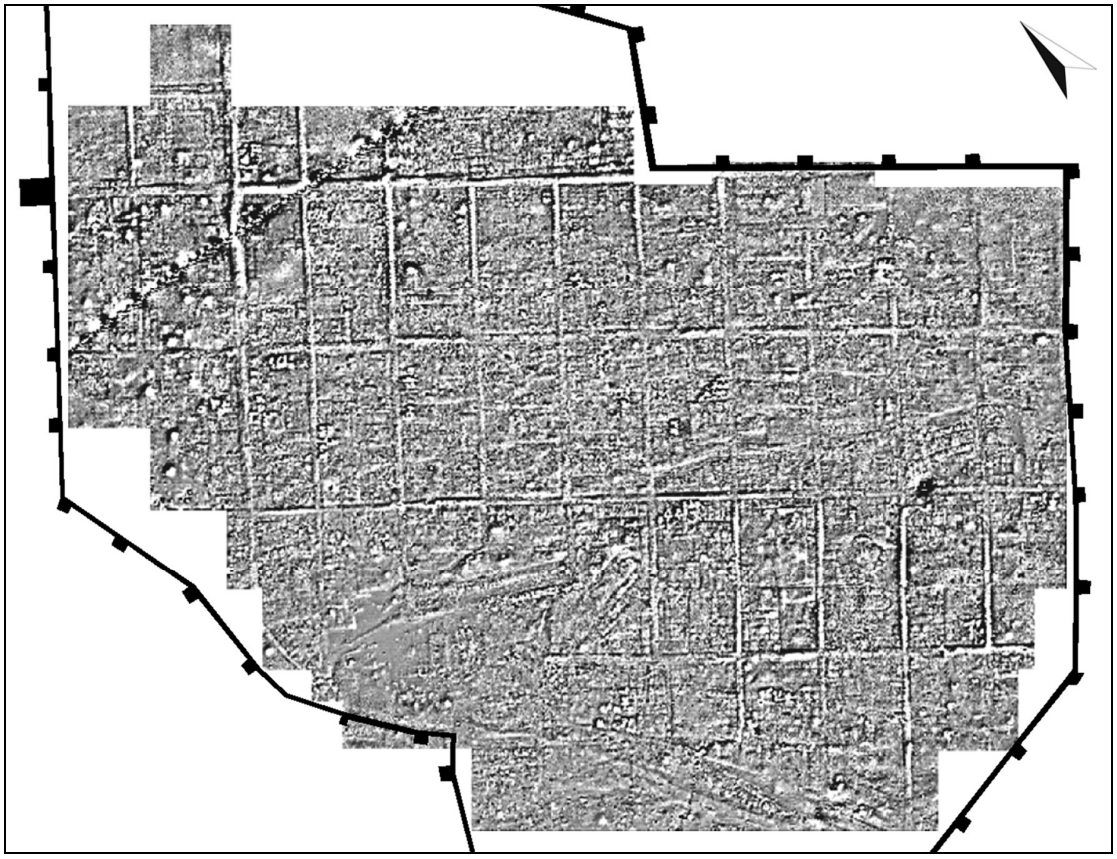


Fig.5b. *Results of the geophysical prospections in the walled area of ancient Tanagra.*

The second level of research concerned the immediate surroundings of the walled city and the farming interland of the ancient city. Between 2000 and 2003 a series of long and narrow strips of land or transects were chosen, running in all major directions out of the city, for distances of one upto 3km, while in 2004 more distant transects were walked to investigate land use and rural settlement in the outer lands of the city's territory[46]. On fig.6 is visible the GIS based plot of the overall density of ceramic material on the surface, visibility corrected, and the location of the sites detected. Next, at a deeper level of investigation then, each site was gridded and fieldwalked, and sample material was collected and studied.

[46] The area surveyed in 2004 were N of the modern village of Agios Thomas, S of the same village, and a basin between that village and the next modern settlement to the E at Kleidi.

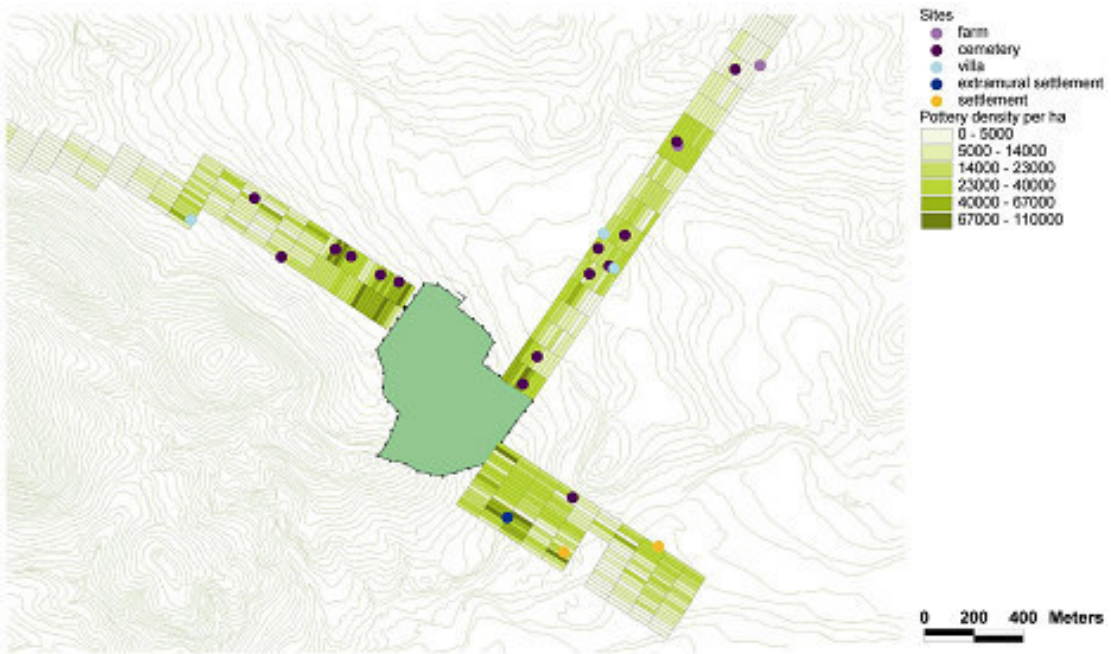


Fig.6. *A GIS based plot of the overall density of ceramic material on the surface, visibility correcte, and the location of the sites detected.*

The ancient city of Tanagra, as seen earlier (TANAGRA site), is strategically located at the intersection of two rivers, Laris and Asopos. Laris flows from W to E in a wide valley N of the Soros mountain mass and flows into the Asopos river in the vicinity of the ancient city. Asopos goes through the high Tetartogene plateau between Soros and the northern slopes of Parnis and Kithairon through a series of valleys, which are narrow and abrupt in the upper course (mainly in the Parasopia area where dominate the abrupt limestone hills), but then become wide with gentle slopes SW of Tanagra, where the river flows in the Tetartogene deposits of the E Tanagra basin, before the river's outlet into the Euboean sea.
The city controlled therefore two fertile valleys and also had available different topographic zones, plains, valleys and the hilly country of Tetartogene, mainly southwest of the city, where in heights up to 200m are situated the present day villages of Ag.Thomas and Kleidi.

Those different landscape zones were covered in the survey in four transects which start for the city walls and direct E, W, N and S up to 3km from the city walls. The intensive landscape survey gathered a lot of data for the understanding of these micro-environments.
The transects N and E of the city cross the lower zone of the Tanagra basin and the low hills of the Tetartogene, while the W transect crosses the southern foothills of Soros and the upper part of Laris valley. The S transect covers part of the lower course of Asopos, before it begins to flow in the wide Tanagra basin.
The main archaeological characteristics within these transects is the wide distribution of material, which is dense in a distance of some hundred meters from the city walls and is related to the extra-urban activities outside the walls (extension of habitation in some cases, in the N transect extension of the classical city wall to the N, cemeteries and agricultural exploitation, confirmed also by rescue excavations – see no.8 and no.12 on archaeological map fig.2 and 3).
Afterwards and further from the city wall the density decreases and becomes a uniform distribution of 1-2 sherds per sqm, related with the rural sites, the rural

exploitation of the wider area and in certain periods the transport from the city or the rurals sites of waste containing broken sherds for the fertilization of the soil (Bintliff et al. 2002). The results up to now point to the Classical and Early Hellenistic period as the main formation period of this uniform distribution and secondly the Late Antiquity period.
With this background the location of sites and activity areas on the landscape is done through a combination of quantitative and qualitative criteria. The recording of the density and the dating and study of the pottery types permit the dating and identification of the type of sites (settlements and hamlets, cemeteries, isolated clusters of graves, rural sites of seasonal or permanent character, larger rural estates or villas, special purpose sites etc.).

What follows is a preliminary version of the list of sites discovered and recorded during the survey:

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
TS1	C	rural site
TS1	C-Ehl	rural site
TS10	C	burial place
TS10	C-Ehl	burial place
TS11	A	burial place
TS11	C	burial place
TS11	H	burial place
TS11	N	?activity focus
TS11	R	burial place
TS12	R-LR	?rural site
TS13	A	burial place
TS13	C	burial place
TS13	H	burial place
TS13	Preh	?activity focus
TS14	EH	?activity focus
TS14	N	activity focus
TS16	LR	activity focus
TS17	A	activity focus
TS17	C-Ehl	rural site
TS17	EH	?activity focus
TS17	G	activity focus
TS17	N	settlement
TS19	R	?special activity
TS2	LR	rural site
TS2	R	?rural site
TS20	C	burial place
TS20	C-Ehl	burial place
TS21	C	burial place
TS21	Preh	activity focus
TS22	C	rural site
TS22	C-Ehl	rural site

SurveySITE_code	Survey_Chron	Survey_CHARACTER
TS23	C-Ehl	rural site
TS24	C-Ehl	activity focus
TS25	C	rural site
TS25	C-Ehl	rural site
TS26	LR	settlement
TS27	C	burial place
TS27	C-Ehl	burial place
TS28	C	burial place
TS28	C-Ehl	?rural site
TS28	LR	rural site
TS28	Preh	?settlement
TS29	C-Ehl	rural site
TS29	LR	rural site
TS3	LR	rural site
TS3	R	?rural site
TS33	C	rural site
TS34	C	rural site
TS35	C	rural site
TS37	C	rural site
TS37	R	rural site
TS38	R	activity focus
TS39	C	?rural site
TS39	LR	rural site
TS39	Preh	?activity focus
TS4	LR	rural site
TS4	R	?rural site
TS41	A	burial place
TS43	Preh	activity focus
TS6	C	burial place
TS6	C-Ehl	burial place
TS7	C	rural site
TS7	C-Ehl	rural site
TS8	C	burial place
TS8	C-Ehl	burial place
TS9	LR	rural site
TS9	R	?rural site
TSx1	gr-rom	activity focus
TSx2	R	activity focus
TS44	C	rural site
R bath	R	rural site

Table 2. *Sites discovered in the framework of the Tanagra Survey project.*

PREHISTORY

On a radius of 3 kilometers around the city two sites constitute important prehistoric centres. First of all on the hill of the ancient city of Tanagra concentrations of

Neolithic, EH II and III as well of MH material were noticed on the top and the slopes of the central ridge that runs E-W through the city (see above – TANAGRA site). They indicate the existence of a habitation site on the top, which is eroding on the slopes of the ridge. In contrast, the absence of extensive LH material does not support the presence of a Mycenaean settlement in this location. The Neolithic material was noticed in higher percentages than that of later prehistoric periods, indicating the presence of a main Neolithic settlement on the hill with coarse material of Middle and Late Neolithic date, similar to that from other Boeotian sites such as Chaironeia and Orchomenos[47]. The second large focus of prehistoric habitation in the wider area is the hill of Agios Konstantinos, whose defensible character is more marked. In particular, on the highest rocky top where the chapel of Profitis Ilias is extensive prehistoric material was collected, dating from the Neolithic to the end of the Late Bronze Age (see above AGIOS KONSTANTINOS site, n.15 in the archaeological map in fig.1). Yet the bulk of the prehistoric material from the top and the higher terraces of the hill are dominated by the Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery, while on the lower terraces the Neolithic coarse wares coexist with later BA material.

Of particular interest is the area SW of Tanagra city. A predominant characteristic of the landscape S of Tanagra city is the Asopus valley with its system of streams and tributaries, which flow inside valleys ending in the Asopus river in this part of the plain. Almost next to every little stream that was crossed during fieldwork, the presence of Prehistoric material was noticed, mainly coarse pottery and lithics, and several smaller or larger focuses of prehistoric activity were located. Therefore, although in the higher areas the prehistoric sherds were literally hidden, in the lower plain, pottery and lithics were abundant and easily recognized, providing thus a reliable picture of Prehistoric settlement. These focuses of Prehistoric habitation define a wider area of Prehistoric activity of about 30 hectares around Asopos river and its tributaries.
The main characteristics of the landscape, in which the above mentioned concentrations are situated, are the lowland character of the area and the proximity to water resources, the Asopus river and its tributaries. This abundance of water is furthermore strengthened by the closed character of the Asopus valley at this part of the river course, which allows the flow of more water into the river. The focuses of prehistoric activity are closely linked to these water resources, but they spread on river terraces protected from stream flooding.
The geomorphological study of the area helped to understand the geomorphological history of landscape evolution, to identify geomorphological windows that enhance the visibility in small segments of the prehistoric landscape and to evaluate better the strategies of habitation, exploitation and use of the rural landscape. Fig.7 shows the results of the geomorphological work[48]. We can recognise three fluvial terraces and possibly a fourth very recent tiny terrace, which is linked to the acceleration of the presently active erosion cycle of the stream.
The Middle Terrace, visible today at several points along the Asopus river and its tributaries, is the one which marked the prehistoric landscape. This terrace was stretching up to the riverbank, which seems to have been in the past less steep and with a higher water table. Here we can observe signs of an older phase of incision of

[47] see Bintliff et al. 2000; Bintliff et al. 2001; Sarri in Bintliff et al. 2008; Farinetti-Sarri-Sbonias 2006.

[48] The results presented here derive from a joint work carried out by the writer together with K. Sbonias, assistant director of the Tanagra Survey project, and the geoarchaeologist R.Sebastiani. The help of the archaeologist K.Sarri, expert in Prehistoric material, was precious (Bintliff et al. 2006; Farinetti-Sbonias in preparation).

the valley, of ancient and middle Holocene date (up to 6-5.000 years BP). During this period the incision was moderate with scarce or no erosion of the slopes and accompanied by the formation of soils. The morphology was probably characterised by not very steep slopes and well-drained soils (because of the presence of flysch), good humidity year round, appropriate for a non-irrigated and non-intensive agriculture based on low technology. The riverbed of the stream was higher compared to the present one and the valley quite open. The aquifer linked to the stream was also higher in respect to the present one since the pumping of water for agricultural activities is very significant today. With these soils is related the distribution of the prehistoric material, which comes onto the surface as the present cultivation erodes and spreads the superficial levels of these strata.



Fig.7. *Results of the geomorphological work in the surrounding of the ancient city of Tanagra.*

In the N transect, N of Tanagra city, the Lari valley is more open and dry and the river does not have the same quantity of water as the perennial streams of the Asopus valley south of the city. The fossil streams create quite open valleys, which do not collect the water. The dry soils here are not so poor and dry to limit cereal cultivation but they are not appropriate for wet agriculture. Therefore, this area is better for plough agriculture. The Prehistoric material found here comes in accordance with this picture as the early material is scarce in comparison to the South Transect (fig.8) and is attributed mainly to the Early and Middle Bronze Age.

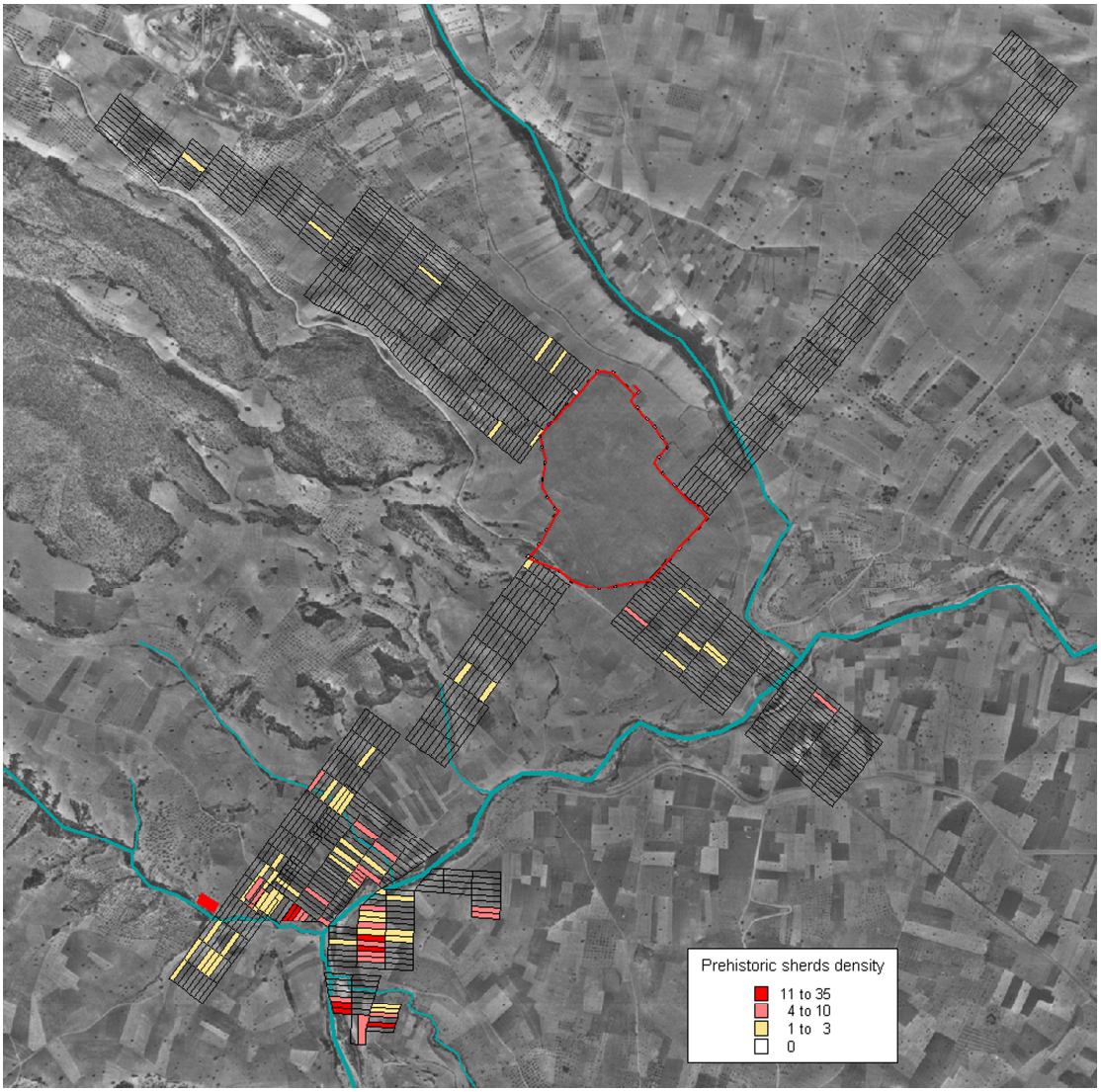


Fig.8. *Density of surface Prehistoric material.*

On the contrary the S transect is suitable for Neolithic agriculture which used the natural resources, the well drained light soils and the little perennial rivers which guaranteed the water supply. In the lower Asopus valley, the absence in the past of the present deeply incised riverbed as well as the more open character of the valley created a well-watered alluvial terrace with cultivable soils along the watersources. As we saw above, most of the prehistoric material here is associated with these well drained soils with good humidity which are suitable for non-intensive, non-irrigated agriculture based on low technology. The distribution of the prehistoric material along the larger tributaries and beside the main river is continuous and wide, corresponding to an extended dispersed flat settlement. Within it, smaller focuses can be recognised, reflecting a settlement pattern of small communities, which exploited the river valley. This kind of habitation pattern is known from Neolithic sites in Greece, as for example the Neolithic settlement of Nea Makri in Attica situated on a flat geological terrace and the Neolithic settlement of Ancient Corinth, on a probable higher flat terrace by the sea, as well as from Late Neolithic large flat sites in Macedonia extending discontinuously over up to 45 hectares[49]. The Prehistoric activity spreads in a big area of 20-30 hectares because of either (or both) horizontal movement of the

[49] Theocharis 1981: 55; Kotsakis 1999.

habitation in time or/and the discontinuous less packed habitation with open areas and farmland between the houses, resulting in a lack of separation between habitation and agricultural land[50]. For the time being the pottery has not been dated more accurately than that of generic Neolithic or Prehistoric date. The Late to Final Neolithic character of the material seems quite probable.
In terms of land use the pattern conforms better to a wet system of agriculture by the Asopus river and its tributaries related rather to the Neolithic habitation or to a continuation of former practices of land use, than to the settlement expansion of the Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. This could be indicated by the preference of wet areas, favoured during the earlier phases of Neolithic for an arable agriculture with simple tools (e.g. hoes), which took the character of fixed plot horticulture in comparison to the Final Neolithic/Early Bronze Age extended plough agriculture.[51]
The alternative would be to correlate this dispersed habitation with the changes that are noticed in the Final Neolithic and at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. These changes are related to the introduction of the plough and the adoption of an agricultural system based on seasonal rains leading to the expansion of small short-lived communities, farmsteads or hamlets in the inland valleys, close to the main villages which were inhabited for longer periods[52]. With this pattern we can connect two other kind of sites that were located: i) the small Bronze Age sites of the open landscape north of Tanagra city as well as some of the sites in the interfluvial area and on the stony slopes in the upper Asopus valley south of Tanagra city; ii) the main nucleations of the area, Tanagra city and the hilltop site of Agios Konstantinos, which yielded material of the Neolithic and especially the Early and Middle Bronze Age. This seems though less possible for the remnants of the alluvial terrace with Prehistoric material along Asopus and its tributaries, which must be part of, or continue, the earlier wetland farming.

GRAECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY
To examine the landscape of Graeco-Roman antiquity as it comes out from the survey results, I will focus again on the river terraces which the geomorphological study identified and their correlation with sites dated to the Classical and Roman period.

From the Classical period were identified numerous cemeteries in the area outside the city walls and along the ancient roads that led from the city to the countryside (they start in the Archaic period and continue in the Classical and Hellenistic). This material come to light with the ploughing or is part of remains of older illegal excavations in the area.
Concentrations of cemeteries and of small burial areas of the Classical period were noticed outside the city walls and in the inland rural area, mainly across the hills of the S transect. The cemeteries and burials, around 20, are situated a short distance from the city. The cemeteries appear in the first 500 meters from the city walls and continue up to 1600 meters away from these. None of the burial areas which were identified in the S transect are on the natural roads from the city but they are rather located higher on the hill slopes. Their position reflects more the position of family plots of people either resident in the city, who were going from it to the fields, or of

[50] Kotsakis 1999: 71-73.
[51] Sherratt 1980: 313-330; Johnson 1996b: 267-295.
[52] Halstead 1994: 198-200; Halstead 2000, 117; Wells 1994: 70.

people living in the countryside in nearby farms, of which some were identified by the survey.

The small farms of Classical and Early Hellenistic date are all at a distance from the city (from 1.8km and further away). Site TS1, to the N of the city (at a distance of 1900m from the city wall) has the typical size of a small family farm of a peasant of the Classical-Early Hellenistic period (fig.9). It is about 2000 sq.m. large and contains all the finds which point towards permanent habitation and rural exploitation of the land. The surface finds studied by V.Stissi contain pieces of tiles, pithoi and amphorae, with the characteristic soft fabric of the period, as well as loom-weights, cooking pots, lamps and fine black glazed pottery. Few of this material can be accurately dated, but its date is between 350-250 BC or maybe a little bit later. From the functional point of view it belongs to a typical farmstead with quite a few storage pottery but pottery of daily use as well. Finds as the loom-weights, lamps and cooking pots indicate more or less permanent habitation. It could be identified as the farm of a citizen[53]. Site TS25 can also be considered a residential farm in considering the resulting pot assemblage.
On the other hand, among the farms there are also sites without a variety of ceramic assemblage, where the finds contain mainly tiles and should be interpreted as seasonal sites.

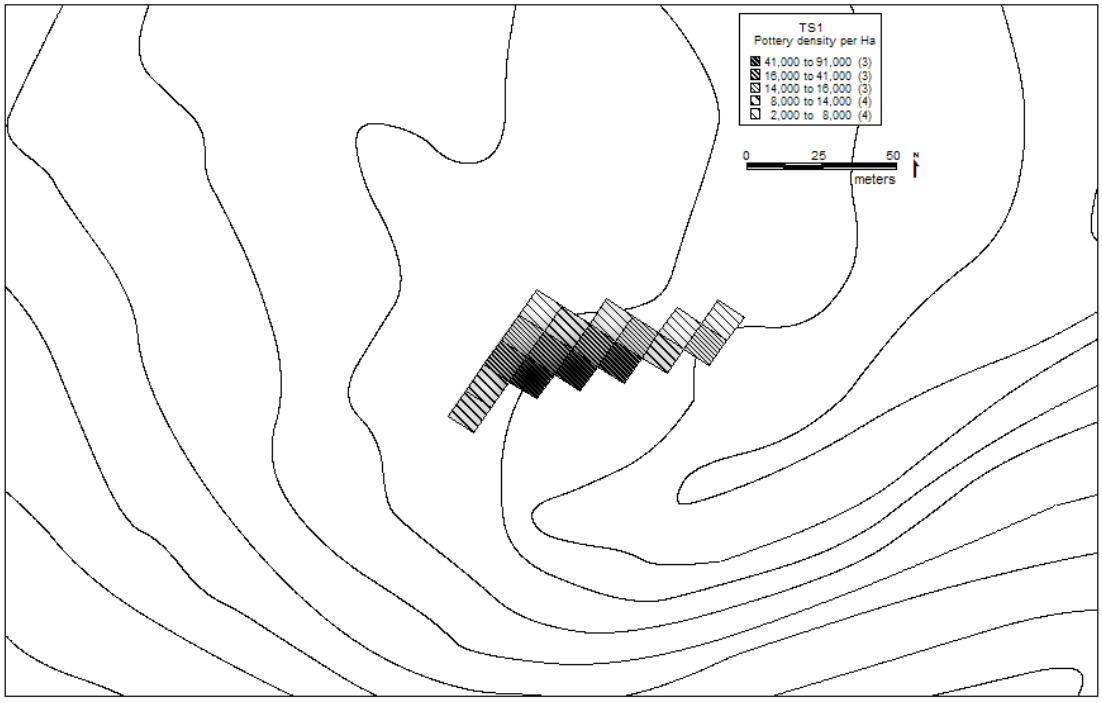


Fig.9. *Survey results on site TS1.*

The distribution of the rural sites and the small burial groups is indicative of the practices of land use. The large number, the small size and the distance from the city indicate a pattern of rural exploitation of the inland of a Classical city and possibly reflect agricultural plots. Especially in the S transect it the existence of a site about every 100 metres is characteristic. Apart from the small burial components, four definite small classical farms and a possible fifth one were identified (TS11, TS12, TS16, TS17, and TS7). Considering the topography the small farms and groups of

[53] see Stissi in Bintliff et al. 2008.

burials, which as suggested could be related to family properties/plots, are located on the higher slopes of the Asopos valley, in/within the fertile hilly landscape of marls. Such a choice of family farms typical of the C period for hill-slopes that naturally constitute suitable zones for olive trees and cereal cultivation has been noticed also by other research projects within Boeotia and elsewhere in Greece[54] and is also testified by the Tanagra project results. The relative distance of those activity focuses from the city wall testify of the direct exploitation of the immediate outskirts by *polis* citizens. We should not forget that the population living in the rural sites in C period represent only a small percentage (estimated around 20-25%) of the whole *polis* (*asty* + *chora*) population.

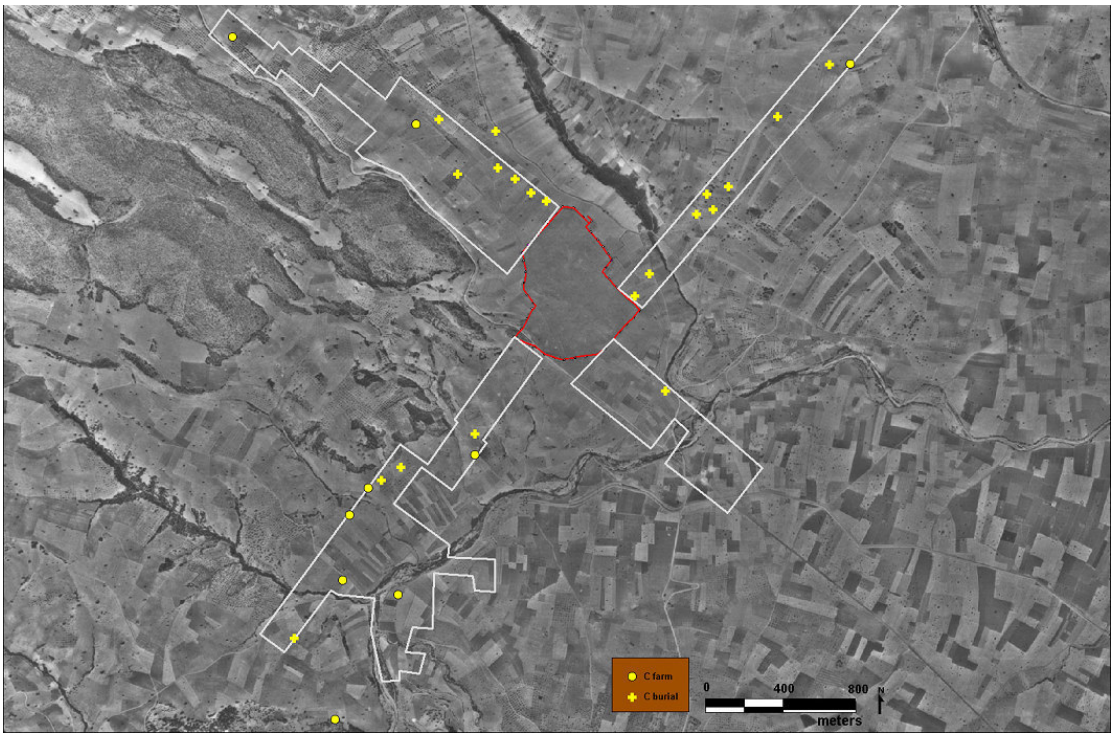


Fig.10. *C sites in the surroundings of ancient Tanagra.*

The great 4th C BC plan and rewalling at Tanagra do attest to a large and wealthy city in Classical Greek times, and it is perhaps only with the arrival of Roman power in Late Hellenistic times (2nd to 1st centuries BC), when we might expect some radical change in its prosperity (in 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).

In the Roman period, we assist at the 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 to the town, as well as topographical location, and testify to different socio-economic structures and transformations concerning land property which characterise the period.
In considering the topography, the first change one can observe is the preference of lower locations within the valley, in comparison with the higher level on the slopes

[54] See for instance Bintliff-Howard-Snodgrass 2007 for the Thespiae area; Jameson– Runnels – van Andel 1994 for the Argolid; Cavanagh et al. 1996 for Laconia.

which constitutes the preferred location during C times (fig.10). In modern times this lower area along the axis of the valley as well as at its edge is used for the cultivation of cereals, grapes and vegetables. The location of the discovered sites (farms or villas) of R/LR period attests for the preference of these zones, in the S transect as well as in similar topographical settings/locations to the N and W of the city.

An impressive installation 900m from the city wall in the W transect is characterised by an extension of 0.35ha and included several architectural fragments, mainly column drams in piles (site TS2). To the N of the city two villa sites 600-700m from the city wall very much close one to the other (TS3 and TS4) gave a rich assemblage, including mosaic floors, plaster fragments and reused earlier (C) material. They could probably constitute a joint habitation group and would correspond to a larger estate. Their proximity to the city site (see Thespiae survey), as well as the clear difference in relation with the poor rural sites of C period, constitute a proof for the different socio-economic structures and the changes in land-property. The main period of use of such large rural sites is the Late Roman period (4th to 6th C AD), although some of them go back to the Early Imperial period (1st C BC - 1st C AD). They testify to socio-economic changes such as the abandonment of the small property system and gravitating around small rural sites typical of earlier periods and the reorganisation of the land use and property system from the local leading families[55]. One should point out, though, how apart from rich finds, fine architectural fragments and fluted columns, window glass and mosaic floors, those sites are marked by the absence of fine wares. Pot assemblages are mainly constituted by tile and large vase fragments[56], which could be interpreted as sign of a main storage character of large parts of the site inhabited reasonably by workers, supervisors and coordinators[57]. The main period of occupation of those sites in LR times goes in parallel with the pick of occupation of the LR *polis* of Tanagra, in which one could note strong/high activity from the 4th to the 6th C AD[58]. Within the city wall about ¾ of the ceramic material collected belongs to that period, as a result of the pick of Tanagra as the local center of a flourishing rural region within the Eastern Roman Empire. Generally speaking, the mid and large size Roman rural sites surrounding of the city reveal the important flourishing/development of the countryside, while the noted preference of the axis of the valley (lower location within valleys and basins) reflects the character of specialised and intensive cultivations which characterise the period, most probably grapes, as the large quantity of amphora sherds which were found at the sites as well as in the city seem to attest.
As for the city site, the examination of ceramic material collected seems to indicate a fairly strong Flavian to Severan urban occupation. Taking the over-representation of the later Roman material into account, and the general undiagnostic features of contemporary cooking pots and transport wares, could give Strabo's (IX 2.5) consideration of Tanagra as a relatively well-to-do community somewhat more

[55] It is customary to interpret this contrast as a shift by Roman times to a form of landownership favouring wealthier farmers over a previously dominant class of petty farmers.

[56] Mainly large amphorae, locally made food and drink containers, normally reserved for long-distance trade.

[57] It is possible that the urban population at Tanagra may by now have formed a dependent labour pool working on these large estates, as salaried labour or sharecroppers maybe.

[58] The 3rd-4th centuries AD were a time when Barbarian raids brought real insecurity to Greece, and we see a wave of refortification of cities throughout the province. The fact that Tanagra repairs its entire Classical Greek City walls suggests that at least now its population was considerable. In contrast, in other towns studied earlier by the Boeotia Survey project, only a small area is walled: for example at Thespiae in Central Boeotia only 12ha is surrounded by a new fortification, leaving a further 30ha of town outside, whilst a further 60ha of the former Classical Greek town had been abandoned by Early Roman times and never reoccupied.

credibility. In the Late Roman period (ca. 400-600 AD) there seems to have been certainly a large and busy city, as the vast bulk of all surface finds from Tanagra belong to Late Roman forms. Regional self-sufficiency dominated, excluding or reducing direct trading or exchange with Tanagra. The imported categories of tablewares and amphorae at Tanagra indicate that the exchange pattern in which the site was involved was possibly focussed and dependent on Constantinople and basically Aegean in nature (and by Late Antiquity possibly until the Balkan *limes* in addition to Costantinople)[59].

[59] See Poblome et al. in Bintliff et al. 2008.