

TOPOGRAPHY AND  
POPULATION  
OF  
ANCIENT BOIOTIA  
VOL. I

BY  
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For my mother  
and  
in memory of my father (†14.i.1985)  
with thanks for early encouragement

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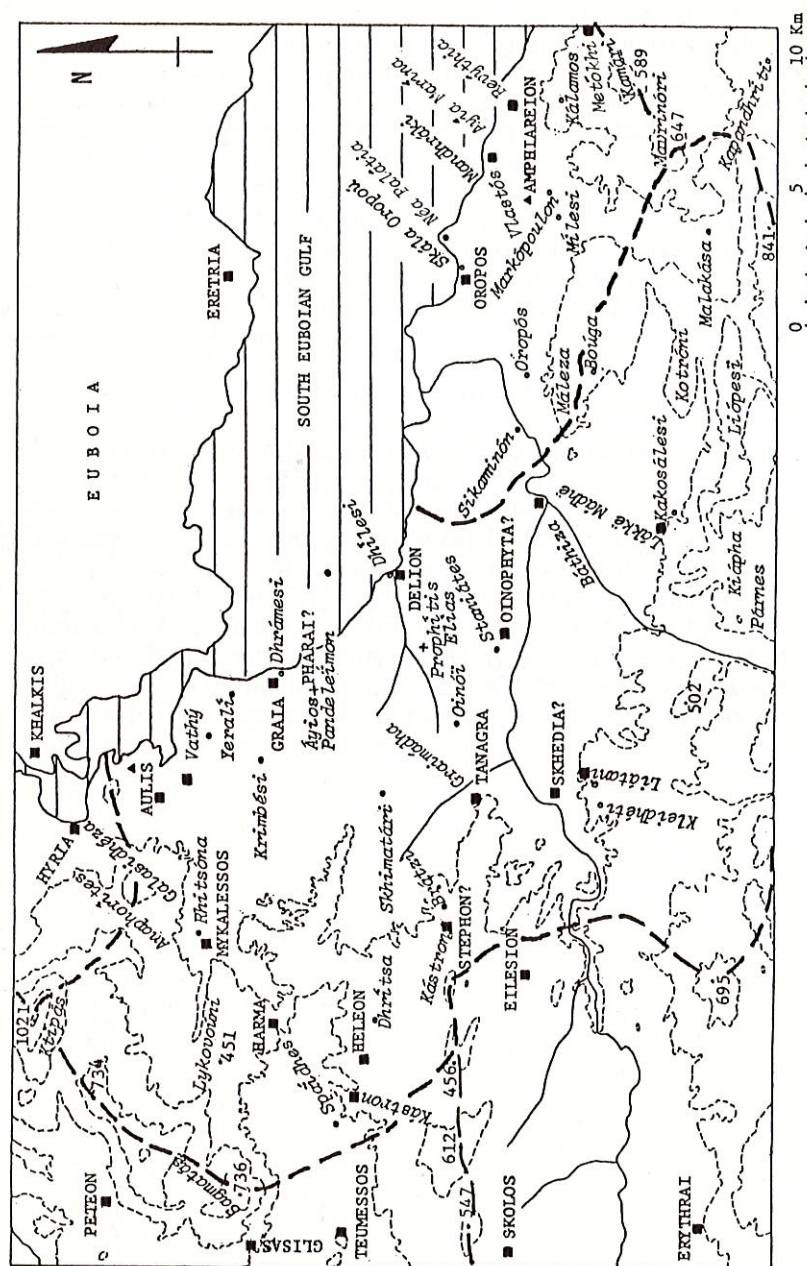


Fig. 3. *Tanagrike* and *Oropia*

## II.2

## Oropia

(map, fig. 3)

The Oropia is the Easternmost corner of Boiotia, a collection of coastal plains and extensive valleys trapped between the mountains of the *Párnēs* ridge and the waters of the South Euboian Strait. It is, in effect, a broad coastal strip stretching about 25 km East-West but never reaching more than 7 km South from the coast.

Much of the area is inevitably composed of mountain slopes which are covered mostly with thick pine forests, so thick that some parts are most difficult of access. Cleared slopes and the smaller plains support some wheat and citrus groves. The large plain of *Skála Oropoû* itself is cultivated with vines and fruit trees as well as a good, rich cereal crop. Another natural resource exploited this century is the coal mined in the mountains to the South of *Skála Oropoû*.

The area is heavily inhabited today, and numbers are swelled in the summer time by the influx of Athenians to their seaside villas. Two large settlements account for a considerable portion of the population — *Kálamos* (1,163) and *Néa Palátia* (1,168), the latter being a recent settlement dating from the Turkish-Greek exchange of population in the 1920's. Much of the rest of the population is settled in 6 villages, *Mílesi* (285), *Markópoulon* (646), *Skála Oropoù* (671), *Oropós* (423), *Sykáminon* (481), and *Khalkoútsi* (374), while the remainder is in three small hamlets, *Néo Livísio* (33), *Áyioi Apóstoloi* (238), and *Mavrosouvála* (33).

In antiquity the area's political control was often disputed between Attike and Boiotia.<sup>1</sup> Geographically, however, it forms an extension of the Tanagra plains and thus is part of Boiotia rather than Attike from which it is clearly cut off by the *Párnēs* ridge. There seem to have been fewer sites in antiquity than today's villages. A total of 9 possible ancient sites has so far been recorded, of which two seem to have been sanctuaries only.

1. For a summary of this contended position cf. Petrákos, 'Ο Ὁρωπὸς καὶ τὸ Ἰερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, 17-44.



The sites are: 1. *Skála Oropoû*, 2. the sanctuary (?) of *Sykáminon*, 3. *Néa Palátia*, 4. *Mílesi*, 5. the sanctuary of the *Amphiareion* at *Mavrodhílesi*, 6. the harbour at *Kamaráki* (*Mandhráki*), 7. *Ayía Marína*, 8. *Revythiá*, 9. *Metókhi*, 10. *Vlastós*.

### 1. *Skála Oropoû* — OROPOS

#### *The Site*

##### *Position*

The large, semicircular bay of *Oropós* provides a natural harbour on the North coast of modern *Attiké* facing *Néa Psará* on the Euboian coast. At the centre of the bay's South side is the modern village of *Skála Oropoû*. On the South West edge of the village rises the steep-sided hill of *Lombárdhi*, the akropolis of an ancient settlement.

##### *Bibliography*

Wiesner, *RE* (1939) s.v. *Oropos* 1171-4 — mainly a historical account with also bibliography of descriptions of the site. Petrákos, 'Ο Ὀρωπὸς καὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, 12-13 — brief account with bibliography of some earlier accounts, to be completed from the preceding.<sup>2</sup> Kirsten-Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde* 872 — bibliography.

##### *Structural Remains*

The hill of *Lombárdhi* has an oval-shaped, flat top with its longer axis North-South; the South end is in fact, a little higher than the North. The edge of this top would seem to have been the line of the ancient fortification wall of which clear, though much fallen débris is visible along the West side. Despite its steep sides the hill bears a heavy cereal crop, cultivation of which is probably responsible for the disappearance of other remains of ancient structures.<sup>3</sup> All that remains is a large, domed structure of late date near the South end of the hill.

The lower settlement appears to lie beneath the modern village.<sup>4</sup> Remains of ancient buildings are discovered frequently during construction work in the village, and in one area near the sea front were found portions of considerable structures. The latter are thought to have formed part of the agora, in view of

2. The information is summarized by Petropoulákou and Pentázos, *Ἀττικὴ, Οἰκιστικὰ στοιχεῖα — πρώτη ἔκθεσις*, sites X7-Y8; 1 and 2.

3. Early in the last century Leake, *N. Gr.* ii, 443, noticed remains of buildings within the fortifications.

4. The following paragraph is drawn from Petrákos, *loc. cit.*

their proximity to the harbour area. Above ground all that normally shows is pieces of ancient building material and inscribed stones re-used in modern structures.

The ancient harbour, which certainly existed in the last century, is no longer preserved. Apparently it consisted of a mole running out from, and "parallel" to the shore.<sup>5</sup>

The only tombs known in the whole area have been found at two different locations. One group occurred some 4 km South West of *Skála* near or at the modern village of *Oropós*; they were found to contain, according to Leake,<sup>6</sup> "several xystrae, heads of spears and swords made of brass" (*sic* — bronze?). These tombs probably lined the road from Oropos to Tanagra. The other group, as yet unpublished, was uncovered in 1977 on a hill named *Lavovoûni* to the immediate West of the village of *Skála*.

##### *Pottery*<sup>7</sup>

EH, Classical (including black glaze), Hellenistic, Roman. Many fragments of glazed tile.

##### *Inscriptions*

The inscriptions may be subdivided according to where they have been found. This division probably has little meaning except to underline the spread of tombs along the Oropos-Tanagra road, for most of the inscriptions are tombstones.

##### A. *Skála Oropoû*

###### 1. Building inscription?:

Hellenistic, *IG* vii 424.

###### 3. Dedications:

4th century, Petrákos, *Epigraphiká* 24 (1 text).

Hellenistic, *IG* vii 451-2.

Hellenistic and Roman, Petrákos, *Epigraphiká* 8-22 (8 texts), 37 (1 text).

###### 3. Boundary Stone:

Epichoric, Petrákos, *Epigraphiká* 42-3 (1 text).

5. Frazer, *Paus.* ii, 465; cf. Leake, *op. cit.* 442 and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Antiken Hafenanlagen* 273 no. 196.

6. *Topography of Athens* ii, 112, summarized by Petropoulákou and Pentázos, *op. cit.*, site X6-Y8; 2.

7. Collected on the akropolis, spring 1966. The only other finds recorded from the Oropos area seem to be the reliefs, *AM* 1878, 321 no. 13, 325 no. 18 and 326 no. 21 (= *IG* vii 481) of Classical/Hellenistic date, and 355 no. 82 of Roman date; cf. also *SEG* i 131.



## 4. Tombstones:

4th Century or Hellenistic, *IG* vii 478; *AE* 1967, *Khron.* 13 no. 14.

Hellenistic, *IG* vii 467, 468?; *AE* 1967, *Khron.* 13 no. 16; Petrákos, *Epigraphiká* 45–51 nos. 54–57, 62, 64, 66–9, 74.

Hellenistic or Roman, *IG* vii 483; Petrákos, *Epigraphiká* 45–51 nos. 59–60, 70.

Roman, *IG* vii 455 (metrical), 464; *AE* 1967, *Khron.* 13 no. 15.

Uncertain date, Leake, *N. Gr.* ii 443; *SEG* i 131?; Petrákos, *Epigraphiká* 45–51 nos. 45–53, 58, 61, 63, 65, 71–3.

B. *Oropós*<sup>8</sup>

## 1. Dedication:

4th century B.C., *AE* 1967, *Khron.* 12 no. 13.

## 2. Tombstones:

4th century B.C., *IG* 457, 486.

4th century B.C. or Hellenistic, *IG* vii 456, 465.

Hellenistic, *IG* vii 462, 466, 469, 470?, 474, 476?, 484, 485, 487.

Roman, *IG* vii 480.

*Identification*

Since the important inscriptions of Oropos were all set up in the main sanctuary of her territory, the Amphiareion,<sup>9</sup> they are of no use in identifying the site, unlike that of most cities in Boiotia. We must therefore rely on other sources.

i. Strabon ix, 403 — κατὰ δὲ τοῦτόν (sc. τὸν Ὠρωπὸν) ἐστὶν ἡ νῦν Ἐρέτρια, διάπλους δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν στάδιοι τετταράκοντα.

This description accords absolutely with the position of *Skála Oropoú* facing *Néa Psará/Eretria* at a distance of 7.5 km. Strabon's account is sufficiently precise to leave no possible doubt as to the validity of the identification. What may cause some question is the position of the modern village of *Oropós* a distance inland; in

8. Obviously these stones may easily have travelled from elsewhere in the area, yet the presence of tombs near or at the village (cf. *supra*) makes an origin *here* very possible.

9. Petrákos, *op. cit.* 143.

fact, apart from Strabon, there are ancient authors who leave no doubt as to the coastal position of ancient Oropos.<sup>10</sup>

ii. Diodoros, xiv, 17, 3 — Θηβαῖοι δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὠρωπίους καὶ κυριεύσαντες τῆς πόλεως, μετόπισαν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης αὐτοὺς ὡς ἑπτὰ σταδίους.

Diodoros here refers to the events of 402 B.C.; his reference to the Thebans moving the Oropians *from the sea* makes it clear that until that date their city was on the coast. Nor can this event be the explanation of the position of modern *Oropós* which, 4 km inland, is much more than Diodoros' 7 stades from the coast.

iii. Pausanias i, 34, 1 — ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς συγγραφὴν παρεχομένη.

We have no way of telling how long the Oropians may have inhabited the inland site after 402 B.C., but Strabon implies that it was back on the coast by the late Hellenistic period; this is confirmed for the early Imperial period by Pausanias. It seems, thus, that modern *Oropós* may be taken to be a mediaeval foundation at or near part of the cemetery lining the road from ancient Oropos along the Asopos valley to Tanagra.

2. *Sykáminon*: a note*The Site**Position*

*Sykáminon* is situated a little beyond the village of *Oropós* along the Asopos river valley. This position is really the South West corner of the Oropian plain, for behind *Sykáminon* the river's course is through a narrow valley, beyond which the Tanagran plain opens out.

*Bibliography*

Petrákos, Ὁ Ὠρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, 16–17 — brief notes, the only publication of the area.<sup>11</sup>

10. Wiesner, *op. cit.*, gives a long list of ancient sources showing Oropos' maritime position; I have only given those whose meaning is absolutely clear. On Thoukydides viii, 95, where 60, not 40 stades is given as the distance between Eretria and Oropos cf. Durbach, *de Orope* 17–18 and Pritchett, *Studies* ii, 33 n. 31.

11. Summarized, Petropoulákou and Pentázos, *op. cit.*, site X6-Y8; 1.



*The finds*

No ancient structures are preserved at *Sykáminon*; nor do I know of any collection of surface sherds or other small finds. What has been noted is a quantity of ancient worked stones built into the three churches of the village. Apart from the several inscriptions listed below these include an Archaic capital in the church of *Ayía Eleoúsa*.

*Inscriptions*

- i. Dedication:  
Hellenistic, *IG* vii 436.
- ii. Tombstones:  
4th century or Hellenistic, *IG* vii 472.  
Hellenistic, *IG* vii 461, 463?, 488?  
Uncertain date, *IG* vii 489.

*Identification*

The tombstones and the graves they may have crowned here<sup>12</sup> are probably no more than a continuation of the cemeteries along the Oropos-Tanagra road. What then of the other ancient worked stones? Perhaps the capital and the one non-funerary inscription give a combined clue. *IG* vii 436 reads: "Ερμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἐπιμελητῆς γινόμενος, Ἡρακλεῖ. Is it possible that the building material comes from a sanctuary of Herakles here on the Oropos-Tanagra road? Otherwise we must consider the stones as simple "pierres errantes". In fact, as yet the information is too slight either to demonstrate or to negate the existence of an ancient site at *Sykáminon*.

**3-4. Prehistoric Settlements near Oropos.***The Sites***3. Néa Palátia***Position*

The Eastern side of the bay of *Skála Oropoú* is formed by the broad promontory of *Phanári*, so called from the lighthouse on it. The plain behind this promontory is known as *Sakhóra*. On the South East edge is the refugee village of *Néa Palátia*, one kilometre to the East of which have been found surface remains of an ancient settlement.

12. If, that is, they have not travelled from elsewhere.

*Bibliography*<sup>13</sup>

Petrákos, *ADelt* 1974, 97 — list of sherds with photographs.

Hope Simpson & Dickinson, *Aegean Civ.* F57 — very brief mention.<sup>14</sup>

*The finds*

Only surface sherds are recorded.<sup>15</sup>

BH III, MH ("Minyan"), LH (including LH III).

**4. Mílesi***Position*

*Milési* village is about 4 km South of *Skála Oropoú* on the main road to join the National Highway near the railway station of *Sphendáli*. About 1 km North of *Mílesi* have been found traces of another prehistoric site.

*Bibliography*

AA 1962, 211 — summarized, Petropoulákou-Pentázos *op. cit.* site X7-Y8, 3.<sup>16</sup>

*The finds*

Again only surface sherds are recorded with no details: MH, LH III.

*Identifications*

No ancient name can be given to either of these sites.<sup>17</sup>

13. Syriópoulos, *Προϊστορία*, 102, ME 76 confuses this account with the following site. In a sense this conflation is followed by Petropoulákou and Pentázos, *op. cit.* X7-Y8; 3 (the following site); their reference to this site is X7-Y8; 5.

14. Cf. Petrákos, *op. cit.* 11-2.

15. Apparently some are in the British School's collection, cf. French, *Prehistoric Pottery Groups from Central Greece* figs. 11 and 14.

16. Cf., however, preceding note.

17. Hope Simpson and Lazenby, *Catalogue* 22, try to identify the *Néa Palátia* site with Homeric Graia. I have dealt elsewhere with the whole question of Graia, a Homeric name claimed equally in historic times by Oropos and Tanagra (*Euphrosyne* 1970. 3-22; cf. section II.3.10 below).

## II.6

### *Siphai*<sup>1</sup>

(maps, figs. 18 and 21)

The area of ancient Siphai, surely one of the smallest divisions of all Boiotia, is the area around the East end of the large Bay of *Dhomvraína*. It comprises the small plain around the bay and the mountain slopes that enclose it; the slopes, that is, of *Korombíli* itself (907m) to the East and of its large projection, the ridge of *Mavrovouni* (616m), to the North. To the South it contains the small ridge of *Tapsilá* (234m), another outlyer of *Korombíli*, which forms the arm of land enclosing the bay on its South.

No permanent water courses flow through the area, but the small plain is well watered by the many torrents draining from the mountain slopes into the Bay of *Dhomvraína*. Parts of the plain do support some cereal crop, but the bulk of its agricultural produce comes from the many olive trees. The area's main economic source for long was the large salt pan in the North East corner of the bay, though this seems recently to have fallen into disuse.<sup>2</sup> The number of small fishing vessels normally moored at *Alíki* indicates another source of income, and the surrounding hill slopes provide considerable areas of grazing for many flocks of goats, flocks which come even from as far away as *Evangelístria* on the South side of the *Kopaïs*.

Only one small settlement exists here today, *Alíki* (109), so named from the nearby salt pan. In antiquity too the area contained but one settlement, the city of Siphai or Típha.<sup>3</sup> I have here included rather arbitrarily a note also on the *Mavrovouni* sanctuary. Since the site lies right on the dividing line between Thespias and Siphai it is difficult to tell to which it would have belonged at

1. A brief but useful description of this area is given by Heurtley, *BSA* 1923/4 — 24/5, 40-1, and another by Paul Roesch, *Thespias* 56. The latter lists a number of other accounts, n. 5.

2. On olives and salt at *Alíki* cf. Philippson-Kirsten, *Griech. Landsch.* 457.

3. On the name variation cf. our note, *BSA* 1970, 243 no. 2 and Geyer's remarks, *RE* (1929) s.v. Siphai, 262-3. I will here use the form Siphai attested both in Thukydides and *IG* vii 207.



times of the latter's independence from the former. In any case, not being a settlement, it does not really affect the main aspect of this study.

### 1. *Alikí* — SIPHAI

#### *The Site*

##### *Position*

The entire East end of the bay of *Alikí* is a sandy beach. At only one point is this strand broken, where a rocky hill reaches to the very sea, cutting the beach into two sections, the larger being to the North. This rocky hill is the end of yet another ridge running out from *Koromblli*; its West peak provided the akropolis for the ancient city which lay in the smaller plain to the South.<sup>4</sup>

##### *Bibliography*<sup>5</sup>

Leake, *N. Gr.* ii 503 — a brief description; one has the impression that Leake only observed the site from the *Mavrovouni* ridge, and heard a verbal description. His account is summarized by Frazer, *Paus.* V, 164.

Forchhammer, *Halkyonia* 17-20, 30-32.

\*Lebègue, *De oppidis et portibus* 89-97 (with sketch plan) — very good description of site.

Lolling, *Urbadekker* 85-88 — a full description.

Heurtley, *BSA* 1923/4 — 1924/5, 40-1 and 44.

Geyer, *RE* (1929) s.v. Siphai 262-3 — collects ancient sources, but is no use on the modern site.

Hope Simpson & Dickinson, *Aegean Civ.* no. G37 — summarizes several previous accounts.

Roesch, *Les Cahiers d'Histoire* 1969 fasc. 4, 7-9 — very useful, brief description.

Tomlinson & Fossey, *BSA* 1970, 243-263 — some remarks *en passant*.

\*Schwandner, *AA* 1977, 513-551 — very detailed and useful study of the visible remains.

Buck, *History* 11 — short description.

Fossey & Giroux, *Teiresias* 1979 *Archaeologica*, 3.

##### *Structural Remains* (cf. plan, fig 20)

The walls of the akropolis are particularly well preserved on the North side where they follow the line of the extremely steep

4. Photo: Tátaris and Kóunis, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 1968 pl II.  
5. This scenic but remote spot has received but little attention from archaeologists and travellers.

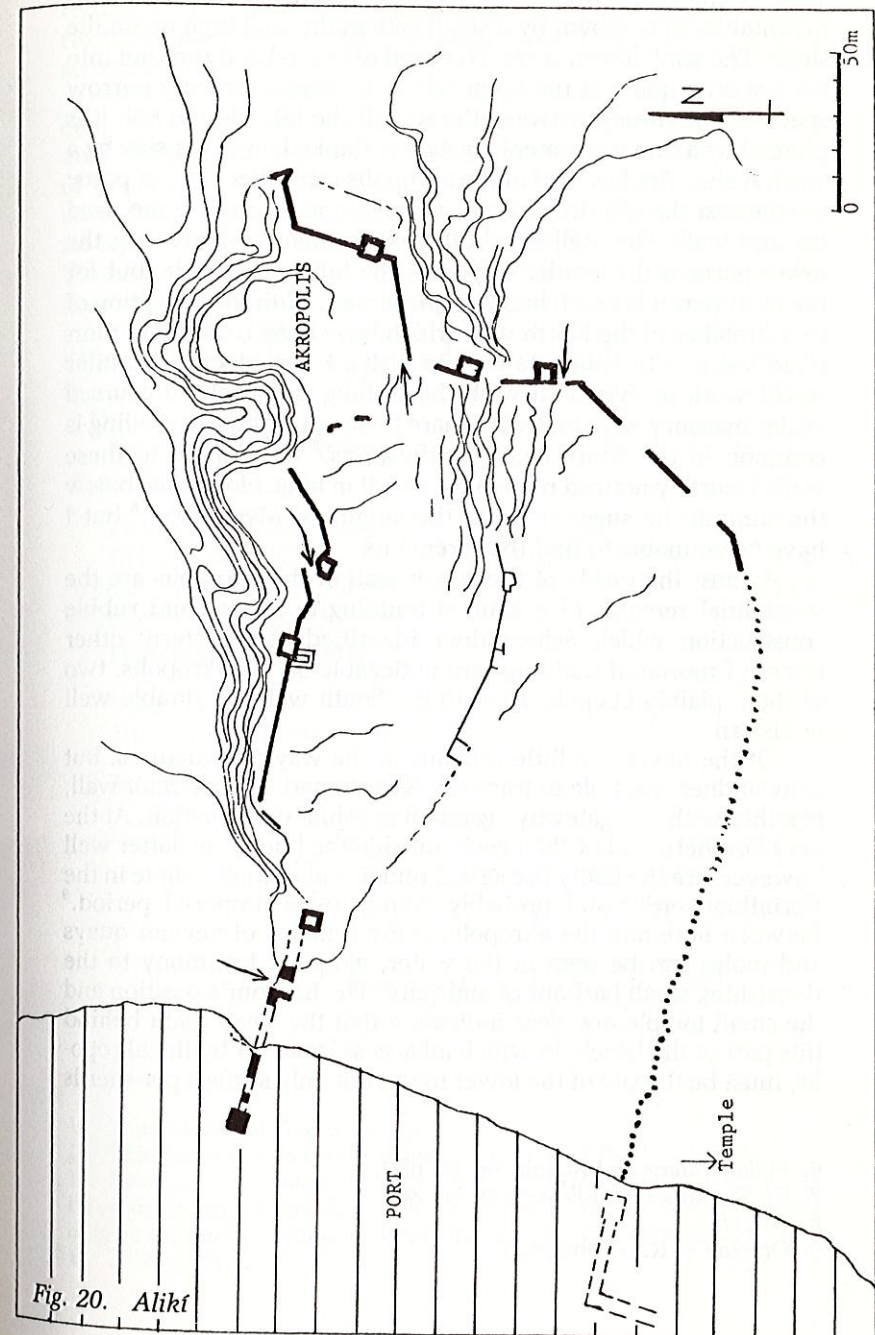


Fig. 20. *Alikí*



slope of the hill.<sup>6</sup> Despite its steepness this slope was not insurmountable, as is shown by a small gate in the wall high up on the slope. The wall descends the West end of the hill and runs out into the sea on a quay; at the point where it crosses the very narrow space of flat ground between the foot of the hill and the sea, it is pierced by a fine monumental gateway flanked on either side by a small niche. The East end of the akropolis is fortified only in parts; for the rest the hill drops away so steeply as to obviate the need for any wall. The wall can be traced at many points along the lower parts of the gentler slopes on the hill's South side, but for the most part it is much less well preserved. With the exception of two stretches of the North wall which have been repaired in mortared work with small stones and at least two pieces of similar repair work in the South wall, the walling is entirely in coursed ashlar masonry with interval square towers; this type of walling is common in the South coast fortifications.<sup>7</sup> In addition to these walls Heurtley noticed remains of a wall in large blocks just below the summit; he suggested that this might be Mycenaean,<sup>8</sup> but I have been unable to find these remains.

Against the inside of the North wall of the akropolis are the substantial remains of a vaulted building in mortar and rubble construction which Schwandner identified as a cistern; other traces of mortared buildings are noticeable on the akropolis, two of them plainly chapels. Near to the South wall is a double well or cistern.

Of the lower site little remains in the way of structures, but Schwandner was able to trace the Eastern part of the circuit wall, together with one gateway, again all in ashlar construction. At the very Southern end of the beach, outside the line of the latter wall however, are the badly preserved remains of a small temple in the Corinthian order and probably dating to the Imperial period.<sup>9</sup> Between here and the akropolis many remains of ancient quays and moles can be seen in the water, eloquent testimony to the flourishing small harbour of antiquity. The harbour's position and the small temple are clear indication that the small plain behind this part of the beach, to which all access is cut off by the akropolis, must be the site of the lower town, but only surface pot-sherds

6. Photo: Tátaris and Kouinis, *op. cit.* pl. I, 1.

7. Cf. Tomlinson and Fossey, *op. cit.* 263.

8. *Loc. cit.*

9. Opinion of R.A. Tomlinson.

remain to demonstrate its location; soon they too will be beyond reach as this little plain has now been divided into lots for the construction of summer villas.

The building remains plainly belong in particular to two periods, although the surface sherds indicate a long occupation. If we omit the possible Mycenaean wall there are the fine fortifications of the fourth century B.C. and the many constructions of Roman date. Local inhabitants have also spoken of the finding of building remains with tessellated floors in the plain North of the akropolis. These may well be of Roman date, further indicating that the site flourished in the Imperial period.<sup>10</sup> At the South West foot of the akropolis, near the harbour, is a large accumulation of soil and debris, cut through by a new road to the villa plots. The pottery in this is almost entirely of Roman date and mostly of 5th century A.D. or later.<sup>11</sup>

No tombs are reported as having been found in the area of Aliki.

#### *Pottery and Small Finds.*<sup>12</sup>

EH I-II, MH (Grey and Yellow Minyan), LH II, LH IIIA-B, Archaic (Corinthian), Classical, Hellenistic, Roman (late ripple ware, A ware, Argon Ware).

Hellenistic terracottas.

#### *Sculpture*

4th cent. relief stele;<sup>13</sup> Hellenistic relief stele (IG vii 2376).

#### *Inscriptions*

Tombstones: Epichoric, IG vii 2369.

4th century or Hellenistic, IG vii 2370-1, 2373, 2377-2380, 2382, 4245-6.

Hellenistic, IG vii 2376; BCH 1904, 432 no. 4.

Roman, IG vii 2372, 2375, 2381.

Uncertain date, IG vii 2374.

10. Tomlinson and Fossey *loc. cit.*

11. This material was carefully examined in 1968 by P.A. Rahtz.

12. Most of this material comes from my own surface survey. Cf. Heurtley *op. cit.* 44 and *ADelt* 1965 *Khron.* 242. The latter refers specifically to fortuitous findings of Hellenistic pottery and figurines.

13. *ADelt* 1917, 247.

### Identification

There are no documents to establish directly the identification of the site at *Alikí*; it is rather a question of deduction.

i. Ps. Skylax, *Periplus* 38 — Μετὰ δὲ Φωκεῖς Βοιωτοὶ εἰσιν ἔθνος, καὶ πόλεις αἰδεῖ· Κορσῖαι, Σίφαι καὶ λιμὴν, Εὐτρητος καὶ τεῖχος Βοιωτῶν. παράπλους δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἡμῖς ἡμέρας ἑλαττον.

Despite the confused nature of this text after the words Σίφαι καὶ λιμὴν, in one way its meaning is clear. Since the *periplus* is reading from West to East (Phokis precedes, 37, and Megaris follows, 39), Siphai must be East of Korsiai.

ii. Ptolemaios iii, 14, 5, also running along Boiotia's South coast, places Siphai before, therefore West of Kreusis.

Since Khorsiai/Korsiai is securely identified by inscriptions with the *Kástron* at *Khóstia* (II.8.1) and there seems no alternative for Kreusis but *Livadhóstro* (II.5.10), Siphai can only be *Alikí*, East of *Khóstia* and West of *Livadhóstro*. In fact there can be little doubt of the identification; we have the names of three settlements along the South coast and just three sites and there is, thus, no alternative candidate for ancient Siphai. The only complication arises with Pausanias:

iii. Pausanias ix, 32, 2 — πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Κρεύσιδος οὐκ ἄνω, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Βοιωτῖαν, πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θίσβη. Then follows the description of Thisbe; the narrative resumes in 4 — παραπλέοντι δὲ αὐτόθεν πόλισμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Τίφα.

This has the appearance of making Típha/Siphai West of Thisbe since Pausanias has set out in a Westerly direction from Kreusis to Thisbe. For this reason Leake<sup>14</sup> identified *Kástron*, *Khóstia* with Siphai; that was, of course, before the discovery of inscriptions of Khorsiai at *Khóstia*. Frazer,<sup>15</sup> while recognizing the correct identification of Khorsiai still considered that there was "a serious objection" to identifying Siphai with *Alikí* in view of Pausanias' text.

Not only is there no alternative site, but in fact Pausanias' text does not constitute such a problem. Pausanias does not specify that he actually continued sailing in the same Westerly direction. As we have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>16</sup> he may have sailed direct from Kreusis to Thisbe, thus passing by the entrance to the Eastern area of the Bay of *Dhomvráina* and the harbour of Siphai, and only subsequently heard of (or visited?) the latter.

14. *N.Gr.* ii, 514-6.

15. *Paus.* V, 164.

16. *BSA* 1970, 243 n. 2.

There can be little logical doubt that *Alikí* is the ancient Siphai.

The one thing Pausanias really noticed at Siphai was a temple of Herakles ('Ηρακλεῖόν τε Τιλφαιεύσιν ἐστὶ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον). Might it be that the small Roman temple at the Southern end of the beach was this Herakleion?

### 2. The *Mavrovouni* Sanctuary: a note.

#### The Site

*Mavrovouni* is the name of the mountain which encloses the plain of *Alikí* to the North. The main peak is at the North East corner of the area and a long shoulder, sometimes known as *Ghoulas*, stretches Westward. About half way along this ridge the old road from *Alikí* to *Xeronomí* crosses the watershed. At the very crest, to the immediate West of the road is an extensive site.

#### Bibliography

Lolling, *Urbadekker* 82-4 — good description, not published and thus not available for inclusion in:

\*Tomlinson and Fossey, *BSA* 1970, 243-263 — a full account of a detailed surface survey, with such references as previously existed.

Schwandner, *AA* 1977, 516-9 — a recent survey and preliminary notice of the excavation of two buildings; not fully aware of previous work at the site.

There are, in fact, four stages in the structural history of the site. The earliest, and that with the longest history, is a small sanctuary whose life began in Late Geometric times and ran down well into the Hellenistic period; it appears to have gone out of use by Roman times. During the early 4th century B.C. it seems to have been incorporated into the corner of a large Spartan military base. Shortly after that, to the immediate West of the site was constructed one of the many watch towers in ashlar style belonging to the extensive defence system of the Boiotian South coast (cf. Appendix IV.2). Finally the North East corner of the Spartan fort was constructed into a small square fortlet with circular corner towers and containing a tiny Christian chapel; this fort we take to be late Roman in date and an outlying defence of Siphai on the coast below. Unlike other sanctuary sites there is no indication that the *Mavrovouni* site was ever a settlement;<sup>17</sup> its history was purely religious with military intervals.

17. Cf. Lebègue, *de opidis et portibus* 88.



### Identification

Two Hellenistic dedications from the site are to Artemis Agro-teira and it is thus possible that she was the original patron of the sanctuary, although her cult could equally well be a later introduction to the site. The distribution of certain types of Artemis cults will form the subject of a separate study.

### BOUNDARIES AND RESOURCES<sup>18</sup>

The boundaries marked on the maps (figs. 18, 21), although not directly documented, can hardly be disputed: they are imposed by the terrain itself. To the West and South (outside the arm of *Tapsilá*) the sea itself provides the boundary, though it is very probable that some of the islands in the Bay of *Dhomvraína* may also have belonged to the city of Siphai. To the East the mass of Mount *Korombíli* is an impenetrable barrier, and the ridge of *Mavrovoúni*, while not quite so impenetrable, provides a decisive boundary to the North. Apart from a path around the coast, at the foot of *Korombíli*, into *Livadhóstro* Bay, there are only three ways of access to *Alikí* from the hinterland.<sup>19</sup> One, followed by a very recent graded road, leads through the high col between *Korombíli* proper and the chief peak of *Mavrovoúni*, and descends into the North East corner of the small coastal plain.<sup>20</sup> The other main route, obviously that used in antiquity, passes over the Western shoulder of *Mavrovoúni*, past the Spartan invasion base and into the North side of the plain. A third, route crosses over the very Western part of the *Mavrovoúni* ridge, descends to the coast and thence into the North West corner of the plain.

The isolation of this area must have meant that in the days of its independence at least, it would look rather to the sea than to

the hinterland. In fact the only ancient author to mention, indirectly, its resources refers to a particular type of fish caught there (Aristoteles, *Hist. anim.* ii, 13). We may logically assume that in antiquity, as today, fishing was one of the occupations of the inhabitants. At the same time its small plain may well have supported a certain amount of agriculture; it might produce such crops as today, olives and cereals. Some of the surrounding slopes would naturally provide pasturage.

18. No literary texts tell that Siphai was in fact an independent city. Thucydides (iv, 76) and Apollonios Rhodios (i, 105) plainly regard it as a part of Thespian territory. The only inscriptions from the site are tombstones. It is simply the inscription IG vii 207 from Aigosthena in the Megaris which makes it clear that during part at least of the Hellenistic period Siphai was an independent πόλις. Paul Roesch has argued that she may have been independent after the disbanding of the Boiotian Confederation by the King's Peace of 386 B.C. (cf. *Les Cahiers d'Histoire* 1969, fasc. 4, 7; also *Thespies* 54-6).

19. On the first two cf. Tomlinson and Fossey, *BSA* 1970, 244. On the footpath around the coast from *Livadhóstro* cf. Roesch, *RevPhil* 1967, 292.

20. A side route departs from this road up in the col and descends the East slopes of *Korombíli* to the bay of *Livadhóstro*; cf. Roesch; *loc. cit.*

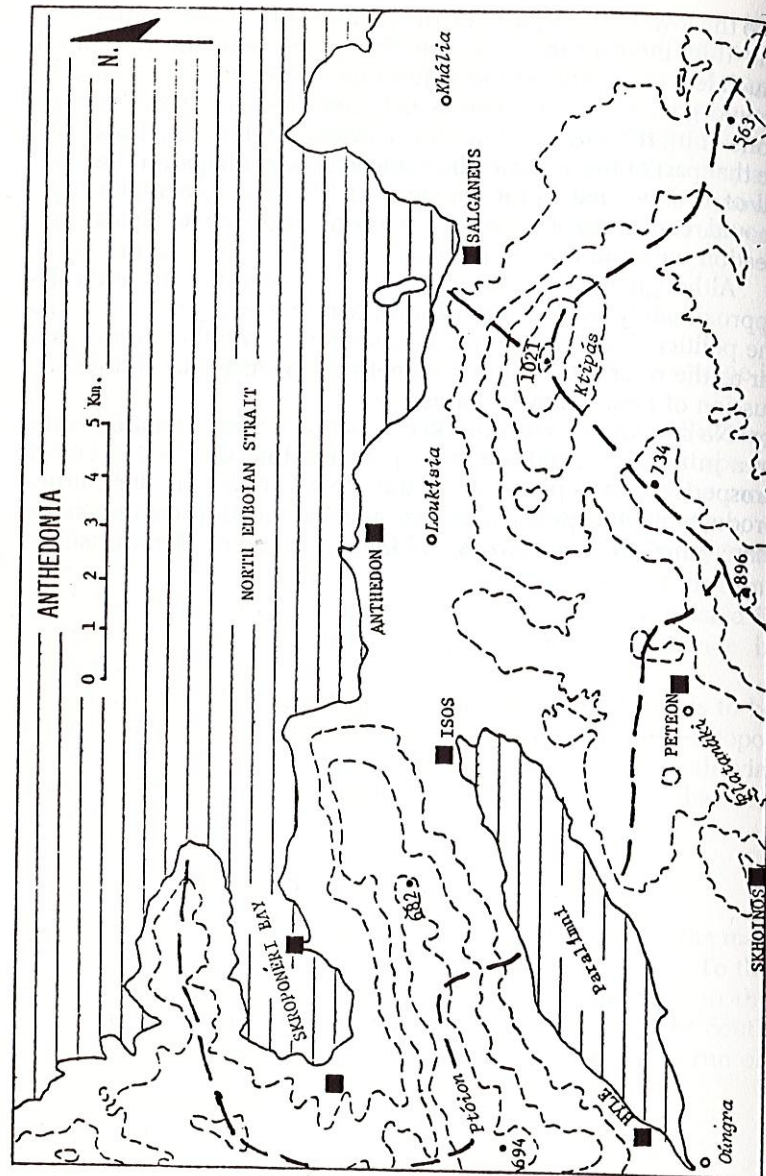


Fig. 31. Anthedonia

## II.10

## Anthedonia

(map, fig. 31)

Anthedonia<sup>1</sup> is a long coastal plain trapped between the Northern Barrier mountains and the North Euboean Strait. The parts of the Barrier mountain range in question are *Ktipás* and its foothills which bound the plain to East and South; to the West Ptoion performs the same function. The plain slopes quite gently down from the mountains to end in a long straight sandy beach looking Northward to the mountains of Euboea.

The ring of mountains is not quite complete; in the South West corner only the low ridge of *Rághi* runs between the *Ktipás* foothills and Ptoion. Over this ridge the coastal plain connects easily with another small plain around the North East end of Lake *Paralimni*.<sup>2</sup> This small plain is, however, in its turn trapped between higher, steeper foothills of *Ktipás*, Lake *Paralimni* and the very steep sites of Ptoion.

A high col almost at the end of Mt. Ptoion allows a route to pass to the other side of that ridge and there reach the bay of *Skroponéri*,<sup>3</sup> until recently the most isolated corner of ancient Boiotia; apart from the route just mentioned, the only other means of access to this bay are very difficult, over the Western parts of the Ptoion massif.

Access even to the main coastal plain is not easy. Apart from a coastal road from the East and *Khalkís*,<sup>4</sup> there are two routes through from the South. One runs North East from *Mouríki* to *Platanáki* and then winds and climbs its way over the considerable foothills of *Ktipás* to the plain; the other runs North from *Mouríki* to Lake *Paralimni* whose Southern side it then follows into the small plain at the lake's end and so to the coastal plain.<sup>5</sup> Neither of these routes is easy and most communications are with *Khalkís* by the coastal road.

1. For the name cf. Strabon ix, 401.
2. The size of this plain fluctuates a little with the level of the lake.
3. Traces of an ancient road along this same way were still to be observed in 1965; cf. *Teiresias* suppl. ii. (1979) 9-13.
4. An ancient road also followed this line; cf. Bakhuizen, *Salganeus* 141-4.
5. It is not certain which of these two carried the ancient road from Thebes to Anthedon (cf. section II.9.9).



The areas as a whole today contains only one village, *Loukísia* (832). The local economy is based on a rich cereal crop in much of the plain together with the produce of many fine citrus groves. The slopes of *Ktipás* support the ubiquitous vines and provide good pasturage. Surprisingly little fishing is done. In antiquity this area contained five settlements; 1) *Loukísia*, 2) *Pýrgos*, *Palaiometókhí*, 3) the small site at *Toúrló*, 4) the small site on the *Skroponéri* peninsula, 5) an extensive site at the head of the *Skroponéri* bay.

### 1. *Loukísia* — ANTHEDON

#### *The Site*

##### *Position*

*Loukísia* village, on the slopes of Mount *Ktipás*, overlooks the coastal plain from approximately the centre of its South side. About 2 km below it, at the coast, a low ridge running out from *Ktipás* ends in a small hill just over 20m high. This hill, right above the shore, appears to have been the akropolis of a fairly extensive ancient settlement.

##### *Bibliography.*

Rolfe, *AJA* 1889, 443-460 — an account of the wretched American excavations.

\*Schläger, Blackman and Schäfer, *AA* 1968, 21-102 (+ corrections, *AA* 1969, 229-231) — a very detailed account of the study of the site and especially its harbour. A full bibliography is given (pp. 22-5) for studies before c. 1967.<sup>6</sup>

Fossey, *Teiresias* suppl. ii. (1979) 9-13 — a few remarks.

Buck, *History* 21 — short description

Hope Simpson and Dickinson, *Aegean Civ.* no. G43 — brief summary.

Wallace, *Strabo* 57-9 — useful description of site.

##### *Structural Remains.*<sup>7</sup> (cf. plan, fig. 32)

Almost the entire circuit of the town walls can be made out enclosing an approximately square area of c. 600 × c. 600m. The

6. A preliminary account was given by Blackman *et al.*, *Archeologia* 1967, 12-7.

7. Cf. Schläger *et al.*, *op.cit.* plan 1 and pl. 1.

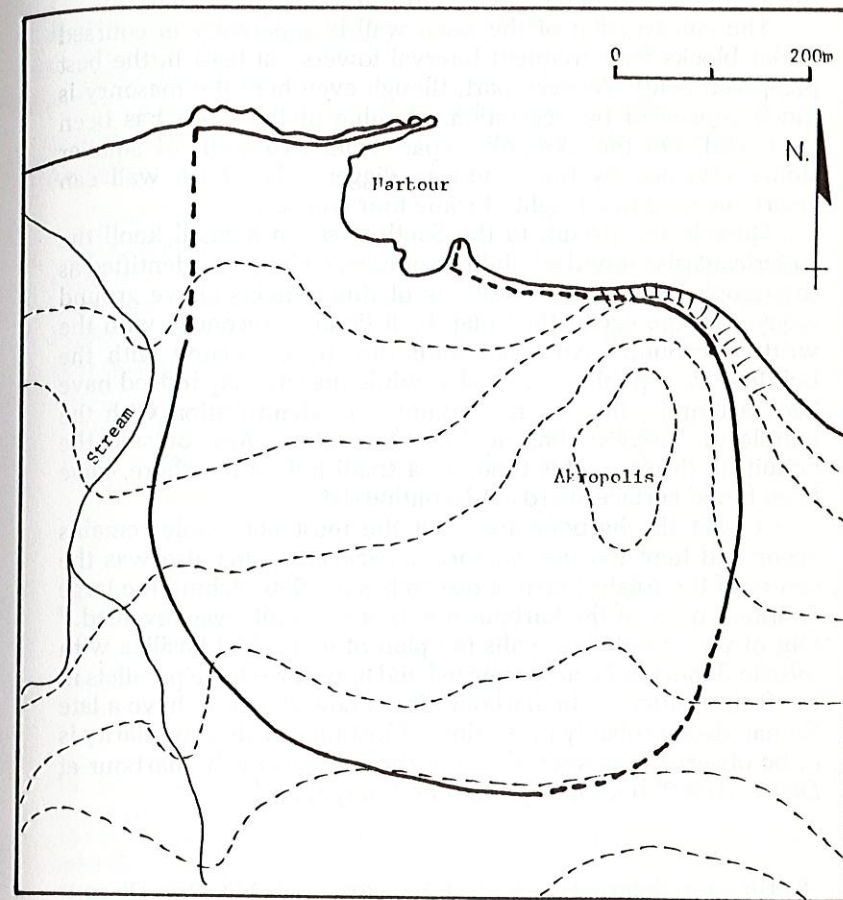


Fig. 32. *Loukísia*



North side of the square is the coast and the akropolis lies in the North East corner. In the centre of the North side is the small harbour, prime subject of the Anglo-German investigations in 1966; the area is sometimes known as *Mandraki*, from this harbour.

The construction of the town wall is apparently in coursed ashlar blocks with frequent interval towers,<sup>8</sup> at least in the best preserved South Western part, though even here the masonry is much concealed by vegetation. Nothing of the walls has been excavated. On the akropolis, apart from two walls of smaller stones revealed by the American diggers, the North wall can clearly be seen to a height of some four courses.<sup>9</sup>

Outside the circuit, to the South East, on a small knoll the Americans also found a building complex which they identified as the temple of Dionysos. Nothing of this remains above ground today, and the excavators' plan is difficult to reconcile with the written account.<sup>10</sup> No small finds directly associated with the building were published. Finally, while the site may indeed have been a temple, there is no certainty; its identification with the temple of Dionysos has no firm foundation. Also outside the circuit, to the West this time, on a small hill by the shore, have been found surface sherds of Neolithic date.<sup>11</sup>

It is at the harbour area that the most noticeable remains occur and here too the Americans excavated; this also was the centre of the Anglo-German researches in 1966. Behind the large Southern quay of the harbour a number of walls was revealed.<sup>12</sup> Out of the complex of walls the plan of an apsidal basilica with mosaic floors has been recognized and appears to have parallels in the fifth century.<sup>13</sup> The harbour also is now shown to have a late Roman date, probably in the time of Justinian; a close similarity is to be observed between this and the remains of the harbour at *Dhilesi* (II.3.9) both in style and probably date.<sup>14</sup>

8. For a description, *ibid.* 29-30; cf. Scranton, Walls 178, Type D5 no.1. Since much of the wall lies under soil it is, of course, impossible to know the exact number of towers and gates in the circuit; Roesch's affirmation, *Princeton Encyclopedia* 59, that the walls are "no doubt" Hellenistic is far too categorical.

9. Schläger *et al.*, *op.cit.* pl. 62.

10. Rolfe, *op.cit.* pl. XIV.

11. *ADelt* 1973-4 *Khron* 447; cf. Sámson, *AEM* 1980, 158 no. 70.

12. Rolfe, *loc. cit.*

13. Orlándhos, *Ἀρχαῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 1937, 172-4.

14. In fact the Justinianic date for Anthedon has been questioned and a mediaeval one suggested: Hood, *BSA* 1970, 37 and 42, nn. 3, 11.

### Pottery and Small Finds<sup>15</sup>

Neolithic, EH (including EH II), MH (Grey and Yellow Minyan), LH IIIB-C, Geometric (including LG), Archaic (including Korinthian), Classical (including lekythoi bases), Hellenistic, Roman (including both sigillata and late ripple ware).

A Mycenaean (LH IIIC?) bronze worker's hoard.<sup>16</sup>

Obsidian flakes.

A hoard of Hellenistic coins, lost in the early 2nd cent. B.C., contained primarily Euboian pieces as well as Athenian and one of Demetrios Poliorketes.<sup>17</sup>

### Sculpture

A small round altar with boukrania and rosettes of the 4th cent. B.C. lay in the fields near the harbour in 1965 and 1966. It has now been removed to the Thebes Museum along with a marble liquid measurer.<sup>18</sup> Two monumental lions of Imperial (?) date are also recorded.<sup>19</sup>

### Inscriptions<sup>20</sup>

- i. Decree of proxeny: Hellenistic, unpublished.<sup>21</sup>
- ii. Military Catalogue: Hellenistic, *IG* vii 4172.
- iii. Association Documents:

Hellenistic, *BSA* 1896/7, 106-111 (list of συνθῦται);<sup>22</sup> *AA* 1968, 99-102 no. 3 (decree of συνθῦται).<sup>23</sup>

- iv. List of Magistrates: Roman, *IG* vii 4173.
- v. Boundary: 5th-4th cent., *IG* vii 4178.
- vi. Dedications: Hellenistic, *IG* vii 4174-7; *BCH* 1902, 234 no. 15.

15. Cf. Hope Simpson, *Gazeteer* 128-9 no. 437 ("Mandraki"); Schläger *et al.*, *op.cit.* 25 n.25; *ADelt* 1973-4 *Khron* 447.

16. Rolfe, *op.cit.* 99-100, 104-7, pl. 15. Brief discussion and other references are given by Blackman (Schläger *et al.*, *op.cit.* 23 n.13). Cf. especially the catalogue and scattered discussion by Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (1964) *passim* and particularly 296-7.

17. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*<sup>2</sup> (1937) no.35. Cf. Hackens, *BCH* 1969, 701 and 707.

18. *ADelt* 1967, 240.

19. Körte, *AM* 1878, 387 nos. 153-4.

20. Some of these inscriptions are re-examined by Paul Roesch, *Etudes, passim*.

21. This is to be published by Denis Knoepfler (cf. Roesch, *op.cit.* 12-3).

22. Cf. re-edition by Roesch, *op.cit.* 112-7.

23. Cf. *Bull.épigr.* 1969 no. 288, and re-edition by Roesch, *op. cit.* 91-104.



- Epichoric, *IG* vii 4179-4182; *ADelt* 1969 *Khron.* 185 no. 7.  
 4th cent., *IG* vii 4183(?), 4184-5, 4188-4193, 4210; *AE* 1935 *Khron.* 3 no.32, 6 no. 77.  
 Hellenistic, *IG* vii 3466, 4194-4209, 4211-4225; 4230-3; *BCH* 1902, 323-4 nos. 10-11, 13, 14; *AA* 1968, 98-9 nos. 1-2; *BSA* 1974, 123-5 nos. 14-19, 21.  
 Roman, *IG* vii 4186-7, 4228-9, 4234-5; *BCH* 1902, 324 no. 12; *BSA* 1974, 125-6 nos. 20 (+ *Teiresias* E.76.09) and 21-2.

### Identification

i. Herakleides i, 23 — ἐντεῦθεν (sc. from Thebes) εἰς Ἀνθηδόνα στάδια ρξ'. ὁδὸς πλαγία· ἀμαξήλατος δ' ἀγρῶν πορεία. ἡ δὲ πόλις οὐ μεγάλη τῷ μεγέθει, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Εὐβοϊκῆς χειμένη θαλάττης· τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν ἔχουσα κατὰ δένδρον πᾶσαν, στοαῖς ἀνειλημμένην διτταῖς. There follows a description of the local economy and then a summary of the characteristics of different parts of Boiotia — including τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν Ἀνθηδόνι — to round off the account of this country. The next section, on Euboeia, begins, i, 26, ἐξ Ἀνθηδόνας εἰς Χαλκίδα στάδια ο'.

This description on its own is sufficiently detailed to place Anthedon quite clearly at the *Loukíisia* site. The latter does indeed lie on the coast of the Euboian Gulf 28 km from Thebes (cf. Herakleides' 160 stades = 29.5 km) and 14 km from Khalkis (cf. Herakleides' 70 stades = c. 13 km).

The identification is further confirmed by two other ancient authors:

ii. Strabon ix, 400 on the Boiotian North coast — ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Εὐβοίαν μερῶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ Εὐρίπου σχιζομένης τῆς παραλίας, τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Αὐλίδαν καὶ τὴν Ταναγρικὴν, τῇ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Σαλγανέα καὶ τὴν Ἀνθηδόνα.

*ibid.* 401 — μετὰ δὲ Σαλγανέα Ἀνθηδών, πόλις λιμένα ἔχουσα, ἐσχάτη τῆς Βοιωτικῆς παραλίας τῆς πρὸς Εὐβοίαν, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς εἶρηκεν. "Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν." Next comes a mention of Larymna and Halai. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραλίαν ταύτην κλεισθαί φασιν Αἰγὰς τὰς ἐν Εὐβοίαν, ἐν αἷς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν τοῦ Αἰγαίου· ἐμνήσθημεν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρότερον. διάγραμμα δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀνθηδόνας εἰς Αἰγὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι στάδιοι. A small digression on Aigai follows. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀνθηδονίᾳ Μεσσάπιον ὄρος.

iii. Pausanias ix, 22, 5 — τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Εὐρίπου Μεσσάπιον ὄρος καλούμενον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀνθηδών.

Both Strabon and Pausanias place Anthedon West of the Euripos and at the foot of Messapion (= *Ktipás*); this is the situation of the *Loukíisia* site. Strabon adds a further distance: Anthedon lies 120 stades from Aigai. The latter is usually located to the South of *Límn*i in Euboeia.<sup>24</sup> *Límn*i itself is some 30km from our site; a position to the South of *Límn*i could then well be about 120 stades (= c. 24 km) from our site.

These ancient testimonia leave little doubt about the identification of our site with ancient Anthedon. An inscription recently noted for this site is worth mentioning here:

*BSA* 1974, 125-6 no. 22 reads Μαρ(χ)ία Ὀν(η)σ|(ι)μη Ἀνθη|δονία χρηστή, χαῖρε.

This is the first inscription from the site to mention its ancient name. For this rare occurrence of an ethnic applied to the deceased's name when buried in their home town, cf. *IG* vii 483, *SEG* xv 303 and 307, and Petrákios, *Epigraphiká* 51 no. 70, all from Oropos and all the tombstones again of women.

## 2. Pýrgos, Palaometókhi — ISOS

### The Site

#### Position

The small plain at the North East end of Lake *Paralímn*i is dominated from the West by a foothill of the Ptoion range. From the mediaeval tower which crowns it this hill is known as *Pýrgos*, but there are more than mediaeval antiquities on this hill, for it formed the akropolis of an ancient city whose remains extend around the feet of the hill. After the drainage of the Kopaïs Lake and the subsequent rise in the level of *Paralímn*i all trace of the town disappeared beneath the lake, only to be revealed by the considerable drop of the lakes in 1966, just like the ancient city of *Hyle/Oúngra* (II.9.12) at the South West end of the same lake.

#### Bibliography

Ross, *Wanderungen* 132.

Noack, *AM* 1894, 457-8 — talks of the akropolis walls following a note by Lolling, *Urbädekker* 33.

\* Lauffer, *RE* (1959) s.v. Ptoion 1575.

24. Cf. *RE ad loc*, perhaps by Politiká; Kirsten, *Kleine Pauly* i, 155.



- \*Pharáklas, AAA 1968, 139-140 — an important but far too brief account of investigations carried out in 1968.  
 Buck, *History* 13 — brief notice calling the site *Skála Paralímnes*; correctly referred to p. 21.  
 Hope Simpson and Dickinson, *Aegean Civ.* no. G42 — badly confused with material from the *Oúngra* site (II.9.12).  
 Wallace, *Strabo* 107-8 — brief; attempts to identify site with Peteon.  
 Sámson, *ADelt* 1973-4 *Khron* 448 — important notice of surface observations (cf. *AEM* 1980, 159 no. 72).

*Structural Remains* (cf. plan. fig. 33)

On the akropolis is a variety of walling.<sup>25</sup> The mediaeval tower is itself surrounded by an apparently contemporary wall,<sup>26</sup> but outside this, running in fact around the very edge of the hill's fairly flat summit, is yet another wall. Noack described this as polygonal in style, but it appears to me more like that class of rough walling which occurs at various dates and sites in Boiotia. On the Eastern side, however, the style is different, employing larger blocks, roughly faced; Noack compared this to the Mycenaean walling at *Ayía Marína* in the Kopais. It may be that the circuit is all of one period, part being more rapidly constructed than the rest; or it is possible that the rough walling represents a refortification of Mycenaean enceinte.

Noack (and Sámson) also noticed remains of both round and square buildings within the akropolis walls, but I was unable to discern these in 1966 and 1976.

Below the akropolis are the extensive remains of the lower town. Many buildings are large and well-defined, having been washed clean by the lake's waters, as at *Oúngra*. This lower site was the scene of much activity by the Archaeological Service under the former epimelités, N. Pharáklas.<sup>27</sup>

All around the South East sides of the akropolis is a large number of small buildings. To the South West these are constructed on successive terraces, as the land rises slightly towards the Ptoion ridge. On the edge of this area, to the South East, is a stoa-like building with axial colonnade, and beyond this lies a number of other ancient building remains, on one of which had

25. The akropolis remains are discussed by Noack and summarised by Lauffer, *loc.citt.*

26. Sámson appears to date this wall as Classical but does not give reasons.

27. The description which follows is taken from his account, *op.cit.*

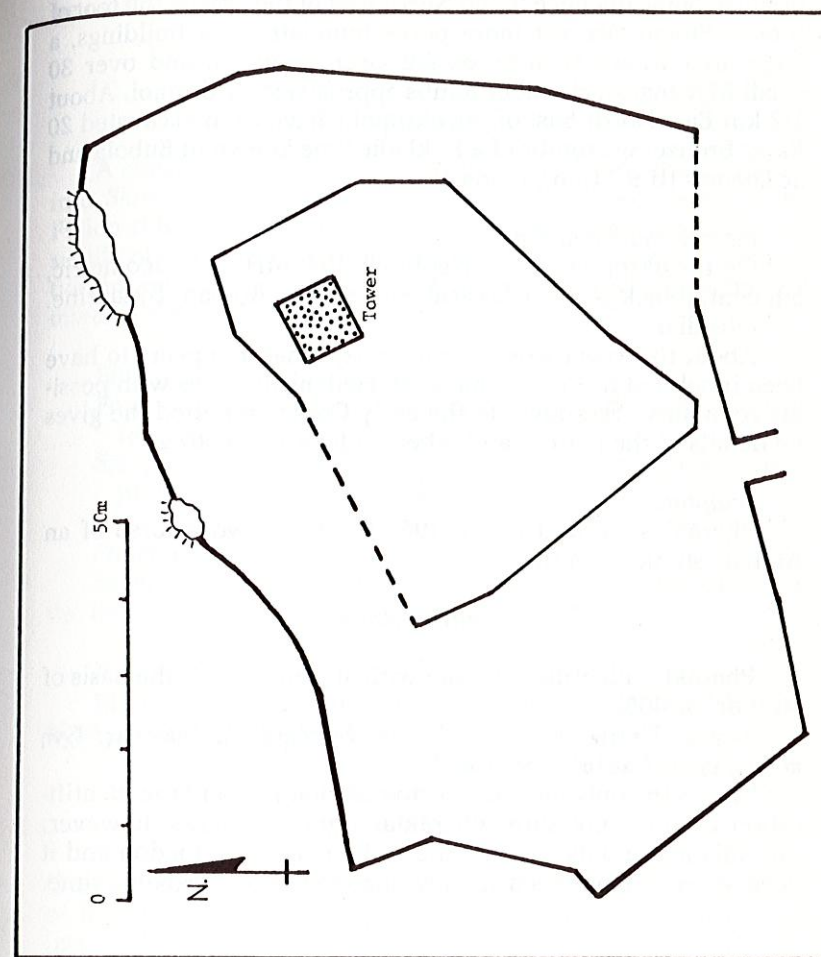


Fig. 33. *Pýrgos Paralímnis*



later been built a Byzantine domed church. In fact over the whole drained area around the North East end of the lake are the remains of many buildings, one of which appears to be a large basilica. Some distance to the North East of the city, at the foot of Mount Ptoion, are yet more poros foundations of buildings, a large area where such poros has been quarried, and over 30 small Mycenaean chamber tombs approached by dromoi. About 1/2 km East-North-East of the akropolis have been excavated 20 Early Bronze Age tombs of a Kykladid type known in Euboia and at *Litharés* (II.9.11) in Boiotia.<sup>28</sup>

#### *Pottery and Small Finds*<sup>29</sup>

On the akropolis: Final Neolithic, EH, MH, LH, Geometric, 6th cent. (black glaze), Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine. Obsidian.

About the lower site, Pharáklas says that it appears to have been inhabited from Mycenaean to Hellenistic times with possible remnants even down to the early Christian period; he gives no details of the pottery and other finds from the area.

#### *Sculpture*

Pharáklas showed me in 1968 the badly worn torso of an Archaic statue from the site.<sup>30</sup>

#### *Identification*

Pharáklas identified the site with ancient Isos on the basis of Strabon ix, 405:

πλησίον δ' ἐστὶν Ἀνθηδόνας ἱεροπρεπῆς τόπος τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἔχνη πόλεως ἔχων, ὁ καλούμενος Ἴσος.<sup>31</sup>

This is the only ancient text to mention Isos and the identification is, thus, not sure. Pharáklas rightly remarks, however, that this is the only ancient site to lie near to Anthedon and it does seem to have been mainly abandoned by Strabon's time.

28. *ADelt* 1969, 174-5; cf. *AAA* 1969, 96-7.

29. For the akropolis I have conflated Sámson's findings with my own.

30. Now in Thebes Museum, unpublished but noted *ADelt* 1968, 224.

31. Strabo continues to cite this name as a suggested emendation for Nisa in the Catalogue of Ships, *Il.* ii 508, thus giving

Ἴσόν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατώσαν.

This emendation has its attractions, especially the geographic grouping which would result, but it flies in the face of a united MS tradition.

On this basis Pharáklas and I had independently come to the conclusion that the *Pýrgos* site is most probably to be identified with ancient Isos;<sup>32</sup> epigraphic or other confirmation would, of course, be most welcome.

### *3. Toúrho*

#### *The Site*

A small conical hill dominates the coastal road from *Louktsia* into *Skroponéri* bay. This hill is the Northernmost point of the Ptoion ridge from the main body of which it is separated by the small col through which runs the road. Several traces of occupation in antiquity are to be found on the South slopes of the hill towards the modern road.

#### *Bibliography*

Fossey, *Teiresias* suppl. ii (1979) 11 — brief discussion of surface finds (mostly Classical).

Sámson, *ADelt* 1973-4 *Khron* 447 — surface finds (mostly prehistoric); cf. *AEM* 1980, 161 no. 74.

#### *Structural Remains*

Several traces of walling can be seen on the South slopes of the hill. Some are built of large blocks.

#### *Pottery*

EH (including EH II), LH III, Classical (including 4th cent. black glaze and painted tiles).

#### *Identification*

It is not possible to identify such a small site as this. For the Classical period I have tried to show that this may have been one of the 4th century watch posts protecting the *Skroponéri* naval base.

32. I had first visited the site briefly in 1966, long before Pharáklas's work. Fraser, *JHSArch* 1968/9, 19, has confused matters and thinks Pharáklas is identifying the *Oúnga* site, not a completely separate one. Wallace, *Strabo* 63, places too much emphasis on the possibility of continuous occupation (which is not actually demonstrated) in refuting the identification with Isos.



4-5. The *Skroponéri* sites.

## 4. The Peninsula Site

*Position*

On the South side of the bay of *Skroponéri* is a small peninsula about 100m North to South. The near-island is in parts quite rocky but elsewhere has a considerable soil cover. The spit of land which connects the main body to the shore is very narrow and low.

*Bibliography*

Fossey, *Teiresias* suppl. ii (1979) 10 — a brief notice.

*Structural Remains*

In the areas where soil cover is good there is a considerable amount of scrub and low bushes. It is impossible to distinguish any ancient structures, except traces of a possible circuit wall on the East side; even there it is impossible to recognise the style of masonry.

*Pottery and Small Finds*

Neo, EH, MH (Yellow Minyan), LH II-III C, 4th-3rd century, Hellenistic?, Roman (ripple ware).

Obsidian flakes.

Rim of a basin in green granite.

5. The *Skroponéri Kástron* Site*Position*

At the head of the bay of *Skroponéri* and in the middle of the long beach rises the hill of the *Kástron*.

*Structural Remains*

Apart from the military fortification which encircles the summit itself, extensive remains lie on the South Western slopes of the hill. Many separate 2- and 3-room buildings, some with an apsidal end, have their walls preserved to 1m height. The detailed plan and study of these will await future publication.

*Pottery*

Late Roman (especially ripple ware).

*Identifications*

No positive identification can be offered for such small habitation sites as these. It is worth, however, posing the question as to whether one could be the village of Phokai mentioned by Ptolemaios (iii, 14, 8) as lying between Anthedon and the Otaian Gulf. Lauffer's only reason for rejecting the possibility that this village lay in *Skroponéri* appears to be that there was no archaeological candidate known there.<sup>33</sup> The peninsula site now provides a possible candidate.

I have tried to show that this bay may have provided a base — perhaps the main one — for the Boiotian fleet in the 4th century B.C.

*BOUNDARIES AND RESOURCES*

The boundaries marked on the map (fig. 31) are those dictated by the geography of the area. The territory is clearly defined by mountains and sea.

A description of Anthedon's economy in antiquity is given by Herakleides, i, 23-4 — αὕτη δὲ εὖοις, εὖοφος, σίτων σπανίζουσα διὰ τὴν χώραν εἶναι λυπράν. οἱ δ' ἐνοικοῦντες σχεδὸν πάντες ἀλιεῖς, ἀπ' ἀγρίστρων καὶ ἰχθύων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πορφύρας καὶ σπόγγων τὸν βίον ἔχοντες, ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς τε καὶ φύκει καὶ καλύβαις καταγεγρακότες· πυρροὶ ταῖς ὄψεσι πάντες τε λεπτοί, τὰ δ' ἄκρα τῶν ὀνύχων καταβεβρωμένοι, ταῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐργασίαις προσεπονθότες, πορθμεῖς οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ ναυπηγοί, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐχ οἷον ἐργαζόμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔχοντες, αὐτοὺς φάσκοντες ἀπογόνους εἶναι Γλαύκου τοῦ θαλασσοῦ, ὃς ἀλιεὺς ἦν ὁμολογουμένως.

Herakleides gives us a good picture of an economy based on fishing and viticulture. The fishing products of Anthedon were plainly well-known in antiquity (cf. Athenaios, *Deipn.* vii 316 a) but the viticulture had plainly declined by Roman times for Ploutarkhos, himself a Boiotian, says, *Quaest. Gr.* 19, τίς ἢ Ἀνθηδών, περὶ ἧς ἡ Πυθιάς εἶπε "πῖν' οἶνον τρυγίαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἀνθηδόνα ναίεις" (ἡ γὰρ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἔστι πολύοις). Could this be the result of the city's destruction at the hands of Sulla (Ploutarkhos, *Sylla* 26, 3)?

Herakleides' picture contrasts very strongly with the situation today. The slopes of *Ktipás* do, indeed, once more support a fair vine crop with a resulting good wine,<sup>34</sup> but otherwise the situation is completely reversed. The villagers live mostly off the rich cereal, vegetable and citrus crops of their land<sup>35</sup> and indulge in virtually no fishing. They also graze extensive herds on the higher mountain and hill slopes and it is likely that this source of revenue also existed in antiquity.

33. *RE* (1959) s.v. Ptoion, 1528.

34. Personal observation confirmed by Blackman, *op.cit.* 26.

35. Cf. Blackman, *op.cit.* 27.